

SAINT JEROME

COMMENTARY ON GALATIANS

Commentariorum in Epistolam ad Galatas

SABBATISMUS

Saint Jerome (347–420)
Commentariorum in Epistolam ad Galatas · Commentary on Galatians

Latin text: public domain.
Translation, alignment and edition © 2026 Inversiones San Juan Diego (Sabbatismus). Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International license (CC BY-SA 4.0).

Facing-page bilingual edition: Latin on the left-hand pages, English on the right.
Sabbatismus is the imprint of the Inversiones San Juan Diego foundation, San Pedro Sula, Honduras.
Set in EB Garamond and Cinzel.
sabbatismus.com

CONTENTS

FIRST BOOK..... 11

BOOK SECOND..... 93

BOOK THREE..... 179

Pauci admodum dies sunt, ex quo epistolam Pauli ad Philemonem interpretatus, ad Galatas transenderam, multis retrorsum in medio praetermissis; et ecce subito litterae mihi de Urbe allatae sunt, nuntiantes et Albinam venerabilem anum praesentiae Domini redditam, et sanctam Marcellam matris contubernio destitutam, magis nunc vestrum, o Paula et Eustochium, flagitare solatium. Et quia hoc interim fieri non potest, propter grandia maris in medio spatia atque terrarum, repente vulnus impressum saltem Scripturarum vellem curare medicamine. Scio equidem ardorem ejus, scio fidem, quam flammam semper habeat in pectore, superare sexum, oblivisci hominis, et divinorum voluminum tympano concrepante, rubrum hujus saeculi pelagus transfretare. Certe cum Romae essem, numquam tam festina me vidit, ut non de Scripturis aliquid interrogaret. Neque vero more Pythagorico quidquid responderam, rectum putabat: nec sine ratione praejudicata apud eam valebat auctoritas; sed examinabat omnia, et sagaci mente universa pensabat, ut me sentirem non tam discipulam habere, quam judicem.

Itaque quod et illi absenti pergratum fore, et vobis quae in praesentiarum estis, utile existimo, aggrediar opus intentatum ante me linguae nostrae scriptoribus, et a Graecis quoque ipsis vix paucis, ut rei poscebat dignitas, usurpatum. Non quod ignorem Caium Marium Victorinum, qui Romae, me puero, rhetoricam docuit, edidisse Commentarios in Apostolum; sed quod occupatus ille eruditione saecularium litterarum, Scripturas omnino sanctas ignoraverit: et nemo possit, quamvis eloquens, de eo bene disputare, quod nesciat. Quid igitur, ego stultus aut temerarius, qui id pollicear quod ille non potuit? Minime. Quin potius in eo, ut mihi videor, cautior atque timidior, quod imbecillitatem virium mearum sentiens, Origenis Commentarios sum secutus. Scripsit enim ille vir in epistolam Pauli ad Galatas quinque proprie volumina, et decimum Stromatum suorum librum commatico super explanatione ejus sermone complevit: Tractatus quoque varios, et Excerpta, quae vel sola possint [Al. possent] sufficere, composuit. Praetermitto Didymum, videntem meum, et Laodicensem (Apollinarem) de Ecclesia nuper egressum, et Alexandrum veterem haereticum, Eusebium quoque Emesenum, et Theodorum Heracleoten, qui et ipsi nonnullos super hac re Commentariolos [Al. Commentarios] reliquerunt. E quibus si vel pauca decernerem, fieret aliquid quod non penitus contemneretur. Itaque ut simpliciter fatear, legi haec omnia, et in mente mea plurima coacervans, accito notario, vel mea, vel aliena dictavi, nec ordinis, nec verborum interdum, nec sensuum memoriam retentans.

It has been but a few days since, having interpreted Paul's epistle to Philemon, I had moved on to Galatians, leaving many things behind in the middle; and behold, letters suddenly were brought to me from the City, announcing that the venerable old woman Albina has been returned to the presence of the Lord, and that the holy Marcella, deprived of her mother's companionship, now more earnestly implores your solace, O Paula and Eustochium. And because this cannot be done for the time being, on account of the great expanses of sea and land in between, I wished to cure the suddenly inflicted wound at least with the medicine of the Scriptures. Indeed, I know her ardor, I know her faith, what a flame she always has in her breast, that she overcomes her sex, forgets she is human, and with the resounding drum of the divine volumes, crosses the red sea of this world. Certainly, when I was in Rome, she never visited me in such a hurry that she did not ask something about the Scriptures. Nor indeed, in the Pythagorean manner, did she think whatever I had answered was correct; nor did preconceived authority hold sway with her without reason; but she examined all things, and with a sagacious mind weighed everything, so that I felt I had not so much a disciple as a judge.

Therefore, because I think it will be very pleasing to her who is absent, and useful to you who are present, I shall undertake a work unattempted before me by the writers of our language, and undertaken by very few even of the Greeks themselves, as the dignity of the subject demanded. Not that I am unaware that Caius Marius Victorinus, who taught rhetoric in Rome when I was a boy, published Commentaries on the Apostle; but that he, being occupied with the learning of secular literature, was entirely ignorant of the holy Scriptures: and no one, however eloquent, can dispute well about that which he does not know. What then? Am I foolish or rash, to promise that which he could not? Not at all. Rather, in this, as it seems to me, I am more cautious and timid, because, sensing the weakness of my own powers, I have followed the Commentaries of Origen. For that man wrote five volumes specifically on Paul's epistle to the Galatians, and completed the tenth book of his *Stromata* with a discourse in short clauses on its explanation: he also composed various Treatises, and Excerpts, which even by themselves could suffice. I pass over Didymus, my seer, and the Laodicean (Apollinaris) who recently departed from the Church, and Alexander the old heretic, Eusebius of Emesa as well, and Theodore of Heraclea, who themselves also left some short commentaries on this matter. From which, if I were to pluck even a few things, something would be produced that would not be utterly contemptible. And so, to confess simply, I have read all these, and accumulating a great many things in my mind, having summoned a scribe, I have dictated things either my own or others', at times retaining no memory of the order, nor of the words, nor of the meanings.

Jam Domini tantum misericordiae est, ne per imperitiam nostram ab aliis benedicta dispareant, et non placeant inter extraneos, quae placent inter suos. Argumentum itaque Epistolae hujus breviter comprehendens, hac praefatione commoneo, ut sciatis eandem esse materiam et Epistolae Pauli ad Galatas, et quae ad Romanos scripta est. Sed hoc differre inter utramque, quod in illa altiori sensu et profundioribus usus est argumentis, hic quasi ad eos scribens, de quibus in consequentibus ait: O insensati Galatae: Et: Sic insipientes estis, tali se sermone moderatus est, quod increparet potius, quam doceret: et quem possent stulti intelligere, ut communes sententias, communi oratione vestiret, et quos ratio suadere non poterat, revocaret auctoritas. Nullus quidem Apostoli sermo est, vel per Epistolam, vel praesentis, in quo non laboret docere antiquae Legis onera deposita, et omnia illa quae in typis et imaginibus praecesserunt, id est, otium sabbati, circumcisionis injuriam, Kalendarum et trium per annum solemnitarum recursus, scrupulositatem ciborum, et per dies singulos lavacra iterum sordidanda, 371-372 gratia Evangelii subrepente cessasse, quam non sanguis victimarum, sed fides animae credentis impleat. Verum alibi pro parte, et ut se aliud agenti haec quaestio obtulerat, ex latere disputatum est, et pene perstrictum. In his autem duabus, ut dixi, Epistolis, specialiter antiquae legis cessatio, et novae introductio continetur.

Sed ad Galatas hoc proprium habet, quod non scribit ad eos qui ex Judaeis in Christum crediderant, et paternas putabant caeremonias observandas: sed ad eos qui ex gentibus fidem Evangelii receperant, et rursum retro lapsi, quorundam fuerant auctoritate deterriti, asserentium Petrum quoque et Jacobum, et totas Judaeae Ecclesias, Evangelium Christi cum lege veteri miscuisse. Ipsum etiam Paulum aliud in Judaea facere, aliud nationibus praedicare: et frustra eos in Crucifixum credere, si id negligendum putarent quod Apostolorum principes observarent. Quamobrem ita caute inter utrumque et medius incedit, ut nec Evangelii prodat gratiam, pressus pondere et auctoritate majorum, nec praecessoribus faciat injuriam, dum assertor est gratiae: oblique vero et quasi per cuniculos latenter incedens: ut [Al. et] Petrum doceat pro commissa sibi circumcisionis plebe facere, ne ab antiquo repente vivendi more desciscens, in crucem scandalizata non crederet, et sibi praedicatione gentium credita, aequum esse id pro veritate defendere, quod alius pro dispensatione simularet.

Now it is only by the Lord's mercy that things well said by others do not perish through our inexperience, and that what pleases among one's own does not displease among strangers. Therefore, briefly summarizing the argument of this Epistle, I advise in this preface, so that you may know that the subject matter of Paul's Epistle to the Galatians and that which was written to the Romans is the same. But they differ in this, that in the latter he used a higher sense and more profound arguments, whereas here, writing as if to those of whom he says in the following passages: "O foolish Galatians," and "Are you so foolish?", he moderated his speech in such a way that he would rebuke rather than teach: and that which fools could understand, he clothed common sentiments in common speech, and those whom reason could not persuade, authority might recall. Indeed, there is no discourse of the Apostle, whether by letter or in person, in which he does not labor to teach that the burdens of the old Law have been laid aside, and that all those things which preceded in types and images—that is, the idleness of the sabbath, the injury of circumcision, the recurrence of the Kalends and of the three annual solemnities, the scrupulosity about foods, and the daily washings that would again be defiled—have ceased with the creeping in of the grace of the Gospel, which not the blood of victims, but the faith of the believing soul would fulfill. But elsewhere this question was disputed in part, and as it had presented itself to him while he was occupied with other things, from the side, and almost touched upon lightly. In these two Epistles, however, as I have said, the cessation of the old law and the introduction of the new is specially contained.

But the Epistle to the Galatians has this peculiarity, that he does not write to those who from the Jews had believed in Christ and thought the paternal ceremonies should be observed, but to those who from the Gentiles had received the faith of the Gospel, and having lapsed back again, had been deterred by the authority of certain people asserting that Peter and James, and all the Churches of Judea, had mixed the Gospel of Christ with the old law. Also, that Paul himself did one thing in Judea and preached another to the nations; and that they believed in the Crucified in vain, if they thought that which the princes of the Apostles observed should be neglected. For this reason, he proceeds so cautiously and as a mediator between both, that he neither betrays the grace of the Gospel, pressed by the weight and authority of his elders, nor does injury to his predecessors, while he is an assertor of grace: but proceeding obliquely and as if secretly through tunnels, so that he might teach that Peter acted for the people of the circumcision committed to him, lest, by suddenly departing from the ancient way of life, they, being scandalized, would not believe in the cross, and that for himself, entrusted with the preaching to the Gentiles, it was right to defend for the sake of truth that which another feigned for the sake of dispensation.

Quod nequaquam intelligens Bataneotes et sceleratus ille Porphyrius, in primo operis sui adversum nos libro, Petrum a Paulo objecit esse reprehensum, quod non recto pede incederet ad evangelizandum: volens et illi maculam erroris inurere, et huic procacitatis, et in commune ficti dogmatis accusare mendacium, dum inter se Ecclesiarum principes discrepent [Al. discreparent]. Quae quidem et nunc, orantibus vobis, leviter quo sensu sint dicta, contingimus, et in suis locis plenius exsequemur. Sed jam tempus est, ut ipsius Apostoli verba ponentes, singula quaeque pandamus.

Not understanding this at all, that Bataneote and wicked Porphyry, in the first book of his work against us, objected that Peter was reprehended by Paul because he did not walk with a straight foot in evangelizing; wishing to brand the former with the stain of error, and the latter with that of insolence, and to accuse in common the falsehood of a feigned dogma, while the princes of the Churches disagreed among themselves. These things indeed, at your prayer, we now touch upon lightly, in what sense they were said, and we shall treat them more fully in their proper places. But now it is time that, setting forth the words of the Apostle himself, we should explain each and every one.

LIBER PRIMUS.

(Cap. I.--Vers. 1.) Paulus apostolus, non ab hominibus, neque per hominem: sed per Jesum Christum et Deum Patrem, qui suscitavit eum a mortuis. Non superbe, ut quidam putant, sed necessarie, neque ab hominibus, neque per hominem, se Apostolum esse proponit: sed per Jesum Christum, et Deum Patrem, ut eos qui Paulum extra duodecim apostolos ventilabant, et nescio unde subito prorupisse, vel a majoribus ordinatum astruebant, hac auctoritate confunderet. Potest autem et oblique in Petrum et in caeteros dictum accipi, quod non ab apostolis ei sit traditum Evangelium: sed ab ipso Jesu Christo, qui et illos apostolos elegerat. Hoc autem totum ideo praeparatur, ut nemo sibi contra Legis onera pro Evangelii gratia disputanti, possit opponere: sed Petrus hoc dixit, sed apostoli hoc statuerunt, sed praecessores tui aliud decreverunt. Quod quidem in sequentibus, nunc quasi occulto sermone praeludens, manifestius facit; dum ab eis qui videntur esse aliquid, nihil in se collatum refert, et ipsi Petro in faciem restitisse se scribit, nulla se dicens necessitate compulsum, ut hypocrisi cederet Judaeorum. Quod si temerarium quibusdam videtur, eum contra apostolos, quamvis occulte, locutum; qui Jerosolymam idcirco perrexerit [Al. perrexerat], ut cum eis conferret Evangelium, ne forte in vacuum curreret, aut cucurrisset, illo intelligentiam transferamus: Usque hodie a patriarchis Judaeorum apostolos mitti, a quibus etiam tunc reor Galatas depravatos Legem observare coepisse, vel certe alios de Judaeis credentibus in Christum perrexisse Galatiam, qui assererent Petrum quoque apostolorum principem, et Jacobum fratrem Domini, Legis caeremonias custodire. Ad distinctionem itaque eorum qui mittuntur ab hominibus, et sui, 374 qui sit missus a Christo, tale sumpsit exordium: Paulus apostolus, non ab hominibus, neque per hominem. Apostolus autem, hoc est, missus, Hebraeorum proprie vocabulum est, quod Silas [Al. Silai], quoque sonat, cui a mittendo missi, nomen impositum est. Aiunt Hebraei, ab eo tempore quo Judaea a Romanis capta est, et per provincias singulas eorum populus dispersus est, apostolos a principibus eorum mitti solitos, qui exigerent ab eis aurum et argentum, et ad patriarchas Jerosolymam referrent.

FIRST BOOK.

(Chapter I.---Verse 1.) Paul an apostle, not from men, nor through man: but through Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him from the dead. Not proudly, as some think, but of necessity, he proposes that he is an Apostle neither from men nor through man: but through Jesus Christ and God the Father, in order that he might confound by this authority those who were casting Paul out from the twelve apostles, and asserting that he had suddenly broken forth from I know not where, or had been ordained by his elders. Moreover, it can also be taken as said obliquely against Peter and the others, that the Gospel was not delivered to him from the apostles, but from Jesus Christ himself, who had also chosen those apostles. All this, however, is prepared for this reason: so that no one, when he disputes against the burdens of the Law in favor of the grace of the Gospel, might be able to oppose him by saying: but Peter said this, but the apostles established this, but your predecessors decreed something else. Indeed, he makes this more manifest in what follows, now playing a prelude as if in a hidden discourse; while he reports that nothing was conferred upon him by those who seem to be something, and writes that he resisted Peter himself to his face, saying that he was compelled by no necessity to yield to the hypocrisy of the Jews. But if it seems rash to some that he spoke against the apostles, albeit secretly; he who proceeded to Jerusalem for this purpose, that he might confer the Gospel with them, lest perchance he should run, or had run, in vain, let us transfer the understanding thither: that even unto this day apostles are sent by the patriarchs of the Jews, by whom I think the Galatians, having been depraved even then, began to observe the Law, or certainly others of the Jews believing in Christ proceeded to Galatia, who would assert that Peter also, the prince of the apostles, and James the brother of the Lord, observed the ceremonies of the Law. Therefore, for the distinction of those who are sent by men, and himself, who was sent by Christ, he took such a beginning: Paul an apostle, not from men, nor through man. For "Apostle," that is, "sent," is properly a Hebrew term, which "Silas" also sounds like, to whom the name "sent" was imposed from sending. The Hebrews say that from the time when Judea was captured by the Romans, and their people were dispersed through individual provinces, it was customary for apostles to be sent by their princes, who would exact gold and silver from them and bring it back to the patriarchs in Jerusalem.

Quia ergo tunc non ab hominibus tantum, hoc est, a pseudo-apostolis, qui non sunt missi a Deo, sed etiam a majoribus, et a caeteris apostolis, qui utique homines erant, nonnulli mittebantur ad praedicandum; Paulus noster se ab hominibus missum negat, sed a Christo. Et quaerebant quomodo a Christo missus esset, cum ille jam fuisset in caelo? Statimque intulit: Et Deum Patrem, qui suscitavit eum a mortuis. In Resurrectione enim Dominus ad Paulum loquutus est, dicens: Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris? Et iterum: Ego sum Jesus Nazarenus, quem tu persequeris. Et post paululum, Surge, inquit, et ingredere civitatem, et ibi dicetur tibi quid te oporteat facere (Act. IX). Haec exordii est ratio: ut quia se ab hominibus missum esse negavit, mox Deum Patrem, qui Christum suscitavit a mortuis, adderet; ut qui ex mortuis suscitatus est, per ipsum se missum fuisse monstraret. Potest et aliter intelligi, Paulum a Christo esse missum, secundum id quod in Prophetis scriptum est (Joel. II, 11; Zach. II, 8, etc.): Haec dicit Dominus exercituum: In splendore misit me ad gentes: et iterum (Zach. II, 10): Exsulta et laetare, filia Sion, quia ecce ego venio, et habitabo in medio tui, dicit Dominus: et applicabuntur gentes multae ad Dominum in die illa, et erunt ei in populum, et habitabit in medio tui: et scies quia Dominus exercituum misit me ad te. Si ergo missus dicitur Dominus, unde et Apostolus appellatus est (Hebr. III, 1), missio Domini ejusque apostolatus, a Deo Patre est. Propterea se Paulus a Christo missum dicit et Deo Patre: ut non solum illos, quos ab hominibus missos esse diximus, a suo segreget apostolatu, sed etiam eos, qui ab ipso missi sunt Domino antequam a mortuis suscitaretur. Illi enim a Christo duntaxat, iste a Christo missus est et Deo Patre. Atque ita mox sub una auctoritate jungit utrumque, et quodammodo in se Apostolus unam utriusque vult ostendere dignitatem: Paulus apostolus, non ab hominibus, neque per hominem: sed per Jesum Christum et Deum Patrem. Si ergo, secundum Porphyrium, homo tantummodo Jesus Christus est, Paulus ab homine se missum esse mentitus est. Nam sequitur: Neque per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum. Si autem per Jesum Christum missus est, utique Christus non est homo, qui se negat per hominem esse apostolum. Et 375 ne quis eum mitti potuisse per Christum post resurrectionem ejus, cum a Patre jam fuisset honoratus, sed ab aliis apostolis non mitti potuisse, cum adhuc essent in corpore, cavillaretur:

Because, therefore, some were sent to preach at that time not only from men, that is, from pseudo-apostles who were not sent by God, but also from elders and from the other apostles, who were certainly men; our Paul denies that he was sent by men, but by Christ. And they asked how he was sent by Christ, since He had already been in heaven? And immediately he added: And God the Father, who raised him from the dead. For in the Resurrection the Lord spoke to Paul, saying: Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me? And again: I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom you persecute. And after a little while: Arise, he said, and enter the city, and there it will be told you what you must do (Acts 9). This is the reason for the beginning: so that because he denied that he was sent by men, he would soon add God the Father, who raised Christ from the dead; so that he might show that he was sent by Him who was raised from the dead. It can also be understood otherwise, that Paul was sent by Christ, according to that which is written in the Prophets (Joel 2:11; Zech. 2:8, etc.): Thus says the Lord of hosts: In splendor he sent me to the nations: and again (Zech. 2:10): Exult and rejoice, daughter of Zion, because behold I come, and I will dwell in the midst of you, says the Lord: and many nations shall be joined to the Lord in that day, and they shall be a people for him, and he shall dwell in the midst of you: and you shall know that the Lord of hosts has sent me to you. If therefore the Lord is said to be sent, whence he is also called an Apostle (Heb. 3:1), the mission of the Lord and his apostleship is from God the Father. Therefore Paul says he was sent by Christ and God the Father: so that he might segregate from his apostleship not only those whom we said were sent by men, but also those who were sent by the Lord himself before he was raised from the dead. For those were sent by Christ alone, but he was sent by Christ and God the Father. And so he soon joins both under one authority, and in a certain way the Apostle wishes to show in himself one dignity of both: Paul an apostle, not from men, nor through man: but through Jesus Christ and God the Father. If therefore, according to Porphyry, Jesus Christ is only a man, Paul lied that he was sent by a man. For it follows: Neither through man, but through Jesus Christ. But if he was sent through Jesus Christ, certainly Christ is not a man, he who denies that he is an apostle through man. And lest anyone should cavil that he could be sent through Christ after his resurrection, since he had already been honored by the Father, but could not be sent by the other apostles, since they were still in the body:

mox addidit, et Deum Patrem, ut ex aequalitate personarum, et sub una praepositione (id est per) missum se a Filio mox Patre, Filium Patremque conjungens, unam utriusque esse substantiam demonstraret. Quod ne forte contentiosum videatur, legat in caeteris Pauli Epistolis: Gratia vobis et pax a Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo (Rom. I, 7; I Cor. I, 3, etc.): ut videat Patrem et Filium sub una praepositione, id est a, pariter contineri. Et sicut in praesenti loco per Filium et Patrem se missum esse testatus est: ita et in illis a Patre et Filio gratiam dari populis precatur. Nec illud vobis scrupulum moveat, quod Deum Patrem suscitasse Filium dixit: cum et ipse Salvator de se loquutus sit (Joan. II, 19): Solvite templum hoc, et in tribus diebus suscitabo illud. Et iterum (Joan. X, 18): Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. Quia et Pater in Filio, et Filius in Patre est: et unius naturae, una operatio est. Nam et Spiritus sanctus suscitasse Jesum a mortuis perhibetur. Denique in Epistola ad Romanos scriptum est (Rom. VIII, 11): Quod si Spiritus ejus qui suscitavit Jesum a mortuis, habitat in vobis, qui suscitavit Jesum Christum a mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra, propter inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis.

(Vers. 2.) Et qui mecum sunt omnes fratres, Ecclesiis [Al. Ecclesiae] Galatiae. In aliis Epistolis, Sosthenes, et Silvanus, interdum et Timotheus in exordio praeponuntur: in hac tantum, quia necessaria erat auctoritas plurimorum, omnium fratrum nomen assumitur. Qui et ipsi forsitan ex circumcissione erant, et a Galatis non 376 contemptui ducebantur. Plurimum quippe facit ad populum corrigendum, multorum in una re sententia atque consensus. Quod autem ait, Ecclesiis Galatiae; et hoc notandum quia hic tantum generaliter non ad unam Ecclesiam unius urbis, sed ad totius provinciae scribat Ecclesias, et Ecclesias vocet, quas postea errore arguat depravas. Ex quo noscendum dupliciter Ecclesiam posse dici, et eam quae non habeat maculam aut rugam, et vere corpus Christi sit, et eam quae in Christi nomine absque plenis perfectisque virtutibus congregetur (Ephes. V). Quomodo sapientes bifariam nuncupantur, tam hi qui sunt plenae perfectaeque virtutis, quam illi qui incipiunt, et in profectu positi sunt. De perfectis dicitur: Mittam in vos sapientes (Luc. XI, 49). De insipientibus: Argue sapientem, et diliget te (Prov. VIII, 9). Qui enim plenae consummataque virtutis est, correptione non indiget. Juxta hunc sensum de caeteris quoque virtutibus intelligendum: quod scilicet fortis et prudens, pius, castus, justus, et temperans, interdum plene, interdum abusive accipiuntur.

he soon added, and God the Father, so that from the equality of the persons, and under one preposition (that is, "through") being sent by the Son and then the Father, joining Son and Father, he might demonstrate that there is one substance of both. Lest perchance this should seem contentious, let him read in the other Epistles of Paul: Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ (Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3, etc.): so that he may see the Father and the Son contained together under one preposition, that is "from." And just as in the present place he testified that he was sent through the Son and the Father: so also in those he prays that grace be given to the peoples from the Father and the Son. Nor let that cause you a scruple, that he said God the Father raised the Son: since the Savior himself spoke of himself (John 2:19): Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. And again (John 10:18): I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it up again. Because both the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father: and of one nature, there is one operation. For the Holy Spirit also is said to have raised Jesus from the dead. Finally, it is written in the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. 8:11): But if the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Jesus Christ from the dead will also give life to your mortal bodies, because of his Spirit dwelling in you.

(Verse 2.) And all the brothers who are with me, to the Churches of Galatia. In other Epistles, Sosthenes, and Silvanus, and sometimes Timothy are placed first in the beginning: in this one alone, because the authority of many was necessary, the name of all the brothers is assumed. Who themselves were perhaps from the circumcision, and were not held in contempt by the Galatians. For the opinion and consensus of many in one matter does much toward correcting a people. Moreover, because he says, "to the Churches of Galatia," this is also to be noted: that here alone he writes generally not to one Church of one city, but to the Churches of the entire province, and calls them Churches, which he later argues are depraved by error. From which it is to be known that "Church" can be said in two ways: both that which does not have spot or wrinkle, and is truly the body of Christ, and that which is gathered in the name of Christ without full and perfect virtues (Eph. 5). Just as the wise are named in two ways, both those who are of full and perfect virtue, and those who are beginning and are placed in progress. Of the perfect it is said: I will send to you wise men (Luke 11:49). Of the unwise: Rebuke a wise man, and he will love you (Prov. 8:9). For he who is of full and consummate virtue does not lack correction. According to this sense, it is to be understood of the other virtues as well: that is, that the strong and prudent, the pious, chaste, just, and temperate, are taken sometimes fully, sometimes abusively.

(Vers. 3.) Gratia vobis, et pax a Deo Patre, et Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Non ut in caeteris Epistolis, Dei Patris et Domini nostri Jesu Christi gratiam ponit, et pacem, per quas absque operum merito, et peccata nobis concessa sunt pristina, et pax indulta post veniam: sed prudenter jam causam agit adversum eos qui fuerant a Lege praeventi, et putabant se posse ex operibus justificari, ut scirent se salvos gratia, in eo perseverare debere quod coeperant.

(Vers. 4.) Qui dedit semetipsum pro peccatis nostris, ut eriperet nos de praesenti saeculo malo, secundum voluntatem Dei et Patris nostri, cui est gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Neque Filius se dedit pro peccatis nostris absque voluntate Patris, neque Pater tradidit Filium sine Filii voluntate; sed haec est voluntas Filii, voluntatem Patris implere ut ipse loquitur in psalmo: Ut facerem voluntatem tuam, Deus meus, volui (Psal. XXXIX, 9). Dedit se autem Filius, ut injustitiam quae erat in nobis, justitia ipse subverteret. 377 Tradidit se sapientia, ut insipientiam expugnaret. Sanctitas et fortitudo se obtulit, ut spurcitiam, infirmitatemque deleteret. Atque ita non solum in futuro saeculo juxta promissam spem qua credimus, sed etiam hic de praesenti saeculo nos liberavit: dum commortui Christo, transfiguramur in novitatem sensus, et non sumus de hoc mundo, a quo merito nec amamur. Quaeritur quomodo praesens saeculum malum dictum sit. Solent quippe haeretici hinc capere occasiones, ut alium lucis et futuri saeculi, alium tenebrarum et praesentis asserant conditorem. Nos autem dicimus, non tam saeculum ipsum, quod die ac nocte, annis currit et mensibus, appellari malum, quam *ᾠωνύμως*, ea quae in saeculo fiant: quomodo sufficere dicitur diei malitia sua (Matth. VI): et dies Jacob modici esse scribuntur et pessimi (Genes. XLVII). Non quo spatium temporis, in quo vixit Jacob, malum fuerit, sed quo ea quae sustinuit, per varia eum exercuerint tentamenta. Denique eo tempore quo ille pro conjugibus serviebat, et multis conflictabatur angustiis (Gen. XXIX), Esau in requie erat, atque ita idem temporis spatium, alii bonum, alii malum fuit; nec scriptum esset in Ecclesiaste: Ne dixeris quia dies mei priores [Al. peiores] erant boni super istos (Eccles. VII, 11), nisi ad discrimen malorum. Unde Joannes ait: Mundus omnis in maligno positus est (I Joan. V, 19). Non quod mundus ipse sit malus, sed quod mala in mundo fiant ab hominibus, Manducemus et bibamus, dicentibus, cras moriemur.

Et Moabitae et Ammonitae (Deut XXIII), non ingrediuntur Ecclesiam 379 Domini, usque ad quintam et decimam generationem, et usque in saeculum: Quia omnis dura conditio Jubilaei solvebatur adventu.

(Verse 3.) Grace to you and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ. Not as in the other Epistles, he places the grace and peace of God the Father and of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which, without the merit of works, both our former sins are forgiven us, and peace is granted after pardon: but wisely he now pleads the cause against those who had been preempted by the Law, and thought they could be justified from works, so that they might know they were saved by grace, and ought to persevere in that which they had begun.

(Verse 4.) Who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil age, according to the will of God and our Father, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. Neither did the Son give himself for our sins without the will of the Father, nor did the Father deliver up the Son without the Son's will; but this is the will of the Son, to fulfill the will of the Father, as he himself speaks in the psalm: To do your will, O my God, I have desired (Ps. 39:9). For the Son gave himself so that he might subvert by his own justice the injustice that was in us. Wisdom delivered itself up that it might conquer foolishness. Holiness and strength offered itself that it might destroy filthiness and weakness. And so not only in the future age according to the promised hope by which we believe, but even here he has delivered us from the present age: while, having died together with Christ, we are transfigured into newness of mind, and we are not of this world, by which we are deservedly not loved. It is asked how the present age is said to be evil. For heretics are accustomed to take occasions from this, to assert that there is one founder of light and of the future age, and another of darkness and of the present age. But we say that not so much the age itself, which runs by day and night, by years and months, is called evil, but equivocally (*ἁμυνύμως*), those things which are done in the age: just as it is said that its own evil is sufficient for the day (Matt. 6): and the days of Jacob are written to be few and very evil (Gen. 47). Not that the span of time in which Jacob lived was evil, but that those things which he sustained exercised him through various temptations. Finally, at that time when he was serving for his wives and was conflicted by many distresses (Gen. 29), Esau was at rest, and so the same span of time was good for one and evil for the other; nor would it be written in Ecclesiastes: Do not say that my former days were better than these (Eccl. 7:11), except for the discrimination of evils. Whence John says: The whole world is placed in the evil one (1 John 5:19). Not that the world itself is evil, but that evil things are done in the world by men, who say, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die."

And the Moabites and Ammonites (Deut. 23) do not enter the Church of the Lord, even unto the fifteenth generation, and even forever: because every hard condition was loosed by the arrival of the Jubilee.

Quidam dicunt eundem esse sensum in saeculis saeculorum, quem in sanctis sanctorum, in coelis coelorum, in operibus operum, in Canticis canticorum: et quam habent differentiam coeli ad eos, quorum coelissunt, et sancta, quae sanctorum comparatione sunt sanctiora, et opera, quae operum praelatione meliora sunt, et Cantica, quae inter Cantica universa praecellunt: eamdam habere et saeculum, quae saeculorum collatione sunt saecula. Praesens itaque saeculum ita edisserunt, ut dicant ex eo tempore illud esse numerandum, ex quo coelum et terra sunt condita, et currere usque ad consummationem mundi, quo Christus iudicaturus est omnia. Revocant quoque ultra, et in 380 priora promovent gradum, de praeteritis et futuris saeculis disputantes, bona an mala fuerint, seu futura sint: et in tam profundas incidunt quaestiones, ut libros quoque et infinita volumina super hac dissertione condiderint. Quod autem prologus Pauli, AMEN, Hebraeo sermone concluditur: AMEN (), Septuaginta transtulerunt, γένωτο, id est, fiat: Aquila πεπιστωμένος, vere, sive fideliter. Quod etiam in Evangelio a Salvatore semper assumitur, sua per AMEN verba firmante.

(Vers. 6.) Miror, quod tam cito transferimini ab eo qui vos vocavit in gratiam Christi Jesu, in aliud Evangelium quod non est aliud, nisi si sunt aliqui qui vos conturbant, et volunt convertere Evangelium Christi.

Verbum translationis in Genesi primum legimus (Genes. V), ubi Enoch transtulit Deus, et non inveniebatur. Et in Regnorum postea libris (III Reg. XXI), quando Achab a cultu Dei 381 ad idolorum venerationem transtulit uxor sua Jezabel, ut faceret juxta omnia quae fecit Amorrhaeus, quem disperdidit Dominus a facie filiorum Israel. Sed cum sit utraque translatio, illa Dei est, haec diaboli. Qui transferur a Deo, non invenitur ab inimicis suis: nec ei potest insidiator obrepere. Hoc quippe significare aestimo, et non inveniebatur. Qui vero transfertur a diabolo, in hoc transfertur quod videtur esse, sed non est. Sapientes quoque saeculi eos qui de dogmate transferuntur ad dogma, translato vocant, ut Dionysius ille (cujus fuit ante sententia, dolorem non esse malum: postquam oppressus calamitatibus et dolore cruciatus, coepit affirmare quod dolor esset summum omnium malorum) ab his appellatus est Transpositus, sive Translatus, quod scilicet a priori decreto recedens, in contrarium recidisset.

Some say that there is the same sense in "for ever and ever" (*saecula saeculorum*), as in "holy of holies" (*sancta sanctorum*), in "heavens of heavens" (*coeli coelorum*), in "works of works" (*opera operum*), in "Song of songs" (*Cantica canticorum*): and whatever difference the heavens have from those things whose heavens they are, and the holy things which are holier by comparison with the holy, and the works which are better by preference to works, and the Songs which excel among all Songs: that same thing the age (*saeculum*) has, which are ages (*saecula*) by comparison with ages. Therefore they explain the present age thus, so as to say that it is to be numbered from that time when heaven and earth were founded, and to run even unto the consummation of the world, when Christ is about to judge all things. They also call back further, and advance a step into former things, disputing about past and future ages, whether they were good or evil, or are to be: and they fall into such profound questions that they have founded books and infinite volumes upon this dissertation. Moreover, because Paul's prologue is concluded with the Hebrew word, AMEN: AMEN (אמן), the Seventy translated as γένοιτο, that is, "let it be": Aquila as πεπιστωμένος, "truly," or "faithfully." Which is also always assumed in the Gospel by the Savior, confirming his words through AMEN.

(Verse 6.) "I wonder that you are so quickly translated from him who called you into the grace of Christ Jesus, into another Gospel which is not another, unless there are some who trouble you, and wish to convert the Gospel of Christ."

We first read the word "translation" (*translationis*) in Genesis (Gen. 5), where God translated Enoch, and he was not found. And afterwards in the books of Kings (3 Kings 21), when his wife Jezebel translated Ahab from the worship of God to the veneration of idols, so that he might do according to all things which the Amorite did, whom the Lord dispersed from the face of the children of Israel. But although it is a translation in both cases, the former is of God, the latter of the devil. He who is translated by God is not found by his enemies: nor can the waylayer creep upon him. For indeed I think this is what it means, "and he was not found." But he who is translated by the devil is translated into that which seems to be, but is not. The wise of the world also call those who are translated from dogma to dogma "translated" (*translatos*), as that Dionysius (whose previous opinion was that pain was not an evil: after he was oppressed by calamities and tortured by pain, he began to affirm that pain was the greatest of all evils) was called by these "the Transposed" (*Transpositus*), or "the Translated" (*Translatus*), because namely, receding from his prior decree, he had fallen back into the contrary.

Miratur itaque Paulus: primum quod translati sunt ab Evangelii libertate, in legum operum servitutem. Deinde quod tam cito translati: quia non ejusdem reatus est transferri ab aliquo difficulter, et cito transferri; ut in Martyrio non eadem poena plectitur, qui absque colluctatione et tormentis statim prosiluit ad negandum, et ille qui inter equuleos, fidiculas, ignesque distortus, compulsus est quod credebat, negare. Recens adhuc erat Evangelii praedicatio, non grande tempus in medio, quo Galatas Apostolus ab idolis ad Christum traduxerat. Miratur itaque quomodo tam cito recesserint ab eo, ad cuius nomen dudum facti fuerant Christiani.

Habet autem et locus ipse ὑπέρβατον, quod ita suo ordine legi potest. Miror quod tam [Al. addit sic] cito transferimini a Christo Jesu, qui vos vocavit in gratiam, dicens: Non veni vocare justos, sed peccatores ad poenitentiam (Marc. II, 17). Gratia quippe salvi facti sumus, et non per legem (Ephes. II, 8). Translati autem, inquit, estis in aliud Evangelium, quod non est aliud: quia omne quod falsum est, non subsistit, et quod veritati contrarium est, 382 non est, ut illud: Ne tradas, Domine, sceptrum tuum his qui non sunt (Esther. XIV, 12). Et ea quae non erant, vocavit Deus, ut faceret esse quod non erat.

Si autem hoc de his qui in eundem credebant Deum, et easdem Scripturas habebant, dicitur, quod translati sint in aliud Evangelium, quod non est Evangelium, quid de Marcione et caeteris haereticis, qui Conditorem respuunt, et alterius Dei Christum simulant, aestimare debemus? Qui non interpretatione legis et litterae, vel pugna carnis et spiritus labuntur et cuurrunt, sed de toto Ecclesiae jure discordant.

Pulchre autem ait: Nisi sunt aliqui qui vos conturbent, et volunt convertere Evangelium Christi. Volunt, inquit, Evangelium Christi mutare, convertere, turbare: sed non valent. Quia hujus naturae est, ut non possit aliud esse, quam verum est. Omnis qui Evangelium alio interpretatur spiritu et mente quam scriptum est, credentes turbat, et convertit Evangelium Christi, ut id quod in facie est, post tergum faciat, et ea quae post tergum sunt, vertat in faciem. Si quis tantum litteram sequitur, posteriora ponit in faciem. Si quis Judaeorum interpretationibus acquiescit, post tergum mittit ea quae ex natura sua in faciem constituta sunt. Necnon et illud congrue, quod translationis verbum Galatis coaptatum est: Galatia enim translationem in nostra lingua sonat.

Paul therefore wonders: first that they were translated from the liberty of the Gospel into the servitude of legal works. Then that they were translated so quickly: because it is not of the same guilt to be translated from something with difficulty, and to be translated quickly; just as in martyrdom the same penalty is not inflicted on him who without struggle and torments immediately leapt forth to deny [the faith], and him who, distorted among the racks, the little cords, and the fires, was compelled to deny what he believed. The preaching of the Gospel was still recent, not a great time having passed since the Apostle had led the Galatians from idols to Christ. He wonders therefore how they so quickly receded from him to whose name they had recently been made Christians.

Moreover, the passage itself has a hyperbaton (ὑπερβατον), which can be read in its own order thus. "I wonder that you are so quickly translated from Christ Jesus, who called you into grace," saying: "I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance" (Mark 2:17). For indeed we were saved by grace, and not through the Law (Eph. 2:8). But you have been translated, he says, into another Gospel, which is not another: because everything which is false does not subsist, and what is contrary to the truth is not, like that: "Do not hand over, O Lord, your scepter to those who are not" (Esther 14:12). And those things which were not, God called, that he might make to be that which was not.

If, however, this is said of those who believed in the same God and had the same Scriptures, that they were translated into another Gospel, which is not the Gospel, what ought we to estimate concerning Marcion and the other heretics, who reject the Creator and feign the Christ of another God? Who do not slip and fall by the interpretation of the law and the letter, or by the battle of flesh and spirit, but disagree regarding the whole right of the Church.

But he beautifully says: "Unless there are some who trouble you, and wish to convert the Gospel of Christ." They wish, he says, to change, convert, and trouble the Gospel of Christ: but they are not able. Because it is of such a nature that it cannot be other than it truly is. Everyone who interprets the Gospel with another spirit and mind than it is written, troubles the believers and converts the Gospel of Christ, so that he makes that which is in the front to be behind the back, and turns those things which are behind the back to the front. If anyone follows the letter only, he places the posterior things in the front. If anyone acquiesces to the interpretations of the Jews, he sends behind the back those things which from their nature are established in the front. Also that word of "translation" was appropriately fitted to the Galatians: for "Galatia" sounds like "translation" in our language.

(Vers. 8.) Sed licet nos, aut angelus de coelo evangelizet vobis, praeter quam quod evangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit. Sicut praediximus, et nunc iterum dico: si quis vobis evangelizaverit praeter id quod accepistis, anathema sit.

Potest et hyperbolice dictum accipi, non quo aut apostolus, aut angelus aliter potuerint praedicare quam semel dixerant: sed etiamsi hoc posset fieri, ut et apostoli et angeli mutarentur: tamen non esse [Al. esset] ab eo quod semel acceptum fuerat, recedendum: maxime cum ipse apostolus in 383 alio loco firmitatem fidei suae ostendat dicens: Scio quia neque mors, neque vita, neque angeli, neque principatus, neque praesentia, neque futura, neque fortitudo, neque altitudo, neque profundum, neque alia creatura, poterit nos separare a dilectione Dei, quae est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro (Rom. VIII, 38). Veritatem dico, non mentior, testimonium mihi perhibente conscientia mea (Rom. IX, 1). Haec quippe dicta non sunt ejus qui possit a Christi fide et dilectione aliquando discedere.

Qui autem nolunt καθ' ὑπόθεσιν hoc dictum esse, sed vere: quod scilicet possint et apostoli et angeli ad pejora converti, illud opponunt, quod et ipse Paulus scierit posse se labi, si segnius ageret, dicens: Subjicio autem corpus meum, et in servitutem redigo, ne aliis praedicans, ipse reprobis inveniar (I Cor. IX, 27). Angelos quoque esse mutabiles, qui non servaverint principatum suum; sed relinquentes proprium domicilium, in iudicio magni diei vinculis aeternis sub caligine reservantur (Judae, VI). Dei solius naturam esse immutabilem, de quo scribitur: Tu vero ipse es (Ps. CI, 28). Et ipse de se: Ego Deus vester, et non mutor (Malach. III, 6). Cecidisse luciferum, qui mane oriebatur; et eum qui mittebat quondam ad omnes gentes, in terra esse contritum.

Eleganter in hoc loco vir doctissimus Tertullianus, adversus Apellem, et ejus virginem Philumenem, quam angelus quidam diabolici spiritus et perversus impleverat, hunc esse scribit angelum, cui multo antequam Apelles nasceretur, Spiritus sancti vaticinio sit anathema per Apostolum prophetatum. Porro ἀνάθεμα, verbum proprie Judaeorum est, et positum [Al. proprium] tam in Jesu Nave (Jos. VI, 7), quam in Numeris (Num. XXI), quando omnia quae erant in Jericho et Madianitarum detestationi et anathemati habenda Dominus imperavit.

(Verse 8.) "But although we, or an angel from heaven, preach to you otherwise than what we have preached to you, let him be anathema." "As we have said before, and now I say again: if anyone preaches to you otherwise than what you have received, let him be anathema."

It can also be understood as spoken hyperbolically, not that either an apostle or an angel could preach otherwise than they had once said; but even if this could happen, that both apostles and angels were changed, nevertheless one must not recede from that which had been once received. Especially since the apostle himself in another place shows the firmness of his faith, saying: "I know that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor strength, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, will be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 8:38). "I speak the truth, I do not lie, my conscience bearing me witness" (Rom. 9:1). These things are certainly not said by one who could at some time depart from the faith and love of Christ.

But those who do not want this to have been said hypothetically (καθ' ὑπόθεσιν), but truly—namely, that both apostles and angels can be converted to worse things—oppose this with the fact that Paul himself knew he could fall if he acted too sluggishly, saying: "But I subject my body, and bring it into servitude, lest while preaching to others, I myself should be found a castaway" (1 Cor. 9:27). Also that angels are changeable, who did not keep their principality, but leaving their own domicile, are reserved in eternal chains under darkness for the judgment of the great day (Jude 6). That the nature of God alone is immutable, concerning whom it is written: "But you are the same" (Ps. 101:28). And he himself says of himself: "I am your God, and I do not change" (Mal. 3:6). That Lucifer fell, who arose in the morning; and he who formerly sent to all nations, was crushed upon the earth.

In this place, the most learned man Tertullian, elegantly writing against Apelles and his virgin Philumene (whom a certain angel of a diabolical and perverse spirit had filled), says that this is the angel for whom, long before Apelles was born, anathema was prophesied by the Apostle through the vaticination of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, the word "anathema" (ἀνάθεμα) is properly of the Jews, and placed both in Joshua (Josh. 6:7) and in Numbers (Num. 21), when the Lord commanded that all things which were in Jericho and of the Midianites were to be held in detestation and anathema.

Interrogemus eos, qui Christum et apostolum Paulum, boni Dei et usque ad illud tempus ignorati, vel filium asserunt esse, vel servum, qui maledicere nesciat, nec noverit aliquem condemnare: quomodo nunc Apostolus ejus, verbo Judaeorum, id est, Creatoris 384 utatur: et perire vel angelum vel apostolum velit, cum ipse non soleat ulcisci. Quod autem addidit, sicut praediximus, et nunc iterum dico, ostendit se et in principio hoc ipsum caventem, denuntiasset anathema eis qui aliter praedicaturi erant, et nunc postquam praedicatum est, id anathema decernere quod ante praedixerat.

Propterea autem et sibi, quem aliud in Judaea facere, aliud docere ingentibus criminabantur, et angelo quem majorem etiam praecessoribus suis apostolis esse constabat, anathema denunciavit: ut non magna Petri et Joannis putaretur auctoritas, cum nec sibi liceret qui eos ante docuerat, nec angelo aliter praedicare, quam semel didicerant. Se itaque et angelum nominatim posuit; alios vero absque nomine. Si quis, inquit, vobis evangelizaverit, ut in generali vocabulo, nec praecessoribus faceret injuriam; et tamen nomina eorum latenter ostenderet.

(Vers. 10.) Modo enim hominibus suadeo an Deo: aut quaero hominibus placere? Si adhuc hominibus placerem, Christi servus non essem. Non putemus ab Apostolo nos doceri, ut exemplo suo hominum judicia contemnamus, qui in alio loco dixerit: Scientes ergo timorem Domini, hominibus suademus: Deo autem manifesti sumus (II Cor. V, 11); et illud: Sine offensione estote, Judaeis, et gentibus, et Ecclesiae Dei: sicut et ego omnibus per omnia placeo, non quaerens quod mihi utile est, sed quod multis, ut salventur (I Cor. 10). Sed si fieri potest, ut pariter Deo et hominibus placeamus, placendum est et hominibus. Sin autem aliter non placemus hominibus, nisi Deo displiceamus: Deo magis quam hominibus placere debemus. Alioquin et ipse infert, cur omnibus per omnia placeat: Non quaerens, inquiens, quod mihi utile est: sed quod multis, ut salventur. Qui autem ex ea charitate, quae non quaerit quae sua sunt, sed quae aliena sunt, placet omnibus ut salventur: utique Deo primum placet, cui salus hominum curae est.

Let us ask those who assert that Christ and the apostle Paul are either the son or the servant of a good God, unknown until that time, who does not know how to curse nor knows how to condemn anyone: how does his Apostle now use the word of the Jews, that is, of the Creator, and wants either an angel or an apostle to perish, since he himself is not accustomed to take vengeance? But that he added, "as we have said before, and now I say again," shows that even in the beginning, being wary of this very thing, he had denounced anathema to those who were about to preach otherwise, and now after it has been preached, he decrees that anathema which he had predicted before.

For this reason, he denounced anathema both to himself—whom they were accusing of doing one thing in Judea and teaching another with great crimes—and to an angel, who it was established was even greater than his predecessors the apostles; so that the authority of Peter and John might not be thought so great, since it was not permitted either for himself who had taught them before, nor for an angel, to preach otherwise than they had once learned. Therefore, he placed himself and the angel by name; but others without name. "If anyone," he says, "preaches to you," as in a general term, so as not to do injury to his predecessors, and yet secretly show their names.

(Verse 10.) "For do I now persuade men or God? Or do I seek to please men? If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ." Let us not think that we are taught by the Apostle to condemn the judgments of men by his example, who in another place said: "Knowing therefore the fear of the Lord, we persuade men: but we are manifest to God" (2 Cor. 5:11); and that: "Be without offense to the Jews, and to the Gentiles, and to the Church of God: even as I also please all men in all things, not seeking what is profitable to myself, but what is to many, that they may be saved" (1 Cor. 10). But if it can be that we please God and men equally, we must please men also. If, however, we do not otherwise please men except by displeasing God: we ought to please God rather than men. Otherwise he himself also infers why he pleases all in all things: "Not seeking," he says, "what is profitable to myself: but what is to many, that they may be saved." But he who out of that charity which does not seek the things which are its own, but what are another's, pleases all that they may be saved: certainly pleases God first, to whom the salvation of men is a care.

Habet autem et verbum, quod 385 hic specialiter additum est, modo, vel placendum esse pro tempore hominibus, vel displicendum: ut qui modo non placet propter Evangelii veritatem, placuerit quondam ob salutem plurimorum. Placuerat Paulus aliquando Judaeis, cum aemulator existens paternarum traditionum, sine querela ante in lege versatus est: et tantum habuit in majorum caeremoniis ardoris et fidei, ut in Stephani nece particeps fuerit [Al. fieret], et Damascum perrexerit ad eos, qui a lege desciverant, vinciendos (Actor. IX). Sed postquam in vas electionis de persecutore translatus est, et coepit praedicare fidem, quam quondam expugnauerat, coepit pariter displicere Judaeis, quibus ante placuerat.

Hoc est ergo quod ait: Numquid quaero Judaeis placere, quibus displicendo, Deo placui? Si enim illis placerem, adhuc Christi servus non essem. Assererem quippe legem, et Evangelii gratiam destruerem. Nunc autem propterea nec in simulationem quidem observandae legis adducor: quia non queo [Al. quaero] et Deo placere pariter et Judaeis; quibus quicumque verbum, suadere, de humano usu sumptum est, cum quis id quod ipse habet, et semel imbibit, etiam caeteris conatur inserere: et in plurimis Scripturarum locis legitur, ex quibus illud est: Suasio non est ex eo qui vocavit vos (Gal. V, 8). Necnon et in Actibus apostolorum: Venerunt ergo ad eum Judaei in hospitium multi: quibus exponebat, contestans eis regnum Dei, suadensque eis de Jesu, ex Lege Moysi et Prophetis usque ad vesperum. Hoc autem totum ideo, quia disseminatum [Al. diffamatum] de eo fuerat, occulte illum custodire Legem, et in Jerosolymis cum his qui judaizabant, consortium miscuisse.

(Vers. 11, 12.) Notum enim vobis facio, fratres, Evangelium quod evangelizatum est a me: quia non est secundum hominem, neque enim ego ab homine accepi illud, neque didici; sed per revelationem Jesu Christi.

Ex hoc loco Ebionis et Photini dogma conteritur: quod Deus sit Christus, et non tantum homo.

Si enim Evangelium Pauli non est secundum hominem, neque ab homine accepit illud, aut didicit, sed per revelationem Jesu Christi; 386 non est utique homo Jesus Christus, qui Paulo Evangelium revelavit.

Quod si non est homo, consequenter Deus est.

Non quo hominem negemus assumptum; sed quo tantum hominem renuamus.

Quaeritur utrum totius orbis Ecclesiae Dei acceperint Evangelium, an hominis: quotus enim quisque nostrum per revelationem Christi didicit, et non homine praedicante cognovit?

Moreover, the word which was specially added here, "now" (*modo*), has either that men must be pleased according to the time, or displeased: so that he who now does not please on account of the truth of the Gospel, might have pleased formerly for the salvation of many. Paul had pleased the Jews at one time, when existing as an emulator of the paternal traditions, he lived before without complaint in the law: and he had so much of ardor and faith in the ceremonies of the ancestors, that he was a participant in the death of Stephen, and proceeded to Damascus to bind those who had departed from the law (Acts 9). But after he was translated from a persecutor into a vessel of election, and began to preach the faith which he formerly assaulted, he began equally to displease the Jews, whom he had formerly pleased.

This is therefore what he says: Do I perchance seek to please the Jews, by displeasing whom, I have pleased God? For if I pleased them, I would not yet be the servant of Christ. For indeed I would assert the law, and I would destroy the grace of the Gospel. Now, however, for this reason I am not led even into the simulation of observing the law: because I am not able [*Al. seek*] to please God and the Jews equally; for whomsoever the word "persuade" (*suadere*) is taken from human use, when someone strives to insert into others also that which he himself has and once imbibed: and it is read in many places of the Scriptures, of which this is one: "Persuasion is not from him who called you" (Gal. 5:8). And also in the Acts of the Apostles: "Therefore many Jews came to him into the lodging: to whom he expounded, testifying to them the kingdom of God, and persuading them concerning Jesus, from the Law of Moses and the Prophets even until evening." But this whole thing was for this reason, because it had been disseminated [*Al. defamed*] concerning him, that he secretly kept the Law, and in Jerusalem had mixed his consortium with those who judaized.

(Verses 11, 12.) For I make known to you, brothers, the Gospel which was preached by me: that it is not according to man, for neither did I receive it from man, nor did I learn it; but through the revelation of Jesus Christ.

From this passage the dogma of Ebion and Photinus is crushed: that Christ is God, and not only man.

For if the Gospel of Paul is not according to man, nor did he receive it from man, or learn it, but through the revelation of Jesus Christ; then certainly Jesus Christ, who revealed the Gospel to Paul, is not a man.

But if he is not a man, consequently he is God.

Not that we deny that a man was assumed; but that we reject that he is only a man.

It is asked whether the Churches of God of the whole world received the Gospel of God, or of man: for how many of us have learned through the revelation of Christ, and have not known through a man preaching?

Ad quod respondebimus, eos qui possunt dicere: An experimentum ejus quaeritis, qui in me loquitur Christus (II Cor. XIII, 3)?

Et: Vivo autem jam non ego, vivit autem in me Christus (Galat. II, 20), non tam ipsos docere, quam in ipsis Deum, qui ad sanctos loquatur: Ego dixi, dii estis, et filii excelsi omnes (Ps. LXXXI, 6); et statim de peccatoribus: Vos autem ut homines moriemini, et tamquam unus de principibus cadetis.

Cum igitur Paulus loquitur et Petrus, qui non moriuntur ut homines neque ut unus de principibus corruunt, deos eos esse, manifestum est.

Qui autem dii sunt, tradunt Dei Evangelium, et non hominis.

Marcion et Basilides et caeterae haereticorum pestes, non habent Dei Evangelium; quia non habent Spiritum sanctum, sine quo humanum fit Evangelium, quod docetur.

Nec putemus in verbis Scripturarum esse Evangelium, sed in sensu: non in superficie, sed in medulla; non in sermonum foliis, sed in radice rationis.

Dicitur in propheta de Deo: Sermones ejus boni sunt cum eo (Mich. II, 7).

Tunc Scriptura utilis est audientibus, cum absque Christo non dicitur, cum absque patre non profertur, cum sine Spiritu non eam insinuat ille qui praedicat.

Alioquin et diabolus qui loquitur de Scripturis, et omnes haereses secundum Ezechielem (Cap. XIII) inde sibi consuunt cervicalia, quae ponant sub cubito universae aetatis.

Ego quoque ipse qui loquor, si Christum in me habeo, non habeo Evangelium hominis; si autem peccator sum, dicitur mihi: Peccatori dixit Deus: Quare tu enarras justitias meas: et assumis in labiis tuis Testamentum meum? Tu autem odisti disciplinam, et projecisti verba mea post te (Ps. XLIX, 16, 17), et caetera quae sequuntur.

Grande periculum est in Ecclesia loqui, ne forte interpretatione perversa, de Evangelio Christi, hominis fiat Evangelium: aut quod pejus est, diaboli.

Inter accipere autem, et discere, hoc interest, quod ille accipit Evangelium, cui primum insinuat, et ad fidem ejus adducitur, ut credat vestra esse quae scripta sunt.

Discit autem is, qui ea quae in illo per aenigmata et parabolas figurata sunt, explanata et disserta cognoscit: et cognoscit, non homine revelante sed Christo, qui revelavit Paulo, aut per Paulum, in quo loquitur Christus.

Verbum quoque ipsum *ἀποκάλυψις*, id est, revelationis, proprie Scripturarum est, et a nullo sapientum saeculi apud Graecos usurpatum.

To which we shall answer, that those who can say: Do you seek a proof of him who speaks in me, Christ (2 Cor. 13:3)?

And: I live, yet not I, but Christ lives in me (Gal. 2:20), do not so much teach themselves, as God in them, who speaks to the saints: I have said, you are gods, and all of you children of the Most High (Ps. 81:6); and immediately of sinners: But you shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.

Since therefore Paul and Peter speak, who do not die like men nor fall like one of the princes, it is manifest that they are gods.

But those who are gods, deliver the Gospel of God, and not of man.

Marcion and Basilides and the other pests of heretics do not have the Gospel of God; because they do not have the Holy Spirit, without whom the Gospel which is taught becomes human.

Nor let us think that the Gospel is in the words of the Scriptures, but in the sense: not on the surface, but in the marrow; not in the leaves of discourses, but in the root of reason.

It is said in the prophet concerning God: His words are good with him (Mic. 2:7).

Scripture is then useful to hearers when it is not spoken without Christ, when it is not brought forth without the Father, when he who preaches does not insinuate it without the Spirit.

Otherwise, even the devil who speaks from the Scriptures, and all heresies according to Ezekiel (Chap. 13), sew cushions for themselves therefrom, which they place under the elbow of every age.

I myself also who speak, if I have Christ in me, I do not have the Gospel of man; but if I am a sinner, it is said to me: But to the sinner God said: Why do you declare my justices: and take my testament in your lips? Since you have hated discipline, and have cast my words behind you (Ps. 49:16, 17), and the rest that follows.

It is a great danger to speak in the Church, lest by chance by a perverse interpretation, the Gospel of man be made from the Gospel of Christ: or what is worse, the devil's.

But between receiving and learning, there is this difference, that he receives the Gospel to whom it is first insinuated, and is brought to its faith, so that he believes that those things which are written are yours.

But he learns who knows those things which are figured in it through enigmas and parables, explained and discussed: and he knows them, not through a man revealing but through Christ, who revealed to Paul, or through Paul, in whom Christ speaks.

The word itself, **apokalypseōs**, that is, of revelation (**revelationis**), belongs properly to the Scriptures, and was used by none of the wise men of the world among the Greeks.

Unde mihi videntur quemadmodum in aliis verbis, quae de Hebraeo in Graecum Septuaginta interpretes transtulerunt, ita et in hoc magnopere esse conatos, ut proprietatem peregrini sermonis exprimerent, nova novis rebus verba fingentes: et sonare, cum quid tectum et velatum, ablato desuper operimento, ostenditur et profertur in lucem.

Hoc ut manifestius fiat, accipite exemplum. Moyses cum Deo revelata et aperta facie loquebatur (Exod. XXXIII, XXXIV), id est, absque velamine: ad populum autem loquens, quia in vultum ejus attendere non valebant, velamen ponebat in facie (Num. IV).

Ante Arcam quoque Testamenti velum oppansum erat: quod cum fuisset reductum, ea quae ante abscondita fuerant, prodebantur: et ut ipso verbo utar, revelabantur.

Si itaque hi qui disertos saeculi legere consueverunt, coeperint nobis de novitate et vilitate sermonis illudere, mittamus eos ad Ciceronis libros, qui de quaestionibus philosophiae praenotantur; et videant, quanta ibi necessitate compulsus sit, tanta verborum portenta proferre, quae numquam Latini hominis auris audivit: et hoc cum de Graeco, quae lingua vicina est, transferret in nostram.

Quid patiuntur illi, qui de Hebraeis difficultatibus proprietates exprimere conantur? et tamen multo pauciora sunt in tantis voluminibus Scripturarum quae novitatem sonent, quam ea quae ille in parvo opere congescit.

Potest autem, 388 sicut in principio diximus, cum exponeremus: Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus, neque per hominem: ita et in praesenti loco oblique in Petrum accipi, et in caeteros praecessores ejus: quod nullius pro Lege et auctoritate moveatur, qui Christum solum Evangelii habeat praeceptorem.

Porro, revelationem illam significat, cum Damascus vadens, in itinere Christi vocem meruit audire: et caecatis oculis, verum mundi lumen intuitus est.

(Vers. 13.) Audistis enim conversationem meam aliquando in Iudaismo: quoniam supra modum persequabar Ecclesiam Dei; et expugnabam illam: et proficiebam in Iudaismo, supra multos coetaneos in genere meo: abundantius aemulator existens paternarum mearum traditionum.

Plurimum prodest Galatis ista narratio, quomodo Paulus, vastator quondam Ecclesiae et Iudaismi acerrimus defensator, ad Christi fidem repente conversus sit.

Et hoc eo tempore quo crucifixus primum annuntiabatur in mundo; quo novum dogma et a gentibus et a Iudaeis totius orbis finibus pellebatur.

Whence it seems to me that just as in other words which the seventy interpreters translated from Hebrew into Greek, so also in this they have greatly endeavored to express the property of a foreign speech, fashioning new words for new things: and to sound as when something covered and veiled, the covering having been taken away from above, is shown and brought forth into the light.

That this may become more manifest, take an example. Moses spoke with God with a revealed and open face (Exod. 33, 34), that is, without a veil: but speaking to the people, because they were not able to look into his face, he put a veil on his face (Num. 4).

Before the Ark of the Testament also a veil was spread: which when it had been pulled back, those things which before had been hidden were brought forth: and to use the word itself, were revealed (*revelabantur*).

If therefore those who are accustomed to read the eloquent of the world should begin to mock us for the novelty and vileness of our speech, let us send them to the books of Cicero which are noted as being about questions of philosophy; and let them see under what necessity he was compelled there to bring forth such monsters of words, which the ear of a Latin man never heard: and this when he was transferring from Greek, which is a neighboring language, into ours.

What do they suffer who attempt to express properties from Hebrew difficulties? and yet there are much fewer things in so many volumes of the Scriptures which sound of novelty than those which he collected in a small work.

It can moreover, as we said in the beginning when we were explaining: "Paul an apostle not from men, nor through man," be taken in the present place also obliquely against Peter, and against his other predecessors: that he is moved by the Law and authority of no one who has Christ alone as the teacher of the Gospel.

Furthermore, he signifies that revelation when, going to Damascus, he deserved to hear the voice of Christ on the way: and his eyes being blinded, he beheld the true light of the world.

(Verse 13.) For you have heard of my former conversation in Judaism: how that beyond measure I persecuted the Church of God, and wasted it: and profited in Judaism above many my equals in mine own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers.

This narration is very profitable to the Galatians: how Paul, once a devastator of the Church and a most sharp defender of Judaism, was suddenly converted to the faith of Christ.

And this at that time when the Crucified was first being announced in the world; when the new dogma was being driven out from the boundaries of the whole world by both Gentiles and Jews.

Dicere enim poterant: Si ille qui a parva aetate Pharisaeorum institutus est disciplinis, qui omnes coaetaneos suos in Judaica traditione superabat, nunc defendit Ecclesiam, quam quondam validissime persequabatur; et magis Christi gratiam et novitatem vult habere cum invidia omnium, quam vetustatem Legis cum laude multorum: quid nos facere oportet, qui ex gentilitate esse coepimus Christiani?

Pulchre vero adjunxit: Supra modum persequabar Ecclesiam Dei, ut et hinc quoque admiratio nasceretur, quod non unusquisque de his qui leviter persequabantur Ecclesiam: sed ille qui caeteros in persecutione vincebat, conversus ad fidem sit.

Et prudenter dum aliud narrat, interserit non tam Dei se servisse Legi, quam paternis, id est, Pharisaeorum traditionibus; qui docent doctrinas et mandata hominum (Matth. XV; Marc. VII); et rejiciunt Legem Dei, ut statuunt 389 traditiones suas.

Quam pulchra autem observatio pondusque verborum: Auditis, inquit, conversationem meam aliquando in Iudaismo, conversationem, non gratiam: aliquando, non modo: in Iudaismo, non in lege Dei.

Quoniam supra modum persequabar Ecclesiam Dei; et devastabam illam.

Non persequabatur ut caeteri, sed supra modum.

Nec sufficiebat quamvis vehemens persecutio: sed quasi quidam grassator Ecclesiam et praedo vastabat.

Nec ait, Ecclesiam Christi, ut tunc putabat [Al. putabatur]: quem ducebat contemptui, quem persequabatur: sed ut nunc credit, Ecclesiam Dei: vel ipsum Christum Deum esse significans, vel ejusdem Dei esse Ecclesiam, qui quondam Legis dator fuit.

Et proficiebam, inquit, in Iudaismo supra multos coaetaneos in genere meo: abundantius aemulator existens paternarum mearum traditionum.

Rursum profectum non Legis Dei, sed Iudaismi vocat.

Nec supra omnes, sed supra plurimos, nec supra senes, sed supra coaetaneos, ut et studium suum referret in Lege, et jactantiam declinaret.

Paternas autem traditiones, non Domini mandata commemorans, et se Pharisaeum ex Pharisaeis indicavit, et habuisse quidem zelum Dei, sed non secundum scientiam.

Usque hodie autem qui Judaico sensu Scripturas intelligunt, persequuntur Ecclesiam Christi, et populantur illam, non studio Legis Dei, sed traditionibus hominum depravati.

(Vers. 15.) Cum autem placuit ei qui me segregavit de utero matris meae: et vocavit per gratiam suam, ut revelaret Filium suum in me, ut evangelizem illum ingentibus.

For they were able to say: If he who from a small age was instituted in the disciplines of the Pharisees, who surpassed all his equals in the Judaic tradition, now defends the Church which he formerly most strongly persecuted; and wishes rather to have the grace and novelty of Christ with the envy of all, than the antiquity of the Law with the praise of many: what does it behoove us to do, who have begun to be Christians from Gentilism?

Truly he beautifully added: "Beyond measure I persecuted the Church of God," so that from this also admiration might arise, that it was not just any one of those who lightly persecuted the Church: but he who conquered others in persecution was converted to the faith.

And prudently, while he narrates another thing, he interjects that he had served not so much the Law of God as the paternal traditions, that is, of the Pharisees; who teach the doctrines and commandments of men (Matt. 15; Mark 7); and reject the Law of God, so that they may establish their own traditions.

How beautiful moreover is the observation and weight of the words: "You have heard," he says, "of my conversation formerly in Judaism," conversation, not grace: "formerly," not now: "in Judaism," not in the law of God.

"How that beyond measure I persecuted the Church of God; and wasted it."

He did not persecute like the others, but beyond measure.

Nor was even a vehement persecution sufficient: but as if some assailant and plunderer, he wasted the Church.

Nor does he say, "the Church of Christ," as he then thought: whom he led in contempt, whom he persecuted: but as he now believes, "the Church of God": either signifying that Christ himself is God, or that the Church belongs to the same God who formerly was the giver of the Law.

"And I profited," he says, "in Judaism above many my equals in mine own nation: being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers."

Again he calls it the profit not of the Law of God, but of Judaism.

Nor above all, but above very many; nor above the elders, but above his equals, so that he might both report his zeal in the Law and avoid boastfulness.

Moreover, mentioning paternal traditions, not the commandments of the Lord, he both indicated that he was a Pharisee of the Pharisees, and that he indeed had a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge.

Moreover, even until today, those who understand the Scriptures with a Judaic sense persecute the Church of Christ, and lay it waste, depraved not by a zeal for the Law of God, but by the traditions of men.

(Verse 15.) But when it pleased him who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, that he might reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the nations.

Non solum in hoc loco, sed ad Romanos Paulus segregatum in Evangelium Dei esse se scribit.

Et Jeremias antequam formaretur in utero, et conciperetur in vulva matris suae, notus Deo sanctificatusque perhibetur (Jerem. I).

Et ex justis, sive, ut quidam putant, ex Salvatoris persona dicitur (Ps. XXI, 11): In te projectus sum ex vulva: ex utero matris meae, 390 Deus meus es tu.

Contra de peccatoribus David canit: Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum: et in delictis concepit me mater mea (Ps. L, 7).

Et in alio loco: Abalienati sunt peccatores a vulva (Ps. LVII, 4).

Et in utramque partem antequam parvuli nascerentur: Deus Jacob dilexit, Esau autem odio habuit (Malach. I, 1, 2).

Inveniunt locum haeretici, qui diversas naturas esse praetendunt, spiritualem videlicet et animalem, et $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$, et aliam salvari, aliam perire, aliam inter utramque consistere, quod numquam aut justus eligeretur, antequam aliquid boni faceret, aut peccator odiretur ante delictum, nisi esset pereuntium et salvandorum natura diversa.

Ad quod potest simpliciter responderi, hoc ex Dei praescientia evenire, ut quem scit justum futurum, prius diligit quam oriatur ex utero: et quem peccatorem, oderit antequam peccet: non quo et in amore et in odio iniquitas Dei sit; sed quo non aliter eos habere debeat, quid scit vel peccatores futuros esse, vel justos: nos ut homines tantum de praesentibus judicare, illum cui futura jam facta sunt, de fine rerum, non de exordiis ferre sententiam.

Et haec quidem simplicius dicta sunt: et absque altiori dissertatione possunt utcumque placere lectori.

Caeterum qui injustum Deum nituntur asserere, post illud quod dudum posuimus, abalienati sunt peccatores a vulva, inferunt etiam caetera quae sequuntur: Erraverunt ab utero, locuti sunt falsa.

Et dicunt, quomodo statim ab utero erraverunt peccatores, et falsa locuti sunt, qui nec sermonem potuerunt habere, nec sensum?

Aut quae est ista justitia praescientiae Dei, alium amare et custodire prius quam nascatur, alium detestari?

Et causas hujus rei ad priorem vitam referunt, quod unusquisque pro merito suo, a primo statim ortu bonis aut malis angelis assignetur.

Totumque illum locum de Jacob et Esau, cujus nunc fecimus mentionem, ita ad Romanos scriptum 391 ventilant (Rom. IX), ut non absque sudore et Chrysippi eis possit helleboro responderi.

Not only in this place, but to the Romans Paul writes that he was separated into the Gospel of God.

And Jeremiah, before he was formed in the womb, and was conceived in the vulva of his mother, is reported as known to God and sanctified (Jer. 1).

And from the person of the just, or, as some think, of the Savior, it is said (Ps. 21:11): "Upon thee was I cast from the vulva: from my mother's womb, thou art my God."

Against this, David sings concerning sinners: "For behold I was conceived in iniquities: and in sins did my mother conceive me" (Ps. 50:7).

And in another place: "The sinners are alienated from the vulva" (Ps. 57:4).

And in both parts before the little ones were born: "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated" (Mal. 1:1, 2).

The heretics find a place here, who pretend that there are diverse natures, namely spiritual and animal and *choikēn* (earthly), and that one is saved, another perishes, another consists between both, because never would either a just man be chosen before he did anything good, or a sinner be hated before a fault, unless the nature of those perishing and those to be saved were diverse.

To which it can be simply answered, that this happens from the foreknowledge of God, so that he whom he knows will be just, he loves before he comes forth from the womb: and him whom he knows will be a sinner, he hates before he sins: not that there is iniquity of God in either love or hate; but that he ought not to have them otherwise than as he knows they will be either sinners or just: that we as men judge only of present things, but he to whom future things are already made, brings sentence from the end of things, not from the beginnings.

And these things indeed are said more simply: and without deeper discussion they can please the reader in some way.

But those who strive to assert an unjust God, after that which we placed a moment ago, "the sinners are alienated from the vulva," also bring in the rest that follow: "They have erred from the womb, they have spoken false things."

And they say: how did sinners err immediately from the womb and speak false things, who were able to have neither speech nor sense?

Or what is that justice of the foreknowledge of God, to love and guard one before he is born, to detest another?

And they refer the causes of this thing to a prior life, that each one for his merit, from the first beginning, is assigned to good or bad angels.

And all that passage concerning Jacob and Esau, of which we have now made mention, thus written to the Romans, they ventilate (Rom. 9), so that not without sweat and the hellebore of Chrysippus can they be answered.

Non est autem ipsum, ut revelaret Filium suum in me, quod si [Al. quasi] diceret, ut revelaret Filium suum mihi.

Cui enim quid revelatur, huic illud potest revelari, quod ante in eo non erat.

In quo vero revelatur, illud revelatur quod prius fuit in eo, et postea revelatum est.

Simile est illud in Evangelio: Medius in vobis stat, quem vos nescitis (Joan. I, 26).

Erat lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in mundum (Ibid., 9).

Ex quo perspicuum fit, natura omnibus Dei inesse notitiam, nec quemquam sine Christo nasci, et non habere semina in se sapientiae, et iustitiae, reliquarumque virtutum.

Unde multi absque fide et Evangelio Christi, vel sapienter faciunt aliqua, vel sancte, ut parentibus obsequantur: ut inopi manum porrigant: non opprimant vicinos: non aliena diripiant: magisque iudicio Dei obnoxii fiant [Al. fiunt], quod habentes in se principia virtutum, et Dei semina, non credunt [Al. credant] in eo sine quo esse non possunt.

Potest et aliter accipi in Paulo Dei Filius revelatus: quod, praedicante illo, agnitus sit gentibus, quem antea nesciebant.

(Vers. 16). Continuo non acquievi carni et sanguini. Sive ut in Graeco melius habet: Non contuli cum carne et sanguine.

Scio, plerosque de apostolis hoc dictum arbitrari. Nam et Porphyrius objicit, quod post revelationem Christi non fuerit dignatus ire ad homines, et cum eis conferre sermonem: ne post doctrinam videlicet Dei, a carne et sanguine instrueretur. Sed absit ut ego, Petrum, Joannem et Jacobum carnem et sanguinem putem; quae regnum Dei possidere non possunt (I Cor. I). Si spirituales apostoli, caro et sanguis sunt, quid de Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, arbitramur? Non contulit plane Paulus post revelationem Christi cum carne et sanguine, quia noluit margaritas projicere ante porcos, nec dare sanctum canibus (Matth. VII). Vide quid de peccatoribus scriptum sit: Non permanebit spiritus meus in hominibus istis, quia caro [Al. carnes] sunt (Genes. VI, 3). Cum talibus qui caro et sanguis erant, quae 392 Petro quoque non revelaverunt Filium Dei (Matth. XVI), non contulit Apostolus Evangelium quod ei fuerat revelatum, sed paulatim eos de carne et sanguine vertit in spiritum: et tunc demum eis occulta Evangelii sacramenta commisit.

Moreover, "that he might reveal his Son in me" is not the same as if he said, "that he might reveal his Son to me."

For to whom something is revealed, to him that can be revealed which before was not in him.

But in whom it is revealed, that is revealed which was previously in him and was afterwards revealed.

Similar is that in the Gospel: "There stands one in the midst of you, whom you know not" (John 1:26).

And elsewhere: "He was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world" (John 1:9).

From which it becomes clear that by nature the knowledge of God is in all, and no one is born without Christ, and does not have the seeds of wisdom and justice and the other virtues in himself.

Whence many without the faith and Gospel of Christ either do some things wisely or holily, as that they obey parents: that they stretch out a hand to the needy: do not oppress neighbors: do not plunder the things of others: and they become more obnoxious to the judgment of God because, having in themselves the principles of virtues and the seeds of God, they do not believe in him without whom they cannot exist.

It can also be taken otherwise that the Son of God was revealed in Paul: that, by his preaching, he was acknowledged by the nations, whom they previously knew not.

(Verse 16.) Immediately I condescended not to flesh and blood. Or as it is better in the Greek: "I conferred not with flesh and blood."

I know that most people think this was said concerning the apostles. For even Porphyry objects that after the revelation of Christ he did not deign to go to men and confer speech with them: lest, namely, after the doctrine of God, he should be instructed by flesh and blood. But far be it from me that I should think Peter, John, and James to be flesh and blood; which cannot possess the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 1). If the spiritual apostles are flesh and blood, what do we think of the **choikois** (earthly)? Paul plainly did not confer with flesh and blood after the revelation of Christ, because he did not wish to cast pearls before swine, nor give what is holy to dogs (Matt. 7). See what is written concerning sinners: "My spirit shall not remain in those men, because they are flesh" (Gen. 6:3). With such who were flesh and blood, who also did not reveal the Son of God to Peter (Matt. 16), the Apostle did not confer the Gospel which had been revealed to him, but gradually he turned them from flesh and blood into spirit: and then at last he committed to them the hidden sacraments of the Gospel.

Dicat quispiam: Si statim non contulit cum carne et sanguine Evangelium, tamen subintelligitur, quod postmodum cum sanguine et carne contulerit: et sensus hic, quo apostoli excusantur, ne caro et sanguis sint, stare non poterit: dum nihilominus qui in principio cum carne et sanguine non contulit, postmodum, ut dixi, cum carne et sanguine contulerit. Quae praepositio nos coarctat, ut sic distinguamus, ne statim, sive continuo, cum carne jungamus et sanguine; sed cum superioribus haerere faciamus, et legatur: Cum autem placuit ei qui me segregavit de utero matris meae. Ac deinde: Ut revelaret Filium suum in me. Et ad extremum: Ut evangelizarem illum in gentibus continuo: ut a proprio incipiat exordium: Non contuli cum carne et sanguine; magisque arbitrandum est sic stare sensum: quia qui statim missus sit, post revelationem Christi Evangelium gentibus annuntiare, non steterit: nec moris quibusdam tempus produxerit eundo ad apostolos, et revelationem Domini cum hominibus conferendo: sed abierit in Arabiam, et rursus reversus Damascum, post tres annos Evangelium praedicaverit: et tunc demum Jerosolymam veniens, Petrum, Joannem et Jacobum viderit.

(Vers. 17.) Neque veni Jerosolymam ad antecessores meos apostolos. Si de apostolis dixerat, non contuli cum carne et sanguine, quid necesse fuerat idipsum iterare dicendo: Neque veni Jerosolymam ad antecessores meos apostolos? Is itaque sensus tenendus, quem supra exposuimus.

Sed abii in Arabiam: et iterum reversus sum Damascum.

Non sibi videtur historiae ordo concinere, referente Luca in Actibus apostolorum (Act. IX), quod cum Paulus post fidem Christi per dies multos Evangelium Damasci loqueretur audenter, factae fuerint ei insidiae, et 393 in sporta per murum nocte demissus sit, et venerit Jerosolymam tentans se jungere discipulis. A quibus cum vitaretur, et timerent ad eum accedere, a Barnaba ad apostolos illum esse perductum: et ibi narrasse quomodo Dominum viderit in itinere, et Damasci fiducialiter egerit in nomine Domini [Al. addit Jesu]. Erat, inquit, cum illis, intrans et exiens in Jerusalem, fiducialiter agens [Al. agentes] in nomine Domini. Loquebatur quoque et disputabat cum Graecis: illi autem quaerebant occidere eum. Quod cum cognovissent fratres, deduxerunt eum Caesaream, et dimiserunt Tarsum (Act. XXVIII).

Hic autem dicit se primum isse in Arabiam; et iterum reversum Damascum post triennium venisse Jerosolymam, vidisse Petrum, et cum eo mansisse diebus quindecim, nec praeter Jacobum, fratrem Domini, alterum convenisse. Quae ut vera credantur (dubia quippe videri absentibus poterant), sub testatione confirmat, dicens: Quae autem dico vobis, ecce coram Deo quia non mentior.

Someone may say: If he did not immediately confer the Gospel with flesh and blood, yet it is understood that afterwards he conferred with flesh and blood: and this sense, by which the apostles are excused lest they be flesh and blood, will not be able to stand: since nonetheless he who in the beginning did not confer with flesh and blood, afterwards, as I said, conferred with flesh and blood. This preposition constrains us, that we should so distinguish, that we do not join "immediately" or "continually" with flesh and blood; but make it adhere with the former things, and let it be read: "But when it pleased him who separated me from my mother's womb." And then: "That he might reveal his Son in me." And at the end: "That I might preach him among the nations immediately": so that it may begin from its own exordium: "I conferred not with flesh and blood"; and rather it is to be thought that the sense stands thus: because he who was immediately sent, after the revelation of Christ, to announce the Gospel to the nations, did not stay: nor by custom did he draw out time by going to the apostles and conferring the revelation of the Lord with men: but he went away into Arabia, and again returned to Damascus, and after three years preached the Gospel: and then at last coming to Jerusalem, he saw Peter, John, and James.

(Verse 17.) Neither did I come to Jerusalem to my predecessors the apostles. If he had spoken of the apostles, "I conferred not with flesh and blood," what need would there have been to repeat the same thing by saying: "Neither did I come to Jerusalem to my predecessors the apostles"? Therefore that sense is to be held which we set forth above.

But I went into Arabia: and again I returned to Damascus.

The order of history does not seem to harmonize with itself, as Luke reports in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 9), that when Paul, after the faith of Christ, spoke the Gospel boldly for many days in Damascus, snares were made for him, and he was let down by night in a basket through the wall, and came to Jerusalem trying to join himself to the disciples. From whom when he was avoided, and they feared to approach him, he was brought by Barnabas to the apostles: and there he narrated how he had seen the Lord on the way, and had acted confidently in Damascus in the name of the Lord. He was, he says, with them, entering in and going out in Jerusalem, acting confidently in the name of the Lord. He spoke also and disputed with the Greeks: but they sought to kill him. When the brothers had known this, they brought him down to Caesarea, and sent him away to Tarsus (Acts 9:26-30).

But here he says that he first went into Arabia; and again having returned to Damascus, after three years he came to Jerusalem, saw Peter, and stayed with him fifteen days, nor did he meet another besides James, the brother of the Lord. That these things may be believed as true (for they were able to seem doubtful to those absent), he confirms them under attestation, saying: "But the things which I say to you, behold before God that I lie not."

Possumus igitur aestimare esse quidem Paulum, secundum Lucae historiam, Jerosolymam, non quasi ad antecessores apostolos, ut aliquid ab illis disceret: sed ut persecutionis impetum declinaret, qui sibi Damasci propter Evangelium Christi fuerat concitatus: et sic venisse Jerosolymam quasi ad quamcumque aliam civitatem. Inde cum statim propter insidias recessisse, et venisse Arabiam, sive Damascum: atque inde post triennium ad videndum Petrum Jerosolymam revertisse.

Vel certe ita: Statim ut baptizatus sit, et accepto cibo confortatus, fuisse eum cum discipulis qui erant Damasci per dies aliquot: et stupentibus cunctis in synagogis Judaeorum, praedicasse continuo quod Jesus esset Filius Dei; et tunc isse in Arabiam, et de Arabia Damascum revertisse, et ibi fecisse triennium: quos dies multos Scriptura testatur, dicens: Cum implerentur autem dies multi, consilium fecerunt Judaei ut eum interficerent (Actor. IX, 23). Notae autem factae sunt Saulo insidiae eorum: et custodiebant portas die ac nocte, ut eum interficerent. Accipientes ergo discipuli ejus nocte, per murum dimiserunt eum, submittentes in sporta. Cum autem venisset Jerusalem, tentaba jungere se discipulis.

Lucam vero 394 idcirco de Arabia praeterisse, quia forsitan nihil dignum apostolatu in Arabia perpetrarat: et ea potius compendiosa narratione dixisse, quae digna Christi Evangelio videbantur. Nec hoc segnitiae Apostoli deputandum, si frustra in Arabia fuerit [Al. commoratus sit]: sed quod aliqua dispensatio et Dei praeceptum fuerit ut taceret. Nam et postea legimus Paulum cum Sila egressum, prohibitum esse a Spiritu sancto verbum in Asia loqui (Actor. XVI).

Aliter: Sed abii in Arabiam; et iterum reversus sum Damascum. Quid mihi prodest ista relatio, si legam quod Paulus post revelationem Christi statim ierit in Arabiam; et de Arabia statim Damascum fuerit reversus: nec sciam quid ibi gesserit, quidve utilitatis habuerit itus ac reditus? Dat mihi occasionem altioris intelligentiae in hac eadem Epistola ipse Apostolus, cum de Abraham, Agar, et Sara disputans: Quae quidem sunt, inquit, per allegoriam dicta. Haec enim sunt duo Testamenta: unum quidem a monte Sina, in servitutem generans, quae est Agar. Sina enim mons est in Arabia, qui junctus est ei, quae nunc est Jerusalem (Gal. IV, 24, 25). Et docet vetus Testamentum, hoc est, ancillae [Al. in ancillae] filium, in Arabia (quae interpretatur humilis et occidua) constitutum.

We are able therefore to estimate that Paul was indeed, according to the history of Luke, in Jerusalem, not as if to his predecessors the apostles, that he might learn something from them: but that he might avoid the impetus of persecution, which had been stirred up against him in Damascus on account of the Gospel of Christ: and thus he came to Jerusalem as if to any other city. Thence he immediately recessed on account of the snares, and came to Arabia, or Damascus: and thence after three years returned to Jerusalem to see Peter.

Or certainly thus: Immediately that he was baptized, and strengthened by taking food, he was with the disciples who were in Damascus for some days: and with all stupified in the synagogues of the Jews, he preached immediately that Jesus was the Son of God; and then went into Arabia, and from Arabia returned to Damascus, and there spent three years: which many days the Scripture witnesses, saying: "And when many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him" (Acts 9:23). But their snares were made known to Saul: and they watched the gates day and night, that they might kill him. Therefore his disciples taking him by night, let him down through the wall, lowering him in a basket. But when he had come to Jerusalem, he tried to join himself to the disciples.

But Luke for this reason passed over the thing concerning Arabia, because perhaps he had perpetrated nothing worthy of the apostolate in Arabia: and rather said in a concise narration those things which seemed worthy of the Gospel of Christ. Nor is this to be imputed to the sloth of the Apostle, if he were in Arabia in vain: but that there was some dispensation and precept of God that he should keep silence. For afterwards also we read that Paul, having gone out with Silas, was prohibited by the Holy Spirit from speaking the word in Asia (Acts 16).

Otherwise: "But I went into Arabia; and again I returned to Damascus." What does this relation profit me, if I read that Paul immediately after the revelation of Christ went into Arabia; and from Arabia was immediately returned to Damascus: and I do not know what he did there, or what utility the going and returning had? The Apostle himself gives me occasion of deeper understanding in this same Epistle, when disputing concerning Abraham, Hagar, and Sarah: "Which things indeed," he says, "are said through allegory. For these are two Testaments: one indeed from mount Sinai, gendering into servitude, which is Hagar. For Sinai is a mountain in Arabia, which is joined to her which now is Jerusalem" (Gal. 4:24, 25). And he teaches that the Old Testament, that is, the son of the handmaid, was constituted in Arabia (which is interpreted "humble" and "western").

Statim itaque ut credidit Paulus, ad Legem, ad Prophetas, ad veteris Testamenti jam in occiduo positi sacramenta conversus, quaesivit in eis Christum, quem jussus fuerat in gentibus praedicare: et reperto illo, non est ibi diutius commoratus; sed reversus est Damascus, hoc est, ad sanguinem et passionem Christi: et inde prophetica lectione firmatus pergit Jerosolymam, locum visionis et pacis: non tam disciturus aliquid ab apostolis, quam cum eis Evangelium quod docuerat, collaturus.

(Vers. 18.) Deinde post annos tres, veni Jerosolymam videre Petrum. Non ut oculos, genas, vultumque ejus aspiceret, utrum macilentus, an pinguis; adunco naso esset, an recto: et utrum frontem vestiret coma: an (ut Clemens in Periodis ejus refert) calvitium haberet in capite. Nec puto Apostolicae fuisse gravitatis, ut post tantam triennii praeparationem, aliquid humanum in Petro voluerit aspicere. Sed his oculis aspexit eum, quibus et modo in 395 Epistolis suis videtur. His oculis Paulus vidit Cepham, quibus nunc a prudentibus quibusque Paulus ipse conspicitur. Quod si cui non videtur, cum superiori sensu jungat [Al. junget] haec omnia: quod nihil sibi apostoli contulerint. Nam et quod visus [Al. jussus] sit ire Jerosolymam, ad hoc isse ut videret apostolum, non discendi studio, quia et ipse eundem praedicationis haberet auctorem; sed honoris priori apostolo deferendi.

Et mansi apud eum diebus quindecim. Non grandi indiguit magisterio qui tanto se ad videndum Petrum tempore praeparavit. Et licet quibusdam superfluum videatur, numeros quoque qui in Scripturis sunt observare: tamen non abs re arbitror quindecim dies, quibus apud Petrum Paulus habitavit, plenam significare scientiam, consummatamque doctrinam. Siquidem quindecim sunt carmina in Psalterio, et quindecim gradus per quos ad canendum ascendunt Deo, et in atriis ejus consistendum justus ascendit. Ezechias quoque quindecim annorum spatio sibi ad vitam dato, signum accipere meretur in gradibus (Isa. XXXVIII): et solemnitates Dei a quinto decimo die incipiunt (Exod. XII). Necnon (quia duplicem intelligentiam sequamur) propterea quindecim ponit dies, ut ostendat non fuisse grande tempus, quo potuerit aliquid a Petro discere; ut ad illum sensum a quo coepit, cuncta referantur: se non ab homine doctum esse, sed a Deo.

Immediately therefore as Paul believed, having turned to the Law, to the Prophets, to the sacraments of the Old Testament already placed in the west, he sought in them Christ, whom he had been commanded to preach among the nations: and having found him, he did not stay there longer; but returned to Damascus, that is, to the blood and passion of Christ: and thence, strengthened by prophetic reading, he proceeds to Jerusalem, the place of vision and peace: not so much to learn something from the apostles, as to confer with them the Gospel which he had taught.

(Verse 18.) Then after three years, I came to Jerusalem to see Peter. Not that he might look upon his eyes, cheeks, and face, whether he were lean or fat; whether he had a hooked nose or a straight one: and whether hair clothed his forehead: or (as Clement refers in his **Periods**) he had baldness on his head. Nor do I think it was of Apostolic gravity that after so great a preparation of three years, he should have wished to see something human in Peter. But he looked upon him with those eyes with which he is even now seen in his Epistles. With those eyes Paul saw Cephas, with which now Paul himself is beheld by every prudent man. But if it does not seem so to anyone, let him join all these things with the former sense: that the apostles conferred nothing on him. For even that he was seen to go to Jerusalem, he went for this, that he might see the apostle, not out of a zeal for learning, because he himself also had the same author of preaching; but for the sake of deferring honor to the prior apostle.

And I stayed with him fifteen days. He did not need a great mastership who prepared himself for so long a time to see Peter. And although it may seem superfluous to some to observe also the numbers which are in the Scriptures: yet I do not think it irrelevant that the fifteen days during which Paul dwelt with Peter signify full knowledge and consummate doctrine. Since indeed there are fifteen songs in the Psalter, and fifteen steps by which they ascend to sing to God, and the just man ascends to stand in his courts. Hezekiah also, space of fifteen years having been given to him for life, deserved to receive a sign in the steps (Isa. 38): and the solemnities of God begin from the fifteenth day (Exod. 12). Also (since we follow a double intelligence) he for this reason places fifteen days, to show that it was not a great time in which he could have learned something from Peter; so that all things may be referred to that sense from which he began: that he was not taught by man, but by God.

(Vers. 19.) Alium autem apostolorum vidi neminem, nisi Jacobum fratrem Domini. Memini me dum Romae essem, impulsu fratrum librum de sanctae Mariae virginitate edidisse perpetua. In quo mihi necesse fuit de his qui fratres Domini dicti sunt, diutius disputare. Unde qualiacumque sunt illa quae scripsimus, his contenti esse debemus. Nunc hoc sufficiat, ut propter egregios mores, et incomparabilem fidem sapientiamque non mediam frater dictus sit Domini: et quod primus ei Ecclesiae prae-fuerit, quae prima in 396 Christum credens ex Judaeis fuerat congregata. Dicuntur quidem et caeteri apostoli fratres Domini, sicut in Evangelio: Vade, dic fratribus meis: vado ad Patrem meum, et ad Patrem vestrum: et ad Deum meum, et ad Deum vestrum (Joan. XX, 17). Et in psalmo: Narrabo nomen tuum fratribus meis: in medio Ecclesiae cantabo te (Ps. XXI, 22). Sed praecipue hic frater dicitur, cui filios matris suae ad Patrem vadens Dominus commendaverat. Et quomodo Job et caeteri patriarchae dicti sunt quidem famuli Dei, sed quasi egregium quiddam Moyses habuit, ut scriberetur de eo, Sed non sicut Moyses famulus meus (Hebr. III, 5): sic et beatus Jacobus specialiter frater Domini (ut ante diximus) appellatus est.

Quod autem exceptis duodecim, quidam vocentur apostoli, illud in causa est: omnes qui Dominum viderant, et eum postea praedicabant, fuisse apostolos appellatos, ut ad Corinthios scribitur: Quia visus est Cephae, post haec illis undecim: deinde visus est plus quam quingentis fratribus simul, ex quibus multi manent usque adhuc: quidam autem dormierunt: deinde visus est Jacobo, deinde apostolis omnibus (I Cor. XV, 5 seqq.). Paulatim vero tempore procedente; et alibi ab his quos Dominus elegerat, ordinati sunt apostoli; sicut ille ad Philippenses sermo declarat dicens: Necessarium autem existimavi Epaphroditum fratrem, cooperatorem et commilitonem meum, vestrum autem apostolum, et ministrum necessitatis meae mittere ad vos (Philip. II, 25). Et ad Corinthios de talibus scribitur: Sive apostoli Ecclesiarum, gloriae [Al. in gloria] Dei (II Cor. VIII, 23). Silas quoque et Judas ab apostolis, apostoli nominati sunt. Unde vehementer erravit, qui arbitratus est Jacobum hunc de Evangelio, esse apostolum fratrem Joannis: quem constat post Stephanum juxta fidem Actuum apostolorum sanguinem fudisse pro Christo (Actor. XII). Hic autem Jacobus episcopus Jerosolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Justus: vir tantae sanctitatis et rumoris in populo, ut fimbriam vestimenti ejus certatim 397 cuperent attingere. Qui et ipse postea de templo a Judaeis praecipitatus, successorem habuit Simonem, quem et ipsum tradunt pro Domino crucifixum.

(Verse 19.) But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother. I remember that while I was in Rome, at the impulse of the brothers I published a book concerning the perpetual virginity of Saint Mary. In which it was necessary for me to dispute for a longer time concerning those who are called the brothers of the Lord. Whence whatever those things are which we wrote, we ought to be content with them. Now let this suffice, that on account of his egregious morals and incomparable faith and wisdom which was not medium, he was called the brother of the Lord: and because he first presided over that Church which, first believing in Christ, had been gathered from the Jews. Indeed the other apostles also are called brothers of the Lord, as in the Gospel: "Go, tell my brothers: I go to my Father and to your Father: and to my God and to your God" (John 20:17). And in the psalm: "I will declare thy name to my brothers: in the midst of the Church will I sing to thee" (Ps. 21:22). But especially is he called brother here, to whom the Lord, going to the Father, had commended the sons of his mother. And just as Job and the other patriarchs were indeed called servants of God, but Moses had as it were something egregious, so that it was written of him: "But not so my servant Moses" (Heb. 3:5): so also the blessed James was specially called the Lord's brother (as we said before).

Moreover, that besides the twelve, some are called apostles, the cause is this: all who had seen the Lord and were afterwards preaching him were called apostles, as it is written to the Corinthians: "Because he was seen of Cephas, after these by those eleven: then he was seen of more than five hundred brothers at once, of whom many remain until now: but some have slept: then he was seen of James, then of all the apostles" (1 Cor. 15:5 seqq.). But gradually as time proceeded, and elsewhere by those whom the Lord had chosen, apostles were ordained; as that discourse to the Philip-pians declares, saying: "But I have thought it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus my brother, and fellow-laborer and fellow-soldier, but your apostle, and minister to my necessity" (Phil. 2:25). And to the Corinthians it is written concerning such: "Whether they be the apostles of the Churches, the glory of God" (2 Cor. 8:23). Silas also and Judas were named apostles by the apostles. Whence he has vehemently erred who has thought this James of the Gospel to be the apostle the brother of John: who it is certain after Stephen, according to the faith of the Acts of the Apostles, shed his blood for Christ (Acts 12). But this James was the first bishop of Jerusalem, with the surname Just: a man of such great sanctity and rumor among the people, that they certatim desired to touch the fringe of his garment. Who himself also having been afterwards precipitated from the temple by the Jews, had Simon as successor, whom they also report as crucified for the Lord.

Negat se itaque praeter hos quemquam apostolorum convenisse, ne occulta contradictio nasceretur: etiamsi a Petro non es doctus, alios habuisti apostolos praeceptores. Non vidit autem eos: non quod contemptui duceret, sed quod illi ad Evangelium praedicandum toto fuerant orbe dispersi.

(Vers. 20.) Quae autem scribo vobis: ecce coram Deo, quia non mentior. Sive simpliciter accipiendum, ut sit: Quae scribo vobis, vera sunt, et Deo teste confirmo, quia nulla arte verborum, nullo sunt fucata mendacio. Sive altius, ut legatur: Quae scribo vobis, coram Deo sunt, id est, Dei digna conspectu. Quare autem Dei digna conspectu? Quia scilicet, non mentior. Et quomodo oculi Domini super justos (Psal. XXXIII); avertit autem faciem suam a conspectu impiorum: ita nunc ea quae scribuntur, coram Domino sunt, me non mentiente qui scribo: quae non essent coram Domino, si mentirer. Hoc autem non solum de his quae nunc scribit ad Galatas, potest accipi; sed et generaliter de his omnibus Epistolis: quia non sunt falsa quae scribat et cor ejus verbaque non discrepent.

(Vers. 21.) Deinde veni in partes Syriae et Ciliciae. Post Jerosolymae visionem venit ad Syriam, quae nobiscum dicitur excelsa atque sublimis. Et inde transiit ad Ciliciam, quam in fide Christi cupiebat assumere, evangelizans ei vocationem poenitentiae: Cilicia quippe interpretatur assumpti, sive vocatio lamentabilis.

(Vers. 22-24.) Eram autem ignotus facie Ecclesiis Judaeae, quae erant in Christo Jesu. Tantum autem auditum habebant: quoniam qui persequabatur nos aliquando, nunc evangelizat fidem quam quondam expugnabat: et in me glorificabant Deum. Ecclesiae quae erant in Judaea, Paulum tantum rumore cognoverant. Ex quibus pleraeque eum magis persecutorem, quam apostolum viderant. Syria vero et partes Ciliciae, Arabia et Damascus, ex vultu quoque eum forsitan noverant: quia Doctor gentium Evangelium Christi non Judaeis, sed gentibus praedicabat. Totum autem quod agit, illud est: ut doceat se numquam de persecutore apud eos ipsos quos prius persecutus fuerat, potuisse existere gloriosum, nisi praedicatio ejus, eorum quoque qui ante eum malum noverant, esset judicio comprobata. Et ad propositum occulte redit, tam breve tempus se in Judaea fecisse confirmans ut etiam vultu credentibus esset ignotus. Ex quo ostendit, non Petrum, non Jacobum, non Joannem se habuisse doctores, sed Christum, qui sibi Evangelium revelasset. Simul autem notandum quod supra dicatur Ecclesiam expugnasse, hic fidem: ibi homines, hic rem; ut nunc opportunius inferretur: Evangelizat fidem, quam aliquando expugnabat. De Ecclesia enim similiter sonare non poterant.

He denies therefore that he had met any of the apostles besides these, lest an occult contradiction should arise: even if you were not taught by Peter, you had other apostles as teachers. But he did not see them: not that he led them in contempt, but because they had been dispersed into the whole world for preaching the Gospel.

(Verse 20.) Now the things which I write to you, behold, before God, I lie not. Either it is to be taken simply, so that it is: the things which I write to you are true, and I confirm them with God as witness, because with no art of words, with no lie are they painted. Or more deeply, so that it is read: the things which I write to you are before God, that is, worthy of the sight of God. But why worthy of the sight of God? Because namely, I lie not. And just as the eyes of the Lord are upon the just (Ps. 33); but he turns away his face from the sight of the impious: so now those things which are written are before the Lord, I who write not lying: which would not be before the Lord if I were to lie. This moreover can be taken not only of those things which he now writes to the Galatians; but also generally of all these Epistles: because they are not false things which he writes and his heart and words do not disagree.

(Verse 21.) Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. After the vision of Jerusalem he came to Syria, which with us is called lofty and sublime. And from there he passed over to Cilicia, which he desired to assume in the faith of Christ, preaching to it the vocation of repentance: for Cilicia is interpreted as "of those assumed," or a "lamentable vocation."

(Verses 22-24.) And I was unknown by face to the Churches of Judea, which were in Christ Jesus. But they had only heard: "That he who persecuted us formerly, now preaches the faith which he once assaulted": and they glorified God in me. The Churches which were in Judea had known Paul only by rumor. Most of these had seen him more as a persecutor than as an apostle. But Syria and the regions of Cilicia, Arabia and Damascus, perhaps knew him also by face: because the Teacher of the Gentiles (Doctor gentium) preached the Gospel of Christ not to the Jews, but to the Gentiles. Moreover, the whole of what he does is this: that he may show that he could never have emerged as glorious from being a persecutor among those very ones whom he had previously persecuted, unless his preaching had been approved by the judgment of those also who had known his former evil. And he returns occultly to his purpose, confirming that he spent so short a time in Judea that he was unknown even by face to the believers. From which he shows that he had not Peter, nor James, nor John as teachers, but Christ, who had revealed the Gospel to him. At the same time, it should be noted that above it is said that he assaulted the Church, here the faith: there men, here the matter; so that it might now be more opportunely inferred: "He preaches the faith which he once assaulted." For regarding the Church, it could not sound in a similar way.

(Cap. II.--Vers. 1, 2.) Deinde post annos quatuordecim, rursum ascendi Jerosolymam, cum Barnaba, assumpto et Tito. Ascendi autem secundum revelationem: et contuli cum eis Evangelium, quod praedico in gentibus: seorsum autem his qui videbantur, ne forte in vacuum currerem, aut cucurrissem. Id quod supra Latinus interpres, acquievi, dixerat in eo loco ubi scriptum est: Continuo non acquievi carni et sanguini, in praesenti loco, contuli, magis quam acquievi, interpretatus est. Et ut verius dicam, sermo Graecus ἀνεθέμην aliud quiddam quam apud nos intelligitur, cum scilicet ea quae novimus, conferimus cum amico; et quasi in sinum ejus et conscientiam reponimus, ut pari consilio vel probanda sint, vel improbanda, quae novimus. Ascendit igitur post quatuordecim annos Jerosolymam, et qui prius tantum ad videndum perrexerat Petrum, et diebus quindecim manserat apud eum, nunc se dicit ideo perrexisse, ut conferret cum apostolis Evangelium; assumpto Barnaba circumciso, et Tito ex gentibus habente praepotum: ut sub ore duorum et trium testium, staret omne verbum (Deut. XIX, 15).

Aliud est autem conferre, aliud discere. Inter conferentes aequalitas est; inter doctorem et discentem, minor est ille qui discit. In principio fidei, in transitu apostolos vidit. Post annos (ut ipse ait) decem et septem, plene cum eis loquitur, et se humiliat: et ne forte in vacuum aut curreret, aut cucurrissem, inquit. Duplicem ob causam, quo et humilitas ostenderetur Pauli, qui doctor in toto orbe jam gentium, ad praecessores apostolos cucurrisset: et Galatae discerent non reprobasse Evangelium ejus, eos quoque qui in Judaea Ecclesiis praesidebant. Simul autem et illud docet, quod pro Christi fide et Evangelii libertate, ad eos ipsos qui de eo plura cognoverant, quod Legem infringeret, Moysen destrueret, circumcisionem penitus auferret, ausus sit ducere Titum, hominem incircumcisum. Et inter tantam multitudinem Judaeorum et inimicos suos, qui quasi ob zelum Legis sanguinem ejus haurire cupiebant, nec ipse, nec Titus aliquo sint terrore superati necessitati cedere. Quae potuit habere veniam, vel pro loco, vel pro auctoritate majorum, vel pro numero Ecclesiarum, quae de Judaeis in Christo credebant, vel pro tempore, ne tantam simul invidiam sustinerent.

Quidam post quatuordecim annos eum Jerosolymam ascendisse tunc dicunt, quando in Actibus apostolorum de quaestionibus observandae, vel praetermittendae Legis, inter credentes Antiochiae orta dissensio est; et placuit ire Jerosolymam, et sententiam majorum praestolari, quando ipse quoque Paulus et Barnabas missi sunt: et hoc esse quod in codicibus legatur Latinis: Quibus ad horam cessimus subjectioni, ut veritas Evangelii perseveraret apud vos.

(Chap. II.--Vers. 1, 2.) Afterwards, after fourteen years, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me. And I went up according to revelation and conferred with them the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles: but privately to those who seemed to be something, lest perhaps I should run or had run in vain. That which above the Latin translator had called "I acquiesced" (*acquievi*) in that place where it is written: "Immediately I acquiesced not to flesh and blood," in the present place he has translated as "I conferred" (*contuli*), rather than "I acquiesced." And to speak more truly, the Greek word **anethemēn** (*ἀνεθέμην*) means something else than what is understood among us, namely when we confer those things which we know with a friend; and as it were we place them in his bosom and conscience, so that by equal counsel those things which we know may either be approved or disapproved. He went up therefore after fourteen years to Jerusalem, and he who previously had gone only to see Peter and had remained with him for fifteen days, now says he has gone for this reason, to confer the Gospel with the apostles; having taken the circumcised Barnabas and Titus, who from the Gentiles had a foreskin: so that under the mouth of two and three witnesses every word might stand (Deut. 19:15).

Moreover, it is one thing to confer, another to learn. Between those conferring there is equality; between the teacher and the learner, he who learns is lesser. In the beginning of the faith, in passing he saw the apostles. After seventeen years (as he himself says), he speaks fully with them and humbles himself: and he inquires lest perhaps he should run or had run in vain. For a double cause: both that the humility of Paul might be shown, who, already a teacher of the Gentiles in the whole world, had run to the predecessor apostles; and that the Galatians might learn that those also who presided over the Churches in Judea had not rejected his Gospel. At the same time he also teaches this, that for the faith of Christ and the liberty of the Gospel, he dared to lead Titus, an uncircumcised man, to those very ones who knew more about him—that he infringed the Law, destroyed Moses, and entirely took away circumcision. And among such a great multitude of Jews and his enemies, who as it were on account of zeal for the Law desired to drink his blood, neither he himself nor Titus were overcome by any terror to yield to necessity. Which could have had an excuse, either because of the place, or because of the authority of the elders, or because of the number of Churches which believed in Christ from the Jews, or because of the time, lest they should sustain so much envy at once.

Some say that he went up to Jerusalem after fourteen years at that time when, in the Acts of the Apostles, a dissension arose among the believers at Antioch concerning questions of observing or omitting the Law; and it pleased them to go to Jerusalem and await the sentence of the elders, when Paul himself also and Barnabas were sent: and that this is what is read in the Latin codices: "To whom for an hour we yielded in subjection, that the truth of the Gospel might persevere among you."

Quod scilicet propterea Paulus et Barnabas de re manifesta, quasi dubia se mitti passi sunt Jerosolymam: ut majorum quoque iudicio Evangelii gratia confirmata, credentibus probaretur, et nulli resideret ultra dubitatio circumcisionis omissae: cum apostolorum esset litteris imperatum, jugum Legis ab his qui in Christum crediderant ex gentibus, auferendum. Potest autem hoc quod ait: Contuli cum eis Evangelium, quod praedico in gentibus: scorsum autem his qui videbantur: ne forte in vacuum currerem, vel cucurrissem, et sic intelligi, ut abscondite cum apostolis gratiam Evangelicae libertatis, et Legis abolitae vetustatem contulerit. Propter multitudinem credentium Judaeorum, qui necdum poterant Christum adimpletionem et finem Legis audire, qui et absente Paulo, Jerosolymae jactaverant, frustra eum currere aut cucurrisse, qui putaret Legem veterem non sequendam. Non quod Paulus timuerit, ne per decem et septem annos falsum in gentibus Evangelium praedicasset; sed ut ostenderet praecessoribus suis non se in vacuum currere aut cucurrisse, sicut putaverant ignorantes.

(Vers. 3-5.) Sed neque Titus qui mecum erat, cum esset ex gentibus, compulsus est circumcidi. Propter subintroductos autem falsos fratres, qui subintroierunt explorare libertatem nostram, quam habemus in Christo Jesu, ut nos in servitutem redigerent: quibus neque ad horam cessimus subjectioni, ut veritas Evangelii permaneat apud vos. Si Titus, cum esset ex gentibus, nullo potuit terrore compelli, ut circumcideretur Jerosolymis, in Judaeorum metropoli civitate, in qua tanta Paulus blasphemiae in Moysen flagrabat invidia: ut postea pene a Judaeis interfectus sit, quando a tribuno liberatur, et Romam vinctus ad Caesarem mittitur: quomodo quidam putant legendum esse, quibus ad horam cessimus subjectioni, ut veritas Evangelii permaneat apud vos, et intelligendum quod Titus ipse qui compelli ante non potuit ad circumcisionem, rursum circumcisis sit, atque subjectus? Aut, quae est ista veritas Evangelii, hypocrisi cedere Judaeorum; et ea quae prius scybala aestimaveris, et quasi damna contempseris, observare, et esse aliquid aestimare, cum nihil sint?

Sed et ipsius Epistolae sensui valde repugnat, Galatas ad circumcisionem revocare. Hoc toto sermonis sui textu agit, ut doceat se Hebraeum ex Hebraeis, omnia quoundam Legis opera servantem, circumcisum octava die secundum Legem Pharisaeorum: nihilominus tamen ob Christi gratiam universa contemnere. Nam cum isset Jerosolymam, et falsi fratres qui ex circumcisione crediderant eum vellent impellere ut circumcideret Titum: nec Titum, nec se cessisse violentiae, quo minus custodirent Evangelii veritatem.

Namely, that for this reason Paul and Barnabas allowed themselves to be sent to Jerusalem concerning a manifest matter as if it were doubtful: so that the grace of the Gospel being confirmed also by the judgment of the elders, it might be approved by the believers, and no doubt should reside further regarding the omitted circumcision: since it had been commanded by the letters of the apostles that the yoke of the Law was to be taken away from those who from the Gentiles had believed in Christ. Moreover, this which he says: "I conferred with them the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles: but privately to those who seemed to be: lest perhaps I should run or had run in vain," can also be understood thus, that he conferred in secret with the apostles the grace of Evangelical liberty and the antiquity of the abolished Law. Because of the multitude of believing Jews who could not yet hear that Christ was the fulfillment and end of the Law, who also in the absence of Paul had boasted at Jerusalem that he ran or had run in vain, who thought that the old Law was not to be followed. Not that Paul feared lest through seventeen years he had preached a false Gospel among the Gentiles; but that he might show to his predecessors that he did not run or had run in vain, as they had thought in their ignorance.

(Verses 3-5.) But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Gentile, was compelled to be circumcised. But because of false brothers brought in secretly, who entered in to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into servitude: to whom we yielded in subjection not even for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might remain with you. If Titus, being a Gentile, could be compelled by no terror to be circumcised at Jerusalem, in the metropolis city of the Jews, in which Paul burned with such great envy of blasphemy against Moses that he was afterwards almost killed by the Jews when he was liberated by the tribune and sent bound to Rome to Caesar: how do some think it should be read, "To whom for an hour we yielded in subjection, that the truth of the Gospel might remain with you," and understand that Titus himself, who before could not be compelled to circumcision, was again circumcised and made subject? Or, what is this truth of the Gospel, to yield to the hypocrisy of the Jews; and to observe those things which you previously estimated as dung (*scybala*), and despised as losses, and to estimate them as being something, when they are nothing?

But it is also very repugnant to the sense of the Epistle itself to recall the Galatians to circumcision. In this whole text of his discourse he acts to show that he, a Hebrew of Hebrews, once keeping all the works of the Law, circumcised on the eighth day according to the Law of the Pharisees: nevertheless on account of the grace of Christ despises all of them. For when he had gone to Jerusalem, and the false brothers who had believed from the circumcision wished to impel him to circumcise Titus: neither Titus nor he himself yielded to violence, so as not to keep the truth of the Gospel.

Quod si dicit se necessitate superatum ut circumcideret Titum: quomodo Galatas revocat a circumcissione, a qua nec Titum, qui secum fuerat ex gentibus, Jerosolymis potuit excusare? Itaque aut juxta Graecos codices est legendum, Quibus neque ad horam cessimus subjectioni; ut consequenter possit intelligi: ut veritas Evangelii permaneat apud vos. Aut si Latini exemplaris alicui fides placet, secundum superiorem sensum accipere debemus: ut ad horam cessio non circumcidendi Titi, sed eundi Jerosolymam fuerit.

Quo scilicet idcirco subjectioni cesserint Paulus et Barnabas eundi Jerosolymam, seditione ob Legem Antiochiae concitata: ut per Epistolam apostolorum, sua sententia firmaretur, et maneret apud Galatas Evangelii veritas, quae non esset in littera, sed in spiritu; non in carnali sensu, sed in intelligentia spirituali; nec in manifesto Iudaismo, sed in occulto. Sciendum vero, quod, autem, conjunctio quae in praesenti loco ponitur: Propter subintroductos autem falsos fratres, superflua sit: et si legatur, non habeat quod ei respondeat, illamque concludat; sed esse ordinem lectionis et sensus: Sed neque Titus qui mecum erat, cum esset ex gentibus, compulsus est circumcidi. Statimque subjungat quae causa fuerit, ut ad circumcisionem impelleretur invitus: Propter subintroductos, inquit, falsos fratres, qui subintroierunt explorare libertatem nostram quam habemus in Christo Jesu, ut nos in servitutem redigerent. Qui cum minis terrerent, et multitudine vellent nos a libertate Christi in Legis traducere servitutem, ne ad tempus quidem eis cessimus, ut circumcideremus Titum: maxime cum et aliqua ob Ecclesiasticam pacem potuerit nos necessitas excusare: et hoc totum fecimus, ut vobis nulla fieret occasio ab Evangelii gratia recedendi. Si igitur nos Jerosolymis inter tantos Iudaeos imminentibus hinc inde falsis fratribus, et his qui majores erant aliqua ex parte cohibentibus, nulla potuimus vi ac ratione compelli, ut observaremus circumcisionem quam sciebamur esse finitam: vos ex gentibus, vos in Galatia, vos quibus vis nulla inferri potest, ultro a gratia recedentes, ad Legis jam abolitae transcendistis vetustatem.

Because if he says he was overcome by necessity so as to circumcise Titus: how does he recall the Galatians from circumcision, from which he could not excuse even Titus, who had been with him from the Gentiles at Jerusalem? Therefore, it is to be read either according to the Greek codices, "To whom we yielded in subjection not even for an hour"; so that it can consequently be understood: "that the truth of the Gospel might remain with you." Or if the faith of the Latin exemplar pleases someone, we ought to accept it according to the superior sense: that for an hour the yielding was not of circumcising Titus, but of going to Jerusalem.

By which namely for this reason Paul and Barnabas yielded to the subjection of going to Jerusalem, a sedition concerning the Law having been stirred up at Antioch: so that through the Epistle of the apostles their sentence might be confirmed, and the truth of the Gospel might remain among the Galatians, which would be not in the letter but in the spirit; not in a carnal sense but in spiritual understanding; nor in manifest Judaism but in secret. But it should be known that "autem" (moreover), the conjunction which is placed in the present location—"But because of false brothers brought in secretly"—is superfluous: and if it is read, it does not have what responds to it and concludes it; but the order of the reading and sense is: "But neither Titus who was with me, being a Gentile, was compelled to be circumcised." And immediately let it subjoin what the cause was that he was impelled to circumcision against his will: "Because of false brothers brought in secretly," he says, "who entered in to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into servitude." Who when they terrified with threats and by their multitude wished to lead us from the liberty of Christ into the servitude of the Law, not even for a time did we yield to them so as to circumcise Titus: especially since some necessity on account of ecclesiastical peace could have excused us: and we did all this so that no occasion might be made for you of receding from the grace of the Gospel. If therefore we at Jerusalem among so many Jews, with false brothers threatening from here and there, and those who were greater restraining us in some part, could be compelled by no force and reason to observe circumcision which we knew was ended: you from the Gentiles, you in Galatia, you upon whom no force can be brought, of your own accord receding from grace, have passed over to the antiquity of the Law already abolished.

(Vers. 6.) Ab his autem qui videbantur esse aliquid, quales aliquando fuerint, nihil mea interest: Deus personam hominis non accipit. Licet, inquit, Petrum et Joannem Dominus secum apostolos habuerit, et transfiguratum eum in monte viderint (Matt. XII; Marc. IX), et super ipsos Ecclesiae sit positum fundamentum: mihi tamen nihil refert, quia non adversum eos loquor qui eo tempore Dominum sequebantur, sed adversum eos loquor qui nunc legem praeponunt gratiae. Nec detraho praecessoribus, nec in aliqua parte accuso majores, sed hoc dico, quia Deus personam hominis non accipit. Non enim accepit Moysi, non accepit David, non accepit aliorum: nec eorum ergo accipiet, qui cedere quibusdam videntur ad tempus, tametsi ipsi mecum sentiant, Petro quoque dicente: In veritate cognosco, quia non est acceptor personarum Deus: sed in omni loco qui timet eum, et operatur justitiam acceptabilis ei est (Act. X, 34, 35).

Quo itaque argumento ipse sanctus apostolus Petrus adversum eos qui in Cornelio ex gentibus baptizato, nec circumciso, scandalum sustinebant, utitur, et placat eos se non potuisse negare aquam his qui Spiritum sanctum acceperant: eodem nunc sanctus apostolus Paulus adversum ipsum Petrum disputat, quod personarum non sit acceptor Deus, sed unumquemque pro veritate judicet. Et ita caute et pedetentim inter laudem et objurgationem Petri medius incedit, ut et praecessori apostolo deferat, et nihilominus audacter ei resistat in faciem, veritate compulsus.

Mihi enim qui videbantur, nihil contulerunt. Ipse superius cum illis contulit, et multa ad eos retulit, quae in gentibus perpetraret: illi nihil contulerunt ei, sed tantummodo quae ab eo dicta sunt comprobantes, dexteram dederunt consortii, et unum suum Paulique Evangelium firmaverunt. Rursum notandum, quod contulerunt, verbum ipsum sit in Graeco, de quo ante tractavimus.

(Vers. 7, 8.) Sed contra cum vidissent quod creditum est mihi Evangelium praeputii, sicut Petro circumcisionis. Qui enim operatus est Petro in apostolatum circumcisionis, operatus est et mihi inter gentes. Et cum cognovissent gratiam quae data est mihi, Petrus et Jacobus, et Joannes, qui videbantur columnae esse, dexteram dederunt mihi et Barnabae, societatis: ut nos in gentes; ipsi autem in circumcisionem.

(Verse 6.) But of those who seemed to be something—what they were formerly makes no interest to me: God accepts not the person of man. Although, he says, the Lord had Peter and John as apostles with him, and they saw him transfigured on the mountain (Matt. 12; Mark 9), and upon them the foundation of the Church was placed: yet to me it makes no matter, because I speak not against those who at that time followed the Lord, but I speak against those who now prefer the Law to grace. Neither do I detract from my predecessors, nor in any part do I accuse the elders, but I say this, because God accepts not the person of man. For he accepted not the person of Moses, he accepted not of David, he accepted not of others: therefore he will not accept theirs either, who seem to yield to certain things for a time, even though they themselves feel with me, Peter also saying: "In truth I know that God is not a respecter of persons: but in every place he who fears him and works justice is acceptable to him" (Acts 10:34-35).

Therefore, with the same argument that the holy apostle Peter himself used against those who sustained a scandal in Cornelius, baptized from the Gentiles and not circumcised, and placated them saying that he could not deny water to those who had received the Holy Spirit: with that same argument the holy apostle Paul now disputes against Peter himself, that God is not a respecter of persons, but judges everyone according to the truth. And thus cautiously and step by step he walks in the middle between praise and rebuke of Peter, so that he both defers to his predecessor apostle and nonetheless boldly resists him to the face, compelled by the truth.

For to me, those who seemed to be something conferred nothing. He himself previously conferred with them and reported many things to them which he was performing among the Gentiles: they conferred nothing on him, but merely approving those things which were said by him, they gave the right hands of fellowship and confirmed the one Gospel, theirs and Paul's. Again it should be noted that "conferred" is the very word in Greek about which we treated before.

(Verses 7, 8.) But contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to me, as that of the circumcision was to Peter. For he who worked in Peter for the apostleship of the circumcision, worked also in me among the Gentiles. And when they had known the grace that was given to me, Peter and James and John, who seemed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship: that we should go to the Gentiles, and they into the circumcision.

ἀ½TMἘὰν½³ἴ±ἵ, ἴ½ (Hyperbaton) est, et multis quae in medio sunt interjecta sublati, sic breviter legi potest: Mihi enim qui videbantur esse nihil contulerunt: sed econtra dexteris dederunt mihi et Barnabae, societatis. Aut certe ille absque jactatione sui, occultus est sensus: Mihi qui videbantur esse aliquid, nihil contulerunt; sed econtra a me eis collatum est, dum fiunt in Evangelii gratia firmiores. Totum autem quod dicit, hoc est: unus atque idem mihi Evangelium praeputii, et Petro circumcisionis credidit. Me misit ad gentes, illum posuit in Judaea. Nec gentes poterant adulta jam aetate non profuturo circumcisionis dolore cruciari, et abstinere se ab escis, quibus semper assueverant, et quas Deus creaverat ad utendum: nec hi qui ex Judaeis crediderant et circumcisi erant, et ex consuetudine quasi secunda natura, putabant se a caeteris gentibus plus habere, facile contemnere poterant ea in quibus gloriabantur. Providentia itaque Dei, alius apostolus circumcisis datus est, qui Legis umbris videretur acquiescere, alius in praeputio constitutis, qui Evangelii gratiam non putaret esse servitium, sed liberam fidem. Ne sub aliqua occasione impedimentum fidei nasceretur: et propter circumcisionem sive praeputium, non crederetur in Christum.

Nec hoc dicimus quod Petrus, qui et ipse in Actibus apostolorum nullum hominem communem esse testatus est (Actor. X), et in illo vase, quod quatuor angulis de coelo missum viderat, edocetur nihil interesse, Judaeus sit aliquis, an gentilis, quasi oblitus priorum, super Evangelii gratia, Legem putaverit observandam: sed ut ipse quoque Legem custodire se simulans, paulatim Judaeos ab antiquo vivendi more deduceret. Non enim poterant tantum observationis laborem, et veteris vitae cautissimam conversationem, quasi purgamenta subito et damna contemnere. Ex quo perspicimus, propterea dexteris datas Paulo et Barnabae societatis, a Petro, Jacobo et Joanne: ne observatione varia, diversum Christi Evangelium putaretur; sed et circumcisorum et habentium praeputium esset una communio. Pulchre autem praestruxit, dicens: Qui enim operatus est Petro in apostolatum circumcisionis: ne quis eum putaret detrahare Petro, sed ut laudibus ejus ante praemissis, intelligeretur Petrus ideo circumcisionem aliqua ex parte suscipere, ut eos qui sibi ex Judaeis crediti fuerant lucrificeret, et in Christi fide et Evangelio custodiret.

It is a hyperbaton (ἀ½TM ἱερά½³ ἰῆ² ἰ±ἱ, ἰ; ἰ½), and with many things that are interjected in the middle removed, it can thus briefly be read: "For they who seemed to be conferred nothing on me: but on the contrary they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship." Or certainly there is this hidden sense, without boasting of himself: "To me who seemed to be something, they conferred nothing; but on the contrary something was conferred by me to them, while they become firmer in the grace of the Gospel." Moreover, the whole of what he says is this: one and the same committed to me the Gospel of the uncircumcision, and to Peter that of the circumcision. He sent me to the Gentiles, he placed him in Judea. Neither could the Gentiles, already at an adult age, be tortured by the pain of circumcision which would be of no profit, and abstain from foods to which they had always been accustomed and which God had created for use: nor could those who from the Jews had believed and were circumcised, and from custom as a second nature, thought they had more than the other nations, easily despise those things in which they gloried. By the providence of God, therefore, one apostle was given to the circumcised, who might seem to acquiesce in the shadows of the Law, another to those established in the uncircumcision, who would not think the grace of the Gospel to be a servitude, but a free faith. Lest under any occasion an impediment of faith might arise: and on account of circumcision or uncircumcision, Christ should not be believed in.

Nor do we say this because Peter—“who himself in the Acts of the Apostles testified that no man is common (Acts 10), and in that vessel which he had seen sent from heaven by four corners, is taught that it makes no difference whether someone is a Jew or a Gentile”—as if forgetting former things, thought that the Law should be observed over the grace of the Gospel: but that he himself also, pretending to keep the Law, might gradually lead the Jews away from their ancient way of living. For they could not suddenly despise such labor of observation and the most cautious conversation of their former life as refuse and losses. From which we perceive that for this reason the right hands of fellowship were given to Paul and Barnabas by Peter, James, and John: lest by varying observation a different Gospel of Christ should be thought; but that there should be one communion both of the circumcised and of those having uncircumcision. Moreover, he beautifully pre-arranged it, saying: "For he who worked in Peter for the apostleship of the circumcision": lest anyone should think he was detracting from Peter, but that his praises having been sent before, Peter might be understood to undertake circumcision in some part for this reason, that he might gain those who had been committed to him from the Jews, and keep them in the faith and Gospel of Christ.

Subintelligit etiam quod si ille absque culpa faceret, et ad tempus observando, quod non licet, ne sibi creditos perderet, se magis pro Evangelii veritate facere debere quod sibi creditum est in praeputio, ne gentes Legis onere et difficultate deterritae, a Christi fide et credulitate discederent.

Occulta hic oritur quaestio: Quid igitur? Petrus si invenisset ex gentibus, non eos adducebat ad fidem? Aut Paulus si ex circumcisione aliquos reperisset, non eos ad Christi baptismum provocabat? Quae ita solvitur, ut dicamus principale singulis in Iudaeos et gentes fuisse mandatum, ut qui defendebant Legem, haberent quem sequerentur; qui Legi gratiam praeferabant, non deesset eis doctor et praeuius. In commune vero hoc eos habuisse propositi, ut Christo ex cunctis gentibus Ecclesiam congregarent. Legimus enim et a sancto Petro gentilem baptizatum fuisse Cornelium, et a Paulo in synagoga Iudaeorum, Christum saepissime praedicatum.

Petrus, et Joannes, et Jacobus, qui videbantur columnae esse (Actor. X, XIII, XVII). Ter supradictum de apostolis legimus: Seorsum autem his qui videbantur. Et: Ab his qui videbantur esse aliquid. Et: Mihi enim qui videbantur esse aliquid, nihil contulerunt. Sollicitus itaque requirebam, quidnam esset quod diceret, qui videbantur: sed nunc me omni scrupulo liberavit, adjiciens, qui videbantur columnae esse. Columnae igitur sunt Ecclesiae apostoli, et maxime Petrus, Jacobus, et Joannes, ex quibus duo cum Domino ascendere merentur in montem, quorum unus in Apocalypsi Salvatorem introducit loquentem: Qui vicerit, faciam eum columnam in templo Dei mei (Apoc. III, 12), docens omnes credentes qui adversarium vicerint, posse columnas Ecclesiae fieri. Ad Timotheum vero Paulus scribens ait: Ut scias quomodo oporteat te in domo Dei conversari, quae est Ecclesia Dei vivi, columna autem et firmamentum veritatis (I Tim. II, 15). His et caeteris instruimur, tam apostolos omnesque credentes, quam ipsam quoque Ecclesiam columnam in Scripturis appellari, et nihil interesse de corpore quid dicatur, an membris, cum et corpus dividatur in membra, et membra sint corporis.

Dederunt itaque Petrus, et Jacobus, et Joannes, qui videbantur columnae esse, dexteras Paulo et Barnabae, societatis; sed Tito qui cum eis erat, dexteras non dederunt. Necdum quippe ad eam mensuram pervenerat, ut possent ei Christi mercimonia ex aequo cum maioribus credi, et eundem tenere negotiationis locum quem Barnabas tenebat, et Paulus.

(Vers. 10.) Tantum ut pauperum memores essemus, quod etiam sollicitus fui hoc ipsum facere.

He also implies that if he did it without fault, and by observing for a time what is not allowed lest he should lose those committed to him, he [Paul] ought much more to do for the truth of the Gospel what was committed to him in the uncircumcision, lest the Gentiles, deterred by the burden and difficulty of the Law, should depart from the faith and belief of Christ.

A hidden question arises here: What then? If Peter had found some from the Gentiles, did he not lead them to the faith? Or if Paul had found some from the circumcision, did he not provoke them to the baptism of Christ? Which is thus solved, that we say the principal mandate for each was toward the Jews and the Gentiles, so that those who defended the Law might have whom they should follow; those who preferred grace to the Law, there should not be wanting to them a teacher and leader. But in common they had this purpose, that they should gather the Church for Christ from all nations. For we read both that Cornelius, a Gentile, was baptized by Saint Peter, and that Christ was most often preached by Paul in the synagogues of the Jews.

Peter, and John, and James, who seemed to be pillars (Acts 10, 13, 17). Three times we read the above-said concerning the apostles: "But privately to those who seemed to be." And: "From those who seemed to be something." And: "For to me those who seemed to be something conferred nothing." Solicitously, therefore, I was requiring what it might be that he said, "who seemed to be": but now he has freed me from every scruple, adding, "who seemed to be pillars." The pillars of the Church, therefore, are the apostles, and especially Peter, James, and John, of whom two merited to ascend the mountain with the Lord, one of whom in the Apocalypse introduces the Savior speaking: "He who shall overcome, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God" (Apoc. 3:12), teaching all believers who shall overcome the adversary that they can become pillars of the Church. But writing to Timothy, Paul says: "That thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth" (1 Tim. 2:15). By these and others we are instructed that both the apostles and all believers, as well as the Church itself, are called a pillar in the Scriptures, and it makes no difference what is said of the body or the members, since both the body is divided into members and the members are of the body.

Peter, James, and John, therefore, who seemed to be pillars, gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; but to Titus, who was with them, they gave not the right hands. For he had not yet arrived at that measure so that the merchandise of Christ could be committed to him on an equal footing with the elders, and he could hold the same place of negotiation which Barnabas held, and Paul.

(Verse 10.) Only that we should be mindful of the poor, which very thing I was also solicitous to do.

Sancti pauperes, quorum praecipue ab apostolis Paulo et Barnabae cura mandatur, hi sunt, qui ex Iudaeis credentes, pretia possessionum suarum ad pedes apostolorum deferabant egentibus largienda, vel quia contribulibus, cognatis et parentibus suis, quasi desertores Legis, et in crucifixum hominem credentes, detestationi et piaculo ducebantur. In horum ministerio sanctus apostolus Paulus quanto labore sudaverit, Epistolae ejus testes sunt, scribentis ad Corinthios, et ad Thessalonicenses, ad omnes gentium Ecclesias, ut praepararent munus hoc per se vel per alios qui eis placuissent, Jerosolymam deferendum. Unde nunc confidenter dicit, quod etiam sollicitus fui facere hoc ipsum.

Possunt autem et alio genere pauperes accipi, de quibus in Evangelio dicitur: Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum (Matth. V, 3). Merentur quippe tales in memoria esse apostolorum. Necnon et illi pauperes, de quibus in Salomone scribitur: Redemptio viri animae, propriae divitiae (Prov. XIII, 8). Pauper vero non sustinet comminationem. Non enim potest futurum poenarum audire terrorem, pauper in fide, pauper in gratia, non habens divitias spirituales, nec scientiam Scripturarum, quae auro et argento, et pretioso lapidi comparantur. Quoniam igitur non egent sani medico, sed hi qui male habent, propterea et apostolis in dexterarum communicatione convenit, ne spernerent pauperes, ne despicerent peccatores; sed semper meminissent eorum, sicut Paulus Corinthii illius meminit, quem cum in priore Epistola contristasset ad tempus, ut corpore per poenitentiam laborante, spiritu salvus fieret (I Cor. V): in secunda, ne majori tristitia absorberetur, revocat ad Ecclesiam. Petitque cunctos, ut confirment in eum charitatem, et donent fratri sicut ipse unicuique eorum in facie Christi donaverit, implens pactum quod Jerosolymis fecerat, ut semper pauperum recordaretur.

(Vers. 11 seq.) Cum autem venisset Petrus Antiochiam, in faciem ei restiti: quia reprehensibilis erat. Prius enim quam venirent quidam a Jacobo, cum gentibus edebat. Cum autem venissent, subtrahebat et segregabat se timens eos qui ex circumcisione erant, et simulationi ejus consenserunt, et caeteri Iudaei: ita ut et Barnabas duceretur ab eis in illa simulatione.

The holy poor, whose care is especially committed by the apostles to Paul and Barnabas, are those who, believing from the Jews, brought the prices of their possessions to the feet of the apostles to be bestowed upon the needy, either because they were held in detestation and as an expiation by their fellow tribesmen, kinsmen, and parents, as deserters of the Law and believers in a crucified man. In whose ministry how much labor the holy apostle Paul sweat, his Epistles are witnesses, writing to the Corinthians and to the Thessalonians, to all the Churches of the Gentiles, that they should prepare this gift to be carried to Jerusalem by themselves or by others who had pleased them. Whence he now confidently says, "which very thing I was also solicitous to do."

But the poor can also be understood in another way, of whom it is said in the Gospel: "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matth. 5:3). For such merit to be in the memory of the apostles. And also those poor of whom it is written in Solomon: "The redemption of a man's soul are his own riches" (Prov. 13:8). But the poor man does not sustain the threat. For he cannot hear the terror of future punishments, being poor in faith, poor in grace, not having spiritual riches, nor the knowledge of the Scriptures, which are compared to gold and silver and precious stone. Since, therefore, the healthy do not need a physician, but those who are ill, for that reason it also agreed with the apostles in the communication of right hands that they should not spurn the poor, nor despise sinners; but should always remember them, just as Paul remembered that Corinthian, whom when he had made sorrowful for a time in the first Epistle, so that by the body laboring through penance, he might be saved in spirit (1 Cor. 5): in the second, lest he should be absorbed by greater sorrow, he calls him back to the Church. And he asks all that they confirm charity toward him, and forgive the brother just as he himself has forgiven each of them in the face of Christ, fulfilling the pact which he had made at Jerusalem, that he should always be mindful of the poor.

(Verse 11 seq.) But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that some came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles. But when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them who were of the circumcision. And to his dissimulation the rest of the Jews consented, so that Barnabas also was led by them into that dissimulation.

Ex eo quod Petrus antequam quidam de Jerosolymis Antiochiam venirent, edebat cum gentibus, ostenditur non eum oblitum fuisse praecepti: nullum hominem communem et immundum dicere; sed quia propter eos, qui adhuc Legis observandam putabant, paululum se a convictu subtraxerat gentium (ita ut etiam caeteri qui ex Judaeis erant, similiter facerent, et Barnabas qui cum Paulo in gentibus Evangelium praedicabat, hoc facere cogeretur), hi qui Antiochiae crediderant ex gentibus, nec fuerant circumcisi, compellebantur ad Legis onera transcendere: non intelligentes dispensationem Petri, qua Judaeos salvari cuperet: sed putantes ita se Evangelii habere rationem. Cum itaque vidisset apostolus Paulus periclitari gratiam Christi, nova bellator vetus usus est arte pugnandi, ut dispensationem Petri, qua Judaeos salvari cupiebat, nova ipse contradictionis dispensatione corrigeret, et resisteret ei in faciem: non arguens propositum; sed quasi in publico contradicens, ut ex eo quod Paulus eum arguens, resistebat, hi qui crediderant ex gentibus, servarentur.

Quod si putat aliquis, vere Paulum Petro apostolo restitisse, et pro veritate Evangelii intrepide fecisse injuriam praecessori, non ei stabit illud quod et ipse Paulus Judaeis Judaeus factus est, ut Judaeos lucrifaceret, et ejusdem simulationis tenebitur reus, quando caput totondit in Ceneris, et facto calvitio, oblationem obtulit in Jerusalem (Actor. XVIII), et Timotheum circumcidit (Ibid., XVI), et nudipedalia exercuit, quae utique manifestissime de caeremoniis Judaeorum sunt. Si itaque ipse qui ad praedicationem gentium missus erat, non putavit abs re dicere: Sine offendiculo estote Judaeis et Ecclesiae Dei (I Cor. XIII, 31); quomodo et ego omnibus per omnia placeo, non quaerens quod mihi utile est, sed quod multis, ut salventur; et fecit aliqua quae contraria essent Evangelii libertati, ne scandalizaret Judaeos: qua auctoritate, qua fronte audet hoc in Petro reprehendere, qui circumcisionis apostolus erat, quod ipse apostolus gentium arguitur commisisse?

Sed ut ante jam diximus, restitit secundum faciem publicam Petro et caeteris, ut hypocrisis observandae Legis, quae nocebat eis qui ex gentibus crediderant, correptionis hypocrisi emendaretur, et uterque populus salvus fieret, dum et qui circumcisionem laudant, Petrum sequuntur; et qui circumcidi nolunt, Pauli praedicant libertatem. Quod autem ait, reprehensibilis erat, propterea inediae temperavit; ut intelligamus non tam Paulo eum fuisse reprehensibilem, quam his fratribus cum quibus ante edens, se ab eis postea separabat.

From the fact that Peter, before certain ones came from Jerusalem to Antioch, used to eat with the Gentiles, it is shown that he had not forgotten the precept: to call no man common or unclean; but because on account of those who still thought the Law ought to be observed, he had for a little while withdrawn himself from the company of the Gentiles (so that also the others who were from the Jews did likewise, and Barnabas, who was preaching the Gospel with Paul among the Gentiles, was compelled to do this), those who at Antioch had believed from the Gentiles and had not been circumcised, were compelled to pass over to the burdens of the Law: not understanding the dispensation of Peter, by which he desired the Jews to be saved: but thinking that such was the reason of the Gospel. When therefore the apostle Paul saw the grace of Christ to be in danger, a new warrior used an old art of fighting, so that he might correct the dispensation of Peter, by which he desired the Jews to be saved, by a new dispensation of contradiction, and withstand him to the face: not rebuking his purpose, but as it were contradicting him in public, so that from the fact that Paul, rebuking him, withstood him, those who had believed from the Gentiles might be preserved.

But if anyone thinks that Paul truly withstood the apostle Peter, and for the truth of the Gospel intrepidly did injury to his predecessor, it will not stand for him that Paul himself also became a Jew to the Jews, that he might gain the Jews, and he will be held guilty of the same dissimulation when he shaved his head in Cenchreae, and with his head made bald, offered an oblation in Jerusalem (Acts 18), and circumcised Timothy (Ibid. 16), and practiced barefootedness, which certainly are most manifest among the ceremonies of the Jews. If therefore he himself who had been sent to the preaching of the Gentiles did not think it out of place to say: "Be without offense to the Jews and to the Church of God" (1 Cor. 10:32); and "as I also please all men in all things, not seeking that which is profitable to myself, but to many, that they may be saved"; and did some things which were contrary to the liberty of the Gospel, lest he should scandalize the Jews: by what authority, with what face does he dare to rebuke this in Peter, who was the apostle of the circumcision, which the apostle of the Gentiles himself is argued to have committed?

But as we have already said before, he withstood Peter and the rest according to the public face, so that the hypocrisy of observing the Law, which was harming those who had believed from the Gentiles, might be amended by the hypocrisy of correction, and both peoples might be saved, while both those who praise circumcision follow Peter, and those who do not wish to be circumcised preach the liberty of Paul. Moreover, as to what he says, "he was to be blamed," he tempered the lack of food for this reason; that we may understand that he was not so much blameworthy to Paul as to those brethren with whom he was eating before, and afterwards separated himself from them.

Utilem vero simulationem, et assumendam in tempore, Jeliu regis Israel nos doceat exemplum, qui non potuisset interficere sacerdotes Baal, nisi se finxisset velle idolum colere, dicens: Congregate mihi omnes sacerdotes Baal: si enim Achab servivit Baal in paucis: ego serviam in multis (IV Reg. X, 18). Et David quando mutavit faciem suam coram Abimelech, et dimisit eum, et abiit (I Reg. XXI). Nec mirum, quamvis justos homines, tamen aliqua simulare pro tempore, ob suam et aliorum salutem, cum et ipse Dominus noster non habens peccatum, nec carnem peccati, simulationem peccatricis carnis assumpserit, ut condemnans in carne peccatum, nos in se faceret justitiam Dei. Legerat utique Paulus in Evangelio Dominum praecipientem: Si autem peccaverit in te frater tuus, vade et corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum. Si te audierit, lucrifeceris fratrem tuum (Luc. XVII, 3). Et quomodo cum etiam de minimis fratribus hoc faciendum jusserit, ausus est apostolorum maximum in publica facie tam procaciter, tam constanter arguere; nisi et Petro sic placuisset argui, et Paulus non ei faceret injuriam de quo ante dixerat: Veni Jerosolymam videre Petrum, et mansi apud eum diebus quindecim: alium autem apostolorum vidi neminem. Et rursum: Qui enim operatus est Petro in apostolatam circumcisionis. Et infra: Petrus et Jacobus et Joannes, qui videbantur columnae esse, et caetera quae in ejus laudes perorat. Aliquoties cum adolescentulus Romae controversias declamarem, et ad vera certamina fictis me litibus exercerem, currebam ad tribunalia judicum, et disertissimos oratorum tanta inter se videbam acerbitate contendere, ut omissis saepe negotiis, in proprias contumelias verterentur, et joculari se invicem dente morderent. Si hoc illi faciunt, ut apud reos nullam suspicionem praevaricationis incurrant, et fallunt populum circumstantem: quid putamus tantas Ecclesiae columnas, Petrum et Paulum, tanta vasa sapientiae inter dissidentes Judaeos atque gentiles facere debuisse? nisi ut eorum simulata contentio, pax credentium fieret, et Ecclesiae fides sancto inter eos jurgio concordaret. Sunt qui Cephan, cui hic in faciem Paulus restitisse se scribit, non putant apostolum Petrum, sed alium de septuaginta discipulis isto vocabulo nuncupatum. Et dicunt nequaquam Petrum a convictu gentium se potuisse subtrahere, qui et centurionem Cornelium baptizarat. Et cum ascendisset Jerosolymam, disceptantibus adversus se qui erant ex Circumcisione, et dicentibus: Quare introisti ad viros praeputium habentes, et manducasti cum illis (Act. XI, 3)? post narrationem visionis, tali responsionem suam fine concluderit: Si ergo eamdem gratiam dedit illis Deus, sicut et nobis qui credidimus in Dominum Jesum Christum: ego quis eram qui possem prohibere Deum?

But an example of useful dissimulation, and to be assumed in time, the case of Jehu king of Israel teaches us, who could not have killed the priests of Baal unless he had feigned that he wished to worship the idol, saying: "Gather to me all the priests of Baal: for if Ahab served Baal in a few things, I will serve him in many" (4 Kings 10:18). And David when he changed his face before Abimelech, and he dismissed him, and he went away (1 Sam. 21). Nor is it a wonder, although they were just men, yet that they should simulate some things for the time, for their own and others' salvation, since even our Lord himself, not having sin, nor the flesh of sin, assumed the simulation of sinful flesh, so that condemning sin in the flesh, he might make us the justice of God in himself. Paul had certainly read in the Gospel the Lord commanding: "But if thy brother shall sin against thee, go and rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother" (Luke 17:3). And how, when he commanded this to be done even concerning the least brethren, did he dare so forwardly, so constantly to rebuke the greatest of the apostles in the public face; unless it had also pleased Peter to be so rebuked, and Paul did not do an injury to him of whom he had said before: "I came to Jerusalem to see Peter, and I tarried with him fifteen days: but other of the apostles I saw none." And again: "For he who worked in Peter for the apostleship of the circumcision." And below: "Peter and James and John, who seemed to be pillars," and the rest which he perorates in his praises. Sometimes when as a young man I would declaim controversies at Rome, and would exercise myself in feigned disputes for real contests, I would run to the tribunals of the judges, and I would see the most eloquent of orators contend among themselves with such bitterness, that the business being often omitted, they would turn to personal insults, and bite each other with a joking tooth. If they do this, so that they may incur no suspicion of collusion before the accused, and they deceive the surrounding people: what do we think such great pillars of the Church, Peter and Paul, such vessels of wisdom, ought to have done among the dissenting Jews and Gentiles? unless that their simulated contention should become the peace of the believers, and the faith of the Church should harmonize by the holy quarrel between them. There are those who think that Cephas, to whom Paul writes here that he withstood him to the face, is not the apostle Peter, but another of the seventy disciples called by that name. And they say that Peter could by no means have withdrawn himself from the company of the Gentiles, who had also baptized the centurion Cornelius. And when he had ascended to Jerusalem, those who were of the Circumcision disputing against him and saying: "Why didst thou go in to men having uncircumcision, and didst eat with them?" (Acts 11:3), after the narration of the vision, he concluded his response with such an end: "If therefore God gave to them the same grace, as also to us who have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ: who was I that I could prohibit God?

Quibus auditis, tacuerunt, et glorificaverunt Deum, dicentes: ergo et gentibus Deus poenitentiam ad vitam dedit; maxime cum Lucas scriptor historiae, nullam hujus dissensionis faciat mentionem; nec dicat umquam Petrum Antiochiae fuisse cum Paulo, et locum dari Porphyrio blasphemanti; si autem Petrus errasse, aut Paulus procaciter apostolorum principem confutasse credatur. Quibus primum respondendum, alterius nescio cujus Cephae nescire nos nomen, nisi ejus qui et in Evangelio, et in aliis Pauli Epistolis, et in hac quoque ipsa modo Cephas, modo Petrus, scribitur. Non quod aliud significet Petrus, aliud Cephas: sed quod quam nos Latine et Graece petram vocemus, hanc Hebraei et Syri propter linguae inter se viciniam, Cephā nuncupent. Deinde totum argumentum epistolae quod oblique de Petro, Jacobo, et Joanne dicitur, huic intelligentiae repugnare. Nec mirum esse si Lucas hanc rem tacuerit, cum et alia multa quae Paulus sustinuisse se replicat, historiographi licentia praetermiserit: et non statim esse contrarium, si quod alius ob causam dignum putavit relatu, alius inter caetera dereliquit. Denique primum episcopum Antiochenae Ecclesiae Petrum fuisse accepimus, et Romam exinde translatus, quod Lucas penitus omisit. Ad extremum si propter Porphyrii blasphemiam, alius nobis fingendus est Cephas, ne Petrus putetur errasse, infinita de Scripturis erunt radenda divinis, quae ille, quia non intelligit, criminatur. Sed et adversum Porphyrium, in alio, si Christus jusserit, opere pugnabimus: nunc reliqua prosequamur.

(Vers. 14.) Sed cum vidissem quod non recto pede incedunt ad veritatem Evangelii, dixi Petro coram omnibus.

Sicut hi qui sanis gressibus claudicare se simulant, non vitium habent in pedibus, sed est aliqua causa cur claudicent, ita et Petrus sciens circumcisionem et praeputium nihil esse, sed observationem mandatorum Dei, edebat quidem ante cum gentibus, sed pro tempore ab eis se, ne Judaeos a fide Christi perderet, subtrahebat. Unde et Paulus eadem arte qua ille simulabat, ei restitit in faciem, et loquitur coram omnibus; non tam ut Petrum arguat, quam ut hi, quorum causa Petrus simulaverat, corrigantur, vel ut etiam Judaeis superbia, gentibus desperatio tolleretur. Quod si cui iste non placet sensus, quo nec Petrus peccasse, nec Paulus procaciter ostenditur arguisse majorem, debet exponere qua consequentia hoc Paulus in altero reprehendat, quod ipse commisit.

Which things having been heard, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying: therefore God hath also given to the Gentiles penance unto life; especially since Luke the writer of the history makes no mention of this dissension; nor does he ever say that Peter was at Antioch with Paul, and that place is given to the blaspheming Porphyry; if indeed Peter be believed to have erred, or Paul to have forwardly refuted the prince of the apostles. To whom it must first be responded, that we do not know the name of any other Cephas, except him who both in the Gospel and in other Epistles of Paul, and in this very one also, is written sometimes as Cephas, sometimes as Peter. Not that Peter signifies one thing and Cephas another: but that which we call "petra" in Latin and Greek, this the Hebrews and Syrians, on account of the vicinity of the languages between themselves, call Cephas. Then the whole argument of the epistle which is said obliquely concerning Peter, James, and John, is repugnant to this understanding. Nor is it a wonder if Luke was silent about this matter, since also many other things which Paul recounts that he sustained, he passed over by the license of a historiographer: and it is not immediately contrary if what one thought worthy of report for a cause, another left behind among the rest. Finally, we have received that Peter was the first bishop of the Antiochene Church, and was translated from there to Rome, which Luke entirely omitted. At the last, if on account of the blasphemy of Porphyry another Cephas must be feigned by us lest Peter be thought to have erred, infinite things will have to be erased from the divine Scriptures, which he, because he does not understand, criminalizes. But also against Porphyry, in another work, if Christ shall command, we will fight: now let us pursue the rest.

(Verse 14.) But when I saw that they walked not uprightly unto the truth of the Gospel, I said to Peter before them all.

Just as those who with healthy steps feign that they limp, do not have a defect in their feet, but there is some cause why they should limp, so also Peter, knowing circumcision and uncircumcision to be nothing, but the observation of the commandments of God, did indeed eat before with the Gentiles, but for a time withdrew himself from them lest he should lose the Jews from the faith of Christ. Whence also Paul, by the same art by which that one was simulating, withstood him to the face, and speaks before all; not so much that he may rebuke Peter, as that those for whose sake Peter had simulated might be corrected, or that even pride might be taken away from the Jews, and despair from the Gentiles. But if this sense does not please anyone, by which neither Peter is shown to have sinned, nor Paul to have forwardly rebuked his superior, he ought to explain by what consequence Paul should reprehend in another what he himself committed.

Si tu, cum Judaeus sis, gentiliter, et non Judaice vivis: quomodo gentes cogis judaizare? Indissolubili argumento constringit Petrum, immo per Petrum, eos qui pugnancia illum inter se facere cogeant: Si, inquit, o Petre, tu natura Judaeus es, circumcisis a parva aetate, et universa Legis praecepta custodiens, nunc ob gratiam Christi scis ea nihil per se habere utilitatis, sed exemplaria esse et imagines futurorum, et cum his qui ex gentibus sunt, cibum capis, nequaquam ut ante superstitiose, sed libere et indifferenter victitans: quomodo eos qui ex gentibus crediderunt, nunc recedens ab eis, et quasi a contaminatis te separans et secernens, compellis judaizare? Si enim immundi sunt a quibus recedis, idcirco autem recedis, quia non habent circumcisionem, compellis eos circumcidi et Judaeos fieri: cum tu ipse natus Judaeus, gentiliter vixeris. Et laetanter ostendit causam quare adversum eum disputaverit: quia scilicet gentes simulatione sua judaizare compelleret, dum eum cupiunt aemulari.

(Vers. 15.) Nos natura Judaei, et non ex gentibus peccatores.

Subrepunt hoc loco Haeretici, qui ridicula quaedam et inepta fingentes, aiunt, nec spiritualement peccare posse naturam: nec juste aliquid facere terrenam. Quos interrogemus quare de bona oliva rami fracti sunt, et cur de oleastro in radicem bonae olivae inserti sint, si nec de bono cadere quidquam potest, nec de malo surgere? Aut quomodo vel Paulus persecutus sit ante Ecclesiam, si de natura spirituali fuit: aut postea Apostolus factus, si de terrena faece generatus est. Quod si terrenum eum non fuisse contenderint, ipsius verba ponamus: Eramus filii natura irae, sicut et caeteri (Ephes. II, 3). Natura Judaeus est qui de genere est Abraham, et a parentibus die octavo circumcisis est. Non natura Judaeus, qui postea est factus ex gentibus.

Ut autem totum argumentum brevi sermone comprehendam, sensus est iste qui textitur: Nos, id est, ego et tu, Petre (miscuit enim personam suam, ne illi facere videretur injuriam), cum essemus, inquit, natura Judaei, ea facientes quae lege praecepta sunt, et non ex gentibus peccatores, qui vel generaliter, quia idolis serviunt, peccatores sunt, vel quos nunc putamus immundos, scientes quod non possimus ex Legis opere, sed ex Christi salvari fide, credidimus in Christum, ut quod Lex nobis non dederat, fides tribueret quam habebamus in Christo.

"If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" He constrains Peter with an indissoluble argument, or rather through Peter, those who were compelling him to do things fighting against each other: "If," he says, "O Peter, thou art a Jew by nature, circumcised from a young age, and keeping all the precepts of the Law, now on account of the grace of Christ thou knowest that they have no utility in themselves, but are examples and images of future things, and thou takest food with those who are from the Gentiles, by no means superstitiously as before, but living freely and indifferently: how dost thou, now receding from them and separating and discerning thyself as from contaminated ones, compel those who have believed from the Gentiles to live as do the Jews? For if those from whom thou recedest are unclean, and thou recedest for this reason because they do not have circumcision, thou compellest them to be circumcised and to become Jews: when thou thyself, born a Jew, hast lived after the manner of Gentiles." And he joyfully shows the cause why he disputed against him: namely, because he would compel the Gentiles to judaize by his simulation, while they desire to emulate him.

(Verse 15.) We by nature Jews, and not of the Gentiles sinners.

Heretics creep in at this place, who, feigning certain ridiculous and inept things, say that neither a spiritual nature can sin, nor a terrestrial nature do anything justly. Let us ask them why branches were broken off from the good olive tree, and why those from the wild olive were inserted into the root of the good olive tree, if neither anything can fall from the good, nor rise from the evil? Or how Paul even persecuted the Church before, if he was of a spiritual nature: or was afterward made an Apostle, if he was generated from terrestrial dregs. But if they contend that he was not terrestrial, let us put his own words: "We were by nature children of wrath, even as the rest" (Ephes. 2:3). He is a Jew by nature who is of the race of Abraham, and was circumcised by his parents on the eighth day. He is not a Jew by nature who was afterward made from the Gentiles.

But that I may comprehend the whole argument in a brief discourse, this is the sense which is woven: We, that is, I and thou, Peter (for he mixed his person, lest he should seem to do him injury), when we were, he says, by nature Jews, doing those things which are commanded by the Law, and not of the Gentiles sinners—who either generally, because they serve idols, are sinners, or whom we now think unclean—knowing that we cannot be saved by the work of the Law, but by the faith of Christ, we believed in Christ, so that what the Law had not given us, the faith which we had in Christ might bestow.

Quod si recedentes a Lege, in qua salvari non potuimus, transcendimus ad fidem, in qua non carnis quaeritur circumcisio, sed cordis puri devotio: et nunc a gentibus recedendo hoc agimus, ut quicumque non sit circumcisis, immundus sit: ergo fides in Christum, in qua nos putabamus ante salvari, magis peccati est ministra, quam iustitiae, quae aufert circumcisionem, quam qui non habuerit, immundus est. Sed absit, ut quod semel destruxi, et scivi mihi non profuisse, rursum vindicem. Semel a Lege discedens, Legi sum mortuus, ut in Christo viverem, crucique ejus affixus, et in novum renatus hominem, fide magis quam carne subsisterem, et cum Christo egrederer e mundo. Quod semel adorsus sum, teneo. Non mihi gratis Christus est mortuus: in quo frustra credidi, si potui absque fide ejus in veteri Lege salvari.

(Vers. 16). Scientes autem quod non justificatur homo ex operibus Legis, nisi per fidem Jesu Christi: et nos in Christo Jesu credidimus, ut justificemur in fide Christi, et non ex operibus Legis.

Aiunt quidam: si verum hoc sit quod Paulus affirmat, ex operibus Legis neminem justificari, sed ex fide Jesu Christi, patriarchas et prophetas, et sanctos, qui ante Christi adventum fuerunt, imperfectos fuisse. Quos admonere debemus eos hic dici iustitiam non consecutos, qui tantum ex operibus justificari posse se credunt. Sanctos autem, qui antiquitus fuerint, ex fide Christi justificados. Siquidem Abraham vidit diem Christi, et laetatus est. Et Moyses majores divitias aestimavit thesauro Aegyptiorum, improprium Christi. Aspiciebat enim in remunerationem. Et Isaias vidit gloriam Christi (Isai. VI), ut Joannes evangelista commemorat, et Judas de omnibus generaliter: Commonere, inquit, vos volo, scientes semel omnia: quoniam Jesus populum de terra Aegypti salvans: secundo eos qui non crediderunt, perdidit (Jud. V). Unde non tam Legis opera damnantur, quam hi qui tantum ex operibus justificari se posse confidunt, Salvatore quoque ad discipulos loquente, Nisi superabundaverit iustitia vestra plus quam Scribarum et Phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum coelorum (Matth. V, 20).

Congregandum hoc in loco quanta in Lege praecepta sint, quae explere nullus queat. Et econtrario dicendum, quaedam Legis etiam ab his fieri qui ignorent eam. Sed ideo non justificari operadores ejus, quia absque fide Christi fiant: verbi gratia, non dormire cum viro dormitatione mulieris, non adulterari, non rapere, sed magis honorare patrem et matrem, et caetera, quae imperata sunt, facere.

But if, receding from the Law, in which we could not be saved, we pass over to the faith, in which not circumcision of the flesh is sought, but the devotion of a pure heart: and now by receding from the Gentiles we act so that whoever is not circumcised is unclean: therefore faith in Christ, in which we thought before to be saved, is more a minister of sin than of justice, which takes away circumcision, which whoever does not have is unclean. But far be it, that what I once destroyed and knew had not profited me, I should again claim. Once departing from the Law, I am dead to the Law, that I might live in Christ, and affixed to his cross, and reborn into a new man, I might subsist more by faith than by flesh, and might go out from the world with Christ. What I have once begun, I hold. Christ died not for me in vain: in whom I have believed to no purpose, if I could be saved in the old Law without his faith.

(Verse 16). Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the Law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ: we also have believed in Christ Jesus, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the Law.

Some say: if this be true which Paul affirms, that no one is justified by the works of the Law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, then the patriarchs and prophets and saints who were before the advent of Christ were imperfect. Whom we ought to admonish that those are said here not to have attained justice who believe they can be justified only by works. But that the saints who were of old were justified by the faith of Christ. Since indeed Abraham saw the day of Christ and rejoiced. And Moses esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasure of the Egyptians. For he looked unto the reward. And Isaiah saw the glory of Christ (Isaiah 6), as John the evangelist records, and Jude concerning all generally: "I will put you in remembrance," he says, "knowing all things once: how that Jesus, saving the people out of the land of Egypt, did afterwards destroy them that believed not" (Jude 5). Whence not so much the works of the Law are condemned, as those who trust that they can be justified only by works, the Savior also saying to the disciples: "Unless your justice abound more than that of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matth. 5:20).

It is to be considered in this place how many precepts are in the Law, which no one can fulfill. And on the contrary it must be said that certain things of the Law are done even by those who are ignorant of it. But therefore its operators are not justified, because they are done without the faith of Christ: for example, not to sleep with a man in the manner of a woman, not to commit adultery, not to rob, but rather to honor father and mother, and to do the other things which are commanded.

Quod si de sanctis viris nobis exempla protulerint: quod in Lege versati, ea quae Legis fuerant, perpetrarint, dicemus: Quia justo Lex non est posita, sed iniquis et non subditis, impiis et peccatoribus, contaminatis et immundis (I Tim. I). Qui autem a Deo doctus sit, non habere eum necesse, ut vel de charitate doceatur, Paulo dicente: De charitate autem non necesse habeo scribere vobis: ipsi enim vos a Deo docti estis, ut diligatis invicem (IV Thess. IV, 9).

(Vers. 17, 18.) Propter quod ex operibus Legis non justificabitur omnis caro. Quod si quaerentes justificari in Christo, inventi sumus et ipsi peccatores: numquid Christus peccati minister est? Absit. Si enim quae destruxi, haec iterum reaedifico, praevaricatorem me constituo. Non justificabitur ex operibus Legis caro illa, de qua scribitur: Omnis caro fenum; et omnis gloria ejus, quasi flos agri (Isai. XL, 6). Justificatur autem ex fide Jesu Christi caro illa, de qua in resurrectionis dicitur sacramento: Omnis caro videbit salutare Dei (Luc. III, 6). Sed et juxta humiliorem intellectum, justificabatur quondam ex Lege non omnis caro, sed tantum hi homines qui in Palaestina erant. Nunc autem ex fide Jesu Christi justificatur omnis caro, dum Ecclesia ejus in toto orbe fundatur.

(Vers. 19.) Ego enim per Legem Legi mortuus sum, ut Deo vivam.

Aliud est per Legem mori, aliud Legi mori. Qui Legi moritur, vivebat ei antequam moreretur, observans sabbata et neomenias, et dies festos, et victimarum typicam curiositatem, et fabulas Judaicas, et genealogias. Postquam autem venit Christus et Lex, de qua scriptum est: Scimus autem quia Lex spiritualis est (Rom. VII, 14), per Evangelicam legem, Legi pristinae mortuus est: et anima, quae secundum id quod scribitur ad Romanos: Viro vivente, si nupsisset, adultera vocabatur: mortuo viro suo, id est, lege veteri, nupsit Legi Spirituali, ut fructificaret Deo. Unde et in Osce ad eam dicitur: Ex me fructus tuus inventus est (Osee XIV, 9). Cui pulchre mysticum illud infertur: Quis sapiens, et intelliget ista: intelligens, et cognoscet ea? Qui per legem igitur spiritualem, Legi litterae moritur, Deo vivit, cum non sit sine lege Dei, sed in lege sit Christi. Qui vero legi moritur ob peccata, mortuus quidem est; sed non potest de eo dici quod sequitur, ut vivat Deo. Esse autem legem aliam spiritualem extra Legem litterae, et alibi Apostolus docet, dicens: Itaque lex quidem sancta, et mandatum sanctum, et justum, et bonum (Rom. VII, 12).

But if they bring forth examples to us concerning holy men, that being conversant in the Law they performed those things which were of the Law, we will say: "That the Law is not made for a just man, but for the unjust and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for the defiled and unclean" (1 Tim. 1:9). But he who is taught by God does not have it necessary that he should even be taught concerning charity, Paul saying: "But as touching brotherly love, I have no need to write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another" (1 Thess. 4:9).

(Verses 17, 18.) For which reason by the works of the Law shall no flesh be justified. But if, while we seek to be justified in Christ, we ourselves also are found sinners: is Christ therefore the minister of sin? God forbid. For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a prevaricator. That flesh shall not be justified by the works of the Law, of which it is written: "All flesh is grass; and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field" (Isaiah 40:6). But that flesh is justified by the faith of Jesus Christ, of which it is said in the sacrament of the resurrection: "All flesh shall see the salvation of God" (Luke 3:6). But also according to a humbler understanding, formerly not all flesh was justified by the Law, but only those men who were in Palestine. Now, however, all flesh is justified by the faith of Jesus Christ, while his Church is founded in the whole world.

(Verse 19.) For I through the Law am dead to the Law, that I may live unto God.

It is one thing to die through the Law, another to die to the Law. He who dies to the Law was living to it before he died, observing sabbaths and new moons and feast days, and the typical curiosity of victims, and Jewish fables and genealogies. But after Christ came, and the Law of which it is written: "For we know that the Law is spiritual" (Rom. 7:14), through the Evangelical law, he died to the former Law: and the soul, which according to what is written to the Romans, while her husband lived, if she married another, was called an adulteress: her husband being dead, that is, the old law, she married the Spiritual Law, that she might bring forth fruit unto God. Whence also in Hosea it is said to her: "From me is thy fruit found" (Hosea 14:9). To which beautifully that mystical word is added: "Who is wise, and will understand these things: understanding, and will know them?" He therefore who through the spiritual law dies to the Law of the letter, lives unto God, since he is not without the law of God, but is in the law of Christ. But he who dies to the law on account of sins is indeed dead; but it cannot be said of him what follows, "that he may live unto God." Moreover, that there is another spiritual law besides the Law of the letter, the Apostle also teaches elsewhere, saying: "Wherefore the law indeed is holy, and the commandment holy and just and good" (Rom. 7:12).

Et Ezechiel ex persona Dei: Eduxi, inquit, eos, id est, populum Judaeorum, de terra Aegypti: et adduxi eos in desertum: et dedi eis praecepta mea, et justificationes meas ostendi illis: quas faciet homo, et vivet in eis (Ezech. XX, 10). De ea vero lege quae iram operatur, cui et Apostolus mortuus est, postea infert: Et ego dedi eis praecepta non bona, et justificationes in quibus non vivent in eis (Ibid., 25). Idipsum significatur et in Psalterio: Quoniam non cognovi litteraturam, introibo in fortitudinem Domini (Ps. LXX, 51).

Christo confixus sum cruci. Quia dixerat se per legem legi mortuum, quomodo mortuus fuerit, ostendit: Christo confixus sum cruci, tollens crucem suam, et Christum sequens, et in ipsa obsecrans passione: Memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum (Luc. XXIII, 42, 43). Statimque audiens: Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. Si quis mortificatis membris super terram, et mundo mortuus, configuratus fuerit morti Jesu Christi, crucifigitur cum Jesu, et tropaeum mortificationis suae, in ligno Dominicae passionis affigit.

(Vers. 20.) Vivo autem jam non ego: vivit autem in me Christus. Non vivit ille qui quondam vivebat in Lege, quippe qui persequabatur Ecclesiam. Vivit autem in eo Christus, sapientia, fortitudo, sermo, pax, gaudium, caeteraeque virtutes; quas qui non habet, non potest dicere: Vivit autem in me Christus, hoc autem totum sub sua persona adversum Petrum de Petro disputat.

Quod autem nunc vivo in carne. Aliud est in carne esse, et in carne vivere. Qui enim in carne sunt, Deo placere non possunt (Rom. VIII, 8, 9). Unde ad bene viventes dicitur: Vos autem non estis in carne.

In fide vivo Filii Dei, qui dilexit me et tradidit semetipsum pro me. Ad Romanos de Deo loquitur, quod Filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis tradiderit eum. Nunc vero de Christo, quod se ipse tradidit: Qui dilexit me, inquit, et tradidit semetipsum pro me. In Evangelio vero ubi Apostoli enumerantur, infertur: Et Judas Iscariotis qui et tradidit eum (Luc. VI, 16). Rursum in eodem: Ecce appropinquavit qui tradet me (Matt. XXVI, 46). De principibus vero sacerdotum, et senioribus populi Scriptura commemorat, quod condemnaverint Jesum morti, et ligantes eum, duxerint et tradiderint Pilato praesidi (Ibid., XXVII, et Marc. XV). Et deinceps de Pilato: Dimisit eis Barrabam, Jesum autem flagellatum tradidit eis, ut crucifigerent illum (Joan. XIX). Igitur et Pater tradidit Filium: et Filius ipse se tradidit: et Judas et sacerdotes eum principibus tradiderunt, et ad extremum traditum sibi, tradidit ipse Pilatus.

And Ezekiel from the person of God: "I brought them out," he says, that is, the people of the Jews, "out of the land of Egypt: and I brought them into the wilderness: and I gave them my precepts, and I showed them my justifications: which if a man do, he shall live in them" (Ezek. 20:10). But concerning that law which worketh wrath, to which also the Apostle is dead, he afterward adds: "And I gave them precepts that were not good, and justifications in which they shall not live in them" (Ibid. 25). The very same is signified also in the Psalter: "Because I have not known literature, I will enter into the strength of the Lord" (Ps. 70:15).

"With Christ I am nailed to the cross." Because he had said that he was dead to the law through the law, he shows how he died: "With Christ I am nailed to the cross," taking up his cross and following Christ, and in that very passion beseeching: "Remember me, when thou shalt come into thy kingdom" (Luke 23:42). And immediately hearing: "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." If anyone, his members being mortified upon the earth and dead to the world, shall be configured to the death of Jesus Christ, he is crucified with Jesus, and fixes the trophy of his mortification on the wood of the Lord's passion.

(Verse 20.) "And I live, now not I: but Christ liveth in me." He does not live who once lived in the Law, who indeed persecuted the Church. But Christ lives in him: wisdom, strength, word, peace, joy, and the other virtues; which he who does not have cannot say: "But Christ liveth in me." Moreover, he disputes all this under his own person against Peter concerning Peter.

"And that I now live in the flesh." It is one thing to be in the flesh, and another to live in the flesh. For they who are in the flesh cannot please God (Rom. 8:8). Whence it is said to those living well: "But you are not in the flesh."

"In the faith I live of the Son of God, who loved me and delivered himself for me." To the Romans he speaks concerning God, that he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us. But now concerning Christ, that he delivered himself up: "Who loved me," he says, "and delivered himself for me." Moreover, in the Gospel where the Apostles are enumerated, it is added: "And Judas Iscariot, who also delivered him" (Luke 6:16). Again in the same: "Behold, he is at hand that will deliver me" (Matt. 26:46). Moreover, concerning the princes of the priests and the elders of the people, the Scripture records that they condemned Jesus to death, and binding him, led him and delivered him to Pilate the governor (Ibid. 27, and Mark 15). And thereafter concerning Pilate: "He released to them Barabbas, but Jesus, having been scourged, he delivered to them that they might crucify him" (John 19). Therefore the Father delivered the Son: and the Son himself delivered himself: and Judas and the priests delivered him to the princes, and at the last Pilate himself delivered him who had been delivered to him.

Sed Pater tradidit, ut salvaret perditum mundum: Jesus ipse se tradidit, ut Patris suamque faceret voluntatem: Judas autem et sacerdotes et seniores populi, et Pilatus, vitam morti nescii tradiderunt. Quae cum ipsa quoque se pro nostra salute tradiderit, beatus multumque felix, qui vivente in se Christo, per singulas cogitationes et opera potest dicere: In fide vivo Filii Dei, qui dilexit me, et tradidit semetipsum pro me.

(Vers. 21.) Non abjicio gratiam Dei: si enim per Legem justitia; ergo Christus gratis mortuus est. Abjicit gratiam Dei, tam ille qui post Evangelium vivit in Lege, quam is qui peccatis post baptismum sordidatur. Qui autem potest juxta Apostolum dicere: Gratia ejus in me non fuit vacua (I Cor. XV, 10), iste et hoc loquitur confidenter: Non abjicio gratiam Dei. Quod autem sequitur, valde necessarium est adversum eos qui post fidem Christi putant Legis praecepta servanda. Dicendum quippe eis: Si per legem justitia est, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est. Aut certe doceant, quomodo non Christus gratis mortuus sit, si opera justificant. Sed quamvis sint hebetes, dicere non audebunt Christum sine causa mortuum. Ad particulam itaque syllogismi, quae hic proponitur, id est: Si enim per Legem justitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est, debemus illud assumere quod consequenter infertur, et negari non potest: Christus autem non est gratis mortuus; et concludere: Non igitur per Legem justitia. Hucusque contra Petrum, nunc ad Galatas revertitur.

(Cap. III.---Vers. 1.) O Insensati Galatae, quis vos fascinavit?

Dupliciter hic locus intelligi potest. Vel ideo insensatos Galatas appellatos, a majoribus ad minora venientes, quia coeperint spiritu, et carne consummentur: vel ob id, quod unaquaeque provincia suas habeat proprietates. Cretenses semper mendaces, malas bestias, ventres pigros, vere ab Epimenide poeta dictos, Apostolus comprobatur. Vanos Mauros, et feroces Dalmatas, Latinus pulsatur historicus. Timidos Phrygas, omnes poetae lacerant. Athenis expeditiora nasci ingenia, philosophi gloriantur. Graecos leves, apud C. Caesarem suggillat Tullius, dicens: Aut levium Graecorum, aut immanium barbarorum. Et pro Flacco: Ingenita, inquit, levitas, et erudita vanitas. Ipsum Israel, gravi corde, et dura cervice, omnes Scripturae arguunt. In hunc ergo modum arbitror et Apostolum Galatas regionis suae proprietate pulsasse.

Licet quidam profundis se quaestionibus inserentes, quasi sub obtentu vitandae haereseos, quae diverseas naturas infert, dicant, Tyrios quoque et Sidonios, Moabitas et Ammonitas, et Idumaeos, Babylonios et Aegyptios, omnesque Gentes, quae in Scripturis nominantur, habere quaedam idiomata ex causis praecedentibus, et merito operum pristinorum, ne justitia Dei veniat in dubium: cum unaquaeque gens vel bonum, vel malum habere asseratur, quod alia non habeat.

But the Father delivered him that he might save the lost world: Jesus delivered himself that he might do the Father's and his own will: but Judas and the priests and the elders of the people and Pilate delivered life to death, unknowingly. Which [Life] since it also delivered itself for our salvation, blessed and very happy is he who, Christ living in him, through individual thoughts and works can say: "In the faith I live of the Son of God, who loved me and delivered himself for me."

(Verse 21.) I do not cast away the grace of God: for if justice be through the Law, then Christ died in vain. He casts away the grace of God, both he who after the Gospel lives in the Law, and he who is defiled by sins after baptism. But he who can say according to the Apostle: "His grace in me was not in vain" (1 Cor. 15:10), this one also speaks confidently: "I do not cast away the grace of God." Moreover, what follows is very necessary against those who after the faith of Christ think that the precepts of the Law are to be kept. It must indeed be said to them: If justice is through the law, then Christ died in vain. Or certainly let them teach how it is that Christ did not die in vain, if works justify. But however dull they may be, they will not dare to say that Christ died without cause. Therefore, to the part of the syllogism which is proposed here, that is: "For if justice be through the Law, then Christ died in vain," we ought to assume that which is consequently inferred and cannot be denied: "But Christ did not die in vain"; and conclude: "Justice therefore is not through the Law." Thus far against Peter; now he returns to the Galatians.

(Chapter III.---Verse 1.) O senseless Galatians, who hath bewitched you?

This place can be understood in two ways. Either the Galatians are called senseless because they came from greater things to lesser things, since they began in the spirit and are consumed in the flesh: or because each province has its own properties. That the Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies, was truly said by the poet Epimenides, as the Apostle confirms. The Latin historian strikes at the vain Moors and the fierce Dalmatians. All the poets tear at the timid Phrygians. Philosophers boast that more expeditious wits are born in Athens. Cicero censures the light Greeks in the case of Gaius Caesar, saying: "Either of the light Greeks, or of the immense barbarians." And for Flaccus: "Innate levity," he says, "and learned vanity." All the Scriptures rebuke Israel itself for being of a heavy heart and a stiff neck. In this manner therefore I think the Apostle also struck at the Galatians by the property of their region.

Although some, inserting themselves into deep questions, as it were under the pretext of avoiding heresy which introduces diverse natures, say that the Tyrians also and Sidonians, Moabites and Ammonites, and Edomites, Babylonians and Egyptians, and all the nations named in the Scriptures, have certain idioms from preceding causes and by the merit of former works, lest the justice of God should come into doubt: since each nation is asserted to have either good or evil which another does not have.

Nos istas altitudines declinantes, superiora sectabimur: aut stultitiae eos argui, dicentes, per quam spiritum Legis et litteram dijudicare non possint: aut vitio gentis corripere, quod indociles sint et vecordes, et ad sapientiam tardiores.

Quod autem sequitur: Quis vos fascinavit (I Cor. XI), digne Paulo (qui etsi imperitus est sermone, non tamen scientia) debemus exponere: non quo scierit esse fascinum, qui vulgo putatur nocere; sed usus sermone sit trivii, et ut in caeteris, ita et in hoc quoque loco, verbum quotidianae sermocinationis assumpserit. Legimus in Proverbiis: Donum invidi cruciat oculos. Qui apud nos invidus, in Graeco significantius ponitur, fascinator: et in Sapientia quae Salomonis scribitur: Fascinatio malignitatis obscurat bona (Sap. IV, 22). Quibus docemur exemplis, quod vel invidus aliena felicitate crucietur: vel is in quo bona sint aliqua, alio fascinante, id est, invidente noceatur. Dicitur fascinus proprie infantibus nocere, et aetati parvulae, et his qui necdum firmo vestigio figant gradum. Unde et quidam e Gentibus: Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos. (Virgil. Eclog. 3.)

Hoc utrum verum, necne sit, Deus viderit: quia potest fieri, ut et daemones huic peccato serviant; et quoscumque in Dei opere vel coepisse, vel profecisse cognoverint, eos a bonis operibus avertant. Nunc illud in causa est, quod ex opinione vulgi sumptum putamus exemplum: ut quomodo tenera aetas noceri dicitur fascino: sic etiam Galatae in Christi fide nuper nati, et nutriti lacte, et non solido cibo (I Cor. III), veluti quodam fascinante sint nociti: et stomacho fidei nauseante, Spiritus sancti cibum evomuerint. Quod si aliquis contradicit, exponat quomodo de communi opinione sit sumptum, vallis Titanorum, in Regnorum libris (IV Reg. XXIII), Sirenae et Onocentauri in Isaia (Cap. XXXIV), Arcturus et Orion, et Pleiades in Job (Cap. IX), et caetera his similia, quae utique vocabula, Gentilium fabularum et causas et origines habet. Interrogemus ergo hoc loco Marcionem, qui prophetas repudiat, quomodo interpretetur id quod sequitur.

We, declining these heights, will follow the former things: either that they are rebuked for folly, through which they cannot discern between the spirit and the letter of the Law: or that they are corrected for the vice of their nation, because they are indocile and senseless and slower unto wisdom.

Moreover, as to what follows: "Who hath bewitched you?" we ought worthily to explain according to Paul (who although he is unskilled in speech, yet not in knowledge): not that he knew there was bewitchment, which is commonly thought to do harm; but he used the speech of the street, and as in other things, so also in this place, he assumed a word of daily conversation. We read in Proverbs: "The gift of the envious man tortures the eyes." That which among us is "envious" is more significantly placed in Greek as "bewitcher": and in the Wisdom which is written as Solomon's: "The bewitching of malignity obscureth good things" (Wisdom 4:12). By which examples we are taught that either the envious man is tortured by another's happiness: or he in whom there are some good things is harmed by another bewitching, that is, envying. Bewitchment is said properly to harm infants and a small age, and those who do not yet fix their step with a firm footing. Whence also a certain one from the Gentiles says: "I know not what eye bewitches my tender lambs." (Virgil, Eclogue 3.)

Whether this be true or not, God will have seen: because it can be that even demons serve this sin; and whomever they have known either to have begun or to have profited in the work of God, they turn them away from good works. Now the point in this case is that we think the example was taken from the opinion of the common people: that just as a tender age is said to be harmed by bewitchment, so also the Galatians, lately born in the faith of Christ and nourished with milk and not with solid food (1 Cor. 3), were as it were harmed by some bewitching one: and the stomach of faith nauseating, they vomited up the food of the Holy Spirit. But if anyone contradicts, let him explain how there were taken from common opinion the valley of the Titans in the books of Kings (4 Kings 23), the Sirens and Onocentaurs in Isaiah (Chapter 34), Arcturus and Orion and the Pleiades in Job (Chapter 9), and other things similar to these, which names certainly have both the causes and origins of Gentile fables. Let us therefore ask Marcion in this place, who repudiates the prophets, how he interprets that which follows.

Ante quorum oculos Jesus Christus proscriptus est, in vobis crucifixus est. Nobis enim recte praescriptus est Christus, de cuius patibulo et passione, alapis et flagellis, omnis prophetarum praedicit chorus: ut crucem ipsius non de Evangelio tantum, in quo crucifixus refertur; sed multo antequam descendere dignaretur ad terras, et hominem qui est crucifixus assumeret, noverimus. Nec parva laus Galatarum est, quod ita crediderint in crucifixum, ut ante fuerat eis praescriptus: quo scilicet lectitantes prophetas, et omnia veteris Legis sacramenta noscentes, via et ordine venerint ad credendum. Legitur in quibusdam codicibus: Quis vos fascinavit non credere veritati? Sed hoc quia in exemplaribus Adamantii non habetur, omisimus.

(Vers. 2.) Hoc solum a vobis volo discere: ex operibus Legis spiritum accepistis, an ex auditu fidei?

Sunt quidem, ait, multa quae possunt interrogatione vos cogere, Legi Evangelium praeferendum: sed quoniam insensati estis, et nequaquam ea potestis audire, simplici vobiscum sermone loquor, et de eo quod promptum est, sciscitor: Spiritum sanctum quem accepistis, utrum vobis Legis opera, sabbati observatio, circumcisionis, et neomeniarum superstitio dederint, an auditus fidei, per quam ex gentibus credidistis? Quod si negari non potest, Spiritum sanctum et virtutes, quae in principio fidei acceptum Spiritum sequebantur, non ex operibus Legis, sed ex fide Christi datas, manifestum est, vos a melioribus exorsos, in pejora corruiere.

Consideremus autem diligenter, quia non dixerit: Volo a vobis discere utrum ex operibus Spiritum accepistis; sed adjecerit, ex operibus Legis. Sciebat enim et Cornelium centurionem Spiritum ex operibus accepisse (Actor. X); sed non ex operibus Legis, quam nesciebat. Si autem econtrario dicitur: ergo et sine auditione fidei accipi Spiritus potest. Nos respondebimus, accepisse quidem eum Spiritum, sed ex auditu fidei, et naturali lege, quae loquitur in cordibus nostris, bona quaeque facienda, et vitanda mala: per quam dudum quoque Abraham, Moysen, et caeteros sanctos iustificatos retulimus, quam augere deinceps potest operum observatio, Legisque justitia: non tamen carnalis legis, quae praeteriit, sed spiritualis, quia Lex spiritualis est. Neque vero, quia fidem praeferimus, Legis opera destruimus (Rom. III), nec dicimus secundum quosdam: Faciamus mala, donec veniant bona (quorum damnatio justa est), sed servituti gratiam antepo-
nimus.

"Before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been set forth, crucified among you." For Christ has been rightly prescribed [set forth] to us, concerning whose gibbet and passion, buffets and scourges, the whole chorus of the prophets predicts: so that we might know his cross not from the Gospel only, in which he is reported as crucified; but long before he deigned to descend to the earth and assume the man who was crucified. Nor is it small praise of the Galatians, that they so believed in the Crucified as he had been before prescribed to them: by which, namely, frequently reading the prophets and knowing all the sacraments of the old Law, they came by way and order to believing. It is read in certain codices: "Who hath bewitched you that you should not believe the truth?" But because this is not had in the copies of Adamantius [Origen], we have omitted it.

(Verse 2.) This only would I learn of you: Received ye the Spirit by the works of the Law, or by the hearing of faith?

There are indeed, he says, many things which can compel you by interrogation that the Gospel is to be preferred to the Law: but because you are senseless, and can by no means hear those things, I speak with you in simple discourse, and inquire concerning that which is prompt: whether the Holy Spirit whom you received, the works of the Law, the observation of the sabbath, the superstition of circumcision and of the new moons gave to you, or the hearing of faith through which you believed from the Gentiles? But if it cannot be denied that the Holy Spirit and the virtues, which followed the received Spirit in the beginning of faith, were given not from the works of the Law, but from the faith of Christ, it is manifest that you, having begun from better things, fall into worse.

But let us consider diligently that he did not say: "I would learn of you whether you received the Spirit from works"; but added, "from the works of the Law." For he knew that Cornelius the centurion also had received the Spirit from works (Acts 10); but not from the works of the Law, which he knew not. But if it is said on the contrary: then the Spirit can be received even without the hearing of faith. We will respond that he indeed received the Spirit, but from the hearing of faith and from the natural law which speaks in our hearts, that good things are to be done and evil things avoided: through which we have related that Abraham, Moses, and the other saints were formerly justified, which thereafter the observation of works and the justice of the Law can increase: not however of the carnal law which has passed away, but of the spiritual, because the Law is spiritual. Nor indeed, because we prefer faith, do we destroy the works of the Law (Rom. 3), nor do we say according to some: "Let us do evil that good may come" (whose damnation is just), but we prefer grace to servitude.

Dicimusque, quod Iudaei propter metum faciunt, id nos facere propter charitatem. Illos servos esse, nos filios: illos cogi ad bonum, nos bonum sponte suscipere. Non igitur ex fide Christi licentia nascitur delinquendi; sed ex dilectione fidei voluntas boni operis augetur, dum bona ideo facimus, non quia iudicem formidamus, sed quia scimus ea ei placere in quem credimus.

Quaerat quispiam, si fides non est nisi ex auditu, quomodo qui surdi nati sunt, possunt fieri Christiani. Deum quippe Patrem ex magnitudine et pulchritudine creaturarum potest quis intelligere, et a conditionibus conditor consequenter agnoscitur. Christi autem nativitas, crux, mors, resurrectio, nisi ex auditu sciri non potest. Aut surdi igitur Christiani non sunt: aut si surdi sunt Christiani, falsum est quod alibi ab apostolo dicitur: Itaque fides ex auditu: auditus autem per verbum Dei. Ad quod qui simplici responsione contentus est, dicit, non eum generaliter dixisse, fides omnium ex auditu est; sed fides ex auditu, quod et in parte, et in toto accipi potest: eorum scilicet fides ex auditu, qui audiunt, qui credunt. Qui autem huic scrupulo satisfacere conatur, prius illud tentabit asserere, quod nutibus quoque et quotidiana conversatione, et ut ita dixerim, totius corporis loquente gestu, surdi possunt Evangelium discere: deinde etiam hoc, quod Dei sermo cui nihil surdum est, ad eas magis loquatur aures, de quibus et ipse ait in Evangelio: Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat (Luc. VIII, 8). Et in Apocalypsi: Qui habet aurem, audiat quid spiritus dicat Ecclesiis (Apoc. II, 11). Et Isaias: Dominus addidit mihi auriculam (Isai. VI, 33 et 35). Iste est alius homo, cui Deus loquitur in occulto, qui clamat in corde credentis: Abba, Pater (Rom. VIII, 15): et (ut frequenter exposuimus) quomodo corpus omnia membra, et sensus habet: ita animam quoque universos et sensus, et membra habere, et inter caetera aures etiam: quas qui habuerit, non magnopere indigebit his auribus corporis ad Christi Evangelium cognoscendum. Simul autem etiam illud attendite, quod hic Spiritus absque ullo additamento Sanctus intelligatur, quem ex dono Dei consequimur, et non hominis: de quo alibi scribitur: Incorruptus Spiritus est in omnibus (Sap. XII, 1). Ipse Spiritus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro (Rom. VIII, 16). Et in alio loco: Nemo scit ea quae in homine sunt, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in eo (I Cor. II, 11). Et in Daniele: Benedicite, spiritus et animae justorum, Dominum (Dan. III, 86).

And we say that what the Jews do on account of fear, that we do on account of charity. That they are servants, we sons: that they are compelled to good, we freely undertake good. Therefore from the faith of Christ there does not arise a license for delict; but from the love of faith the will for a good work is increased, while we do good things for this reason, not because we dread a judge, but because we know those things please him in whom we believe.

Someone may ask, if faith is only from hearing, how those who are born deaf can become Christians. For indeed one can understand God the Father from the magnitude and beauty of creatures, and the Creator is consequently recognized from the conditions [creations]. But the birth of Christ, the cross, death, resurrection, cannot be known except from hearing. Therefore either the deaf are not Christians: or if the deaf are Christians, it is false what is said elsewhere by the Apostle: "So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." To which he who is content with a simple response says that he did not say generally, "the faith of all is from hearing"; but "faith is from hearing," which can be taken both in part and in whole: namely, their faith is from hearing who hear, who believe. But he who endeavors to satisfy this scruple will first try to assert that by signs also and daily conversation, and so to speak, by the speaking gesture of the whole body, the deaf can learn the Gospel: then also this, that the word of God, to which nothing is deaf, speaks more to those ears of which he himself says in the Gospel: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear" (Luke 8:8). And in the Apocalypse: "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches" (Apoc. 2:11). And Isaiah: "The Lord hath added an ear to me" (Isaiah 50:4). This is the other man to whom God speaks in secret, who cries in the heart of the believer: "Abba, Father" (Rom. 8:15): and (as we have frequently explained) just as the body has all members and senses, so the soul also has all senses and members, and among the rest also ears: which whoever shall have had, will not greatly need these ears of the body for knowing the Gospel of Christ. At the same time also attend to this, that here the Spirit without any addition is understood as Holy, whom we obtain from the gift of God and not of man: concerning whom it is written elsewhere: "For thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things" (Wisdom 12:1). The Spirit itself rendereth testimony to our spirit (Rom. 8:16). And in another place: "For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him?" (1 Cor. 2:11). And in Daniel: "O ye spirits and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord" (Dan. 3:86).

(Vers. 3.) Sic stulti estis, ut cum Spiritu coeperitis, nunc carne consummemini? Si sanctum Spiritum acceperant Galatae, quomodo stulti erant? Verum statim solvitur, coepisse quidem cos Spiritum, sed cum carne consummarentur, Spiritum ab eis fuisse sublatum. Unde sine causa passi sunt tanta quae passi sunt. Quod ne sibi post peccatum eveniret, David precatur, dicens: Spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me (Ps. L, 13). Diligenter attendite quod qui Scripturas juxta litteram sequitur, consummari carne dicatur. Quamobrem illud quod ad Corinthios scriptum est: In carne viventes, non juxta carnem militamus (II Cor. X, 3), melius sic intelligi potest, ut hi militare dicantur in carne, qui vetus Testamentum humiliter edisserunt. Qui vero sequuntur intelligentiam spiritualem, sint quidem in carne, quia eamdem habeant litteram 421 quam Judaei, sed non juxta carnem militent, a carne ad spiritum transcendent. Quando videritis eum qui primum credit ex Gentibus, et ad Christi aratrum mittit manum, praevis aliquo doctore prudente, sic per Legis iter ad Evangelium pergere, ut omnia illa quae ibi scripta sunt, de sabbato, de azymis, de circumcissione, de victimis, digne Deo intelligat. Et deinceps post Evangelii lectionem a Judaeo aliquo, aut Judaeorum socio persuaderi, ut umbras et allegoriae nubila derelinquens, sic Scripturas interpretetur, ut scriptae sunt. De hoc potestis dicere: Sic stultus es, ut cum spiritu coeperis, nunc carne consummeris?

(Vers. 4.) Tanta passi estis sine causa, si tamen sine causa. Consideremus infelices Judaeos, quanta superstitione et observationis labore vivant inter caeteras nationes, dicentes, ne tetigeris, ne gustaveris, ne attrectaveris, et probabimus verum esse quod dicitur: Tanta passi estis sine causa; sed non statim ad eos sententia temperatur, et dubia fit, si tamen sine causa: quia de his dicitur, qui possunt post Legem ad Evangelium reverti. Melius autem sic intelligi potest, quod primum credentes Galatae in Crucifixum, et a Judaeis, et a gentibus opprobria multa perpassi sint, persecutiones non minimas sustinuerint. Quas frustra arguuntur fuisse perpassi, si a gratia Christi recedant, propter quam tanta perpassi sunt. Simul et illa spes, quod quicumque ob Christi fidem laboraverit, et postea lapsus fuerit in peccatum, sicut priora sine causa dicitur passus fuisse dum peccat, sic rursus non perdat ea, si ad pristinam fidem et ad antiquum studium revertatur.

(Verse 3.) Are you so foolish that, having begun with the Spirit, you are now being perfected in the flesh? If the Galatians had received the Holy Spirit, how were they foolish? But it is immediately resolved: they had indeed begun with the Spirit, but when they were being perfected with the flesh, the Spirit was taken away from them. Hence they suffered so many things in vain. Lest this should happen to him after sin, David prays, saying: "Take not thy holy spirit from me" (Ps. 50:13). Attend diligently that he who follows the Scriptures according to the letter is said to be perfected in the flesh. Wherefore that which is written to the Corinthians: "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh" (2 Cor. 10:3), can better be understood thus, that they are said to war in the flesh who humbly set forth the Old Testament. But those who follow spiritual understanding are indeed in the flesh, because they have the same letter as the Jews, but they do not war after the flesh, transcending from the flesh to the spirit. When you see him who first believes from the Gentiles, and puts his hand to the plow of Christ, with some prudent teacher going before him, so proceeding through the way of the Law to the Gospel, that he understands all those things written there, concerning the sabbath, concerning unleavened bread, concerning circumcision, concerning victims, worthily of God. And thereafter after the reading of the Gospel he is persuaded by some Jew, or a companion of the Jews, so that leaving behind the shadows and the clouds of allegory, he interprets the Scriptures as they are written. Of such a one can you say: "Are you so foolish that, having begun with the spirit, you are now perfected in the flesh?"

(Verse 4.) Have you suffered so many things in vain, if yet in vain. Let us consider the unhappy Jews, with how much superstition and labor of observation they live among other nations, saying: "Touch not, taste not, handle not," and we shall prove that it is true what is said: "Have you suffered so many things in vain"; but the sentence is not immediately tempered toward them, and becomes doubtful, "if yet in vain": because it is said of those who can return to the Gospel after the Law. But it can better be understood thus, that the Galatians first believing in the Crucified One, suffered many reproaches both from the Jews and from the Gentiles, and sustained no small persecutions. Which they are argued to have suffered in vain, if they depart from the grace of Christ, on account of which they suffered so much. At the same time there is also that hope, that whoever has labored for the faith of Christ, and afterwards has fallen into sin, just as he is said to have suffered the former things in vain while he sins, so again he does not lose them if he returns to his former faith and to his ancient zeal.

Aliter: Si circumcisionem, inquit, putatis sequendam esse post gratiam: ergo usque ad praesens tempus sine circumcisione viventes, omnia quae passi estis, in irritum sunt deducta. Quae quidem mihi videmini non frustra sustinuisse, qui scio Legem post Evangelium non valere. Vel certe sic: Non leve erat damnum, si circumcisionem sequentes, tantum pristinum fidei perdidissetis laborem: nunc vero ad hoc detrimentum etiam praevaricationis poena sociatur, ut et praeterita sine causa perpassi sitis, et in 422 futuro cruciemini. Quidam coactius ita intelligunt: Considerate pristinam gratiae libertatem et praesentis onera observationis in Lege, et videbitis quam multa casso studio feceritis: licet non penitus fructus erroris istius desperandus sit, dum zelo Dei ad hoc ipsum estis adducti. Ignorantibus enim concedi venia potest, si ad meliora conversi, scientiam in vobis doceatis fluctuasse, non studium.

(Vers. 5.) Qui ergo tribuit vobis spiritum, et operatur virtutes in vobis, ex operibus Legis, an ex auditu fidei? Tribuit, hoc est, administrat, praesentis temporis est legendum; ut ostendatur per singulas horas atque momenta semper dignis sanctum Spiritum ministrari; et quanto quis in Dei opere et amore profecerit, tanto magis sancti Spiritus in se habere virtutes, quas auditus fidei, et non Legis opera consummant. Non quo Legis opera contemnenda sint, et absque eis simplex fides appetenda; sed quo ipsa opera fide Christi adornentur. Scita est enim sapientis viri illa sententia, «Non fidelem vivere ex justitia, sed justum ex fide.» Simul ostenditur Galatas, accepto post fidem sancto Spiritu, dona habuisse virtutum, id est, prophetiam, genera linguarum, morborum curationes, et caetera, quae ad Corinthios in donis spiritualibus enumerantur (I Cor. VII). Et tamen post tanta (quia forsitan gratiam discernendorum spirituum non habebant) a falsis doctoribus irretiti sunt. Observandum etiam, quod operari virtutes dicantur in his, qui non tenent Evangelii veritatem: sicut in illis qui Dominum non sequentes, in nomine ejus signa faciebant, Joanne vel maxime conquerente: Praeceptor, vidimus quemdam in nomine tuo ejicientem daemonia, et prohibuimus eum quia non sequitur nobiscum (Marc. IX, 37). Hoc adversum haereticos, qui probationem fidei suae ex eo si signum aliquod fecerint, arbitrantur. Qui cum manducaverint et biberint in nomine Domini (habent quippe et ipsi altare sacrilegum), et signa multa, invocato Salvatore, fecisse se jactent, in die iudicii merebuntur audire: Non novi vos, discedite a me qui operamini iniquitatem (Matth. VII, 23).

Otherwise: "If," he says, "you think circumcision is to be followed after grace: then living up to the present time without circumcision, all things which you have suffered have been brought to naught." Which indeed you seem to me not to have sustained in vain, who know that the Law does not prevail after the Gospel. Or certainly thus: It was no slight loss if, following circumcision, you had lost so much former labor of faith: but now to this detriment is also joined the penalty of prevarication, so that you have both suffered past things in vain, and will be tormented in the future. Some understand it more forcedly thus: Consider the former liberty of grace and the present burdens of observation in the Law, and you will see how many things you have done with vain zeal: although the fruit of this error is not to be entirely despaired of, while you were brought to this very thing by zeal for God. For pardon can be granted to the ignorant if, having turned to better things, you show that knowledge in you has fluctuated, not zeal.

(Verse 5.) He therefore that giveth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doth he it by the works of the Law, or by the hearing of faith? "Giveth," that is, "administereth," is to be read in the present tense; that it may be shown that the Holy Spirit is always ministered to the worthy through every hour and moment; and as much as one has profited in the work and love of God, so much the more does he have the virtues [powers] of the Holy Spirit in himself, which the hearing of faith, and not the works of the Law, perfect. Not that the works of the Law are to be despised, and simple faith to be sought without them; but that those works themselves are adorned by the faith of Christ. For that sentence of a wise man is well known: "Not that the faithful man lives from justice, but the just man from faith." At the same time it is shown that the Galatians, having received the Holy Spirit after faith, had the gifts of virtues, that is, prophecy, kinds of tongues, healings of diseases, and the rest, which are enumerated to the Corinthians among the spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 12). And yet after so many things (because perhaps they did not have the grace of discerning spirits) they were ensnared by false teachers. It is also to be observed that miracles [virtues] are said to be worked in those who do not hold the truth of the Gospel: as in those who, not following the Lord, did signs in his name, John especially complaining: "Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbade him because he followeth not with us" (Mark 9:37). This is against the heretics, who think the proof of their faith is if they have done some sign. Who, when they have eaten and drunk in the name of the Lord (for they themselves also have a sacrilegious altar), and boast that they have done many signs, having invoked the Savior, will deserve to hear on the day of judgment: "I never knew you, depart from me, ye that work iniquity" (Matt. 7:23).

(Vers. 6.) Sicut Abraham credidit Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam. Ab hoc loco usque ad eum ubi scribitur: Qui ex fide sunt, benedicentur cum fidei Abraham, Marcion de suo Apostolo erasit. Sed quid profuit hoc tulisse, cum caetera quae reliquit, insaniae ejus adversa sint? Credidit autem Abraham Deo, exiens de patria sua in terra quam nesciebat (Gen. XII seqq.): Sara nonagenariam, et sterilem confidens esse parituram; et audita repromissione Dei, quod in Isaac vocaretur semen ejus, ipsum Isaac offerens victimam, et tamen de Domini repromissione non dubitans. Recte tali reputatur fides ad justitiam, qui Legis opera supergressus, Deum non metu, sed dilectione promeruerit [Al. promeruit].

(Vers. 7.) Cognoscitis ergo, quia qui ex fide sunt, hi filii sunt Abraham. Plenius de hoc in epistola ad Romanos disputat, quod fides reputata sit Abrahae ad justitiam, non in circumcisione, sed in praeputio (Rom. IV). Et diligenter observans, docet eos filios esse Abrahae, quicumque hac mente crediderunt, qua incircumcisi credidit Abraham, qui exsultavit ut videret diem Domini, et vidit, et laetatus est (Joan. VIII). Unde et ad infideles Judaeos dicitur: Si filii essetis Abrahae, opera Abrahae faceretis (Ibid. 39). Quae autem alia (illo in tempore cum haec dicebantur) ab eis opera Dominus expetebat, nisi credulitatem in Filium Dei, quem Pater miserat loquentem: Qui credit in me, non credit in me, sed in eum qui me misit (Joan. XII, 44)? Unde et in alio loco de generis sibi antiquitate, et nobilitate plaudentibus respondetur: Et ne dixeritis, quia patrem habemus Abraham. Potest enim Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abraham (Matth. III, 9). Lapidibus ibi nemo ambigit dura significari corda Gentilium, quae mollita sunt postea, et fidei recepere signaculum. Virtutes Abraham in quibus ante circumcisionem Deo placuit, diligens lector enumera, et quoscumque in simili opere repereris, dicito filios esse Abraham, justificati in praeputio, qui circumcisionem non ob meritum operum, sed in signum fidei prioris accepit. Quia enim ex semine ejus erat Christus oriundus (in quo universarum Gentium fuerat benedictio repromissa, et ab Abraham usque ad Christum multa erant saecula transitura), providens Deus, ne soboles dilecti Abrahae caeteris nationibus miscerentur, et paulatim familia ejus fieret incerta, gregem Israeliticum quodam circumcisionis cauterio denotavit, ut viventes inter Aegyptios, inter Assyrios, Babylonios atque Chaldaeos, hoc signaculo distinguerentur.

(Verse 6.) Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. From this place up to where it is written: "They which are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham," Marcion erased from his Apostle. But what did it profit to have taken this away, since the rest which he left are adverse to his insanity? For Abraham believed God, going out from his country into a land which he knew not (Gen. 12 seqq.): trusting that Sarah, being ninety years old and sterile, was to bring forth; and having heard the promise of God, that in Isaac should his seed be called, offering Isaac himself as a victim, and yet not doubting the promise of the Lord. Rightly is faith accounted for righteousness to such a one, who, having surpassed the works of the Law, earned God [merited before God] not by fear, but by love.

(Verse 7.) "Know therefore that those who are of faith, these are the sons of Abraham." He disputes more fully about this in the epistle to the Romans, that faith was reputed to Abraham for justice, not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision (Rom. 4). And observing diligently, he teaches those to be the sons of Abraham, whosoever have believed with that mind with which the uncircumcised Abraham believed, who exulted that he might see the day of the Lord, and saw it, and was glad (John 8). Whence also it is said to the infidel Jews: "If you were the sons of Abraham, you would do the works of Abraham" (ibid. 39). But what other works (in that time when these things were being said) did the Lord expect from them, except belief in the Son of God, whom the Father had sent, saying: "He who believes in me, does not believe in me, but in him who sent me" (John 12:44)? Whence also in another place it is responded to those applauding themselves for the antiquity and nobility of their race: "And do not say that we have Abraham for a father." For God is able from these stones to raise up sons to Abraham (Matt. 3:9). No one there doubts that stones signify the hard hearts of the Gentiles, which were later softened and received the seal of faith. Enumerate, diligent reader, the virtues of Abraham in which he pleased God before circumcision, and whomsoever you shall find in similar work, say that they are sons of Abraham, justified in uncircumcision, who received circumcision not for the merit of works, but as a sign of prior faith. Because indeed Christ was to arise from his seed (in whom the blessing of all nations had been promised, and many ages were to pass from Abraham until Christ), God, providing lest the offspring of beloved Abraham be mixed with the other nations, and gradually his family become uncertain, denoted the Israelite flock with a certain brand of circumcision, so that living among the Egyptians, among the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Chaldeans, they might be distinguished by this sign.

Denique per quadraginta annos in eremo nullus est circumcisis: soli quippe sine Gentis alterius admixtione vivebant: statim ut Jordanis ripam transgressus est populus, et in Palaestinae terram Judaeum se examen infudit, circumcisio necessaria futuro ex commixtione Gentium providit errori. Quod autem a Jesu duce, secundo scribitur populus circumcisis (Jos. V), significat et in eremo cessasse circumcisionem, quae in Aegypto rationabiliter exercebatur; et a Domino Jesu Christo spirituali circumcisione credentes esse mundandos.

(Vers. 8, 9.) Providens autem Scriptura, quia ex fide justificat gentes Deum, praeuntiavit Abrahae, quia benedicentur in te omnes gentes. Igitur qui ex fide sunt, benedicentur cum fideli Abraham. Non quo ipsa Scriptura, atramentum videlicet et membranae, quae insensibiles sunt, possint futura praeoscere; sed quo Spiritus sanctus, et sensus, qui in littera latet, multis post saeculis ventura praedixerint. Porro exemplum quod de Genesi sumptum est, ita in proprio volumine continetur: Et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terrae (Gen. XXVI, 4). Quod apostolus super Christo interpretatus, ait: Non est scriptum ex seminibus, quasi in multis; sed quasi in uno, et semine tuo, qui est Christus.

Hoc autem in omnibus [Al. novis] pene testimoniis, quae de veteribus libris in novo assumpta sunt Testamento, observare debemus, quod memoriae crediderint evangelistae vel apostoli; et tantum sensu explicato, saepe ordinem commutaverunt, nonnumquam vel detraxerint verba vel addiderint. Nulli vero dubium quod in Isaac et Jacob, sive in duodecim patriarchis, et caeteris qui de Abraham stirpe descendunt, non fuerint benedictae universae nationes; sed in Christo Jesu, per quem omnes gentes laudant Deum, et benedicitur novum nomen super terram.

Potest autem intelligi apostolus et de alio Geneseos loco exemplum seminis usurpasse, ubi scribitur: Eduxit autem foras 425 (haud dubium quin Abraham) Deus, et dixit ei: Aspice in coelum et numera stellas, si poteris dinumerare eas. Et ait illi: Sic erit semen tuum; et credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum est ei ad justitiam (Gen. XV, 5, 6). Quicumque igitur credunt, benedicentur cum fideli Abraham, qui ob egregiam in Deum fidem prius in eum credidisse narratur. 426 Sicut Enos ob principalem in Deum spem, et inter caeteros eminentem, sperasse scribitur in vocare Dominum Deum (Gen. IV, 26). Non quo et Abel de quo Dominus ait: Vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me (Ibid. IV, 10); et caeteri deinceps, Deum non speraverint invocare; sed quo ex ea parte unusquisque appelletur, quam vel maxime habet.

Finally, through forty years in the desert no one was circumcised: for they lived alone without the admixture of another nation; immediately as the people crossed the bank of the Jordan, and the Jewish swarm poured into the land of Palestine, necessary circumcision provided against future error from the commingling of nations. But that the people are written to have been circumcised a second time by Jesus [Joshua] the leader (Josh. 5), signifies both that circumcision had ceased in the desert, which was reasonably exercised in Egypt; and that believers are to be cleansed by the spiritual circumcision of the Lord Jesus Christ.

(Verses 8, 9.) "And the Scripture, foreseeing that God justifies the nations by faith, preached before to Abraham, saying: In you shall all the nations be blessed. Therefore those who are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham." Not that the Scripture itself, namely the ink and the membranes, which are insensitive, could foreknow future things; but that the Holy Spirit, and the sense which lies hidden in the letter, predicted things to come after many ages. Furthermore, the example which was taken from Genesis is contained in its own volume thus: "And in your seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed" (Gen. 26:4). Which the apostle, interpreting concerning Christ, says: "It is not written 'from seeds', as in many; but as in one, 'and in your seed', which is Christ."

But we ought to observe this in almost all the new testimonies which are taken from the old books into the New Testament, that the evangelists or apostles trusted their memory; and with only the sense explained, they often changed the order, sometimes even subtracted words or added them. It is truly doubtful to no one that in Isaac and Jacob, or in the twelve patriarchs, and others who descend from the stock of Abraham, all nations were not blessed; but in Christ Jesus, through whom all nations praise God, and a new name is blessed upon the earth.

But the apostle can also be understood to have usurped the example of the seed from another place of Genesis, where it is written: "And God led out (no doubt Abraham) and said to him: Look into heaven and number the stars, if you can number them." And he said to him: "So shall your seed be"; and Abraham believed God, and it was reputed to him for justice (Gen. 15:5, 6). Whosoever therefore believe, shall be blessed with faithful Abraham, who on account of his egregious faith in God is narrated to have first believed in him. Just as Enos, on account of his principal hope in God, and eminent among the others, is written to have hoped to invoke the Lord God (Gen. 4:26). Not that also Abel, of whom the Lord says: "The voice of your brother's blood cries to me" (ibid. 4:10); and others thereafter, did not hope to invoke God; but that each one is called from that part which he especially has.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

425-426 Quod in primo Commentariorum ad Galatas libro, cum de Gentium proprietatibus disputarem, intactum reliqueram, nunc in secundo reddendum videtur: qui sint Galatae, vel quo, et unde transierint. Utrum indigenas eos fuderit, an advenas quam nunc incolunt, terra susceperit: et utrum linguam connubio perdiderint, an et novam didicerint, et non amiserint suam. Marcus Varro, cunctarum antiquitatum diligentissimus perscrutator, et caeteri qui eum imitati sunt, multa super hac gente, et digna memoria tradiderunt. Sed quia nobis propositum est, incircumcisos homines non introducere in templum Dei (et ut simpliciter fatear, multi jam anni sunt quod haec legere desivimus), Lactantii nostri quae in tertio ad Probum volumine de hac gente opinatus sit, verba ponemus. «Galli, inquit, antiquitus a candore corporis Galatae nuncupabantur; et Sibylla sic eos appellat. Quod significare voluit poeta, cum ait: Tum lactea colla---Auro innectuntur (Virg. lib. VIII Aeneid.): Cum posset dicere, candida. Hinc utique Galatia provincia, in quam Galli aliquando venientes, cum Graecis se miscuerunt. Unde primum ea regio Gallograecia, post Galatia nominata est.» Nec mirum si hoc ille de Galatis dixerit, et Occidentales populos tantis in medio terrarum spatiis praetermissis, in Orientis plaga consedissem memorarit: cum constet Orientis contra et Graeciae examina, ad Occidentis ultima pervenisse. Massiliam Phocaei condiderunt: quos ait Varro trilingues esse, quod et Graece loquantur, et Latine, et Gallice. Oppidum Rhoda, coloni Rhodiorum locaverunt: unde amnis Rhodanus nomen accepit. Praetermitto Carthaginis conditores Tyrios, et Agenoris urbem; praetereo 427-428 Thebas Liberi, quas in Africa condidit: quae civitas nunc Thebestis dicitur. Relinquo eam partem Libyae, quae Graecis urbibus plena est. Ad Hispanias transgredior: nonne Saguntum Graecis ex insula Zacyntho profecti condiderunt: et oppidum Tartesson, quod nunc vocatur Carteia, Iones Graeci homines locasse referuntur? Montes quoque Hispaniarum, Calpe, Idrus, Pyrene: item insulae Aphrodisiades, et Gymnesiae, quae vocantur Baleares, nonne Graeci sermonis indicia demonstrant?

BOOK SECOND.

425-426 That which I had left untouched in the first book of the Commentaries on the Galatians, when I was disputing about the properties of the nations, now in the second seems necessary to be rendered: who the Galatians are, or whither and whence they transferred. Whether the land poured them forth as indigenous, or received them as newcomers to where they now dwell: and whether they lost their language by marriage, or both learned a new one and did not lose their own. Marcus Varro, a most diligent investigator of all antiquities, and others who followed him, have handed down many things concerning this nation, and worthy of memory. But because it is our purpose not to introduce uncircumcised men into the temple of God (and to confess simply, many years have now passed since we ceased to read these things), we shall place the words of our Lactantius, what he thought concerning this nation in the third volume to Probus. "The Gauls," he says, "were anciently called Galatians from the whiteness of their body; and the Sibyl calls them so. Which the poet wished to signify when he said: 'Then milk-white necks... are entwined with gold' (Virg. lib. 8 Aeneid): since he could have said, white. Hence at any rate the province of Galatia, into which the Gauls once coming, mixed themselves with the Greeks. Whence first that region was named Gallograecia, afterwards Galatia." Nor is it a wonder if he said this of the Galatians, and recorded that Western peoples, having passed over such great spaces in the middle of the lands, settled in the region of the East: since it is certain that swarms from the East and Greece, on the contrary, have reached the furthest parts of the West. The Phocaeans founded Marseilles: whom Varro says are trilingual, because they speak Greek, Latin, and Gallic. The town of Rhoda, colonists of the Rhodians located: whence the river Rhone took its name. I pass over the Tyrian founders of Carthage, and the city of Agenor; I pass over 427-428 the Thebes of Liber, which he founded in Africa: which city is now called Thebestis. I leave that part of Libya which is full of Greek cities. I cross over to the Spains: did not those who set out from the island of Zacynthus found Saguntum? And the town of Tartessos, which is now called Carteia, are not Greek Ionians related to have located it? Do not the mountains of the Spains also, Calpe, Idrus, Pyrene; likewise the islands of the Aphrodisiades, and the Gymnesiae, which are called Balearic, demonstrate signs of the Greek language?

Ipsa Italia a Graecis populis occupata, Major quondam Graecia vocabatur. Certe quod negari non potest, Romani de Aeneae Asiani hominis stirpe generati sunt. Ex quo evenit, ut et in Occidente Graeci saepe acuminis reperiuntur ingenia, et in Oriente stoliditatem barbaram redoleant. Nec hoc dicimus, quod non e regione utrobique diversa nascentur: sed quod ex magna parte etiam caetera quae non sunt similia, nuncupentur. Itaque non mirum est stultos, et ad intelligentiam tardiores Galatas appellatos; cum et Hilarius Latinae eloquentiae Rhodanus, Gallus ipse et Pictavis genitus, in Hymnorum Carmine Gallos indociles vocet. Et quod nunc oratorum fertiles sunt, non tam ad regionis diligentiam, quam ad rhetoricorum [Al. rhetoricum] clamorem pertinet: maxime cum Aquitania [Al. Aquitanica] Graeca se jactet origine: et Galatae non de illa parte terrarum, sed de ferocioribus Gallis sint profecti.

Vultis scire, o Paula et Eustochium, quomodo Apostolus unamquamque provinciam suis proprietatibus denotarit? Usque hodie eadem vel virtutum vestigia permanent, vel errorum. Romanae plebis laudatur fides (Rom. I). Ubi alibi tanto studio et frequentia, ad Ecclesias et ad Martyrum sepulcra concurritur? ubi sic ad similitudinem coelestis tonitruum Amen reboat, et vacua idolorum templa quatiuntur? Non quod aliam habeant Romani fidem, nisi hanc quam omnes Christi Ecclesiae: sed quod devotio in eis major sit, et simplicitas ad credendum. Rursum facilitatis et superbiae arguuntur. Facilitatis, ut ibi: Rogo vos, fratres, ut observetis eos qui dissensiones et offendicula, praeter doctrinam quam vos didicistis, faciunt; et declinate ab illis: hujusmodi enim Christo Domino [Al. addit nostro] non serviunt, sed suo ventri; et per dulces sermones et benedictiones seducunt corda innocentium. Vestra enim obediencia in omnem locum pervulgata est. Gaudeo igitur in vobis: et volo vos sapientes esse in bono, et simplices in malo (Rom. XVI, 17 seqq.). Superbiae vero: Noli altum sapere, sed time (Rom. II, 20 et 25). Et: Nolo vos ignorare, fratres, mysterium hoc, ut non sitis ipsi vobis sapientes. Et in sequentibus: Dico enim per gratiam quae data est mihi, omnibus qui sunt inter vos: non plus sapere quam oportet sapere; sed sapere ad sobrietatem (Rom. XII, 3). Et apertius: Gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus. Idipsum invicem sentientes. Non alta sapientes; sed humilibus consentientes. Nolite esse prudentes apud vosmetipsos (Ibid., XV, 16). Corinthios quoque notat quod mulieres eorum intecto capite sint, et viri comam nutriant (I Cor. X). Et indifferenter vescantur in templis [Al. tempus] (II Cor. X, 20). Et inflati sapientia saeculari, resurrectionem carnis negent. Haec ex parte usque hodie permanere, non potest dubitare, qui Achaïam 429-430 viderit (I Cor. IV).

Italy itself, occupied by Greek peoples, was formerly called Magna Graecia. Certainly, what cannot be denied, the Romans are generated from the stock of Aeneas, an Asian man. From which it happens that even in the West, geniuses of Greek acumen are often found, and in the East they savor of barbarian stolidity. Nor do we say this because diverse characters are not born in either region: but because for the most part they are named after the rest which are not similar. Therefore it is not a wonder that the Galatians were called foolish and slower to understanding; since even Hilary, the Rhone of Latin eloquence, himself a Gaul and born at Poitiers, in the Song of Hymns calls the Gauls unteachable. And that they are now fertile in orators pertains not so much to the diligence of the region as to the clamor of rhetoricians: especially since Aquitaine boasts of a Greek origin; and the Galatians set out not from that part of the lands, but from the more ferocious Gauls.

Do you wish to know, O Paula and Eustochium, how the Apostle noted each province by its own properties? Even until today the same traces either of virtues or of errors remain. The faith of the Roman people is praised (Rom. 1). Where else is there such a running together to the churches and to the sepulchers of the martyrs with such great zeal and frequency? Where does the "Amen" so re-echo to the likeness of heavenly thunder, and the empty temples of idols are shaken? Not that the Romans have another faith, except this which all the churches of Christ have: but because devotion is greater in them, and simplicity for believing. Again they are argued for facility [fickleness] and pride. For facility, as there: "I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them. For they that are such serve not our Lord Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple." For your obedience is come abroad unto all men. I am glad therefore on your behalf: but yet I would have you wise unto that which is good, and simple concerning evil" (Rom. 16:17 seqq.). But for pride: "Be not highminded, but fear" (Rom. 11:20). And: "For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits" (Rom. 11:25). And in the following: "For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly" (Rom. 12:3). And more clearly: "Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep." Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits" (Ibid. 12:16). He also notes the Corinthians that their women are with uncovered head, and the men nourish hair (1 Cor. 11). And they eat indifferently in temples (1 Cor. 8). And puffed up with worldly wisdom, they deny the resurrection of the flesh. That these things in part remain until today, he who has seen Achaia cannot doubt (1 Cor. 4).

Macedones in charitate laudantur, et hospitalitate ac susceptione fratrum. Unde ad eos scribitur: De charitate autem fraternitatis, non necesse habemus scribere vobis. Ipsi enim vos a Deo didicistis, ut diligatis invicem. Etenim facitis illud in omnes fratres in universa Macedonia (I Thess. IV, 9). Sed reprehenduntur quod otiosi domos circumeant: et alienum exspectantes cibum, dum singulis placere desiderant, et huc illucque discurrant, quid apud singulos agatur, enuntient. Sequitur enim: Rogamus autem vos, fratres, ut abundetis magis, et operam detis ut quieti sitis: ut et vestrum negotium agatis, et operemini manibus vestris sicut praecepimus vobis: ut et honeste ambuletis ad eos qui foris sunt, et nullius aliquid desideretis (Ibid., X, 11). Quod ne quis putet officio magis docentis, quam vitio gentis admonitum, in secunda ad eosdem inculcat ac replicat, dicens: Nam et cum essemus apud vos, hoc denuntiabamus vobis, quoniam si quis operari non vult, nec manducet. Audivimus enim inter vos quosdam ambulare inquiete, nihil operantes, sed curiose agentes. His autem qui ejusmodi sunt, denuntiamus et obsecramus in Domino Jesu Christo, ut cum silentio operantes, suum panem manducet (II Thess. III, 10 seqq.). Longum est si velim de Apostolo, et de Scripturis omnibus singularum gentium, vel virtutes observare, vel vitia: cum ad haec ipsa quae diximus, inde devoluti simus quod Galatae stulti et vecordes pronuntiati sint. Scit mecum qui vidit Ancyram [Al. Anchiram] metropolim Galatiae civitatem. Quot [Al. quod] nunc usque schismatibus dilacerata sit, quot [Al. quod] dogmatum varietatibus constuprata. Omitto Cataphrygas, Ophitas, Borboritas, et Manichaeos; nota enim jam haec humanae calamitatis vocabula sunt. Quis umquam Passaloryncitas, et Ascodrobos, et Artotyritas, et caetera magis portenta quam nomina [Al. numina] in aliqua parte Romani orbis audivit? Antiquae stultitiae usque hodie manent vestigia. Unum est quod inferimus, et promissum in exordio reddimus, Galatas excepto sermone Graeco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treviros, nec referre, si aliqua exinde corruperint, cum et Aphri Phoenicum linguam nonnulla ex parte mutaverint, et ipsa Latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore. Sed jam ad propositum revertamur.

Quicumque enim ex operibus Legis sunt, sub maledicto sunt. Scriptum est enim: Maledictus omnis qui non permanserit in omnibus quae scripta sunt in libro Legis, ut faciat ea. Hunc morem habeo, ut quotiescumque ab Apostolis de veteri Instrumento aliquid sumitur, recurram ad originales libros, et diligenter inspiciam, quomodo in suis locis scripta sint. Inveni itaque in Deuteronomio hoc ipsum apud Septuaginta interpretes ita positum: Maledictus omnis homo qui non permanserit in omnibus sermonibus Legis hujus, ut faciat illos: et dicet omnis populus, fiat (Deut. XXVII, 26).

The Macedonians are praised in charity, and in hospitality and reception of the brethren. Whence it is written to them: "But as touching brotherly charity ye need not that I write unto you:" for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another. And indeed ye do it toward all the brethren which are in all Macedonia" (1 Thess. 4:9). But they are reprov'd because being idle they go about the houses: and expecting the food of others, while they desire to please individuals, they run hither and thither, and announce what is done among individuals. For it follows: "And that ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you; that ye may walk honestly toward them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing" (Ibid. 4:11). Lest anyone think this was cautioned rather by the office of the teacher than by the vice of the nation, in the second to the same he inculcates and repeats it, saying: "For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat." For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread" (2 Thess. 3:10 seqq.). It would be long if I wished to observe either the virtues or the vices of individual nations from the Apostle and from all the Scriptures: since we have devolved into these very things which we have said from this, that the Galatians were pronounced foolish and senseless. He who has seen Ancyra, the metropolitan city of Galatia, knows with me. How much it is torn asunder by schisms even until now, how much it is defiled by varieties of dogmas. I omit the Cataphrygians, Ophites, Borborites, and Manichaeans; for these names of human calamity are now known. Who has ever heard of the Passaloryncitae, and Ascandrobi, and Artotyritae, and the rest rather portents than names in any part of the Roman world? Traces of the ancient foolishness remain until today. One thing is that which we infer, and we render the promise in the beginning, that the Galatians, except for the Greek language which all the East speaks, have almost the same proper language as the Treveri; and it does not matter if they have corrupted anything from it, since the Africans also have changed the language of the Phoenicians in some part, and Latinity itself is changed daily both by regions and by time. But now let us return to the proposal.

For as many as are of the works of the Law are under a curse. For it is written: "Cursed is everyone who does not continue in all things which are written in the book of the Law, to do them." I have this custom, that as often as anything is taken by the Apostles from the Old Instrument, I recur to the original books, and diligently inspect how they are written in their own places. I found therefore in Deuteronomy this very thing thus placed among the Seventy interpreters: "Cursed is every man who does not continue in all the words of this Law, to do them: and all the people shall say, so be it" (Deut. 27:26).

Apud Aquilam vero sic: Maledictus qui non statuerit verba Legis hujus, ut faciat ea: et dicet omnis populus, vere. Symmachus: Maledictus qui non firmaverit sermones Legis istius, ut faciat eos, et dicet omnis populus, amen. Porro Theodotio sic transtulit: Maledictus qui non suscitaverit sermones Legis hujus, facere eos, et dicet omnis populus, Amen. Ex quo intelligimus, Apostolum, ut in caeteris, sensum magis testimonii posuisse quam verba: et incertum habemus, utrum Septuaginta Interpretes addiderint, omnis homo, et, in omnibus, an in veteri Hebraico ita fuerit, et postea a Judaeis deletum sit. In hanc me autem suspicionem illa res stimulat, quod verbum, omnis, et in omnibus, quasi sensui suo necessarium, ad probandum illud, quod quicumque ex operibus Legis sunt, sub maledicto sint, Apostolus vir Hebraeae peritiae, et in Lege doctissimus, numquam protulisset nisi in Hebraeis voluminibus haberetur. Quam ob causam Samaritanorum Hebraea volumina relegens, inveni CHOL, quod interpretatur, omnis, sive, omnibus, scriptum esse, et cum Septuaginta interpretibus concordare. Frustra igitur illud tulerunt Judaei, ne viderentur esse sub maledicto, si non possent omnia complere quae scripta sunt: cum antiquiores alterius quoque gentis litterae id positam fuisse testentur. Quoniam autem nemo possit implere Legem, et cuncta facere quae jussa sunt, et alibi testatur Apostolus, dicens: Quod enim erat impossibile Legi, in quo infirmabatur per carnem: Deus Filium suum mittens in similitudinem carnis peccati, de peccato condemnavit peccatum in carne (Rom. VIII). Quod si verum est, potest nobis objici: Ergo et Moyses, et Isaïas, et caeteri prophetae, qui sub operibus Legis fuerunt, sub maledicto sunt? Quod non timebit annuere, qui dicentem Apostolum legerit: Quia Christus nos redemit de maledicto Legis, factus pro nobis maledictum; et respondere unumquemque sanctorum suo tempore maledictionem factum esse pro populo. Nec statim hoc tribuens et justis viris, videbitur detrahare Salvatori, quasi nihil praecipuum et excellens habuerit, factus pro nobis maledictum, cum et caeteri pro aliis maledictum facti sint. Nemo enim illorum quamvis factus fuerit ipse maledictio, de maledicto quempiam liberavit, absque solo Domino Jesu Christo, qui pretioso sanguine suo, et nos omnes, et ipsos, Moysen dico et Aaron, prophetasque cunctos et patriarchas, de maledicto Legis redemit. Nec hoc ex meo sensu dictum putetis, Scriptura testis est: quia Christus gratia Dei, sive ut in quibusdam exemplaribus legitur, absque Deo, pro omnibus mortuus est (II Cor. V).

But in Aquila thus: "Cursed is he who has not established the words of this Law, to do them: and all the people shall say, truly." Symmachus: "Cursed is he who has not confirmed these words of this Law, to do them, and all the people shall say, amen." Furthermore, Theodotion translated thus: "Cursed is he who has not raised up the words of this Law, to do them, and all the people shall say, Amen." From which we understand that the Apostle, as in other things, placed the sense of the testimony rather than the words: and we have it uncertain whether the Seventy Interpreters added "every man" and "in all things," or whether it was so in the ancient Hebrew and was afterwards deleted by the Jews. Moreover, this thing stimulates me into this suspicion, that the word "every" and "in all things," as if necessary to his sense to prove that whoever are of the works of the Law are under a curse, the Apostle, a man of Hebrew skill and most learned in the Law, would never have brought forth unless it were had in the Hebrew volumes. For which cause, re-reading the Hebrew volumes of the Samaritans, I found CHOL, which is interpreted "every" or "all," to be written, and to agree with the Seventy interpreters. In vain, therefore, did the Jews take that away, lest they should seem to be under a curse if they could not complete all things which are written: since the more ancient letters of another nation also testify that it was placed there. But because no one could fulfill the Law and do all things which are commanded, the Apostle also testifies elsewhere, saying: "For what was impossible for the Law, in which it was weakened through the flesh: God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, condemned sin in the flesh concerning sin" (Rom. 8). But if this is true, it can be objected to us: Therefore are also Moses, and Isaiah, and the rest of the prophets, who were under the works of the Law, under a curse? Which he who has read the Apostle saying will not fear to assent to: "Because Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us"; and to answer that each of the saints in his own time was made a curse for the people. Nor in immediately attributing this also to just men will he seem to detract from the Savior, as if he had nothing special and excellent in being made a curse for us, since others also were made a curse for others. For none of them, although he himself was made a curse, liberated anyone from the curse, except the Lord Jesus Christ alone, who by his precious blood redeemed both us all and themselves—I say Moses and Aaron, and all the prophets and patriarchs—from the curse of the Law. Nor should you think this said from my own sense; Scripture is witness: because "Christ by the grace of God," or as it is read in some copies, "without God, died for all" (2 Cor. 5).

Si autem pro omnibus, et pro Moyse, et pro universis prophetis, e quibus nullus potuit delere chirographum vetus, quod adversum nos scriptum erat, et affigere illud cruci (Colos. II): Omnes peccaverunt, et indigent gloria [id est, gratia] Dei (Rom. III, 23). Ecclesiaste quoque hanc firmante sententiam: Homo non est justus in terra, qui faciat bonum et non peccet (Eccles. VII, 21). Denique et inferius Apostoli dictum manifeste docet, nec Moysen, nec illustrem aliquem de antiquis virum, apud Deum justificari potuisse per Legem. Sequitur enim:

(Vers. 11, 12.) Quoniam autem in Lege nemo justificatur apud Deum, manifestum est, quia justus ex fide vivit. Lex autem non est ex fide, sed qui fecerit ea, vivet in illis. Exemplum quo probatur justus ex fide vivere, et non ex operibus, de Abacuc tulit, quod ita Septuaginta interpretes ediderunt: Justus autem ex fide mea vivit (Abac. II, 4). Aquila et Theodotio: Justus autem ex fide ejus vivit, id est, Dei. Considerandum itaque quia non dixerit, homo aut vir ex fide vivit, ne occasionem tribueret ad virtutum opera contemnenda; sed, justus ex fide vivit: ut quicumque fidelis esset, et per fidem victurus, non aliter posset ad fidem venire, vel in ea vivere, nisi prius justus fuisset, et puritate vitae quasi quibusdam ad fidem gradibus ascendisset. Potest ergo fieri, ut sit aliquis justus, et tamen non vivat absque fide Christi. Si legenti scrupulus commovetur, Pauli verba suscipiat, in quibus de se ait: Secundum justitiam, quae in Lege est, sine reprehensione (Philip. III, 6). Erat igitur Paulus tunc justus in Lege, sed necdum vivere poterat, quia non habebat in se Christum loquentem: Ego sum vita (Joan. XI, 25). In quem credens postea coepit et vivere. Faciamus et nos aliquid simile huic quod dicitur, justus ex fide vivit; et dicamos: castus ex fide vivit, sapiens ex fide vivit, fortis ex fide vivit, et a caeteris virtutum partibus vicinam sententiam proferamus adversum eos, qui in Christum non credentes, fortes et sapientes, temperantes se putant esse, vel justos: ut sciant nullum absque Christo vivere, sine quo omnis virtus in vitio est. Potest praesens testimonium et sic legi: quia justus ex fide, ut deinceps inferatur, vivit. Quod autem ait: Lex non est ex fide, sed qui fecerit ea, vivet in illis, manifestissime demonstratur non simplicem dici vitam, sed eam quae referatur ad aliquid. Justus quippe ex fide vivit: et non additur, in his, sive in illis. Vivens autem in Lege qui fecerit ea, vivit in illis, hoc est, in his quae fecit, quae putavit bona: mercedem laboris sui habens ea tantum opera quae fecit, sive longitudinem vitae (ut Judaei putant) sive declinationem, poenae per quam transgressor Legis occiditur.

But if for all, then for Moses and for all the prophets, from whom none could delete the old handwriting which was written against us, and affix it to the cross (Col. 2): "All have sinned, and need the glory [that is, the grace] of God" (Rom. 3:23). Ecclesiastes also confirming this sentence: "There is no just man on earth who does good and does not sin" (Eccles. 7:21). Finally, the word of the Apostle below also clearly teaches that neither Moses nor any illustrious man of the ancient men could be justified before God through the Law. For there follows:

(Vers. 11, 12.) But that no one is justified by the Law before God is manifest, because "the just lives by faith." But the Law is not of faith, but "he who does them shall live in them." He took the example by which it is proved that the just lives by faith, and not by works, from Habakkuk, which the Seventy interpreters thus edited: "But my just one lives by my faith" (Hab. 2:4). Aquila and Theodotion: "But the just lives by his faith," that is, God's. It is to be considered, therefore, that he did not say "a man" or "a male" lives by faith, lest he should provide an occasion for contemning the works of virtues; but "the just lives by faith": so that whoever was faithful, and about to live through faith, could not otherwise come to faith, or live in it, unless he had first been just, and had ascended by purity of life as if by certain steps to faith. It can therefore happen that someone is just, and yet does not live without the faith of Christ. If a scruple is moved in the reader, let him receive the words of Paul, in which he says of himself: "According to the justice which is in the Law, without reproach" (Phil. 3:6). Paul was therefore then just in the Law, but he could not yet live, because he did not have Christ speaking in him: "I am the life" (John 11:25). Believing in whom, he afterwards began also to live. Let us also do something similar to this which is said, "the just lives by faith"; and let us say: the chaste lives by faith, the wise lives by faith, the brave lives by faith, and let us bring forth a neighboring sentence from the other parts of the virtues against those who, not believing in Christ, think themselves to be brave and wise, temperate or just: that they may know that no one lives without Christ, without whom every virtue is in vice. The present testimony can also be read thus: "because the just by faith," so that thereafter it is inferred, "lives." But what he says: "The Law is not of faith, but he who does them shall live in them," is most clearly demonstrated that a simple life is not spoken of, but that which is referred to something. For "the just lives by faith": and it is not added, "in these" or "in them." But living in the Law, he who has done them lives in them, that is, in those things which he did, which he thought good: having as the reward of his labor only those works which he did, whether length of life (as the Jews think) or the avoidance of the penalty by which the transgressor of the Law is killed.

Vivere autem in illis, non putemus Apostoli verba esse, sed Ezechielis prophetae, qui ait: Et eduxi eos in desertum, et dedi eis praecepta mea et justificationes meas demonstravi eis, quas faciet homo, et vivet in eis (Ezech. XX, 10, 11). Qui cum illos qui in praeceptis et justificationibus ambulassent, vivere dixisset, adjecit: Et dedi eis praecepta non bona, et justificationes in quibus non viverent in eis (Ibid., 25). Quanta in verbis consideratio! ubi dixit: Dedi eis praecepta et justificationes in quibus viverent in eis, non adjunxit bona. Ubi vero posuit, in quibus non viverent in eis, addidit: Et ego dedi eis praecepta non bona, et justificationes in quibus non vivent in eis. Sed haec plenius in Ezechiele: nunc ad ordinem Epistolae revertamur.

(Vers. 13.) Christus nos redemit de maledicto Legis, factus pro nobis maledictum. Subrepat in hoc loco Marcion de potestate Creatoris, quem sanguinarium, crudelem infamat et vindicem, asserens nos redemptos esse per Christum, qui alterius boni Dei Filius sit. Qui si intelligeret quo differunt emere, et redimere (quia qui emit, alienum emit; qui autem redimit, id emit proprie quod suum fuit, et suum esse desivit) numquam Scripturarum verba simplicia in calumniam sui dogmatis detorqueret. Redemit ergo nos Christus de maledicto Legis, quod peccantibus constitutum est, quos ipse increpat per prophetam, dicens: Ecce peccatis vestris venditi estis, et in iniquitatibus vestris dimisi matrem vestram (Isai. L, 1). Et apostolus hoc ipsum replicat, dicens: Ego autem carnalis sum, venundatus sub peccato (Rom. VII, 14). Maledicta quoque Legis quae in Levitico et Deuteronomio scripta sunt, non Deo auctore complentur, sed prophetico spiritu his qui peccaturi erant, ea quae eis ventura sunt, nuntiantur. Quod si apostoli voluerit nos testimonio coarctare dicentis: Quicumque ex operibus Legis sunt, sub maledicto sunt: scriptum est enim: Maledictus omnis qui non permanserit in omnibus quae scripta sunt in libro Legis, ut faciat ea (Deut. XXVII, 26), et asserere omnes qui sub Lege fuerint, fuisse maledictos, interrogemus eum, utrum hi qui sub Evangelio Christi sunt, et ejus praecepta non faciunt, maledicti sint, an non. Si maledictos dixerit, id habebit in Evangelio, quod nos habemus in Lege. Si maledictos negaverit, frustra ergo Evangelii praecepta sint posita, et absque mercede erunt hi qui illa compleverint. Solvitur itaque utrumque hoc modo: quomodo Christus Jesus ex maledicto nos Legis liberavit, factus pro nobis maledictum: ita de maledicto quoque Evangelii quod statutum est super eos qui ejus praecepta non fecerint, eruit nos, factus pro nobis ipse maledictum, sciens talenti quoque minimam non dimittere portionem, et novissimum exigere quadrantem (Matth. V, et Marc XII).

But let us not think that "to live in them" are the words of the Apostle, but of the prophet Ezekiel, who says: "And I led them out into the desert, and gave them my precepts and showed them my justifications, which a man shall do, and he shall live in them" (Ezek. 20:10, 11). Who, when he had said that those who had walked in the precepts and justifications would live, added: "And I gave them precepts that were not good, and justifications in which they should not live in them" (ibid., 25). How much consideration in the words! where he said: "I gave them precepts and justifications in which they should live in them," he did not add "good." But where he placed "in which they should not live in them," he added: "And I gave them precepts that were not good, and justifications in which they shall not live in them." But these things more fully in Ezekiel: now let us return to the order of the Epistle.

(Vers. 13.) Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us. In this place Marcion creeps in concerning the power of the Creator, whom he defames as bloodthirsty, cruel, and an avenger, asserting that we are redeemed through Christ, who is the Son of another good God. Who, if he understood how to buy and to redeem differ (because he who buys, buys what is another's; but he who redeems, properly buys that which was his own, and ceased to be his own), would never distort the simple words of the Scriptures into the calumny of his dogma. Christ therefore redeemed us from the curse of the Law, which was established for those sinning, whom he himself rebukes through the prophet, saying: "Behold, for your sins you are sold, and for your iniquities I have dismissed your mother" (Isa. 50:1). And the apostle repeats this very thing, saying: "But I am carnal, sold under sin" (Rom. 7:14). The curses of the Law also which are written in Leviticus and Deuteronomy are not fulfilled by God as the author, but by the prophetic spirit they are announced to those who were about to sin, those things which are about to come to them. But if he wished to constrain us by the testimony of the apostle saying: "Whosoever are of the works of the Law are under a curse: for it is written: Cursed is everyone who does not continue in all things which are written in the book of the Law, to do them" (Deut. 27:26), and to assert that all who were under the Law were cursed, let us ask him whether those who are under the Gospel of Christ and do not do his precepts are cursed or not. If he says they are cursed, he will have that in the Gospel which we have in the Law. If he denies they are cursed, then in vain were the precepts of the Gospel placed, and those who have fulfilled them will be without reward. Therefore both are solved in this way: just as Christ Jesus liberated us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us; so also from the curse of the Gospel which is established over those who have not done its precepts, he rescued us, being made himself a curse for us, knowing not to dismiss even the smallest portion of a talent, and to exact the last farthing (Matt. 5, and Mark 12).

(Vers. 14.) Quia scriptum est: Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno: ut in gentibus benedictio Abrahae fieret in Christo Jesu, ut pollicitationem spiritus accipiamus per fidem. Antequam de sensu et verbis Apostoli disputemus, justum videtur Deuteronomii testimonium, de quo et apostolus haec sumpsit (Deut. XXI, 22, 23), paucis replicare, et componere illud caeteris editionibus. Septuaginta ergo interpretes ita hunc locum transtulere: Si autem fuerit in aliquo peccatum et iudicium mortis, et mortuus fuerit, suspenderitis eum in ligno, non dormiet corpus illius super lignum, sed sepelientes sepelietis eum in die illa; quia maledictus a Deo omnis qui pendet in ligno: et non contaminabis terram tuam quam Dominus Deus tuus dabit tibi in haereditatem. Aquila: Et cum fuerit in viro peccatum in iudicium mortis, et occisus fuerit, et suspenderis eum super lignum, non commorabitur morticinium ejus super lignum, sed sepeliens sepelies eum in die illa, quia maledictio Dei est, qui suspensus est: et non contaminabis humum tuam quam Dominus Deus tuus dabit tibi haereditatem. Symmachus: Si autem fuerit homini peccatum ad iudicium mortis, et occisus fuerit, et suspenderis eum super lignum: non pernoctabit cadaver ipsius super lignum, sed sepultura sepelies eum in die ipsa, quia propter blasphemiam Dei suspensus est: et non contaminabis terram tuam quam Dominus Deus tuus dabit tibi ad haereditatem. Theodotio: Et quia erit in viro peccatum in iudicium mortis, et morietur, et suspendes eum in ligno, non dormiet morticinium ejus super lignum, quia sepultura sepelies eum in die ipsa, quia maledictio Dei est suspensus: et non contaminabis adama tuam quam Dominus Deus tuus dederit tibi haereditatem. Porro ADAMA, terra sive humus, lingua Hebraea appellatur. In eo autem loco ubi Aquila et Theodotio similiter transtulerunt, dicentes: quia maledictio Dei est suspensus, in Hebraeo ita ponitur CHI CALALATH ELOIM THALUI. Haec verba Ebion ille haeresiarches Semichristianus, et Semijudaeus ita interpretatus est, hoti hybris Theou ho kremamenos, id est, quia injuria Dei est suspensus. Memini me in Altercatione Jasonis et Papisci, quae Graeco sermone conscripta est, ita reperisse: loidoria Theou ho kremamenos, id est, maledictio Dei qui appensus est. Dicebat mihi Hebraeus qui me in Scripturis aliqua ex parte instituit, quod possit et ita legi: quia contumeliose Deus suspensus est.

(Vers. 14.) Because it is written: "Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree": that in the Gentiles the blessing of Abraham might be made in Christ Jesus, that we may receive the promise of the Spirit through faith. Before we dispute about the sense and words of the Apostle, it seems just to repeat in a few words the testimony of Deuteronomy, from which also the apostle took these things (Deut. 21:22, 23), and to compare it with the other editions. The Seventy interpreters therefore thus translated this place: "But if there shall be in anyone a sin and a judgment of death, and he shall have died, and you shall have suspended him on a tree, his body shall not sleep upon the tree, but burying you shall bury him on that day; because cursed by God is everyone who hangs on a tree: and you shall not contaminate your land which the Lord your God shall give to you for an inheritance." Aquila: "And when there shall be in a man a sin and a judgment of death, and he shall have been killed, and you shall have suspended him upon a tree, his carcass shall not abide upon the tree, but burying you shall bury him on that day, because he is the curse of God who is suspended: and you shall not contaminate your ground which the Lord your God shall give to you for an inheritance." Symmachus: "But if there shall be to a man a sin unto the judgment of death, and he shall have been killed, and you shall have suspended him upon a tree: his corpse shall not stay all night upon the tree, but with burial you shall bury him on that very day, because he was suspended on account of the blasphemy of God: and you shall not contaminate your land which the Lord your God shall give to you for an inheritance." Theodotion: "And because there will be in a man a sin unto the judgment of death, and he shall die, and you shall suspend him on a tree, his carcass shall not sleep upon the tree, because with burial you shall bury him on that very day, because the suspended one is the curse of God: and you shall not contaminate your adama which the Lord your God shall have given to you for an inheritance." Furthermore, ADAMA, land or ground, is called in the Hebrew language. But in that place where Aquila and Theodotion similarly translated, saying: "because the suspended one is the curse of God," in the Hebrew it is thus placed: CHI CALALATH ELOIM THALUI. These words that Ebion, that semi-Christian and semi-Jewish heresiarch, thus interpreted: "because he who is hanging is the injury of God." I remember that in the "Altercation of Jason and Papiscus," which was written in the Greek language, I found it thus: "the curse of God is he who is appended." A Hebrew who instructed me in the Scriptures in some part said to me that it can also be read thus: "because God was suspended reproachfully."

Haec idcirco congegimus, quia famosissima quaestio est, et nobis soleat a Judaeis pro infamia objici, quod Salvator noster et Dominus sub Dei fuerit maledicto. Primum igitur intuendum est, quod non quicumque in ligno pependerit maledictus sit apud Deum, sed qui peccaverit, et propter scelus morti fuerit adjudicatus sublatusque in crucem: non ideo maledictus quia crucifixus est, sed quia in talem inciderit reatum, ut meruerit crucifigi. Deinde illud opponendum, quod inferius causa patibuli plenius exponatur, Scriptura referente, ob maledictum et blasphemiam Dei eum esse crucifixum. Quod apertius Symmachus transtulit, dicens: quia propter blasphemiam Dei suspensus est. Ad extremum interrogemus eos, si Ananias et Azarias et Misael, nolentes adorare idolum Nabuchodonosor, fuissent in ligno suspensi (Dan. III); Eleazarus quoque nonagenarius sub Antiocho rege Syriae, et cum septem filiis gloriosa mater, utrum maledictos eos aestimaturi fuerint (II Mach. VII), an omni benedictione dignissimos? Certe si crucem quam Aman paraverat Mardocheo (Esther VII), non ipse pro suo merito conscendisset, puto Mardocheus in eam, non ut maledictus, sed ut vir sanctus ascenderet. His et caeteris similibus comprobantur illum esse maledictum, qui dignum facinus patibulo perpetravit: non cum qui iniquitate judicum, et inimicorum potentia, vel clamore vulgi, aut virtutum invidia, aut regis ira fuerit crucifixus. Et Naboth quondam, ad Jezabel litteras, tota Jezrael civitas morte damnavit (III Reg. XXI); sed sanguis ejus in typo Christi, multa post saecula vindicatur, dicente Domino ad Osec: Voca nomen ejus Jezrael, quia adhuc modicum, et ulciscar sanguinem Jezrael super domum Jeu. (Osee I, 4). Haec adversum Judaeos. Caeterum ut ad nos redeat disputatio, scire non possum quare Apostolus in eo quod scriptum est: Maledictus a Deo omnis qui pendet in ligno (Deut. XXI, 2), vel subtraxerit aliquid vel addiderit. Si enim semel auctoritatem Septuaginta interpretum sequebatur, debuit, sicut ab illis editum est, et Dei nomen adjungere. Sin vero ut Hebraeus ex Hebraeis, id quod in sua lingua legerat, putabat esse verissimum, nec omnis, nec in ligno, quae in Hebraeo non habentur, assumere. Ex quo mihi videtur, aut veteres Hebraeorum libros aliter habuisse, quam nunc habent: aut Apostolum (ut ante jam dixi) sensum Scripturarum posuisse, non verba: aut quod magis est aestimandum, post passionem Christi, et in Hebraeis, et in nostris codicibus ab aliquo Dei nomen appositum, ut infamiam nobis inureret, qui in Christum maledictum a Deo credimus. Audaci itaque pede ad hoc procedo certamen, ut ad libros provocem, nullo loco scriptum, a Deo quemquam esse maledictum, et ubicumque maledictio ponitur, numquam Dei nomen adjunctum.

These things we have collected for this reason, because it is a most famous question, and it is accustomed to be objective to us by the Jews as an infamy, that our Savior and Lord was under the curse of God. First, therefore, it is to be looked into that not everyone who has hung on a tree is cursed before God, but he who has sinned, and on account of the crime was adjudicated to death and taken up onto a cross: not therefore cursed because he was crucified, but because he fell into such guilt that he deserved to be crucified. Then that is to be opposed, that below the cause of the gallows is more fully exposed, Scripture reporting that on account of the curse and blasphemy of God he was crucified. Which Symmachus translated more openly, saying: "because on account of the blasphemy of God he was suspended." Finally, let us ask them, if Ananias and Azarias and Misael, unwilling to adore the idol of Nebuchadnezzar, had been suspended on a tree (Dan. 3); Eleazar also, a ninety-year-old under Antiochus the king of Syria, and the glorious mother with seven sons, whether they would have estimated them cursed (2 Macc. 7), or most worthy of all blessing? Certainly if the cross which Haman had prepared for Mordecai (Esther 7), he himself had not ascended for his own merit, I think Mordecai would have ascended it, not as cursed, but as a holy man. By these and other similar things it is proved that he is cursed who has perpetrated a deed worthy of the gallows: not he who by the iniquity of judges, and the power of enemies, or the clamor of the common people, or the envy of virtues, or the wrath of a king, was crucified. And Naboth formerly, at the letters of Jezebel, the whole city of Jezreel condemned to death (1 Kings 21); but his blood is vindicated in the type of Christ many ages later, the Lord saying to Hosea: "Call his name Jezreel, because yet a little while and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu" (Hos. 1:4). These things against the Jews. But that the dispute may return to us, I cannot know why the Apostle in that which is written, "Cursed by God is everyone who hangs on a tree" (Deut. 21:2), either subtracted something or added something. For if once he was following the authority of the Seventy interpreters, he ought, just as it was edited by them, also to join the name of God. But if as a Hebrew of Hebrews, he thought that which he had read in his own language to be most true, he should assume neither "everyone" nor "on a tree," which are not had in the Hebrew. From which it seems to me, either that the ancient books of the Hebrews had it otherwise than they now have: or that the Apostle (as I have already said before) placed the sense of the Scriptures, not the words: or what is more to be estimated, after the passion of Christ, both in the Hebrew and in our codices the name of God was added by someone, so that he might burn infamy into us, who believe in Christ cursed by God. Therefore with a bold foot I proceed to this contest, that I may provoke to the books, that in no place is it written that anyone is cursed by God, and wherever a curse is placed, the name of God is never joined.

Maledictus tu ab omnibus bestiis (Genes. III, 14), dicitur ad serpentem. Et ad Adam: Maledicta terra in operibus tuis (Ibid., 17). Et ad Cain: Maledictus tu super terram (Gen. IV, 11). Et alibi: Maledictus Chanaan puer, famulus erit fratribus suis (Gen. IX, 25). Necnon et in alio loco: Maledictus furor eorum, quia audax, et ira eorum, quia dura (Gen. XLIX, 7). Longum est si universas maledictiones, quae in Levitico, et in Deuteronomio, et in Jesu Nave scribuntur, enumerem; et tamen in nulla earum, Dei nomen est additum: intantum ut etiam ipse Satan, cum de Job polliceretur, quod si grandibus pressus fuisset angustiis, blasphemaret, a meliori parte hoc significaverit, dicens: Nisi te benedixerit in faciem (Job I, 11). Et in Regnorum libris, Naboth propterea lapidatus refertur: quia benedixerit Deum et regem (III Reg. XXI). Nullum autem debet movere quod Christus pro nobis maledictum factus sit, quia et Deus qui eum dicitur fecisse maledictum, ipse (cum nesciret Christus peccatum) pro nobis eum peccatum fecit, et Salvator de plenitudine Patris exinanivit se, formam servi accipiens (Philip. II): vita mortua est, et sapientia Dei fatuitas est appellata, ut quod stultum erat Dei sapientius fieret hominibus (I Cor. I). Et in sexagesimo octavo psalmo de se loquitur: Deus, tu scis insipientiam meam, et delicta mea a te non sunt abscondita (Psal. LXVIII, 7). Injuria itaque Domini, nostra gloria est. Ille mortuus est, ut nos viveremus. Ille descendit ad inferos, ut nos ascenderemus ad coelum. Ille factus est stultitia, ut nos sapientia fieremus. Ille se de plenitudine et de forma Dei evacuavit, formam servi accipiens, ut in nobis habitaret plenitudo divinitatis, et Domini fieremus e servis. Ille pendit in ligno, ut peccatum quod commiseramus in ligno scientiae boni et mali, ligno deleteret appensus. Crux ejus amaras aquas vertit in dulcem saporem, et securim perditam, in profundumque demersam, missa in fluentia Jordanis levavit (IV Reg. VI). Ad postremum factus est ille maledictio, factus, inquam, non natus: ut benedictiones quae promissae fuerant Abrahae, ipso auctore et praevio transferrentur ad gentes, et spiritus repromissio per fidem illius compleretur in nobis: quam dupliciter debemus accipere, aut in virtutum spiritualibus donis, aut in Scripturarum intelligentia spirituali (I Cor. IX).

(Vers. 15 seqq.) Fratres, secundum hominem dico: tamen hominis testamentum confirmatum nemo spernit, aut superordinat: Abrahae dictae sunt repromissiones, et semini ejus. Non dicit, et seminibus, quasi in multis, sed quasi in uno, et semini tuo, qui est Christus. Hoc autem dico testamentum confirmatum a Deo, quae post quadringentos et triginta annos facta est Lex, non irritum facit ad evacuandam repromissionem, quia si ex Lege haereditas, jam non ex promissione. Abrahae autem per promissionem donavit Deus.

"Cursed are you above all beasts" (Gen. 3:14) is said to the serpent. And to Adam: "Cursed is the ground in your works" (ibid., 17). And to Cain: "Cursed are you upon the earth" (Gen. 4:11). And elsewhere: "Cursed be Canaan, a boy, he shall be a servant to his brothers" (Gen. 9:25). Also in another place: "Cursed be their fury, because bold, and their wrath, because hard" (Gen. 49:7). It is long if I should enumerate all the curses which are written in Leviticus, and in Deuteronomy, and in Joshua; and yet in none of them is the name of God added: so much so that even Satan himself, when he promised concerning Job that if he were pressed by great anguishes he would blaspheme, signified this from the better part, saying: "Unless he bless you to your face" (Job 1:11). And in the books of the Kingdoms, Naboth is reported to have been stoned for this reason: "because he blessed God and the king" (1 Kings 21). But no one ought to be moved that Christ was made a curse for us, because also God who is said to have made him a curse, himself (when Christ knew not sin) made him sin for us, and the Savior from the fullness of the Father emptied himself, taking the form of a servant (Phil. 2): life died, and the wisdom of God was called foolishness, so that what was foolish of God might become wiser than men (1 Cor. 1). And in the sixty-eighth psalm he speaks of himself: "God, you know my foolishness, and my offenses are not hidden from you" (Ps. 68:7). Therefore the injury of the Lord is our glory. He died so that we might live. He descended to the lower regions so that we might ascend to heaven. He was made foolishness so that we might become wisdom. He emptied himself of the fullness and form of God, taking the form of a servant, so that in us the fullness of divinity might dwell, and from servants we might become of the Lord. He hung on a tree so that the sin which we had committed on the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, he might delete being appended to the tree. His cross turned bitter waters into a sweet taste, and the lost axe, submerged into the depth, raised it up being sent into the streams of the Jordan (2 Kings 6). Finally he was made a curse—made, I say, not born—so that the blessings which had been promised to Abraham might be transferred to the Gentiles, with him as the author and precursor, and the promise of the spirit through his faith might be completed in us: which we ought to receive doubly, either in the spiritual gifts of virtues, or in the spiritual understanding of the Scriptures (1 Cor. 9).

(Vers. 15 seqq.) Brethren, I speak according to man: yet no one despises or superadds to a man's confirmed testament: to Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed. He does not say, "and to seeds," as in many, but as in one, "and to your seed," who is Christ. But this I say, the testament confirmed by God, which the Law made after four hundred and thirty years does not make void to the evacuating of the promise, because if the inheritance is from the Law, it is no longer from promise. But God gave it to Abraham through promise.

Apostolus, qui omnibus omnia factus est, ut omnes lucrificaret, debitor Graecis ac Barbaris, sapientibus et insipientibus, Galatis quoque quos paulo ante stultos dixerat, factus est stultus. Non enim ad eos his usus est argumentis quibus ad Romanos, sed simplicioribus; et quae stulti possent intelligere, et pene de trivio. Quod ne videretur imperitia et non arte fecisse, prudentem placat ante lectorem, et quae dicturus est, temperat praefatione praemissa: Fratres, secundum hominem dico. Quod enim dicturus sum, non dico secundum Deum: non dico secundum reconditam sapientiam, et eos qui solido possunt vesci cibo, sed secundum eos qui ob teneritudinem stomachi lacteo rore pascuntur, et nequaquam valent audire quae grandia sunt (I Cor. V). Unde et ad Corinthios in quibus audiebatur fornicatio, et talis fornicatio quae ne inter gentes quidem, ait: Ego dico, et non Dominus (I Cor. VII, 12). Et ad eosdem in secunda: Quod loquor, non secundum Dominum loquor, sed quasi in insipientia (II Cor. XI, 17). Putant aliqui quod de testamento hominis, et de testatoris morte, et caeteris humanae similitudinis disputaturus exemplis, dixerit: Fratres, secundum hominem dico: mihi autem videtur, et propter hoc quidem quod illi arbitrantur, sed maxime propter illud quod sequitur esse praemissum, id est: Non dicit, et seminibus, quasi in multis, sed quasi in uno, et semini tuo, qui est Christus. Omnes Scripturas sensu ac memoria peragrans, numquam plurali numero semina scripta reperi, sed sive in bonam partem, sive in malam, semper in singulari numero. Necnon et illud quod infert: Hoc autem dico testamentum confirmatum a Deo, si quis diligenter Hebraea volumina, et caeteras editiones cum Septuaginta interpretum translatione contulerit, inveniet ubi testamentum scriptum est, non testamentum sonare, sed pactum, quod Hebraeo sermone dicitur BERITH. Unde manifestum est, id fecisse Apostolum quod promisit, nec reconditis ad Galatas usum esse sensibus, sed quotidianis, et vilibus, et quae possent (nisi praemisisset, secundum hominem dico) prudentibus displicere. Supputandi in hoc loco anni ab eo tempore quo Dominus ad Abraham locutus est, dicens: Et in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes (Genes. XXII, 18), usque ad legislatorem Moysen: utrum quadringenti triginta sint, vel quomodo in Genesi ipsi Abrahae Dominus polliceatur, quod post quadringentos annos de terra servitutis filii ejus exituri sint. Non enim parva res est, et a multis quaesita, nescio an ab aliquo sit inventa.

The Apostle, who was made all things to all, that he might gain all, a debtor to Greeks and Barbarians, to the wise and the unwise, to the Galatians also whom a little before he had called foolish, was made foolish. For he did not use to them those arguments which he used to the Romans, but simpler ones; and which the foolish could understand, and almost from the crossroads. Which, lest he should seem to have done by unskillfulness and not by art, he placates the prudent reader beforehand, and what he is about to say, he tempers by the preface sent before: "Brethren, I speak according to man." For what I am about to say, I do not say according to God: I do not say according to hidden wisdom, and to those who can be fed with solid food, but according to those who on account of the tenderness of the stomach are fed with milky dew, and are by no means able to hear those things which are grand (1 Cor. 3). Whence also to the Corinthians in whom fornication was heard, and such fornication as was not even among the Gentiles, he says: "I say, and not the Lord" (1 Cor. 7:12). And to the same in the second: "That which I speak, I speak not according to the Lord, but as if in foolishness" (2 Cor. 11:17). Some think that about the testament of man, and about the death of the testator, and other examples of human likeness about to be disputed, he said: "Brethren, I speak according to man": but to me it seems, both on account of this indeed which they think, but especially on account of that which follows to be pre-sent, that is: "He does not say, and to seeds, as in many, but as in one, and to your seed, who is Christ." Overrunning all the Scriptures by sense and memory, I never found "seeds" written in the plural number, but whether in a good part or in a bad one, always in the singular number. Also that which he infers: "But this I say, the testament confirmed by God," if anyone diligently compares the Hebrew volumes and the other editions with the translation of the Seventy interpreters, he will find where "testament" is written, it does not sound as "testament," but "pact," which in the Hebrew speech is called BERITH. Whence it is manifest that the Apostle did that which he promised, nor did he use hidden senses to the Galatians, but everyday and vile ones, and which could (unless he had pre-sent, "I speak according to man") displease the prudent. The years are to be computed in this place from that time in which the Lord spoke to Abraham, saying: "And in your seed all nations shall be blessed" (Gen. 22:18), until the legislator Moses: whether they are four hundred and thirty, or how in Genesis the Lord promises to Abraham himself that after four hundred years his sons are about to go out from the land of servitude. For it is no small thing, and sought by many, I know not if it has been found by anyone.

Illud etiam quod in eodem libro de Thamar et duobus ejus parvulis legitur (Genes. XXXVIII), quod scilicet primus qui dicitur Zara, miserit manum suam, et obstetrix ligaverit ei coccinum, et dehinc illo manum intrinsecus retrahente, manum posterior, qui Phares vocatur, porrexit, praesenti loco congruit, quod ostenderit Israel in Legis opere manum suam, et eam prophetarum, et ipsius Salvatoris pollutam cruore contraxerit. Postea vero proruperit populus Gentium, propter quem dicitur saepius esse destructa, et medius paries qui inter Judaeos et Gentiles fuerat dissipatus, ut fieret unus grex et unus pastor, et esset gloria, et honor, et pax omni operanti bonum, Judaeo primum et Graeco. Simplex autem sensus qui in hoc loco textitur, hanc vim habet, ut doceat Apostolus, non posse per Legem, quae postea data est, repromissiones quae ante factae sunt ad Abraham destrui, et posteriora prioribus praejudicare, cum repromissiones ad Abraham ante quadringentos triginta annos datae sint, quod benedicerentur in illo universae nationes. Legis autem observatio, quod qui fecisset eam, viveret in ea, post quadringentos triginta annos Moysi data sit in monte Sina. Econtrario hic dici poterat: Quid ergo necesse fuit Legem post tantum tempus repromissionis dari, cum et data Lege, suspicio destructae sponsionis potuerit oboriri, et manente repromissione non profutura Lex data sit? Quam praevidens Apostolus quaestionem, in sequentibus ipse sibi proponit et explicat, dicens:

(Vers. 19, 20.) Quid igitur? Lex propter transgressionem posita est donec veniret semen cui promissum erat: ordinata per angelos in manu mediatoris, Mediator autem unius non est, Deus autem unus est. Quia manente repromissione, quae facta fuerat ad Abraham, Lex postea data per Moysen frustra videbatur illata, cur data sit explicat: propter transgressionem, inquit. Post offensam enim in eremo populi, post adoratum vitulum, et murmur in Dominum, Lex transgressionem prohibitura successit. Justo quippe lex non est posita, iniquis autem et non subjectis, impiis et peccatoribus (I Tim. II, 9): et ut altius repetam, post idololatriam, cui in Aegypto fuerant mancipati, ita ut Deum patrum suorum obliviscerentur, et deinceps dicerent: Isti sunt dii tui, Israel, qui eduxerunt te de terra Aegypti, ritus colendi Deum et delinquentium poena sancita est in manu mediatoris Christi Jesu, quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil: non solum coelum, terra, mare et universa quae cernimus, sed etiam illa quae per Moysen duro populo quasi jugum Legis imposita sunt (Joan. I).

Also that which is read in the same book concerning Tamar and her two little ones (Gen. 38), that namely the first who is called Zarah put forth his hand, and the midwife bound a scarlet thread to it, and thereafter with him drawing back his hand within, the posterior one who is called Pharez put forth his hand, fits the present place, because it showed that Israel put forth its hand in the work of the Law, and contracted it polluted by the gore of the prophets and of the Savior himself. But afterwards the people of the Gentiles broke forth, on account of whom it is said more often to have been destroyed, and the middle wall which had been between the Jews and the Gentiles was dissipated, that there might be one flock and one shepherd, and there might be glory, and honor, and peace to every one working good, to the Jew first and to the Greek. But the simple sense which is woven in this place has this force, that the Apostle may teach that the promises which were made before to Abraham cannot be destroyed through the Law which was given afterwards, and the later things prejudice the earlier ones, since the promises to Abraham were given four hundred and thirty years before, that all nations should be blessed in him. But the observation of the Law, that he who had done it should live in it, was given to Moses on mount Sinai after four hundred and thirty years. On the contrary it could be said here: Why then was it necessary for the Law to be given after so much time of promise, since with the Law given, the suspicion of a destroyed promise could have arisen, and with the promise remaining a not-to-profit Law was given? Which question the Apostle, foreseeing, proposes and explains to himself in the following things, saying:

(Vers. 19, 20.) What then? The Law was put on account of transgressions until the seed should come to whom it was promised: ordained through angels in the hand of a mediator. But a mediator is not of one, but God is one. Because with the promise remaining, which had been made to Abraham, the Law given afterwards through Moses seemed to have been brought in in vain, he explains why it was given: "on account of transgressions," he says. For after the offense of the people in the desert, after the calf was adored, and the murmur against the Lord, the Law followed to prohibit transgressions. For the Law is not put for the just, but for the iniquitous and the non-subject, for the impious and sinners (1 Tim. 1:9): and to repeat more deeply, after the idolatry to which they had been enslaved in Egypt, so that they forgot the God of their fathers, and thereafter said: "These are your gods, O Israel, who led you out from the land of Egypt," the rite of worshiping God and the penalty of the delinquent were sanctioned in the hand of the mediator Christ Jesus, because all things were made through him, and without him nothing was made: not only heaven, earth, sea, and all things which we discern, but also those things which through Moses were imposed on the hard people as if a yoke of the Law (John 1).

Scribitur et ad Timotheum: Unus enim Deus, unus et mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus (I Tim. II, 5). Postquam ob nostram salutem de Virginis utero dignatus est nasci mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus, sequester est dictus. Antequam vero humanum corpus assumeret, et esset apud Patrem in principio Deus Verbum, ad omnes sanctos ad quos factus est sermo Dei, Enoch videlicet, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, et postea Moysen et cunctos Prophetas, quos Scriptura commemorat, sine additamento hominis, quem necdum assumpserat, mediator tantummodo nuncupatur. Quod autem ait: Lex ordinata per angelos, hoc vult intelligi, quod in omni veteri Testamento, ubi angelus primum visus refertur, et postea quasi Deus loquens inducitur: Angelus quidem vere ex ministris pluribus quicumque sit visus, sed in illo mediator loquatur qui dicat: Ego sum Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob (Exod. III, 6). Nec mirum si Deus loquatur in angelis, cum etiam per angelos qui in hominibus sunt, loquatur Deus in prophetis, dicente Zacharia. Et ait angelus qui loquebatur in me (Zach. II, 3); ac deinceps inferente: Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens. Neque enim angelus qui esse dictus fuerat in propheta, ex sua persona audebat loqui: Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens. Manum mediatoris, potentiam et virtutem ejus debemus accipere. Qui cum secundum Deum, unum sit ipse cum Patre, secundum mediatoris officium alius ab eo intelligitur. Quia vero lectionis ordo confusus est, et hyperbato perturbatur, sic nobis reddendus videtur: Lex posita est per angelos in manu mediatoris, propter transgressionem ordinata per angelos, donec veniret semen cui repromissum erat. Semen autem haud dubium quin Christum significet, qui ex Matthaei quoque principio comprobatur esse filius Abraham, Scriptura referente: Liber generationis Jesu Christi filii David, filii Abraham.

(Vers. 21 seqq.) Lex ergo adversus promissa Dei? Absit. Si enim data esset Lex quae posset vivificare, vere ex Lege esset justitia. Sed conclusit Scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Jesu Christi daretur credentibus. Prius autem quam veniret fides, sub lege custodiebamur, conclusi in eam fidem quae revelanda erat. Sicut mediator Dei et hominum, inter dantem et accipientem Legem medius fuit: ita Lex ipsa, quae post repromissionem data est, inter repromissionem et completionem ejus media subrepsit. Quae non idcirco arbitranda est promissionem excludere, quia postea subsecuta eam, quae prius fuit, videtur abolere; sed ex eo quod non potuit vivificare, nec id tribuere quod repromissio prima pollicita est, manifestum est in custodiam eam repromissionis, non in subversionem datam. Si enim data esset Lex quae posset praestare vitam, et id quod repromissio sponderat exhibere, vere promissio per Legem putaretur exclusa.

It is also written to Timothy: "For there is one God, and one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus" (1 Tim. 2:5). After he deigned to be born from the Virgin's womb for our salvation, the mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, was called a sequester [mediator]. But before he assumed a human body, and was with the Father in the beginning God the Word, to all the saints to whom the word of God was made, namely Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and afterwards Moses and all the Prophets whom Scripture commemorates, without the addition of man, whom he had not yet assumed, he is called only mediator. But what he says: "The Law ordained through angels," he wishes to be understood this, that in all the Old Testament, where an angel is reported first seen, and afterwards is introduced speaking as if God: truly some angel from many ministers was seen, but in him the mediator speaks who says: "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (Exod. 3:6). Nor is it a wonder if God speaks in angels, since also through the angels who are in men, God speaks in the prophets, Zechariah saying: "And the angel who spoke in me said" (Zech. 2:3); and thereafter inferring: "Thus says the Lord almighty." For neither did the angel who had been said to be in the prophet dare to speak from his own person: "Thus says the Lord almighty." The hand of the mediator we ought to receive as his power and virtue. Who, while according to God he is himself one with the Father, according to the office of mediator he is understood as another from him. But because the order of the reading is confused and perturbed by hyperbaton, it seems thus to be rendered by us: The Law was put through angels in the hand of the mediator, ordained through angels on account of transgressions, until the seed should come to whom it was promised. But the seed is without doubt meant to signify Christ, who from the beginning of Matthew also is proved to be the son of Abraham, Scripture reporting: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham."

(Verses 21 ff.) Is the Law then against the promises of God? God forbid. For if a Law had been given which could give life, truly justice would be by the Law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by the faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe. But before faith came, we were kept under the Law, concluded unto that faith which was to be revealed. Just as the mediator of God and men was in the middle between the giver and the receiver of the Law: so the Law itself, which was given after the promise, crept in as a middle between the promise and its completion. Which is not for that reason to be thought to exclude the promise, because following after it, it seems to abolish that which was before; but from the fact that it could not give life, nor bestow that which the first promise pledged, it is manifest that it was given for the custody of the promise, not for its subversion. For if a Law had been given which could provide life, and exhibit that which the promise had pledged, truly the promise would be thought excluded by the Law.

Nunc autem propter transgressionem, ut supra diximus, posita, magis arguit eos peccatores, quibus post repromissionem in custodiam, et, ut ita dicam, in carcerem data est, ut quia per arbitrii libertatem noluerant innocentes exspectare promissum, legalibus vinculis praepediti, et in servitutem mandatorum redacti, custodirentur in adventum futurae in Christo fidei, quae finem repromissionis afferret. Nec vero aestimandum Scripturam auctorem esse peccati, quia omnia sub peccato conclusisse dicatur, cum mandatum quod ex jure praecipitur, ostendat potius arguatque peccatum, quam sit causa peccati. Quomodo et iudex non est auctor sceleris, nequam homines vinciendo: sed conclusit eos, et nocentes sententiae suae auctoritate pronuntiat, ut debitos poenae indulgentia postea si voluerit, principalis absolvat.

(Vers. 24 seqq.) Itaque Lex paedagogus noster fuit in Christo, ut ex fide justificaremur. At ubi venit fides, jam non sub paedagogo sumus. Omnes enim filii Dei estis per fidem, quae est in Christo Jesu. Paedagogus parvulis assignatur, ut lasciviens refrenetur aetas, et prona in vitia corda teneantur, dum tenera studiis eruditur infantia, et ad majores philosophiae ac regendae reipublicae disciplinas, metu poenae coercita praeparatur. Non tamen paedagogus magister et pater est, nec haereditatem et scientiam paedagogi is qui eruditur, exspectat; sed alienum custodit filium paedagogus, ab eo postquam ille ad legitimum capiendae haereditatis tempus advenerit, recessurus. Denique et nomen paedagogi hoc ipsum sonat, et est compositum ab eo quod pueros agat, id est, ductet. Itaque et Moysi lex, populo lascivienti, ad instar paedagogi severioris apposita est, ut custodiret eos, et futurae fidei praepararet, quae postquam venit, et credidimus in Christum, jam non sumus sub paedagogo, tutor a nobis curatoreque discedunt, ⁴⁴⁴ et legitimum aetatis tempus ineuntes, veri Dei filii nominamur, cui nos generat non Lex abolita, sed mater Fides, quae est in Christo Jesu. Quod si quis post consummatum aetatis suae tempus, quando jam haeres et liber et filius appellatur, voluerit esse sub paedagogo, sciat se non posse legibus parvuli vivere. Ubi enim nunc compleri potest illud: Ter in anno apparebit omne masculinum tuum in conspectu Domini Dei tui (Exod. XXIII, 17), subversa Jerusalem, et templo usque ad cineres dissipato? Ubi salutare et pro peccato hostiae? Ubi ad simulacrum coelestium siderum, holocaustorum aeternus ignis, altari omnino destructo? Noxiis vero quae poterit poena decerni, Scriptura dicente: Aufere is malum de medio vestrum (Deut. XIII, 5), servientibus Judaeis, et Romanis regnantibus?

But now, put because of transgressions, as we said above, it rather convicts those as sinners to whom, after the promise, it was given for custody, and, as I might say, into prison, so that because they had been unwilling through freedom of will to expect the promised as innocents, hindered by legal bonds, and reduced into the servitude of commandments, they might be kept for the coming of the future faith in Christ, which would bring the end of the promise. Nor indeed should it be thought that Scripture is the author of sin, because it is said to have concluded all under sin, since the commandment which is enjoined by right shows and convicts sin rather than being the cause of sin. Just as a judge also is not the author of a crime by binding wicked men: but he concludes them, and pronounces them guilty by the authority of his sentence, so that afterwards, if he wishes, the prince may absolve those due for punishment by indulgence.

(Verses 24 ff.) Therefore the Law was our pedagogue (tutor) in Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But after faith is come, we are no longer under a pedagogue. For you are all the children of God by faith, which is in Christ Jesus. A pedagogue is assigned to little ones, so that wanton age may be restrained, and hearts prone to vices may be held, while tender infancy is erudite by studies, and is prepared for greater disciplines of philosophy and of governing the republic, coerced by fear of punishment. Yet the pedagogue is not the master and father, nor does he who is erudite expect the inheritance and knowledge of the pedagogue; but the pedagogue guards another's son, about to depart from him after he shall have arrived at the legitimate time for taking the inheritance. Finally, the very name of "pedagogue" sounds this, and is composed from that which "drives boys," that is, "leads." Therefore also the law of Moses was applied to the wanton people after the likeness of a more severe pedagogue, so that it might guard them, and prepare them for the future faith, which after it came, and we believed in Christ, we are no longer under a pedagogue; the tutor and curator depart from us, and entering the legitimate time of age, we are called true sons of God, to whom not the abolished Law, but mother Faith, which is in Christ Jesus, generates us. But if anyone, after the consummated time of his age, when he is already called heir and free and son, should wish to be under a pedagogue, let him know that he cannot live by the laws of a little one. For where can that now be fulfilled: "Three times in a year all thy males shall appear in the sight of the Lord thy God" (Exod. 23:17), with Jerusalem subverted, and the temple dissipated even to ashes? Where are the salutary hosts and for sin? Where, according to the image of the celestial stars, is the eternal fire of burnt offerings, with the altar altogether destroyed? Indeed what punishment can be decreed for the harmful, since Scripture says: "Thou shalt take away the evil from the midst of you" (Deut. 13:5), with the Jews serving, and the Romans reigning?

Atque ita fiet, ut nec sub patre nec sub paedagogo vivant: dum et Lex impleri non potest post successionem fidei, et fides dum paedagoga Lex appetitur, non tenetur.

(Vers. 27, 28.) Quicumque enim in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis. Non est Judaeus, neque Graecus. Non est servus, neque liber. Non est masculus, neque femina. Omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Jesu. Quomodo Filii Dei per fidem, quae est in Christo Jesu, nascamur, ostendit dicens: Quicumque enim in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis. Quod autem Christus sit indumentum, non solum de praesenti loco, verum etiam de alio comprobatur, Paulo eodem cohortante: Induite vos Dominum Jesum Christum (Rom. XIII, 14). Si igitur qui in Christo baptizati sunt, Christum induerunt, manifestum est eos qui non sunt induti Christum, non fuisse baptizatos in Christo. Ad eos enim qui fideles et baptisma Christi consecuti putabantur, dictum est: Induite vos Dominum Jesum Christum. Si quis hoc corporeum et quod oculis carnis aspicitur, aquae tantum accipit lavacrum, non est indutus Dominum Jesum Christum. Nam et Simon ille de Actibus apostolorum, acceperat lavacrum aquae; verum quia sanctum Spiritum non habebat, indutus non erat Christum (Actor. VIII). Et haeretici vel hypocritae, et hi qui sordide victitant, 445 videntur quidem accipere baptismum, sed nescio an Christi habeant indumentum. Itaque consideremus ne forte et in nobis aliquis deprehendatur, qui ex eo quod Christi non habet indumentum, arguatur non baptizatus in Christo. Cum autem quis semel Christum indutus fuerit, et missus in flammam, Spiritus sancti ardore canduerit, non intelligitur aurum sit an argentum. Quamdiu calor massam sic possidet, unus igneus color est, et omnis diversitas generis, conditionis et corporum aufertur istiusmodi vestimento. Non est enim Judaeus, neque Graecus. Pro Graeco Gentile accipere debemus, quia Ἕλλην, et Graecum et Ethnicum utrumque significat. Nec Judaeus idcirco melior est, quia circumcisis est; nec Gentilis ideo deterior, quia praeputium habet; sed pro qualitate fidei, vel Judaeus, vel Graecus melior, sive deterior est. Servus quoque et liber, non conditione separa...

(Vers 29.) Si autem vos Christi: ergo Abrahae semen estis, secundum promissionem haeredes. Quia repromissiones ad Abraham et ad semen ejus factae sunt, quod est Christus Jesus, consequenter hi qui Christi filii, id est, semen ejus sunt, semen quoque dicuntur Abraham, cujus sunt semen ex semine. Verum quotiescumque Dominus noster Jesus semen Abrahae nominatur, corporaliter sentiendum est, quod ex ejus stirpe generetur.

And thus it will happen, that they live neither under the father nor under the pedagogue: while both the Law cannot be fulfilled after the succession of faith, and faith is not held while the pedagogic Law is sought.

(Verses 27, 28.) For as many of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek. There is neither servant nor free. There is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus. How we are born children of God through faith, which is in Christ Jesus, he shows by saying: "For as many of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ." But that Christ is a garment is proven not only from the present place, but also from another, the same Paul exhorting: "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. 13:14). If therefore those who have been baptized in Christ have put on Christ, it is manifest that those who have not put on Christ were not baptized in Christ. For to those who were thought faithful and to have attained the baptism of Christ, it was said: "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ." If anyone receives only the bodily washing of water, which is seen by the eyes of the flesh, he has not put on the Lord Jesus Christ. For even that Simon of the Acts of the Apostles had received the washing of water; but because he did not have the Holy Spirit, he had not put on Christ (Acts 8). And heretics or hypocrites, and those who live sordidly, seem indeed to receive baptism, but I know not whether they have the garment of Christ. Therefore let us consider lest perhaps someone be detected among us also, who from the fact that he does not have the garment of Christ, is proved not baptized in Christ. But when anyone shall have once put on Christ, and being cast into the flame, shall have glowed with the heat of the Holy Spirit, it is not understood whether it be gold or silver. As long as the heat thus possesses the mass, there is one fiery color, and all diversity of kind, condition, and bodies is taken away by a garment of this sort. For there is neither Jew nor Greek. For "Greek" we should understand "Gentile," because *Hellen* signifies both Greek and Ethnic (Gentile). Neither is the Jew better for that reason, because he is circumcised; nor is the Gentile therefore worse, because he has a foreskin; but according to the quality of faith, either Jew or Greek is better or worse. Servant also and free are not separated by condition...

(Verse 29.) And if you be Christ's, then are you the seed of Abraham, heirs according to the promise. Since the promises were made to Abraham and to his seed, which is Christ Jesus, consequently those who are children of Christ, that is, His seed, are also called the seed of Abraham, whose seed they are from seed. But as often as our Lord Jesus is named the seed of Abraham, it is to be understood corporally, that He is generated from his stock.

Quoties autem nos, qui Salvatoris sermone suscepto, credidimus in eum, et nobilitatem generis Abrahae, ad quem est promissio facta, suscepimus: tunc spiritualiter semen fidei et praedicationis accipere debemus. Deinde etiam hoc considerandum, quod quando de Domino loquitur: Abrahae autem dictae sunt promissiones et semini ejus, hoc est, Christo Jesu, repromissiones pluraliter ponat. Quando vero de his qui per Christum semen sunt Abrahae, singulariter repromissio nuncupetur, ut in praesenti loco: Ergo Abrahae semen estis, secundum promissionem haeredes. Decens quippe erat ut quod in Christo uno pluraliter dicebatur, id in multis hominibus singulariter poneretur. Sequitur:

(Cap. IV.---Vers. 1, 2.) Dico autem, quanto tempore haeres parvulus est, nihil differt a servo, cum sit Dominus omnium, sed sub tutoribus est et actoribus usque ad praefinitum tempus a patre. Haeres iste parvulus, qui nihil differt a servo cum sit Dominus omnium, sed sub tutoribus et actoribus est, usque ad praefinitum tempus a patre, totum humanum genus usque ad adventum Christi, et, ut amplius dicam, usque ad mundi consummationem significat. Quomodo enim omnes in protoplasto Adam, necdum nati moriuntur: ita et omnes etiam hi, qui ante adventum Christi nati sunt, in secundo Adam vivificantur. Atque ita fit, ut et nos Legi servierimus in patribus: et illi gratia salventur in filiis. Iste intellectus Ecclesiae catholicae convenit, quae et veteris et novi Testamenti unam asserit providentiam: nec distinguit in tempore, quos conditione sociavit. Omnes aedificati sumus super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum, continente nos angulari lapide Jesu Christo Domino nostro, qui fecit utraque unum, et medium parietem dissipans, inimicitiam utriusque populi in sua carne destruxit, et antiquae Legis difficultatem, Evangelicorum dogmatum integritate mutavit (Ephes. II, 20). Vere in Christo omnes unus panis sumus, et duo consensimus super terram. Et quomodo nos super prophetas fundati sumus: ita et patriarchae in apostolorum fundamine constiterunt. Tutores autem et actores, possunt et prophetae accipi, quorum verbis quotidie in adventum Salvatoris erudiebamur: sicut paedagoga Moysi Lex supra disserta est; et angeli parvulorum qui quotidie vident faciem Patris, et interpellant pro eis. De quibus dictum est: Immittet angelos Domini in circuitu timentium eum, et eruet eos (Ps. XXXIII, 8). Possunt intelligi et sacerdotes et principes, qui tum populo dominati, nunc formam praebere censentur. Et recte hi sub tutoribus et actoribus esse dicuntur, qui habentes spiritum timoris, necdum meruere spiritum libertatis et adoptionis accipere. Aetas enim infantiae ad peccata formidat, paedagogum metuit, non confidit esse se liberam, licet per naturam domina sit. Et secundum utramque intelligentiam qua tutores et actores, vel prophetas, vel angelos diximus, parvulus iste tamdiu sub actoribus est atque tutoribus, donec legitimum perfecti viri tempus impleverit.

But as often as we, who having received the word of the Savior have believed in Him, and have received the nobility of the kind of Abraham to whom the promise was made: then we should receive spiritually the seed of faith and preaching. Next this also is to be considered, that when he speaks of the Lord: "Now to Abraham were the promises said and to his seed," that is, to Christ Jesus, he places "promises" plurally. But when of those who through Christ are the seed of Abraham, "promise" is named singularly, as in the present place: "Therefore you are the seed of Abraham, heirs according to the promise." For it was fitting that what was said plurally in the one Christ, that should be placed singularly in many men. It follows:

(Chapter IV.---Verses 1, 2.) Now I say, as long as the heir is a little child, he differs nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all; but is under tutors and managers until the time appointed by the father. This little child, who differs nothing from a servant though he be lord of all, but is under tutors and managers until the time appointed by the father, signifies the whole human race until the coming of Christ, and, to say more, until the consummation of the world. For just as all die in the first-formed Adam, not yet born: so also all these, who were born before the coming of Christ, are made alive in the second Adam. And so it happens, that we served the Law in the fathers: and they are saved by grace in the children. This understanding befits the Catholic Church, which asserts one providence of both the Old and New Testament: nor does she distinguish in time those whom she has associated by condition. We are all built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Jesus Christ our Lord as the cornerstone containing us, who made both one, and breaking down the middle wall, destroyed the enmity of both peoples in His flesh, and changed the difficulty of the ancient Law with the integrity of the Evangelical dogmas (Ephes. II, 20). Truly in Christ we are all one bread, and we two have agreed upon the earth. And just as we are founded upon the prophets: so also the patriarchs stood upon the foundation of the apostles. Tutors and managers can also be understood as the prophets, by whose words we were daily instructed for the coming of the Savior: just as the Law of Moses was discussed above as a pedagogue; and the angels of the little ones who daily see the face of the Father, and intercede for them. Of whom it is said: "The angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him, and shall deliver them" (Ps. XXXIII, 8). Priests and princes can also be understood, who then dominated the people and are now considered to provide the form. And rightly are these said to be under tutors and managers, who having the spirit of fear, have not yet deserved to receive the spirit of liberty and adoption. For the age of infancy fears for sins, dreads the pedagogue, and does not trust itself to be free, although by nature it is a lady. And according to both understandings by which we called the tutors and managers either prophets or angels, this little child is under managers and tutors as long as he fulfills the legitimate time of a perfect man.

Legitimum autem tempus, sicut Romanis legibus, viginti quinque annorum spatio terminatur, ita ad humani generis perfectionem Christi reputatur adventus. Statim ut ille venerit, et omnes in virum perfectum creverimus, paedagogus a nobis tutorque discedunt. Tunc auctoritate Domini et haereditatis possessione perfruemur, in qua prius nati quodammodo putabamur alieni.

(Vers 3.) Ita et nos, cum essemus parvuli, sub elementis hujus mundi eramus servientes. Elementa mundi, eosdem quos supra tutores et actores dixerat, appellavit: quod sub ipsis primum praesidibus constituti, quia necdum Dei Filii capere ad nos poteramus adventum, erudiebamur in medio. Nonnulli eos esse angelos arbitrantur, qui quatuor mundi elementis praesideant: terrae videlicet, aquae, igni, et aeri: et necesse esse, ut priusquam quis credat in Christo, illis arbitris gubernetur. Elementa mundi coelum et terram, et ea quae intra haec sunt, plerique appellata putant: quod videlicet solem, lunam, maria, silvarum, et montium deos, et sapientes Graeciae, et Barbarae nationes, Romanique, omnium superstitionum sentina, venerentur: quibus cum Christus venerit, liberamur, intelligentes ea creaturas esse, non numina. Alii elementa mundi, Legem interpretantur Moysi et eloquia prophetarum: quod per haec quasi initia et exordia litterarum, Dei timorem, qui sapientiae principium est, suscipiamus. Denique ad eos qui jam deberent esse perfecti, et veritate neglecta, adhuc disciplinarum principiis inhaerebant, scribit in Epistola ad Hebraeos Apostolus: Etenim cum deberetis esse magistri propter tempus, rursum necesse habetis ut doceamini quae sint elementa principii sermonum Dei (Hebr. V, 12). Econtrario nobis objici potest, quod ad Colossenses Paulus apostolus scribens, elementa mundi alia nuncuparit: Videte, dicens, ne quis vos depraedetur per philosophiam, et inanem deceptionem, secundum traditionem hominum: secundum elementa mundi, et non secundum Christum (Coloss. II, 8). Sed ex eo quod addidit, secundum traditionem hominum, et inanem deceptionem, ostendit non eadem elementa ad Colossenses et ad Galatas nominari. Ab his quippe elementis postquam venerit temporis plenitudo redimimur, et ad majora gradientes adoptionem recipimus filiorum. Ab illis vero nihil tale dicitur quid sequatur; sed simpliciter elementa pro litteris accipiuntur.

But the legitimate time, just as by Roman laws it is terminated by the space of twenty-five years, so for the perfection of the human race the advent of Christ is reputed. As soon as He comes, and we all grow into a perfect man, the pedagogue and tutor depart from us. Then we shall enjoy the authority of the Lord and the possession of the inheritance, in which we who were born earlier were in a certain way thought to be aliens.

(Verse 3.) Even so we, when we were little children, were in bondage under the elements of this world. He called "elements of the world" the same ones whom he had earlier called tutors and managers: because being first constituted under these presidents, because we could not yet receive the coming of the Son of God to us, we were instructed in the middle. Some think these are angels who preside over the four elements of the world: namely earth, water, fire, and air; and that it is necessary that before anyone believes in Christ, he be governed by those arbiters. Many think the "elements of the world" are called the heaven and earth, and those things which are within them: namely that they worship the sun, the moon, the seas, the gods of the forests and mountains, and the wise men of Greece, and the Barbarian nations, and the Romans, the sink of all superstitions; from which we are liberated when Christ comes, understanding those things to be creatures, not divinities. Others interpret the "elements of the world" as the Law of Moses and the eloquence of the prophets: because through these, as through the beginnings and exordia of letters, we receive the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom. Finally, to those who ought already to be perfect, and neglecting the truth, were still clinging to the principles of disciplines, the Apostle writes in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "For when for the time you ought to be teachers, you have need again that you be taught what be the elements of the beginning of the words of God" (Hebr. V, 12). On the contrary, it can be objected to us that Paul the apostle, writing to the Colossians, named other "elements of the world": "Beware," saying, "lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the elements of the world, and not after Christ" (Coloss. II, 8). But from that which he added, "after the tradition of men, and vain deceit," he showed that not the same elements are named to the Colossians and to the Galatians. For from these elements we are redeemed after the fullness of time comes, and proceeding to greater things we receive the adoption of sons. But from those nothing such is said as to what follows; but simply elements are received for letters.

Potest igitur, ut diximus, Moysi Lex et prophetae pro elementis accipi litterarum, quod per eas syllabae jungantur et nomina, et non tam sui, quam alterius rei utilitate discantur: ut possimus orationem legere contextam, in qua sensus magis et ordo verborum quam litterarum principia considerantur. Quod autem Legem et prophetas, elementa mundi interpretati sumus, mundus pro his qui in mundo sunt, accipi solet, eodem Paulo dicente: Deus erat in Christo, mundum reconcilians sibi (II Cor. V, 9). Et in Evangelio: Et mundus per eum factus est, et mundus eum non recipit (Joan. X). Quidam etiam in illa liberius evagantur: ut quia Lex umbram habet futurorum bonorum, requirant utrum in alio mundo, de quo Salvator ait: Ego non sum de mundo isto (Joan. VIII, 23), primum parvuli simus, et sub elementis initiorum constituti, paulatim procedamus ad summum, et recipiamus adoptionis locum quem quondam amisimus.

(Vers. 4.) At ubi venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub Lege: ut eos qui sub Lege erant, redimeret, ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus. Diligenter attendite quod non dixerit, factum per mulierem: quod Marcion et caeterae haereses volunt, quae putativam Christi carnem simulant: sed ex muliere, ut non per illam, sed ex illa natus esse credatur. Quod autem sanctam et beatam Matrem Domini, mulierem, non Virginem nominavit, hoc idem et in Evangelio *κατὰ Ματθαῖον* scriptum est: quando uxor appellatur Joseph (Luc. II), et ab ipso Domino quasi mulier increpatur (Joan. II). Non enim necesse erat semper quasi caute et timide Virginem dicere, cum mulier sexum magis significet quam copulam viri: et secundum intelligentiam Graecitatis, *γυνή* tam uxor, quam mulier valeat interpretari. Sed ut cuncta praeteream: quomodo sub lege factus est, ut eos qui sub lege erant, redimeret: sic propter illos qui nati erant ex muliere, ex muliere nasci voluit. Nam et baptismum in Jordanis fluente idcirco quasi poenitens, cum esset a peccatis liber, accepit: ut caeteros edoceret mundandos esse per baptismum, et in filios nova Spiritus adoptione generari. Quod nequaquam intelligens Joannes Baptista, eum ad lavacrum prohibebat accedere, dicens: Ego a te debeo baptizari (Matt. III, 14). Et statim sacramentum docetur: Sine modo: sic enim decet nos adimplere omnem justitiam, ne qui ob hominum salutem venerat, aliquid de conversatione hominum praeteriret.

It can therefore, as we said, the Law of Moses and the prophets be received for elements of letters, because through them syllables and names are joined, and are learned not so much for their own utility as for that of another thing: so that we can read connected speech, in which the sense and order of words are considered more than the principles of letters. But as to our interpreting the Law and the prophets as the elements of the world, "world" is accustomed to be received for those who are in the world, the same Paul saying: "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself" (II Cor. V, 9). And in the Gospel: "And the world was made by him, and the world received him not" (John X). Some also wander more freely in those things: that because the Law has a shadow of future good things, they ask whether in another world, of which the Savior says: "I am not of this world" (John VIII, 23), we are first little children, and constituted under the elements of beginnings, we gradually proceed to the highest, and receive the place of adoption which we once lost.

(Verse 4.) But when the fullness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the Law: to redeem them that were under the Law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. Attend diligently that he did not say, "made through a woman," as Marcion and other heresies want, who simulate the putative flesh of Christ; but "of a woman," so that He might be believed to be born not through her, but of her. But as to his naming the holy and blessed Mother of the Lord a "woman," not a "Virgin," this same thing is written also in the Gospel according to Matthew: when she is called the wife of Joseph (Luke II), and is rebuked by the Lord himself as a woman (John II). For it was not necessary always to say "Virgin" as if cautiously and timidly, since "woman" signifies sex more than the copulation of a man: and according to the understanding of the Greek language, **gynē** can be interpreted as both wife and woman. But to pass over all things: just as He was made under the Law, to redeem those who were under the Law: so for the sake of those who were born of a woman, He willed to be born of a woman. For also for this reason He received baptism in the flow of the Jordan as if a penitent, although He was free from sins: that He might teach others that they must be cleansed through baptism, and be generated into sons by the new adoption of the Spirit. Which John the Baptist by no means understanding, was prohibiting Him to approach the washing, saying: "I ought to be baptized by thee" (Matt. III, 14). And immediately the sacrament is taught: "Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness," lest He who had come for the salvation of men should pass over anything of the conversation of men.

Quaerat quispiam, et dicat: Si ideo sub Lege factus est, ut eos qui sub Lege erant, redimeret: quod videlicet impossibile fuerit redimi eos qui erant sub Lege, nisi factus fuisset ipse sub Lege: aut sine Lege factus est, ut redimeret eos, qui sub Lege non erant: aut si non est factus ipse sine Lege, non redimit eos qui sub Lege non fuerant. Quod si possibile erat eos qui sine Lege erant, redimi; ita ut sine Lege ipse non fieret: ergo superflue sub Lege factus est; ut redimeret eos qui sub Lege erant. Breviter solvet hanc quaestionem, si quis illo utatur exemplo: et cum his qui sine Lege erant, reputatus est. Nam licet in Latinis codicibus propter simplicitatem interpretum male editum sit: Et cum iniquis reputatus est (Luc. XXII, 37); tamen sciendum aliud apud Graecos significare ἄνομον, quod hic scriptum est; aliud ἄδικον, quod in Latinis voluminibus habetur. Ἄνομος enim dicitur ille, qui sine lege est, et nullo jure constringitur. Ἄδικος vero iniquus, sive injustus. Unde et ipse Apostolus in alio loco: cum non essem, ait, sine Lege Dei; sed in Lege essem Christi (I Cor. IX): et certe in hoc quoque testimonio ἄνομος in Graeco scriptum est; et qui hic bene interpretatus est, potuit idem verbum et ibi similiter interpretari: nisi eum ambiguitas fefellisset. Alius vero ipsum verbum, redimeret, acutius intuebitur; et dicet eos significari redemptos, qui primum de Dei parte fuerint, et postea esse cessaverint: illos vero qui sub Lege non fuerint, non tam redimi, quam emi. Unde et ad Corinthios, in quibus audiebatur fornicatio, et talis fornicatio quae ne inter Gentes quidem (Ibid. V), scribitur: Pretio empti estis, non redempti: sub Lege quippe non fuerant. Recipimus igitur adoptionem filiorum Dei: et redempti a Christo, sub servitute elementorum mundi et tutorum potestate esse desistimus. Quomodo autem inter redimere et emere quid interesset, ostendimus, sic quid sit inter accipere, et recipere adoptionem filiorum, consideremus.

(Vers. 6.) Quoniam autem estis filii Dei, misit Deus spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra clamantem, Abba, Pater. Manifeste apostolus Paulus tres spiritus nominat, Spiritum Filii Dei, ut in praesenti loco, Misit Deus Spiritum Filii in corda nostra (Rom. VIII, 14). Et Spiritum Dei, ut in illo: Quotquot Spiritu Dei aguntur, hi filii Dei sunt. Et Spiritum sanctum ut ibi: Corpora vestra templum sancti Spiritus sunt, qui est in vobis (I Cor. VI, 19).

Someone might ask and say: If He was therefore made under the Law to redeem those who were under the Law: because namely it was impossible for those who were under the Law to be redeemed unless He himself had been made under the Law: either He was made without the Law to redeem those who were not under the Law: or if He himself was not made without the Law, He does not redeem those who had not been under the Law. But if it was possible for those who were without the Law to be redeemed, so that He himself would not become without the Law: therefore He was superfluously made under the Law to redeem those who were under the Law. He will briefly solve this question if someone uses that example: "and he was reputed with those who were without the Law." For although in the Latin codices, because of the simplicity of the interpreters, it is poorly edited: "And he was reputed with the iniquitous" (Luke XXII, 37); nevertheless it must be known that **anomos** signifies one thing among the Greeks, which is written here; **adikos** another, which is had in the Latin volumes. For **anomos** is said of him who is without law, and is constrained by no right. But **adikos** is iniquitous or unjust. Whence also the Apostle himself in another place: "when I was not," he said, "without the Law of God; but was in the Law of Christ" (I Cor. IX): and certainly in this testimony also **anomos** is written in the Greek; and he who translated well here could have translated the same word similarly there, unless ambiguity had deceived him. Another will more sharply look into the word "redeem" itself; and will say that those are signified as redeemed who were first of God's part, and afterwards ceased to be: but those who were not under the Law are not so much redeemed as bought. Whence also to the Corinthians, in whom fornication was heard, and such fornication as not even among the Gentiles (Ibid. V), it is written: "You are bought with a price," not "redeemed": for namely they had not been under the Law. We receive therefore the adoption of the sons of God: and redeemed by Christ, we cease to be under the servitude of the elements of the world and the power of tutors. But as we have shown what the difference is between "to redeem" and "to buy," so let us consider what is between "to receive" and "to take back" the adoption of sons.

(Verse 6.) And because you are sons of God, God sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father. Clearly the apostle Paul names three spirits: the Spirit of the Son of God, as in the present place, "God sent the Spirit of the Son into our hearts" (Rom. VIII, 14). And the Spirit of God, as in that: "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." And the Holy Spirit, as there: "Your bodies are the temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you" (I Cor. VI, 19).

Alium autem sanctum Spiritum esse quam Filium Dei, manifeste et in Evangelio comprobatur: Qui dixerit verbum contra Filium hominis, dimittetur ei. Quicumque autem dixerit contra Spiritum sanctum, nec hic, nec in futuro dimittetur et (Luc. XII, 10). Hoc ideo: quia multi per imperitiam Scripturarum (quod et Firmianus in octavo ad Demetrianum Epistolarum libro facit) asserunt Spiritum sanctum saepe Patrem, saepe Filium nominari. Et cum perspicue in Trinitate credamus, tertiam personam auferentes, non substantiam ejus volunt esse, sed nomen. Ne autem longum faciam (non enim dialogus, sed commentarius scribitur), de quinquagesimo psalmo tres spiritus nominatos breviter ostendam, propheta dicente: Cor mundum crea in me, Deus, et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis. Ne projicias me a facie tua: et Spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me. Redde mihi laetitiam salutaris tui, et spiritu principali confirma me. Principalem spiritum, Patrem appellat: quia Filius ex Patre, et non Pater ex Filio. Spiritum autem rectum, veritatis atque justitiae, Christum Dominum significat: Quia Pater omne judicium dedit Filio (Joan. V, 22), ut David ait: Deus, judicium tuum regi da, et potentiam tuam filio regis (Ps. LXXI, 1). Porro Spiritum sanctum aperto nomine vocat. Quae quidem cum vocabulis personisque dissident, substantia naturaque sociata sunt: et indifferenter idem Spiritus ob naturae societatem, nunc Patris dicitur esse, nunc Filii. Argumentum autem quo asserere conatur, nos jam non esse sub Lege, sed sub gratia Domini Jesu, tali fine concludit. Superius dixerat, ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus: nunc Dei esse nos filios, ex spiritu probat quem habemus in nobis. Numquam enim, inquit, auderemus dicere: Pater noster qui es in coelis: Sanctificetur nomen tuum, nisi de conscientia Spiritus habitantis in nobis, et magna sensuum et dogmatum voce clamante: Abba, Pater (Rom. VIII, 15). Abba Hebraicum est, idipsum significans quod et Pater. Et hanc consuetudinem in pluribus locis Scriptura conservat, ut Hebraicum verbum cum interpretatione sua ponat. Bartimeus, filius Timei. Aser, divitiae. Tabitha, Dorcas (Act. IX): et in Genesi, Mesech, vernaculus (Gen. XV), et caetera his similia. Cum autem Abba Pater Hebraeo Syroque sermone dicatur: et Dominus noster in Evangelio praecipiat, nullum patrem vocandum nisi Deum (Matt. XXIII), nescio qua licentia in monasteriis vel vocemus hoc nomine alios, vel vocari nos acquiescamus. Et certe ipse praecepit hoc qui dixerat non esse jurandum (Matth. V). Si non juramus, nec patrem quidem quempiam nominemus. Si de patre interpretabimur aliter, et de jurando aliter sentire cogemur.

But that the Holy Spirit is other than the Son of God is clearly proved also in the Gospel: "Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come" (Luke XII, 10). This is therefore: because many through ignorance of the Scriptures (which Firmianus also does in the eighth book of his Epistles to Demetrianus) assert that the Holy Spirit is often named Father, often Son. And although we clearly believe in the Trinity, taking away the third person, they do not want it to be His substance, but a name. Lest I make it long (for not a dialogue, but a commentary is being written), I will briefly show three spirits named from the fiftieth psalm, the prophet saying: "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit in my bowels. Cast me not away from thy face: and take not thy holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and strengthen me with a principal spirit." The principal spirit he calls the Father: because the Son is from the Father, and not the Father from the Son. But the right spirit, of truth and of justice, signifies Christ the Lord: "Because the Father has given all judgment to the Son" (John V, 22), as David says: "Give thy judgment to the king, O God, and thy power to the king's son" (Ps. LXXI, 1). Furthermore, he calls the Holy Spirit by His open name. Which indeed, while they differ in names and persons, are associated in substance and nature: and indifferently the same Spirit, because of the association of nature, is said now to be of the Father, now of the Son. The argument by which he endeavors to assert that we are no longer under the Law, but under the grace of the Lord Jesus, he concludes with such an end. He had said above, "that we might receive the adoption of sons": now he proves that we are sons of God from the spirit which we have in us. For never, he says, would we dare to say: "Our Father who art in heaven: Hallowed be thy name," except from the consciousness of the Spirit dwelling in us, and with a great voice of senses and dogmas crying: "Abba, Father" (Rom. VIII, 15). Abba is Hebrew, signifying the same thing as Father. And the Scripture preserves this custom in many places, that it places the Hebrew word with its interpretation: "Bartimaeus, the son of Timaues"; "Aser, riches"; "Tabitha, Dorcas" (Acts IX); and in Genesis, "Meshech, a servant born in the house" (Gen. XV), and others similar to these. But since "Abba, Father" is said in the Hebrew and Syriac language: and our Lord in the Gospel commands that no one be called father except God (Matt. XXIII), I do not know by what license in monasteries we either call others by this name, or acquiesce to being called it ourselves. And certainly He himself commanded this who had said that one must not swear (Matt. V). If we do not swear, let us not even name anyone father. If we interpret concerning the father otherwise, we shall be forced to feel otherwise about swearing also.

Notandum etiam, quia clamor in Scripturis, non magna vocis emissio, sed scientiae intelligatur et dogmatum magnitudo. Nam et in Exodo respondit Dominus ad Moysen: Quid clamas ad me (Exod. XIV, 15)? cum penitus Moysi vox nulla praecesserit. Verum compunctum cor et pro populo lacrymabiliter ingemiscens, Scriptura clamorem vocavit. Quomodo igitur, qui Spiritum Filii Dei habet, filius Dei est; sic in reciprocum, qui spiritum Filii Dei non habet, Dei filius non potest appellari.

(Vers. 7.) Itaque jam non est servus, sed filius. Quod si filius, et haeres per Christum. Habentes, inquit, spiritum Filii Dei in vobis clamantem, Abba, Pater, non servi coepistis esse, sed filii. Quia ante nihil differebatis a servo cum essetis natura quidem Dei; sed sub tutoribus et actoribus parvuli degebatis: quod si filii estis, consequenter vobis debetur haereditas, ut quomodo spiritum Filii Dei accipientes, facti estis filii Dei: ita in libertatem de servitute mutati, haeredes sitis cum haerede Patris Christo Jesu, qui ex persona hominis assumpti loquitur in psalmo: Dominus dixit ad me, Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te. Postula a me, et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminos terrae (Ps. II, 7, 8). Quod autem in hoc loco dicimus, in caeteris quoque observare debemus, de toto genere hominum singulari numero disputari. Omnes enim credentes, unum sumus in Christo Jesu, et membra corporis ejus, et in perfectum virum redacti, illum habemus caput, quia caput viri Christus est (I Cor. XI, 2).

(Vers. 8, 9.) Sed tunc quidem nescientes Deum servistis his qui natura non erant dii. Nunc vero cognoscentes Deum, magis autem cogniti ab eo, quomodo convertimini iterum ad infirma et egena elementa, quibus rursus servire vultis? Galatas quod ab idolorum cultu ad fidem Dei veri transtulerunt, arguit, quomodo idolis derelictis, quae natura non erant dii, et cognoscentes Deum, magis autem cogniti ab ipso, spiritu quoque adoptionis accepto, rursus quasi parvuli, et sub tutoribus et paedagogo esse cupientes, ad infirma et paupertina revertantur elementa, quae propterea infirmo et pauperi sensu populo data sunt in deserto, quia non poterat accipere et sustinere majora. Eadem autem elementa, quae nunc infirma et egena appellavit, superius tantum mundi elementa posuit.

It should also be noted that a cry in the Scriptures is understood not as the emission of a great voice, but as the greatness of knowledge and dogmas. For also in Exodus the Lord replied to Moses: "Why criest thou to me?" (Exod. XIV, 15), when no voice of Moses at all had preceded. But the Scripture called a "cry" a heart compuncted and lamentably groaning for the people. Just as therefore he who has the Spirit of the Son of God is a son of God; so in reciprocal, he who has not the Spirit of the Son of God cannot be called a son of God.

(Verse 7.) Therefore he is no longer a servant, but a son. And if a son, then an heir through Christ. Having, he says, the Spirit of the Son of God in you crying: Abba, Father, you have begun to be not servants, but sons. Because before you differed nothing from a servant though you were indeed of the nature of God; but you lived as little ones under tutors and actors: but if you are sons, consequently an inheritance is due to you, so that just as receiving the Spirit of the Son of God, you were made sons of God: so changed from servitude into liberty, you may be heirs with the heir of the Father, Christ Jesus, who speaks from the person of the assumed man in the psalm: "The Lord said to me, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee." Ask of Me, and I will give Thee the Gentiles for Thy inheritance, and the ends of the earth for Thy possession" (Ps. 2:7, 8). But what we say in this place, we ought to observe in other places also, that it is disputed in the singular number concerning the whole race of men. For all we who believe, are one in Christ Jesus, and members of His body, and reduced into a perfect man, we have Him as head, because the head of the man is Christ (1 Cor. 11:2).

(Verses 8, 9.) Howbeit then, when you knew not God, you did service unto them which by nature are no gods. But now, after that you have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn you again to the weak and needy elements, whereunto you desire again to be in bondage? He reproves the Galatians because, having transferred from the cult of idols to the faith of the true God, how, having forsaken idols which by nature were not gods, and knowing God, or rather being known by Him, having also received the spirit of adoption, they should return again as little children and desiring to be under tutors and a pedagogue, to the weak and poverty-stricken elements, which for that reason were given to the people in the desert with a weak and poor sense, because they could not receive and sustain greater things. But the same elements, which he now called weak and needy, he earlier placed only as elements of the world.

Et ubi elementa mundi dicta sunt, ibi non est additum, infirma et egena. Hinc rursum ubi infirma vocata sunt, mundi, ut supra diximus, nomen est tacitum. Puto itaque quamdiu quis parvulus est, nec statutum a patre tempus implevit, ut filius et haeres appellari queat, sub elementis eum mundi, Lege videlicet esse Moysi. Cum autem post libertatem filio debitam rursus reversus fuerit ad Legem, circumcidi volens, et totam Judaicae superstitionis litteram sequi, tunc quae prius ei mundi tantum fuerant elementa, infirma quoque et egena dicuntur exordia. Intantum enim nihil prosunt cultoribus suis, ut ne hoc quidem eis exhibere valeant quod ante praestiterant, Jerosolyma, templo altarique destructis. Respondeat aliquis, et dicat: Si lex et praecepta quae in Lege conscripta sunt, infirma et egena elementa sunt, et hi qui cognoverunt Deum, magis autem cogniti sunt ab eo, Legem observare non debent (ne incipiant non tam Deum colere a quo cogniti sunt, quam ad eos reverti qui natura non sunt dii), aut Legem observaverunt Moyses et prophetae, et non cognoverunt Deum, nec cogniti sunt ab eo; aut si cognoverunt Deum, mandata Legis minime compleverunt. Quod utrumque periculosum est dicere: Aut illos non fecisse quae Legis sunt, et sic cognovisse Deum: aut non cognovisse Deum, dum infirma et egena Legis elementa custodiunt. Quod quidem sic solvi potest, ut dicamus illos, quomodo Paulus factus est Judaeis Judaeus, ut Judaeos lucrifaceret (I Cor. IX), et in Generis ex voto comam totondit (Act. XVIII), et nudipedalia atque calvitium Jerosolymis in templo exercuit, ut eorum sedaret invidiam, qui catechisati de eo fuerant, quod contra Legem Moysi, et Deum faceret prophetarum: ita et sanctos viros fecisse quidem ea quae Legis erant, sed sensum magis Legis secutos esse quam litteram. Qui non minus quam Abraham sublato de facie velamento, cupierunt videre diem Christi, et viderunt et laetati sunt: Facti infirmo populo infirmi, ut infirmos lucrifacerent (I Cor. IX), et his qui sub Lege erant quasi essent ipsi sub Lege, ut eos ab idolis, quibus in Aegypto assueverant, separarent. Absurdum quippe est Moysen et caeteros confabulatores Dei in ea fuisse conditione, ut non credamus eis, et praefinitum tempus a Patre venisse, et redemptos eos esse de servitute legali, et adoptionem filiorum consecutos, et haereditatem cepisse cum Christo.

And where "elements of the world" were said, there "weak and needy" was not added. Hence again where they are called "weak," the name of "world," as we said above, is silent. I think, therefore, that as long as someone is a little child and has not fulfilled the time appointed by the father, so that he can be called son and heir, he is under the elements of the world, namely the Law of Moses. But when after the liberty due to a son he shall have returned again to the Law, willing to be circumcised and to follow the whole letter of Judaic superstition, then those which earlier were only elements of the world to him, are also called weak and needy beginnings. For they profit their cultivators so much nothing, that they cannot even exhibit to them that which they had provided before, Jerusalem, the temple, and the altar having been destroyed. Someone may reply and say: If the law and the precepts which are written in the Law are weak and needy elements, and those who have known God, or rather are known by Him, ought not to observe the Law (lest they begin not so much to worship God by whom they are known, as to return to those who by nature are not gods), either Moses and the prophets observed the Law and did not know God, nor were known by Him; or if they knew God, they by no means fulfilled the mandates of the Law. Both of which it is dangerous to say: either that those did not do the things which are of the Law and thus knew God; or that they did not know God while they kept the weak and needy elements of the Law. Which indeed can be solved in this way, that we say those, just as Paul was made a Jew to the Jews that he might gain the Jews (I Cor. IX), and shaved his hair in Cenchreae because of a vow (Acts XVIII), and practiced going barefoot and baldness in the temple in Jerusalem, that he might settle their envy who had been catechized about him, that he acted against the Law of Moses and the God of the prophets: so also the holy men did indeed those things which were of the Law, but followed the sense of the Law more than the letter. Who no less than Abraham, the veil having been taken from their face, desired to see the day of Christ, and they saw it and were glad: made weak to the weak people, that they might gain the weak (I Cor. IX), and to those who were under the Law as if they themselves were under the Law, that they might separate them from the idols to which they had been accustomed in Egypt. For it is absurd that Moses and the others who conversed with God were in such a condition that we do not believe of them both that the time appointed by the Father had come, and that they were redeemed from legal servitude, and obtained the adoption of sons, and took the inheritance with Christ.

Quaecumque enim toto generi humano sapientia Dei quasi uni Filio praestitit, haec eadem unicuique sanctorum semper suo ordine et dispensatione largita est. Legem nobis Moysi infirma et egena dicentibus elementa, occasionem inveniunt haeretici, ut detrahant Creatori, quia mundum condiderit, et Legem sanxerit. Quibus nos respondemus, id quod supra diximus, infirma his esse et egena elementa, qui ad ea post Evangelii gratiam revertuntur. Antequam vero praefinitum tempus veniret a Patre, non tam infirma et egena appellata esse elementa, quam mundi. Denique priusquam Christi in toto orbe Evangelium coruscaret, habuerunt suum fulgorem praecepta legalia: postquam vero majus evangelicae gratiae lumen effulsit, et sol justitiae toti mundo se prodidit, stellarum lumen absconditum est, et earum radii caligaverunt, ita ut Apostolus in alio loco diceret: Nam nec glorificatum est, quod glorificatum fuit in hac parte, propter excellentem gloriam (II Cor. III). Quod aliis verbis nunc loquitur, ut dicat, Lex Moysi quae ante Evangelium dives, et opulenta, et clara fuit, post adventum Christi ad comparisonem ejus quasi infirma et egena, imminuta atque destructa est ab eo qui major fuit Salomone, et templo, et Jona. Quod enim scriptum est: Illum oportet crescere, me autem minui (Joan. III, 30): non tam ex Joannis, quam ex Legis persona dictum puto, quia semper cedunt minora majoribus, et perfecta initiis praeponuntur. Alias autem infirma et egena elementa, Judaeorum traditiones, et secundum litteram vilem intelligentiam confirmabimus, quae sunt justificationes non bonae, et praecepta non bona. Robusta quippe et dives est Legis intelligentia spiritualis, ita ut aut penitus elementum non debeat appellari, aut elementum quidem sit comparatione futuri saeculi, et vitae in Christo Jesu, qua nunc vivunt angeli supernaeque virtutes. Sensui vero Judaico comparata, non tam elementum, hoc est, initium, quam perfectio nuncupetur. Quod autem ait: Nunc vero cognoscentes Deum, magis autem cogniti ab eo, illud ostendit, quod post idolorum cultum, Deum intellexerint Galatae, vel potius ipsi cognitione ejus digni sint judicati. Non quod Deus Creator omnium aliquid ignoret; sed quod eos tantum scire dicatur, qui errorem pietate mutaverint. Cognoscit Dominus qui sunt ejus (II Tim. II, 19). Et Salvator in Evangelio: Ego sum, ait, pastor bonus, et cognosco meas, et cognoscunt me meae (Joan. X, 14). Econtra ad impios: Nescio vos, recedite a me, operarii iniquitatis (Luc. XIII, 27). Et ad stultas virgines: Nescio vos quae estis (Matth. XXV, 12).

(Vers. 10, 11.) Dies observatis, et menses, et tempora, et annos, timeo vos, ne forte sine causa laboraverim in vobis.

For whatever the wisdom of God provided to the whole human race as to one Son, this same thing it always bestowed on each of the saints in its own order and dispensation. To us calling the Law of Moses weak and needy elements, heretics find an occasion to detract from the Creator, because He founded the world and sanctioned the Law. To whom we shall reply that which we said above, that elements are weak and needy to those who return to them after the grace of the Gospel. But before the appointed time came from the Father, the elements were called not so much weak and needy as of the world. Finally, before the Gospel of Christ shone in the whole world, the legal precepts had their own splendor: but after the greater light of evangelical grace shone forth, and the sun of justice showed itself to the whole world, the light of the stars was hidden, and their rays grew dark, so that the Apostle in another place said: "For even that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth" (II Cor. III). Which he now speaks in other words, to say, the Law of Moses which before the Gospel was rich, and opulent, and clear, after the advent of Christ in comparison with it has been diminished and destroyed as if weak and needy by Him who was greater than Solomon, and the temple, and Jonah. For that which is written: "He must increase, but I must decrease" (John III, 30): I think was said not so much from the person of John as from the person of the Law, because smaller things always yield to greater, and perfect things are preferred to beginnings. But otherwise we shall confirm the weak and needy elements to be the traditions of the Jews and the vile understanding according to the letter, which are justifications not good and precepts not good (Ezech. XX). For the spiritual understanding of the Law is robust and rich, so that either it ought not to be called an element at all, or it is indeed an element by comparison with the future age and the life in Christ Jesus, by which the angels and supernal virtues now live. But compared to the Judaic sense, it should be called not so much an element, that is, a beginning, as a perfection. But in that he says: "But now, after that you have known God, or rather are known of God," he shows this, that after the cult of idols, the Galatians understood God, or rather they themselves were judged worthy of His knowledge. Not that God the Creator of all is ignorant of anything; but that He is said to know only those who have changed error for piety. "The Lord knoweth them that are his" (II Tim. II, 19). And the Savior in the Gospel: "I am," he says, "the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine" (John X, 14). On the contrary to the impious: "I know you not, depart from me, you workers of iniquity" (Luke XIII, 27). And to the foolish virgins: "I know you not who you are" (Matth. XXV, 12).

(Verses 10, 11.) You observe days, and months, and times, and years. I fear for you, lest perhaps I have labored in vain among you.

Qui non adorat Patrem in spiritu et veritate, nescit sabbatismum sanctis repositum, de quo loquitur Deus: Si introierunt in requiem meam (Psal. XCIV, 11): et non de illis temporibus recordatur, de quibus scriptum est: Recordamini dierum saeculi (Isai. XLVI, 9). Et alibi: Memoratus sum dies antiquos, et annos aeternos in mente habui (Psal. LXXVI, 6).

Dies Judaicos observat, et menses, et tempora, et annos. Dies, ut sabbati, et neomeniae, et a decima mensis primi usque ad quartam decimam, qua agnus corporeus victimae reservatur, et a quarta decima usque ad vicesimam primam ejusdem mensis, quando azyma comeduntur, non sinceritatis et veritatis, sed in fermento veteri malitiae et nequitiae Pharisaeorum. Septem quoque septimanas, qui ritu Judaico post azyma computat, dies Israeliticae Pentecostes colit. Nec non et clangorem tubarum mense septimo prima mensis. Decima quoque ejusdem mensis, expiationem et jejunium, et scenopegias ex more figentes, Judaicos observant dies.

Menses autem custodiunt, qui primum et septimum mensem, non intelligentes mysterium veritatis, observant. Tempora quoque 456 colunt, qui ter per annos singulos Jerosolymam venientes, putant se Domini implere praeceptum, dicentis: Tribus temporibus anni diem festum agetis mihi, solemnitatem azymorum, et solemnitatem messis primitivorum; et solemnitatem consummationis in exitu anni (Exod. XXIII, 14, seqq.). Et alibi: Tribus temporibus anni apparebit masculinum tuum in conspectu Domini Dei tui (Ibid. XVII).

Quod autem ait, et annos, puto de septimo remissionis anno dici, et de quinquagesimo, quem illi Jubileum vocant. Plenius hunc locum ad Colossenses Apostolus explicat, dicens: Nemo ergo vos judicet in cibo, aut in potu, aut in parte diei festi, aut neomeniae, aut sabbatorum, quae sunt umbra futurorum (Coloss. II, 16). Partem dici festi ad distinctionem perpetuae festivitatis hic posuit, ut non brevem, et, ut ita dicam, totius corporis quamdam particulam, sed totum vitae nostrae spatium perpetuae in Christo solemnitatis habeamus.

Et ut posterioribus priora connectam, quid de lege Moysi et de superflua ciborum curiositate in hac eadem Epistola sentiat, statim subjungit et loquitur: Si enim mortui estis cum Christo, ab elementis mundi hujus, quid adhuc tamquam viventes in hoc mundo decernitis? Ne tetigeritis, neque gustaveritis, neque contrectaveritis, quae sunt omnia in interitu ipso usu, secundum praecepta et doctrinas hominum.

He who does not worship the Father in spirit and truth does not know the Sabbath-rest (*sabbatismus*) laid up for the saints, of which God speaks: "If they shall enter into my rest" (Psalm 94:11); and he does not remember those times of which it is written: "Remember the days of old" (Isaiah 46:9). And elsewhere: "I have remembered the ancient days, and I had eternal years in my mind" (Psalm 76:6).

He observes Jewish days, and months, and times, and years. Days, such as the Sabbaths, and new moons, and from the tenth day of the first month until the fourteenth, on which the corporeal lamb is reserved for the victim, and from the fourteenth until the twenty-first of the same month, when the unleavened bread is eaten—not of sincerity and truth, but in the old leaven of the malice and wickedness of the Pharisees. He who calculates seven weeks after the unleavened bread according to the Jewish rite also observes the days of the Israelite Pentecost. Likewise, the blast of trumpets on the first day of the seventh month. Also on the tenth of the same month, performing the expiation and fast, and setting up the booths (*scenopegia*) according to custom, they observe Jewish days.

But they guard months, who observe the first and seventh month, not understanding the mystery of truth. They also cultivate times, who, coming to Jerusalem three times each year, think they are fulfilling the precept of the Lord, who says: "Three times in the year you shall keep a feast day to me: the solemnity of unleavened bread, and the solemnity of the harvest of firstfruits, and the solemnity of the consummation at the end of the year" (Exodus 23:14 ff.). And elsewhere: "Three times in the year all your males shall appear in the sight of the Lord your God" (Exodus 34:23).

As for what he says, "and years," I think it refers to the seventh year of remission, and to the fiftieth, which they call the Jubilee. The Apostle explains this passage more fully to the Colossians, saying: "Therefore let no one judge you in food or in drink, or in part of a feast day, or of a new moon, or of the Sabbaths, which are a shadow of things to come" (Colossians 2:16). He placed "part of a feast day" here to distinguish a perpetual festivity, so that we might have not a brief and, so to speak, a certain particle of the whole body, but the entire span of our life as a perpetual solemnity in Christ.

And that I may connect the prior things with the posterior, what he thinks about the Law of Moses and about the superfluous curiosity regarding foods in this same Epistle, he immediately subjoins and speaks: "For if you are dead with Christ from the elements of this world, why do you still decree as if living in this world? Touch not, taste not, handle not; which all are in destruction by the very use, according to the precepts and doctrines of men" (Colossians 2:20-22).

Dicat aliquis: Si dies observare non licet, et menses, et tempora, et annos, nos quoque simile crimen incurrimus quartam sabbati observantes, et parasceven, et diem Dominicam, et jejunium Quadragesimae, et Paschae festivitatem, et Pentecostes laetitiam, et pro varietate regionum, diversa in honore martyrum tempora constituta. Ad quod qui simpliciter respondebit, dicet: non eosdem Judaicae observationis dies esse quos nostros. Nos enim non azymorum pascha celebramus, sed resurrectionis et crucis. Nec septem juxta morem Israel numeramus hebdomadas in Pentecoste, sed Spiritus sancti veneramus adventum.

Et ne inordinata congregatio populi fidem minueret in Christo, propterea dies aliqui constituti sunt, ut in unum omnes pariter veniremus. Non quo celebrior sit dies illa qua convenimus, sed quo quacumque die conveniendum sit, 457 ex conspectu mutuo laetitia major oriatur. Qui vero oppositae quaestioni acutius respondere conatur, illud affirmat, omnes dies aequales esse, nec per parasceven tantum Christum crucifigi, et die Dominica resurgere, sed semper sanctum resurrectionis esse diem et semper eum carne vesci Dominica.

Jejunia autem et congregationes inter dies propter eos a viris prudentibus constitutos, qui magis saeculo vacant, quam Deo, nec possunt, immo nolunt toto in Ecclesia vitae suae tempore congregari, et ante humanos actus, Deo orationum suarum offerre sacrificium. Quotus enim quisque est, qui saltem haec pauca quae statuta sunt, vel orandi tempora, vel jejunandi semper exerceat? Itaque sicut nobis licet vel jejunare semper, vel semper orare, et diem Dominicam accepto Domini corpore indesinenter celebrare gaudentibus: non ita et Judaeis fas est omni tempore immolare agnum, Pentecostem agere, tabernacula figere, jejunare quotidie.

Satis vero caute inter auctoritatem Apostoli, et sancti hominis lenitatem verba moderatus est, inferens: Timeo vos, ne forte sine causa laboraverim in vobis. Si enim abrupte condemnare voluisset, dixisset utique: Timeo vos: sine causa enim laboravi in vobis. Nunc autem videns eos zelum Dei habere, sed non secundum scientiam, nec penitus eorum desperavit salutem, qui pio fuerant errore decepti, nec rursus irreprehensos reliquit, ne et ipsis perseverandi in errore, et caeteris occasionem similiter tribueret errandi. Timeo autem vos, posuit, pro eo quod est, timeo de vobis. Sine causa laborat magister, cum ipse provocat ad majora discipulos, et illi retro lapsi ad minora et humilia revolvuntur.

Someone may say: If it is not permitted to observe days, and months, and times, and years, we also incur a similar crime by observing the fourth day of the week (*quarta sabbati*), and the Preparation (*parasceve*), and the Lord's Day, and the fast of Lent (*Quadragesima*), and the festivity of Easter (*Pascha*), and the joy of Pentecost, and, according to the variety of regions, different times established in honor of the martyrs. To which he who answers simply will say: the days of Jewish observation are not the same as ours. For we do not celebrate the Passover (*pascha*) of unleavened bread, but that of the resurrection and the cross. Nor do we number seven weeks in Pentecost according to the custom of Israel, but we venerate the coming of the Holy Spirit.

And lest an inordinate congregation of the people should diminish faith in Christ, for that reason some days were established, so that we might all come together as one. Not that the day on which we meet is more celebrated, but so that on whatever day we are to meet, a greater joy may arise from mutual sight. But he who attempts to answer the opposite question more acutely affirms this: that all days are equal, and that Christ is not crucified only on the Preparation, and rises on the Lord's Day, but it is always the holy day of the resurrection and he always feeds on the Lord's flesh.

Fasts, however, and gatherings among days were established by prudent men for the sake of those who are more vacant for the world than for God, and are not able, or rather do not wish, to gather in the Church during the entire time of their life, and to offer the sacrifice of their prayers to God before human acts. For how many are there who always practice at least these few things that are established, whether the times of praying or of fasting? Therefore, just as it is permitted to us either to fast always, or to pray always, and to celebrate the Lord's Day incessantly with joy having received the Lord's body; it is not so permitted to the Jews at all times to sacrifice a lamb, to keep Pentecost, to set up tabernacles, to fast daily.

He moderated his words quite cautiously between the authority of an Apostle and the leniency of a holy man, adding: "I fear for you, lest perhaps I have labored in vain among you." For if he had wished to condemn them abruptly, he would surely have said: "I fear you: for I have labored in vain among you." But now, seeing that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge, he did not entirely despair of their salvation, who had been deceived by a pious error, nor again did he leave them unrebuked, lest he should grant both to them an occasion of persevering in error, and similarly to others of erring. "But I fear you" (*timeo autem vos*) he placed for that which is "I fear about you" (*timeo de vobis*). A teacher labors in vain when he himself provokes the disciples to greater things, and they, having slipped backward, are rolled back to lesser and humble things.

(Vers. 12.) Estote sicut et ego, quia et ego sicut vos. Quod dicit tale est, quomodo ego vobis infirmis sum factus infirmus, et non potui loqui ut spiritualibus, sed quasi carnalibus et parvulis in Christo, et quia necdum poteratis solido cibo vesci, 458 Evangelico vos tantum lacte potavi, nolens in aetate vos semper infantiae permanere, sed paulatim ad adolescentiam et juventutem usque perducere, ut solidum cibum possetis accipere: ita et vos debetis esse sicut et ego sum, perfectiora videlicet sapere, dimisso lacte, ad fortiores cibos, et ad pabula transire majora.

Hoc autem loquitur quasi Salvatoris imitator, qui non rapinam arbitratus est se esse aequalem Deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens; et habitu inventus est ut homo, ut nos dii fieremus ex hominibus, et non ultra moreremur; sed consurgentes Christo, amici ejus diceremur et fratres, et ut esset discipulus sicut magister, et servus sicut dominus.

Potest autem et ita intelligi: Obsecro vos, inquit, fratres, ut Judaica observatione contempta, dierum, mensium, temporum, atque annorum, quae sunt umbrae futurorum, me imitemini, qui sine querela in Lege versatus, omnia arbitratus sum quasi purgamenta atque quisquilias, ut Christum lucrifacerem. Fui quippe et ego sicut vos nunc estis, cum eisdem observationibus strictus tenebar, et Ecclesiam Christi, quia ista non faceret, persequens devastabam.

(Vers. 13.) Fratres, obsecro vos, nihil me laesistis. Scitis autem quia per infirmitatem carnis evangelizavi vobis jam pridem. Superiori sententiae jungere quod sequitur, quod ut fiat manifestius, sit ordo iste quem fingimus: Obsecro vos, fratres, estote sicut et ego, quia et ego sicut vos. Simile est huic illud: Rogamus pro Christo, reconciliamini Deo (II Cor. V, 40). Nec non et alibi: Obsecro primum omnium fieri deprecationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones (I Tim. II, 1). Petri quoque verba dicentis: Seniores in vobis rogo consenior ipse, et testis passionum Christi (I Petr. V, 1). Quae quidem et nos ad humilitatem provocant, et supercilium decutiunt episcoporum, qui velut in aliqua sublimi specula constituti, vix dignantur videre mortales, et alloqui conservos suos. Discant ab Apostolo, 459 errantes et insipientes Galatas fratres vocari. Discant post increpationem blanda verba dicentis: Obsecro vos (I Cor. XI).

(Verse 12.) Be as I am, for I also am as you. What he says is something like this: just as I became weak to you who are weak, and could not speak as to the spiritual, but as to the carnal and as to little ones in Christ, and because you were not yet able to feed on solid food, I fed you only with the milk of the Gospel, not wishing you to remain always in the age of infancy, but to lead you gradually to adolescence and youth, so that you might be able to receive solid food: so you also ought to be as I am, namely to savor more perfect things, and having dismissed milk, to pass to stronger foods and to greater nourishment.

But he speaks this as an imitator of the Savior, who thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant; and was found in appearance as a man, so that we might become gods from men, and die no longer; but rising with Christ, we might be called His friends and brothers, and that the disciple might be as the master, and the servant as the lord.

But it can also be understood in this way: I beseech you, he says, brothers, that having despised Jewish observation—of days, months, times, and years, which are shadows of things to come—you should imitate me, who, having lived without complaint in the Law, considered all things as dross and refuse, that I might gain Christ. For I also was as you are now, when I was held bound by the same observations, and was devastating the Church of Christ by persecuting it because it did not do these things.

(Verse 13.) Brothers, I beseech you, you have not injured me at all. But you know that because of infirmity of the flesh I preached the Gospel to you long ago. Join what follows to the previous sentence; and so that it may become more manifest, let this be the order which we devise: "I beseech you, brothers, be as I am, for I also am as you." Similar to this is that: "We entreat for Christ, be reconciled to God" (2 Corinthians 5:20). And also elsewhere: "I beseech first of all that deprecations, prayers, postulations, and thanksgivings be made" (1 Timothy 2:1). Also the words of Peter saying: "The elders among you I beseech, being myself a fellow-elder and a witness of the passions of Christ" (1 Peter 5:1). These things indeed both provoke us to humility and knock down the arrogance (supercilium) of bishops, who, positioned as if on some sublime watchtower, scarcely deign to see mortals and to speak to their fellow-servants. Let them learn from the Apostle that the erring and foolish Galatians are called "brothers." Let them learn, after a rebuke, the gentle words of him saying: "I beseech you" (1 Corinthians 4:16).

Quod autem obsecrat, illud est, ut imitatores ejus sint, sicut ipse Christi; immo ut praesentem locum sequar, nihil est grande quod postulat: ut quomodo ipse propter illos de majori factus est minor: sic illi a minoribus ad majora conscendant. Nihil me, inquit, laesistis. Laedit discipulus magistrum, si per negligentiam suam praecepta ejus laboremque disperdat. Non laeserant Galatae Apostolum, usque in praesens tempus Evangelium ejus ac mandata servantes. Aut certe ita: Quando vobis primum Evangelium annuntiavi; et propter infirmitatem carnis vestrae, quia non poteratis sacramenta suscipere majora, praedicavi vobis quasi parvulis, et meipsum infirmum esse simulavi, ut vos infirmos lucrifacerem: nonne quasi angelum suscepistis me, quasi Christum Jesum? Cum igitur in nullo me illo tempore laeseritis [Al. laesistis], et me vestri causa humilem atque dejectum similem Dei Filio putaveritis: quomodo ad majora vos provocans laedor a vobis, perdendo laborem meum, et dispensationem illam, qua me parvulum esse simulaveram, irrito opere nunc lugetis?

(Vers. 14.) Et tentationem vestram, quae erat in carne mea, non sprevestis, neque respuistis: sed sicut angelum Dei excepistis me, sicut Christum Jesum. Obscurus locus, et 460 acrius attendendus. Ego quidem, ait, quasi parvulis vobis atque lactentibus per infirmitatem carnis vestrae jam pridem evangelizavi, a minoribus incipiens, et (ut ita dicam) apud vos pene balbutiens. Quae dispensatio et praedicationis infirmæ simulatio, mea quidem gubernatio erat; sed vestra tentatio, an vobis placerent, et magna viderentur ea quae pro conditione sui minora erant, et a me quasi humilia promebantur. Quae quidem vos, non ut parva, sed ut magna capientes, intantum admirati estis, ut me qui ea loquebar quasi angelum, et, ut plus dicam, quasi Dei Filium susciperetis. Haec ergo vestra tentatio, qua ego vos in carnali mei sermonis annuntiatione tentabam, non fuit contempta, nec vilis; sed plus quam aestimabam, habuit dignitatis.

Potest et locus iste ita edisseri: quando veni ad vos, non veni in sermone sapientiae, sed homo humilis atque contemptus, nihil magnum deferens, crucifixum. Cum igitur me videretis in corpore infirmitatibus obnoxio constitutum, regna coelestia pollicentem non irrisistis, nec aestimastis dignum esse contemptu: intelligebatis quippe humilitatem carnis meae, et ipsius habitus vilitatem, ad vestram tentationem fieri: an videlicet contemneretis cum, qui ab incredulis miserabilis putabatur; sed e contra illum humilem, vilem atque contemptum, ita ut angelum, et plusquam angelum suscepistis.

But what he beseeches is this, that they be imitators of him, as he himself is of Christ; or rather, that I may follow the present passage, it is nothing great that he asks: that just as he himself became lesser from greater for their sake, so they should ascend from lesser things to greater things. "You have not injured me at all," he says. A disciple injures the teacher if, through his negligence, he should disperse his precepts and labor. The Galatians had not injured the Apostle, having kept his Gospel and commandments until the present time. Or certainly thus: When I first announced the Gospel to you; and because of the infirmity of your flesh, because you were not able to receive greater sacraments, I preached to you as if to little ones, and I simulated that I myself was weak, that I might gain you who were weak: did you not receive me as an angel, as Christ Jesus? Since therefore you injured me in nothing at that time, and you thought me, humble and dejected for your sake, like the Son of God: how is it that, provoking you to greater things, I am injured by you, losing my labor, and that dispensation by which I had simulated being a little one, you now mourn with a vain work?

(Verse 14.) And your temptation, which was in my flesh, you despised not, nor rejected: but as an angel of God you received me, as Christ Jesus. An obscure passage, and one to be attended to more sharply. I indeed, he says, long ago preached the Gospel to you as to little ones and sucklings because of the infirmity of your flesh, beginning from lesser things, and (so to speak) almost stammering among you. This dispensation and simulation of weak preaching was indeed my management; but it was your temptation, whether those things which were lesser according to their condition and were brought forth by me as if humble, would please you and seem great to you. These things indeed you, taking them not as small but as great, admired so much that you received me who spoke them as an angel, and, to say more, as the Son of God. This temptation of yours, therefore, by which I was tempting you in the carnal announcement of my discourse, was not despised, nor vile; but it had more dignity than I estimated.

This passage can also be explained in this way: when I came to you, I did not come in the discourse of wisdom, but as a humble and despised man, bringing nothing great but the Crucified. When therefore you saw me established in a body subject to infirmities, promising heavenly kingdoms, you did not mock, nor did you estimate me worthy of contempt: for you understood that the humility of my flesh and the vileness of my very appearance were done for your temptation: namely, whether you would despise him who was thought miserable by unbelievers; but on the contrary, you received that humble, vile, and despised man as an angel, and more than an angel.

Aut certe suspicari possumus, Apostolum eo tempore quo primum venit ad Galatas, aegrotasse; et aliqua corpusculi infirmitate detentum, non cessasse tamen, nec vocem silentio repressisse, quo minus coeptum Evangelium praedicaret. Nam tradunt eum gravissimum capitis dolorem saepe perpesum: et hunc esse angelum Satanae, qui appositus ei sit, ut eum colaphizaret in carne, ne extolleretur. Haec infirmitas, et languor hic corporis, apud eos quibus annuntiabatur Evangelium, tentatio vocabatur.

(Vers. 15, 16.) Ubi est ergo beatitudo vestra? Testimonium enim perhibeo vobis: quia si fieri potuisset, oculos vestros eruissetis et dedissetis mihi. Ergo inimicus vobis factus sum veritatem dicens vobis?

Beatus est qui ambulat in virtutum via, sed si ad virtutes usque pervenerit. Nec prodest a vitiis recessisse, nisi optima comprehendas. Quia non tam initia sunt in bonis studiis laudanda, quam finis.

Sicut enim in vinea multi usque ad praelum uvae gradus sunt: et primum necesse est ut vitis gemmet in pampinis, spem promittat in floribus: dehinc ut flore decusso, futuri botri species deformetur, paulatimque turgescens uva parturiat, ut pressa torcularibus dulcia musta desudet. Ita et in doctrina singuli beatitudinum sunt proventus [Al. profectus]: ut audiat quis verbum Dei, ut concipiat, ut in utero animae ejus adolescat, et ad partum usque perveniat.

Ut cum pepererit illum, lacte enutriat, et per infantiam, pueritiam, adolescentiam, juventutem, ad perfectum virum usque perducatur. Cum ergo singuli, ut diximus, gradus, juxta proventus suos habeant beatitudinem: si finis, et ut ita loquar, extrema manus operi defuerit, totus labor irritus fiet; et dicitur: Ubi est ergo beatitudo vestra?

Quamvis, inquit, vos eo tempore quo Evangelium juxta carnem susceperatis, beatos dicerem quod in initiis fervebatis: tamen nunc quia non video aedificio culmen impositum, et pene nequaquam jacta fundamina, cogor dicere: Ubi est ergo beatitudo vestra, qua vos beatos arbitrans ante laudabam? Vere enim et ipse fateor, quia sic me vobis humilia praedicantem vel persecutionibus 462 conflictatum, in principio dilexistis: ut si fieri posset (hyperbolice autem sunt accipienda quae loquitur) eruissetis vobis oculos; et mihi, ut omnium vestrum luminibus plus cernerem, dedissetis.

Or certainly we can suspect that the Apostle, at that time when he first came to the Galatians, had been sick; and held back by some infirmity of his little body, he did not cease, however, nor repress his voice in silence from preaching the Gospel he had begun. For they hand down that he often suffered a very grave headache: and that this is the "angel of Satan" who was given to him, that he might buffet him in the flesh, lest he be exalted. This infirmity and this languor of the body was called a "temptation" among those to whom the Gospel was announced.

(Verses 15, 16.) Where is then your blessedness? For I bear you witness: that if it could have been done, you would have plucked out your own eyes and given them to me. Am I then become your enemy by telling you the truth?

Blessed is he who walks in the way of virtues, but only if he shall have reached the virtues themselves. Nor does it profit to have withdrawn from vices unless you comprehend the best things. For beginnings in good studies are not to be praised so much as the end.

For just as in a vineyard there are many stages of the grape until the press: and first it is necessary that the vine bud in the shoots and promise hope in the flowers; then, the flower having fallen, the appearance of the future cluster is deformed, and gradually swelling, the grape brings forth, so that pressed in the wine-presses it may sweat out sweet musts. So also in doctrine there are individual advancements (profectus) of blessedness: that one may hear the word of God, conceive it, that it may grow in the womb of his soul, and reach even to the birth.

So that when he has brought it forth, he may nourish it with milk, and through infancy, childhood, adolescence, and youth, lead it even to the perfect man. Since therefore individual stages, as we said, have blessedness according to their advancements: if the end, and so to speak, the final hand be lacking to the work, the whole labor will become void; and it will be said: "Where is then your blessedness?"

Although, he says, at that time when you had received the Gospel according to the flesh, I called you blessed because you were fervent in the beginnings; nevertheless now, because I do not see the roof placed upon the building, and almost no foundations laid at all, I am forced to say: "Where is then your blessedness, by which I previously praised you, judging you blessed?" For truly I myself confess that you loved me in the beginning when I was preaching humble things to you or was conflicted by persecutions: so that if it could be done (though what he speaks is to be taken hyperbolically), you would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me, so that I might see more with the lights of all of you.

Optabatis quippe vos caecos esse per ineffabilem in me charitatem; ut plus in meo corde Evangelii lumen oriretur, emolumentum meum vestris damnis crescere volebatis: et hoc illo tempore, quo vobis quasi parvulis atque lactentibus, sive propter infirmitatem carnis vestrae parva et humilia annuntiabam, sive propter meae carnis injurias, non dignus videbar fide.

Nunc vero quia ab elementis et syllabis et lectione puerili coepi vos ad majora studia provocare, ut libros teneatis in manibus, ut plena eruditionis, et sensuum verba discatis, recalcitratis, irascimini, gravis vobis videtur esse perfectio doctrinarum: et intantum in alios mutati estis affectus, ut me quem quasi angelum et Christum susceperatis, cui volebatis oculos vestros tradere, nunc habeatis inimicum: quia vobis plenam annuntio veritatem.

Eleganter autem sententiam terminavit, dicens: Ergo inimicus vobis factus sum veritatem dicens vobis? ut ostenderet initia praedicationis, non tam veritatem fuisse, quam umbra et imaginem veritatis. Similis est huic illa sententia nobilis apud Romanos poetae (Terent. in And. I, 1): Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Sed vide quanto hic melius quam ille; Apostolus enim his quos stultos dixerat, quos parvulos appellarat, hanc sententiam temperavit, et specialem fecit: dum proprie ad personas Galatasque direxit. Ille vero et generalem, et ita se apud omnes habere denuntians, vehementer erravit. Obsequium enim, quo putavit amicos fieri, veritate dempta, non tam obsequium est, quam adulatio, et assentatio: quas clandestinas magis inimicitias, quam amicitias dici debere, perspicuum est.

Simul autem et illud considerandum, quod hodie quoque quamdiu parvulis atque lactentibus, et his in quorum cordibus numquam Christus adolescit, nec proficit aetate et sapientia, et gratia apud 463 Deum et homines, juxta litteram Scripturas explanamus, laudamur, suspicimur, admirationi habemur. Cum autem paululum coeperimus eos provocare, ut transeant ad majora, de praeconibus nostris inimici fiant; et malint Judaeos potius quam apostolos sequi, qui a Phariseorum doctrina et traditionibus recedentes, ad ipsum Christum propitiatorium et perfectionem Legis ingressi sunt: nec divinum sermonem accipere dignentur, qui Ecclesiae magistros jubet ad altiora dogmata scandere, et totis viribus sublimare vocem, nec circumlatrantium strepitum pertimescere parvulorum, dicentem [Al. dicens]: Super montem excelsum ascende, qui evangelizas Sion. Exalta in virtute vocem tuam, qui evangelizas Jerusalem. Exalta, noli timere (Isai. XL, 9).

For you wished yourselves to be blind through an ineffable charity toward me; you wanted my benefit to grow through your losses: and this was at that time when I was announcing small and humble things to you as if to little ones and sucklings, whether because of the infirmity of your flesh, or because of the injuries of my flesh I did not seem worthy of faith.

But now, because I have begun to provoke you from elements and syllables and childish reading to greater studies, so that you might hold books in your hands, that you might learn words full of erudition and of senses, you kick back, you are angry, the perfection of doctrines seems heavy to you: and you have been changed into other affections to such an extent that me, whom you had received as an angel and as Christ, to whom you wished to hand over your eyes, you now hold as an enemy: because I announce the full truth to you.

But he terminated the sentence elegantly, saying: "Am I then become your enemy by telling you the truth?" so that he might show that the beginnings of preaching were not so much the truth as a shadow and image of the truth. Similar to this is that noble sentence among the Roman poets (Terence): "Compliance breeds friends, truth breeds hatred."

But see how much better this one speaks than that one; for the Apostle tempered this sentence for those whom he had called foolish, whom he had named little ones, and made it special: while he directed it properly to the persons and the Galatians. But that one, making it general and declaring it to be so among all, erred vehemently. For compliance, by which he thought friends were made, once truth is removed, is not so much compliance as flattery and sycophancy: which it is clear ought to be called clandestine enmities rather than friendships.

At the same time, we must also consider that today also, as long as we explain the Scriptures according to the letter to the little ones and sucklings, and to those in whose hearts Christ never grows up, nor advances in age and wisdom and grace before God and men, we are praised, respected, and held in admiration. But when we begin a little to provoke them to pass to greater things, from our heralds they become enemies; and they prefer to follow the Jews rather than the apostles, who, receding from the doctrine and traditions of the Pharisees, entered into Christ Himself, the propitiatory and the perfection of the Law: nor do they deign to receive the divine discourse, which commands the teachers of the Church to climb to higher dogmas and to sublimate their voice with all their strength, and not to fear the noise of the barking little ones around them, saying: "Get thee up upon a high mountain, thou that evangelizest Zion. Lift up thy voice with strength, thou that evangelizest Jerusalem: lift it up, fear not" (Isaiah 40:9).

(Vers. 17, 18.) Aemulantur vos non bene: sed excludere vos volunt, ut illos aemulemini. Bonum autem aemulamini in bono semper: et non tantum cum praesens sum apud vos.

Aemulantur bene, qui cum videant in aliquibus esse gratias, dona, virtutes, ipsi tales esse desiderant: et fidem, vitam atque industriam eorum per quae illa meruerunt, nituntur imitari, ut possint ea quoque quae bona aemulatione digna sunt, consequi. De quibus et Apostolus ait: Aemulamini spiritualia: magis autem ut prophetetis. Ac deinceps: Sic et vos, quoniam aemulatores estis spiritualium, ad aedificationem Ecclesiae quaerite ut abundetis. Et iterum: Itaque, fratres, aemulamini prophetare, et loqui linguis nolite prohibere. Aemulantur autem non bene, qui non tam ipsi cupiunt esse meliores, ut imitentur eos qui aemulatione digni sunt, quam illos ipsos volunt facere peiores, et retrorsum trahere aemulatione perversa.

Verbi gratia dictum sit: Christianus est quispiam, legit Moysen et prophetas; scit omnia in umbra et in imagine illi populo praecessisse; scripta autem esse propter nos in quos fines saeculorum decurrerunt. Circumcisionem non tam praeputii, quam aurium et cordis intelligit. Resurrexit cum Christo: ea quaerit quae sursum sunt. Liberatus est ab onere et servitute Legis, ne tangas, ne gustes, ne contamines, imperantis: huic si quis Scripturarum verbis voluerit persuadere, ut non per tropologiam, sed occidentem ⁴⁶⁴ litteram quae sunt scripta, suscipiat: ut in manifesto fiat Judaeus, non in occulto, aemulatur eum non bene: sed concito cursu ad majora gradientem retrahere festinat; ut se potius aemuletur qui retrorsum vadit: aut certe eum multum ultra non promovet.

Loquitur itaque Galatis, qui ab assertoribus Legis inducti fuerant, ut eos imitarentur, cum illi potius Galatas debuerint imitari. Quia naturale est, majorem de minori, non minorem fieri de majore, et dicit: Bonum aemulamini in bono, id est, nolite assertores Judaicae observationis imitari, sed ea quae bona sunt, imitamini.

Quomodo enim qui divitias, potentiam, dignitatem alicujus imitatur, non tam bona, quam ea quae fugienda sunt, aemulatur: ita et vos econtrario, bonum aemulamini in bono: magis quaerentes spiritualia quam carnalia; ut non illi vos Judaeos, sed vos illos Christianos esse doceatis. Hoc autem facite semper, ut perseveranti gradu, ad finem boni operis pervenire possitis.

(Verses 17, 18.) They zealously affect you, but not well; yea, they would exclude you, that you might affect them. But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing, and not only when I am present with you.

They "emulate" (*aemulantur*) well who, when they see graces, gifts, and virtues in others, desire to be such themselves; and they strive to imitate their faith, life, and industry through which they merited those things, so that they might also be able to attain those things which are worthy of good emulation. Of which also the Apostle says: "Be zealous for spiritual things: but rather that you may prophesy." And thereafter: "So you also, since you are zealots for spiritual things, seek that you may abound to the edification of the Church." And again: "Therefore, brothers, be zealous to prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues." But they "emulate" not well who do not so much desire to be better themselves, that they might imitate those worthy of emulation, as they wish to make those very people worse and to pull them backward by a perverse emulation.

For example, let it be said: Someone is a Christian, he reads Moses and the prophets; he knows that all things preceded for that people in shadow and in image, but were written for us upon whom the ends of the ages have come. He understands circumcision not so much of the foreskin as of the ears and the heart. He has risen with Christ: he seeks those things which are above. He has been freed from the burden and servitude of the Law, which commanded: "Touch not, taste not, contaminate not." If anyone should wish to persuade this man by the words of the Scriptures to receive what is written not through tropology but by the killing letter—so that he might become a Jew in manifest, not in occult—he "emulates" him not well: but he hastens to pull back one who is walking with rapid course toward greater things, so that he might rather emulate him who goes backward; or certainly he does not promote him much further.

He speaks therefore to the Galatians, who had been induced by the assertors of the Law to imitate them, when they rather ought to have imitated the Galatians. Because it is natural for a greater to be made from a lesser, not a lesser from a greater; and he says: "Emulate the good in the good," that is, do not imitate the assertors of Jewish observation, but imitate those things which are good.

For just as he who imitates the riches, power, and dignity of someone emulates not so much good things as those which are to be fled: so you also, on the contrary, emulate the good in the good: seeking spiritual things more than carnal things; so that they may not teach you to be Jews, but you may teach them to be Christians. And do this always, so that with a persevering step you may be able to reach the end of a good work.

Aemulabamini siquidem bonum in bono, prius cum apud vos essem: qui postquam a vobis recessi, omnia quae tradideram perdidistis, de statione certa et fido portu, rursum in altum unda relabente subtracti. Nec mirum si, recedente Apostolo, vase electionis, et in quo Christus Dominus loquebatur, Galatae sunt mutati: cum etiam nunc cernamus et in Ecclesiis idipsum fieri.

Si quando enim doctor quis in Ecclesia contigerit sermone ornatus et vita, qui audientes quasi stimulis quibusdam concitet ad virtutes, videmus omnem plebem circa eleemosynas, jejunia, castitatem, susceptionem pauperum, sepulturas, et caetera similia festinare, fervere, discurrere. Cum autem ille recesserit, paulatim emarcescere, et subtracto cibo, tenuari, pallere, languescere, et interitum sequi omnium quae prius vigeant.

Quamobrem quia messis multa, operarii autem pauci (Matth. IX, 37), precemur Dominum messis, ut mittat operarios ad metendum, qui spicas populi Christiani, quae stant in Ecclesia, futuro tritico praeparatae, metant, colligant, et in horrea comportantes, nequaquam perire patiantur. 465 Hoc de eo zelo et aemulatione perversa, de qua et alibi dictum est: Noli aemulari in malignantibus (Ps. XXXVI, 1): et hic: Aemulantur vos non bene.

Invenimus autem et alium zelum, quo zelati sunt filii Jacob, Joseph fratrem suum (Genes. XXXVII seqq.): et Maria et Aaron amicum Domini Moysen (Num. XII). Neque enim aut illi, aut hi, ut meliores essent Joseph et Moyse, ad zelum sunt concitati: sed quia dolebant illos esse meliores. Iste zelus vicinus invidiae est.

Longum est si velim omnia zeli genera, boni seu mali de Scripturarum preferre thesauro. Bonum zelum legimus Phinees (Num XXV), Eliae (III Reg XIX), Mathathiae (I Mach II), et apostoli Judae (sed non proditoris) qui ob insignem zeli in se virtutem, etiam Zelotis nomen accepit (Actor I). Malum autem, ut Cain in Abel (Genes. IV), et caeterorum in alios. Et Zelum viri, de quo scriptum est: Et venerit ei spiritus zeli (Num. V). Nisi forte medius hic zelus est, et nec in bonam, nec in malam partem accipi potest; sed inter utrumque zelotypia potius appellatur.

Aliter: Videntes hi qui ex circumcissione erant Galatas ex gentibus, Spiritus sancti abundare virtutibus, se vero non linguis loqui, non dona habere curationum; non gratiam prophetiae, cupiebant eos zeli stimulis incitati, ad Legis onera transducere, ut inciperent et illi sui similes fieri.

You were indeed emulating the good in the good previously when I was with you; but after I withdrew from you, you lost all the things I had handed down, having been dragged away from a certain station and a faithful port back into the deep by the receding wave. Nor is it a wonder if, the Apostle—the vessel of election and in whom Christ the Lord was speaking—withdrawing, the Galatians were changed: since even now we see this very thing happen in the Churches.

For if ever some teacher happens to be in the Church, adorned in speech and life, who might incite the hearers to virtues as if by certain goads, we see all the common people hasten, fervor, and run about regarding alms, fasts, chastity, the reception of the poor, burials, and other similar things. But when he has withdrawn, they gradually wither away, and having their food taken away, they grow thin, pale, languish, and the destruction of all things that previously flourished follows.

Wherefore, because "the harvest is great, but the laborers are few" (Matthew 9:37), let us pray the Lord of the harvest that He send laborers to reap, who may reap, gather, and carrying into barns the ears of the Christian people which stand in the Church prepared for the future wheat, by no means allow them to perish. 465 This regarding that zeal and perverse emulation, of which it is also said elsewhere: "Be not zealous against the malignant" (Psalm 36:1); and here: "They zealously affect you, but not well."

But we find also another zeal, by which the sons of Jacob were zealous against Joseph their brother (Genesis 37 ff.); and Miriam and Aaron against Moses the friend of the Lord (Numbers 12). For neither those nor these were incited to zeal so that they might be better than Joseph and Moses: but because they grieved that those were better. This zeal is neighbor to envy.

It is a long matter if I should wish to bring forth all kinds of zeal, good or evil, from the treasure of the Scriptures. We read of the good zeal of Phinehas (Numbers 25), of Elijah (3 Kings 19), of Mattathias (1 Maccabees 2), and of the apostle Jude (but not the traitor) who, because of the distinguished virtue of zeal in himself, even received the name of "Zealot" (Zelotes) (Acts 1). But of evil, such as Cain against Abel (Genesis 4), and others against others. And the "Zeal of a husband," of which it is written: "And if the spirit of jealousy come upon him" (Numbers 5). Unless perhaps this zeal is medium, and can be taken neither in a good nor in an evil part; but between both it is rather called "jealousy" (zelotypia).

Otherwise: Those who were of the circumcision, seeing that the Galatians from the Gentiles abounded in the virtues of the Holy Spirit, while they themselves did not speak with tongues, nor have the gifts of healings, nor the grace of prophecy, desired—incited by the goads of zeal—to lead them over to the burdens of the Law, so that they too might begin to become like themselves.

(Vers. 19.) Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formetur Christus in vobis.

Quantis difficultatibus et dolore fetus promantur ex utero, maledictio prima declarat, dicens: In tristitia paries filios (Gen. III, 16). Volens igitur Paulus ostendere magistrarum pro discipulis sollicitudinem, quos patiantur affectus, ne sectatores sui excidant a salute, ait: Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio. Qui enim in alio loco quasi pater dixerat: Si decem millia paedagogorum habeatis in Christo, sed non multos patres (I Cor. IV, 15), jam non quasi pater, sed ut mater loquitur in Christo, ut utriusque anxietatem, et pietatem in se parentis agnoscant. Tale quid et Moyses de populo loquebatur: Numquid ego in utero accepi omnem populum istum (Num. XI, 12)?

Quis, putas, nostrum ita de discipulorum anxius est salute, ut non paucis horis, aut ut multum biduo triduo, sed toto vitae suae tempore torqueatur, donec Christus formetur in eis? Exemplum fetae mulieris quod assumpsit, concipientis et formantis in se semina, diligenter tenendum, ut possimus intelligere quod dicitur.

Natura non erubescenda, sed veneranda est. Sicut enim in vulvam mulieris primum semen jacitur informe, ut sulcis et fundo ejus quasi quodam glutino adhaereat: de quo et propheta initii sui recordatus, ait: Incompositum meum viderunt oculi tui (Ps. CXXXVIII, 16): deinde per novem menses restricto sanguine, futurus homo coagulatur, corporatur, pascitur atque distinguitur; ut postquam in utero palpitaret, statuto tempore fundatur in lucem, et tantis difficultatibus nascitur, quantis postea ne intereat, enutritur: ita et semen sermonis Christi cum animam audieatis inciderit, per gradus suos crescit, et, ut multa praeteream (possumus siquidem facile corporalem descriptionem transferre ad intelligentiam spiritualem), tamdiu in ancipiti est, quamdiu pariat qui concepit. Nec statim finis industriae est edidisse, sed tunc alterius laboris exordium est, ut lactentem infantiam sedulis nutrimentis et studiis, usque ad plenam Christi perducatur aetatem.

Et quomodo in conjugio saepe viri semen in causa est ne liberi procreentur, nonnumquam sterilis uxor semina non tenet, et frequenter neuter ad generandum aptus est, et econtrario uterque fecundus: ita et in his qui verbum Dei seminant, quadrifaria haec divisio custoditur, ut impleat quidem suum doctor officium, sed sit sterilis auditor:

(Verse 19.) My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you.

With how many difficulties and with what pain the fetus is brought forth from the womb, the first curse declares, saying: "In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children" (Genesis 3:16). Paul, therefore, wishing to show the solicitude of teachers for their disciples, and what affections they suffer lest their followers should fall away from salvation, says: "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again." For he who in another place had spoken as a father: "If you should have ten thousand pedagogues in Christ, yet not many fathers" (1 Corinthians 4:15), now speaks not as a father but as a mother in Christ, so that they may recognize in themselves the anxiety and piety of each parent. Moses also spoke something of this sort concerning the people: "Have I conceived all this people in my womb?" (Numbers 11:12).

Who of us, do you think, is so anxious about the salvation of his disciples that he is tortured not for a few hours, or at most for two or three days, but during the entire time of his life, until Christ be formed in them? The example of the child-bearing woman which he assumed, of one conceiving and forming seeds in herself, must be diligently held, so that we may be able to understand what is said.

Nature is not to be blushed at, but to be venerated. For just as the first seed is cast unformed into the womb of a woman, so that it may adhere to its furrows and bottom as if by a certain glue—of which also the prophet, remembering his own beginning, says: "Thine eyes saw my unformed substance" (*incompositum meum*) (Psalm 138:16): ...then through nine months, with the blood restrained, the future man is coagulated, takes on a body, is fed, and is distinguished; so that after he has throbbed in the womb, at the appointed time he is poured forth into the light, and is born with as many difficulties as those with which he is afterwards nourished so that he may not perish: ...so also when the seed of the discourse of Christ has fallen upon the soul of the hearer, it grows through its stages, and—to pass over many things (for we can indeed easily transfer the corporeal description to spiritual understanding)—it is in suspense for as long as he who conceived brings it forth. Nor is it immediately the end of industry to have brought forth, but then is the beginning of another labor: that he may lead the suckling infancy through diligent nourishments and studies even to the full age of Christ.

And just as in marriage the seed of the man is often the cause why children are not procreated, sometimes the sterile wife does not hold the seeds, and frequently neither is apt for generating, and on the contrary both are fecund: so also in those who sow the word of God, this fourfold division is maintained: that the teacher indeed fulfills his office, but the hearer is sterile;

vel auditor bonae indolis sit, sed per imperitiam doctoris, verbi semen intereat: aut certa tam vecors sit qui docetur, quam ille est qui praecipit; raroque contingit, ut et magister et discipulus sibi consentiant, scilicet ut tantum iste doceat, quantum ille possit haurire: vel tantum suscipere doctus, quantum doctor ingerere.

At nunc omnes iudices sumus. Nescimus quotus psalmus sit, quae pars prophetiae, quod Legis capitulum, et loquendi facilitate interpretamur audacter, quod nequaquam intelligimus. Non ad nos pertinet, ut Christus formetur in populo: ut ad domum suam unusquisque rediens habeat semen verbi Dei, quod cum conceperit, possit dicere cum 467 propheta: A timore tuo, Domine, concepimus et peperimus, filios salvationis tuae fecimus super terram (Isai. XXVI, 17, 18). Tales in apostolos transeunt, et a Salvatore merentur [Al. merebantur] audire: Quicumque fecerit voluntatem Patris mei, ipse est frater meus, et soror, et mater (Matt XXII, 50): diversitate profectuum, in diversis nominibus ostensa [Al. ostendente]. Formatur quoque Christus in corde credentium, cum omnia illis sacramenta panduntur, et ea quae obscura videbantur, perspicua fiunt. Sed et illud est intuendum, quod qui per peccatum quodammodo homo esse desierat, per poenitentiam concipitur a magistro, et rursum in eo Christi formatio repromittitur. Hoc adversum Novatianos, qui nolunt reformari eos quos semel peccata contriverint.

(Vers. 20.) Vellem autem esse apud vos modo, et mutare vocem meam, quoniam confundor in vobis. Scriptura divina aedificat et lecta; sed multo plus prodest, si de litteris vertatur in vocem, ut qui per Epistolam docuerat, praesens instruat audientes. Magnam siquidem vim habet vox viva: vox de auctoris sui ore resonans, quae ea pronuntiatione profertur atque distinguitur, qua in hominis sui corde generata est. Sciens itaque Apostolus majorem vim habere sermonem qui ad praesentes fiat, cupit vocem Epistolicam, vocem litteris comprehensam, in praesentiam commutare: et quia hoc magis expediebat his qui in errore fuerant depravati, vivo eos ad veritatem retrahere sermone. Hoc autem ideo, quia confundebatur [Al. confundatur] in illis: quod quidem Graece magis proprie dicitur. Ἀποροῦμαι enim non tam confusionem, quae apud illos ἀλσχύνη sive σύγχυσις appellatur, quam indigentiam et inopiam sonat. Sensus itaque iste est; Vellem apud vos nunc adesse, et litterarum vocem praesens ipse proferre, quia indigeo in vobis. Non quippe habeo fructus quos solent de discipulis habere doctores; et sine causa semen jactum est doctrinarum, cum penitus in vobis patiar egestatem: ita ut in Jeremiae possim vocem prorumpere: Non profui, neque profuit mihi quisquam (Jerem. XXIII, 23).

...or the hearer may be of a good disposition, but through the unskillfulness of the teacher the seed of the word may perish; or certainly he who is taught is as senseless as he who instructs; and it rarely happens that both master and disciple agree with each other, namely so that the former teaches only as much as the latter can draw in, or the one taught receives only as much as the teacher can instill.

But now we are all judges. We do not know which psalm it is, what part of prophecy, what chapter of the Law, and with ease of speaking we boldly interpret what we by no means understand. It does not pertain to us that Christ be formed in the people: so that each one returning to his home may have the seed of the word of God, which when he has conceived, he can say with the prophet: "From thy fear, O Lord, we have conceived and brought forth, we have made the sons of thy salvation upon the earth" (Isaiah 26:17-18). Such pass over into apostles, and merit to hear from the Savior: "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father, he is my brother, and sister, and mother" (Matthew 12:50): with the diversity of advancements shown in diverse names. Christ is also formed in the heart of believers when all the sacraments are opened to them, and those things which seemed obscure become clear. But we must also look at this, that he who through sin had in a certain way ceased to be a man, is conceived by the teacher through penance, and again the formation of Christ is promised in him. This is against the Novatians, who do not wish those whom sins have once crushed to be reformed.

(Verse 20.) But I would wish to be with you now, and to change my voice, because I am confounded in you. Divine Scripture edifies even when read; but it profits much more if it is turned from letters into a voice, so that he who had taught through an Epistle may instruct the hearers in person. For the living voice has great power: a voice resonating from the mouth of its author, which is brought forth and distinguished by that pronunciation with which it was generated in the heart of its own man. Therefore the Apostle, knowing that the discourse which is made to those present has greater power, desires to change the Epistolary voice—the voice comprised of letters—into presence: and because this was more expedient for those who had been depraved in error, to draw them back to the truth by a living discourse. But he says this because he was "confounded" in them: which indeed is said more properly in Greek. For *aporoumai* suena no tanto a "confusión", que entre ellos se llama *aischynē* o *synchysis*, cuanto a "indigencia" y "penuria". Therefore this is the sense: "I would wish to be present with you now, and to bring forth the voice of letters in person, because I am in want in you." For indeed I do not have the fruits which teachers are accustomed to have from disciples; and the seed of doctrines was cast without cause, since I suffer utter poverty in you: so that I could break forth into the voice of Jeremiah: "I have not profited, nor has anyone profited me" (Jeremiah 23:23).

Potest et aliter locus iste interpretari: Paulus apostolus qui factus fuerat Judaeis Judaeus, ut Judaeos lucrifaceret (I Cor. IX), et his qui erant sub Lege, quasi ipse esset sub Lege, et infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucrifaceret: pro qualitate eorum quos salvare cupiebat, mutabat vocem suam, et in histrionum similitudinem (factus siquidem est theatrum mundo, et angelis, et hominibus [I Cor. IV] habitum in diversas figuras vertebat et voces. Non quod id esset, quod se esse simulabat; sed quod id tantum videretur esse, quod caeteris proderat. Cernit Galatas alia indigere doctrina, alia via debere salvari, non illa qua primum ad Christi fidem fuerant de gentilitate transducti: et compellitur dicere: Vellem...

(Vers. 21.) Dicite mihi qui sub Lege vultis esse, Legem non audistis? Notandum Legem hic dictam esse Geneseos historiam, non ut vulgo aestimant, quae facienda sint, quaeve vitanda, sed totum quod de Abraham, et ejus uxoribus liberisque contextitur, legem appellatam (Joan. XV). Legimus et in alio loco, Prophetas quoque Legem vocari. Audit ergo Legem, qui juxta Paulum non superficiem, sed medullam ejus intropicit. Non audit Legem, qui similis Galatarum, exteriorem tantum corticem sequitur.

(Vers. 22, 23.) Scriptum est enim, quoniam Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla et unum de libera. Sed qui de ancilla, secundum carnem natus est: qui autem de libera, per repromissionem.

Nimiae difficultatis est demonstrare, Isaac tantum, qui de Sara natus est, fuisse de repromissione generatum, et non etiam Ismael, qui de Agar ancilla est ortus Aegyptia. Scriptura quippe refert, quod cum, persequente Sara, Agar feta fugisset, et venisset ad eam angelus in deserto, moneretque ut subjiceretur dominae potestati, idem ipse angelus etiam haec locutus sit: Multiplicans multiplicabo semem tuum, et non numerabitur prae multitudine (Genes. XVI, 10). Et postea de Ismael (quae utique repromissionis verba nemo dubitarit): Iste erit rusticanus homo, manus ejus super omnes, et manus omnium super eum, et contra faciem omnium fratrum suorum habitabit. Sed responderi potest, minoris auctoritatis esse repromissionem angeli, quam ipsius Dei. Sicut enim stella, orto sole, non rutilat: ita et angeli verba ad comparisonem repromissionis Dei obscurari, et evanescere, et pro nihilo computari. Videtur quidem haec responsio aliquid habere momenti; sed statim sequentis Scripturae auctoritate conteritur.

This place can also be interpreted otherwise: The Apostle Paul, who "became a Jew to the Jews, that he might gain the Jews" (1 Corinthians 9), and to those who were under the Law as if he himself were under the Law, and to the weak a weak man that he might gain the weak: for the quality of those whom he desired to save, he changed his voice, and in the likeness of actors (for indeed he became "a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men" [1 Corinthians 4]), he turned his habit into diverse figures and voices. Not that he was that which he feigned himself to be, but that he only seemed to be that which profited others. He sees that the Galatians stand in need of one doctrine, and ought to be saved by one way—not that by which they had first been translated from gentility to the faith of Christ—and he is compelled to say: "I would wish..."

(Verse 21.) "Tell me, you who wish to be under the Law, have you not heard the Law?" It must be noted that "Law" is said here of the history of Genesis, not as they commonly think, of what things are to be done or what avoided, but the whole that is woven together concerning Abraham and his wives and children is called the Law (John 15). We read also in another place that the Prophets are also called the Law. He therefore hears the Law who, according to Paul, looks not into its surface but into its marrow. He does not hear the Law who, like the Galatians, follows only the exterior bark.

(Verses 22, 23.) For it is written that Abraham had two sons: one of the bondwoman, and one of the free woman. But he who was of the bondwoman was born according to the flesh: but he who was of the free woman was by promise.

It is of excessive difficulty to demonstrate that only Isaac, who was born of Sarah, was generated by promise, and not also Ishmael, who arose from Hagar the Egyptian bondwoman. For Scripture relates that when, because Sarah was pursuing her, Hagar being with child had fled, and an angel had come to her in the desert and admonished her that she should be subjected to the power of her mistress, that same angel also spoke these things: "Multiplying, I will multiply thy seed, and it shall not be numbered for multitude" (Genesis 16:10). And afterwards concerning Ishmael (which words of promise surely no one would doubt): "He shall be a rustic man: his hand over all, and the hands of all over him; and he shall dwell over against the face of all his brethren." But it can be answered that the promise of an angel is of less authority than that of God himself. For just as a star does not glow when the sun has risen, so also the words of an angel, in comparison with the promise of God, are obscured and vanish and are computed as nothing. This response indeed seems to have some weight; but it is immediately crushed by the authority of the following Scripture.

Scriptum est enim: Abraham autem dixit ad Deum: Ismael iste vivat in conspectu tuo (Ibid., XVII, 18 seqq.): et Deus respondit ad eum ita: Ecce Sara uxor tua pariet tibi filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Isaac, et statuam testamentum meum ad eum, in testamentum aeternum, et semini ejus post eum. De Ismael autem: Ecce exaudivi te, et ecce benedixi eum, et augebo eum, et multiplicabo illum vehementer. Duodecim gentes generabit, et dabo eum in gentem magnam, testamentum autem meum statuam ad Isaac, quem generabit tibi Sara in tempore isto, anno venturo. Ex quibus evidens est ipsius quoque sermonibus Dei, Ismael secundum repromissionem esse generatum. Sed et hoc ita solvitur, repromissionem proprie in testamenti datione compleri, et aliud esse benedicere, augere, multiplicare vehementer, et aliud testamentum dare. Licet enim vel angeli, vel Dei repromissio videatur utrique esse communis, speciale tamen Isaac Testamenti, sive foederis nomen est.

(Vers. 24.) Quae sunt per allegoriam dicta.

Allegoria proprie de arte grammatica est, et quo a metaphora, vel caeteris tropis differat, in scholis parvuli discimus. Aliud praetendit in verbis, aliud significat in sensu. Pleni sunt oratorum (Sup. allegoriis), et poetarum libri. Scriptura quoque divina, per hanc non modica ex parte contexta est. Quod intelligens Paulus apostolus (quippe qui et saeculares litteras aliqua ex parte contigerat) ipso verbo figurae usus est, ut allegoriam, sicut apud suos dicitur, appellaret: quo scilicet sensu magis loci hujus Graeci sermonis abusionem monstraret. Scisse autem Paulum, licet non ad perfectum, litteras saeculares, ipsius verba testantur: Dixit quidam ex eis, proprius eorum propheta: Cretenses semper mendaces, malae bestiae, ventres pigri (Tit. I, 12). Hic versus heroicus Epimenidis poetae est, cujus et Plato, et caeteri scriptores veteres recordantur. Apud Athenienses quoque cum in Areopago satisfaceret, haec addidit: Sicut et quidam de vobis poetae dixerunt: Ipsius enim et genus sumus (Act. XVII, 28). Hoc hemistichium fertur in Arato, qui de coelo stellisque conscripsit. Necnon et illud: Corruptunt bonos mores confabulationes pessimae (I Cor. XV, 33); trimeter iambicus de comoedia sumptus est Menandri. Ex quibus et aliis, evidens est Paulum non ignorasse litteras saeculares, et quam hic allegoriam dixit, alibi vocasse intelligentiam spiritualem. Ut ibi: Scimus enim quod Lex spiritualis est (Rom. VII, 14), pro eo quod est, allegoria, sive allegorice figurata. Et alibi: Omnes eandem spiritualem comederunt escam, et eundem spiritualem biberunt potum. Bibebant autem de spirituali sequenti eos petra, petra autem erat Christus (I Cor. X, 34).

For it is written: "And Abraham said to God: That this Ishmael may live in thy sight" (Genesis 17:18 ff.): and God answered him thus: "Behold, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, and with his seed after him." But concerning Ishmael: "Behold, I have heard thee, and behold, I have blessed him, and I will increase him, and will multiply him vehemently." "Twelve nations shall he generate, and I will give him for a great nation; but my covenant I will establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall generate to thee at this time, in the year to come." From which it is evident, even by the words of God himself, that Ishmael was generated according to promise. But this also is solved thus: that the promise is properly fulfilled in the giving of the covenant, and it is one thing to bless, to increase, to multiply vehemently, and another to give a covenant. For although the promise of an angel or of God may seem common to both, yet the name of "Testament" or "Covenant" is special to Isaac.

(Verse 24.) "Which things are said through an allegory."

Allegory properly belongs to the grammatical art, and how it differs from metaphor or other tropes we learn as children in schools. It pretends one thing in words, and signifies another in sense. The books of orators and poets are full of them. Divine Scripture also is woven together through this in no small part. Understanding this, the Apostle Paul (since he had also touched upon secular literature to some extent) used the word for the figure itself, so that he called it an allegory, as it is said among his own people: by which sense he might show more clearly the abuse of the Greek discourse in this place. But that Paul knew secular literature, though not to perfection, his own words testify: "One of them said, a prophet of their own: The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies" (Titus 1:12). This heroic verse is from the poet Epimenides, whom both Plato and other ancient writers remember. Also among the Athenians, when he was making satisfaction in the Areopagus, he added this: "As certain of your poets have said: For we are also his offspring" (Acts 17:28). This hemistich is said to be in Aratus, who wrote concerning the sky and the stars. And also that: "Evil communications corrupt good manners" (1 Corinthians 15:33); an iambic trimeter taken from a comedy of Menander. From which and others it is evident that Paul was not ignorant of secular literature, and what he here called an allegory, he elsewhere called spiritual understanding. As there: "For we know that the Law is spiritual" (Romans 7:14), for that which is an allegory or allegorically figured. And elsewhere: "All ate the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink." For they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ (1 Corinthians 10:3-4).

Manna hic, et subiti fontis eruptio, et petra ipsa quae sequitur, quod allegorice accipienda sint, nemo est qui dubitet. Scio quid econtrario possit opponi: Fratres, si praeoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto: vos spirituales instruite istiusmodi in spiritu mansuetudinis (Infra...)

(Vers. 25, 26.) Haec enim sunt duo testamenta, unum quidem a monte Sina, in servitutem generans, quae est Agar. Sina enim mons est in Arabia, qui conterminus est ei, quae nunc est Jerusalem, et servit cum filiis suis. Illa autem quae sursum est Jerusalem, libera est, quae est mater omnium nostrum. Pene cunctorum super hoc loco ista est explanatio, ut Agar ancillam, interpretentur in Lege, et in populo Iudaeorum: Saram autem liberam, in Ecclesia, quae de gentibus congregata est, quae mater sanctorum sit, Paulo dicente: Quae est mater omnium nostrum. Haec diu non peperit, antequam Christus de Virgine nasceretur, et sterilis fuit: necdum risu mundi Isaac de electo patre cum voce sublimium dogmatum resonante: siquidem et Abraham in nostra lingua, pater electus cum sonitu refertur. Agar autem quae interpretatur *παροικία*, id est, incolatus, sive peregrinatio, sive mora, generat Ismael, qui tantum audiat Dei praecepta, nec faciat hominem rusticum, sanguinarium, deserta sectantem: qui universis fratribus suis de libera procreatis inimicus sit, et adversa eis fronte resistat. Nec mirum vetus Testamentum, quod in monte Sina, qui est in Arabia, et confinis est ei, quae nunc est Jerusalem, constitutum est atque conscriptum, non esse perpetuum: cum et incolatus a perpetua possessione diversus sit, et Sina montis nomen tentationem sonet: et Arabia significet occasum: et econtrario quae sursum est Jerusalem, quae est libera materque sanctorum, demonstret hanc Jerusalem, quae in praesenti est, deorsum esse, et in humili infimoque demersam.

Sunt qui duo Testamenta et aliter intelligant: ut Scripturam divinam, tam veterem quam novam, juxta diversitatem sensus eorumque senientiam qui legunt, aut ancillam interpretentur, aut liberam, et eos, qui adhuc litterae serviant, et spiritum timoris habeant in servitutem, de Agar Aegyptia velint esse generatos: eos autem qui ad superiora conscendant, et allegorice velint sentire quae scripta sunt, filios esse Sarae, quae in lingua nostra *ἄρχουσα*, id est, princeps interpretatur, genere feminino.

Manna here, and the sudden eruption of the fountain, and the rock itself which follows—that these are to be taken allegorically, there is no one who doubts. I know what can be opposed to the contrary: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in any fault, you who are spiritual instruct such a one in the spirit of meekness" (Below...).

(Verses 25, 26.) For these are the two testaments; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For Sinai is a mountain in Arabia, which is conterminous to that which now is Jerusalem, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all. Of almost all, this is the explanation upon this place: that they interpret Agar the handmaid in the Law and in the people of the Jews; but Sarah the free woman in the Church, which is gathered from the Gentiles, which is the mother of the saints, Paul saying: "Which is the mother of us all." This one did not bear for a long time before Christ was born of the Virgin, and was sterile: not yet with the laughter of the world did Isaac come from the chosen father with the voice of sublime dogmas resonating: since indeed Abraham in our language is reported as "the chosen father with sound." But Agar, which is interpreted as **paroikia**, that is, sojourn, or peregrination, or delay, genders Ishmael, who only hears the precepts of God, and does not make a rustic, bloodthirsty man following the deserts: who is an enemy to all his brothers procreated from the free woman, and resists them with an adverse front. Nor is it a wonder that the Old Testament, which was constituted and written on mount Sinai, which is in Arabia and is confined to that which now is Jerusalem, is not perpetual: since also sojourn is different from perpetual possession, and the name of mount Sinai sounds as "temptation"; and Arabia signifies "sunset": and on the contrary that Jerusalem which is above, which is the free mother of the saints, demonstrates this Jerusalem which is in the present to be below, and submerged in the humble and lowest place.

There are those who understand the two Testaments otherwise also: that they interpret the divine Scripture, both the old and the new, according to the diversity of the sense and the opinion of those who read, either as a handmaid or as a free woman; and those who still serve the letter and have the spirit of fear they want to be gendered into servitude from Agar the Egyptian: but those who ascend to higher things and want to allegorically understand the things which are written, are the sons of Sarah, who in our language is interpreted as **archousa**, that is, princess, in the feminine gender.

Et hoc ob illam necessitatem se asserunt usurpare: quia iniquum sit Moysen, et cunctos prophetas de ancilla, quoslibet vero gentilium de libera intelligere procreatos. Unde melius esse, ut non solum de his qui in Ecclesia sunt, pro diversitate (ut supra diximus) intellectuum, alios servos, alios liberos arbitremur: sed etiam de uno eodemque homine quamdiu sequitur historiam, ancillae eum esse filium: cum autem aperiente Jesu Scripturas, incensum fuerit cor ejus, et in fractione panis inspexerit eum quem antea non videbat (Luc. XXIV): tunc et ipsum Sarae filium nominari. Marcion et Manichaeus hunc locum in quo dixit Apostolus: Quae quidem sunt allegorica, et caetera quae sequuntur, de codice suo tollere noluerunt, putantes adversum nos relinqui: quod scilicet Lex aliter sit intelligenda, quam scripta est; cum utique etiamsi allegorice (quod nos quoque fatemur, et Paulus docet) accipienda sit, non pro voluntate legentis, et pro scribentis auctoritate sic condita sit: et eo ipso, quod contra nos servare visi sunt, conterantur: quod Moyses creatoris Dei servus, spiritualia scripserit, Apostolo quoque eorum idipsum docente, quem ipsi alterius Christi, et melioris Dei asserunt praedicatorem.

(Vers. 27.) Scriptum est enim: laetare, sterilis, quae non paris: erumpe et clama, quae non parturis: quia multi filii desertae magis quam ejus quae habet virum (Isai. LIV, 1.) Virum habuit synagoga Legem: et juxta Annae quoque prophetiam, fetosa quondam in liberis fuit (I Reg. I.) Sterilis vero Ecclesia, sine viro Christo, sine ullo sponsi sermonis alloquio, diu jacuit in deserto. Sed postquam accepit illa librum repudi in manus suas, et omnia ornamenta viri in idoli vertit ornamentum: tunc maritus, priore cingulo putrescente, alium lumbis suis baltheum, aliud de gentibus lumbare contextuit: quae statim ut est viro juncta, concepit et peperit. Et in Isaac exclamat Dominus per prophetam: Si est gens nata simul (Isai. XLIX, 54): quando una die in Actibus apostolorum tria millia, et quinque millia hominum crediderunt (Actor. III, seqq.) Nec puto necesse esse, ut de multitudine Christiana, et de Judaeorum paucitate dicamus, cum in toto mundo crucis vexilla resplendeant: et vix rarus atque notabilis in urbibus Judaeus appareat.

And they assert that they use this because of that necessity: because it would be iniquitous to understand Moses and all the prophets as procreated from the handmaid, but any of the Gentiles from the free woman. Whence it is better that not only of those who are in the Church, for the diversity (as we said above) of understandings, we judge some servants and others free: but also of one and the same man, as long as he follows history, he is a son of the handmaid; but when, Jesus opening the Scriptures, his heart shall have been kindled, and in the breaking of bread he shall have inspected Him whom he did not see before (Luke XXIV), then he himself also is named a son of Sarah. Marcion and Manichaeus did not want to take from their codex this place in which the Apostle said, "Which things are allegorical," and the rest which follow, thinking it was left against us: that namely the Law is to be understood otherwise than it is written; when indeed, even if it is to be received allegorically (which we also confess, and Paul teaches), it was not so established for the will of the reader, but for the authority of the writer: and in that very thing which they seemed to keep against us, they are crushed: that Moses, the servant of God the Creator, wrote spiritual things, their own Apostle also teaching that same thing, whom they assert to be the preacher of another Christ and of a better God.

(Verse 27.) "For it is written: Rejoice, thou barren, that bearest not: break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for many are the children of the desolate more than of her that hath a husband" (Isaiah 54:1). The Synagogue had the Law as a husband: and according to the prophecy of Hannah also, she was once fruitful in children (1 Samuel 1). But the Church, being barren, without the husband Christ, without any address of the Bridegroom's discourse, lay for a long time in the desert. But after that she [the Synagogue] received the book of repudiation into her hands, and turned all the ornaments of the husband into the ornament of an idol: then the husband, the former girdle rotting away, wove another belt for his loins, another loincloth from the Gentiles: which as soon as she was joined to the husband, conceived and brought forth. And in Isaac the Lord exclaims through the prophet: "If a nation is born at once" (Isaiah 66:8): when in one day in the Acts of the Apostles three thousand and five thousand men believed (Acts 2 ff.). Nor do I think it necessary that we speak of the Christian multitude and of the paucity of the Jews, since in the whole world the banners of the cross resound: and scarcely a rare and notable Jew appears in the cities.

(Vers. 28.) Nos autem, fratres, secundum Isaac promissionis filii sumus. Apostolum et similes ei secundum Isaac promissionis esse filios, nulla intelligentiae difficultas est. Sed because Origenes hunc locum edisserens, ita Apostoli posuit exemplum: Vos autem, fratres, secundum Isaac promissionis filii estis, quaeritur quomodo Galatas, quos stultos appellarat, et incoepisse dixerat spiritu, carne finire, nunc secundum Isaac filios repromissionis vocet? Dicimus itaque Apostolum ideo eos appellare secundum Isaac filios repromissionis, quia non penitus eorum desperet salutem, et rursus eos ad spiritum quo coeperant aestimet reversuros, fiantque filii liberae. Qui si carne fuerint consummati, filii sunt ancillae.

(Vers. 29-31.) Sed quomodo tunc qui secundum carnem natus fuerat, persequeretur eum qui secundum spiritum: ita et nunc. Sed quid dicit Scriptura? Ejice ancillam et filium ejus: non enim haeres erit filius ancillae cum filio meo Isaac. Itaque, fratres, non sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae. Qua libertate Christus nos liberavit.

Non puto invenire non posse ubi Ismael persecutus fuerit Isaac; sed tantum illud, quod cum filius Aegyptiae, qui major natu erat, luderet cum Isaac, indignata sit Sara, et dixerit ad Abraham: Ejice ancillam et filium ejus: Non enim haereditabit filius ancillae cum filio meo Isaac (Gen. XXI, 10). Et utique simplex lusus inter infantes, expulsione et abdicatione indignus est. Verum Apostolus quasi Hebraeus ex Hebraeis, et ad pedes magistri Gamalielis edoctus: qui quondam furentes adversus Dominum Phariseos concilio refrenaret, ex verbis Sarae dicentis: non enim haereditabit filius ancillae, cum filio meo Isaac, intellexit lusum illum simplicem non fuisse. Sed quia forsitan Ismael quasi major natu, et eo tempore circumciscus quo jam poterat intelligere et sentire quod passus est, sibi primogenita vindicabat, Scriptura jurgium parvulorum, lusum vocavit. Unde et Sara haec verba non sustinens, et consuetudinem sibi primogenita vindicantis ancillae filii a parva aetate non patiens, erupit in vocem: Ejice ancillam cum filio suo: Non enim haereditabit filius ancillae cum filio meo Isaac. Quod cum durum visum fuisset Abrahae (semper enim primogenitis majora debentur) non solum Ismaelem priorem esse desinere; sed ne aequalem quidem cum minore fratre accipere portionem: Deus qui liberam intus esse, et foras expelli volebat ancillam, Sarae verba confirmat, et loquitur ad Abraham: Non durum sit coram te de puero et ancilla.

(Verse 28.) "Now we, brethren, according to Isaac, are the children of promise." That the Apostle and those like him are children of promise according to Isaac is of no difficulty to understand. But because Origen, explaining this place, thus set the example of the Apostle: "But you, brethren, according to Isaac, are the children of promise," it is asked how he calls the Galatians, whom he had called foolish and had said had begun in the spirit but were finishing in the flesh, now children of promise according to Isaac? We say, therefore, that the Apostle calls them children of promise according to Isaac for this reason: because he does not utterly despair of their salvation, and he estimates that they will return again to the spirit by which they began, and become children of the free woman. For if they shall have been perfected in the flesh, they are children of the bondwoman.

(Verses 29-31.) "But as then he who was born according to the flesh persecuted him who was according to the spirit, so also now. But what does the Scripture say? Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with my son Isaac. So, brethren, we are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free woman. With which freedom Christ has made us free."

I do not think it can be found where Ishmael persecuted Isaac; but only this, that when the son of the Egyptian woman, who was older, played with Isaac, Sarah was indignant and said to Abraham: "Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not inherit with my son Isaac" (Gen. 21:10). And certainly simple play among infants is unworthy of expulsion and abdication. But the Apostle, as a Hebrew of Hebrews, and instructed at the feet of the master Gamaliel—who once restrained the Pharisees raging against the Lord in the council—understood from the words of Sarah saying, "for the son of the bondwoman shall not inherit with my son Isaac," that that play was not simple. But because perhaps Ishmael, as the older, and circumcised at that time when he could already understand and feel what he suffered, claimed the birthright for himself, the Scripture called the dispute of the little ones "play." Hence Sarah, not enduring these words, and not suffering from a young age the custom of the son of the bondwoman claiming the birthright for himself, broke forth into the voice: "Cast out the bondwoman with her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not inherit with my son Isaac." Since this had seemed harsh to Abraham (for greater things are always due to the firstborn), that not only should Ishmael cease to be first, but should not even receive an equal portion with his younger brother: God, who willed the free woman to be within and the bondwoman to be cast out, confirms Sarah's words and speaks to Abraham: "Let it not be harsh in your sight concerning the boy and the bondwoman."

Omnia quae dixerit tibi Sara, audi vocem ejus: quoniam in Isaac vocabitur tibi semen. Sicut ergo tunc major frater Ismael lactentem adhuc et parvulum persequabatur Isaac, sibi circumcisionis praerogativam, sibi primogenita vindicans: ita et nunc secundum carnem Israel, adversum minorem fratrem de gentibus populum Christianum sustollitur, inflatur, erigitur. Consideremus insaniam Judaeorum, qui et Dominum interfecerunt, et prophetas, et apostolos persecuti sunt, et adversantur voluntati Dei: et videbimus multo majores persecutiones, quas nos etiam Historiae docent, a Judaeis in Christianos quam a gentibus concitatas. Miramur de Judaeis? Hodie quoque hi qui in Christo parvuli sunt, et vivunt carnaliter, persequuntur eos qui ex aqua et spiritu nati sunt; et cum Christo resurgentes, ea quaerunt quae sursum sunt, non deorsum. Faciant quod volunt: cum Ismaele persequantur Isaac: ejicientur foras cum ancilla matre Aegyptia: nec accipient haereditatem, quam solus qui de repromissione natus est, consequentur.

Eleganter autem et illud, quod is qui secundum carnem natus est, persequitur spiritualem. Numquam enim spiritualis persequitur carnalem; sed ignoscit ei quasi rusticano fratri: scit eum posse proficere per tempus. Et si quando Aegyptiae filium viderit irascentem, recordatur unius patris, qui lucem, boves creavit et culicem: et in magna domo, non solum esse vasa aurea et argentea; sed lignea et fictilia. Itaque cum apostolo Paulo dicamus: Non sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae (II Tim. II); et renovati in Christo, audiamus verba Domini ad Judaeos loquentis: Si manseritis in sermone meo, cognoscetis veritatem, et veritas liberabit vos (Joan. VIII, 31, 32). Hac libertate et Apostolus liberatus aiebat: Cum enim sim liber ex omnibus. Qui facit peccatum, servus peccati est (I Cor. IX, 19). Ille quia se ab omnibus vitiis liberum, ab omni concupiscentia et errore sciebat alienum, recte in Christi libertate gaudebat dicens: Non sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae: qua libertate Christus nos liberavit (Joan. VIII, 34).

(Cap. V.--Vers. 1.) State, et nolite iterum jugo servitutis contineri. Et ex hoc ostenditur, quia non stet qui jugo inhaereat servitutis. Et quia is qui a Christo libertate donatus est, tamdiu fuerit sub jugo, quamdiu spiritum servitutis habuerit in timore, et Legis initia sit secutus. Quod autem ait, state, firmam et stabilem in Christo hortatur fidem, ut Ecclesiae Galatiae fixo in Salvatore permaneant pede.

"In all that Sarah has said to you, hear her voice: for in Isaac shall your seed be called." Just as therefore then the older brother Ishmael persecuted Isaac while still a suckling and a little one, claiming for himself the prerogative of circumcision, claiming for himself the birthright: so also now Israel according to the flesh is lifted up, inflated, and raised against the younger brother, the Christian people from the Gentiles. Let us consider the madness of the Jews, who both killed the Lord, and persecuted the prophets and apostles, and oppose the will of the God: and we shall see much greater persecutions, which Histories also teach us, stirred up by the Jews against Christians than by the Gentiles. Do we wonder at the Jews? Today also those who are little ones in Christ, and live carnally, persecute those who are born of water and the spirit; and rising with Christ, seek those things which are above, not below. Let them do what they will: let them persecute Isaac with Ishmael: they shall be cast out with the bondwoman, the Egyptian mother: nor shall they receive the inheritance, which only he who is born of the promise shall obtain.

And that is also elegant, that he who is born according to the flesh persecutes the spiritual one. For the spiritual one never persecutes the carnal one; but forgives him as a rustic brother: he knows that he can make progress in time. And if at any time he sees the son of the Egyptian woman becoming angry, he remembers the one Father, who created light, oxen, and the gnat: and that in a great house, there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and clay. Therefore let us say with the apostle Paul: "We are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free woman" (2 Tim. 2); and renewed in Christ, let us hear the words of the Lord speaking to the Jews: "If you remain in my word, you shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" (John 8:31, 32). With this freedom the Apostle also, being set free, said: "For though I be free from all." "He who commits sin is the servant of sin" (1 Cor. 9:19). He, because he knew himself to be free from all vices, alien from all concupiscence and error, rightly rejoiced in the freedom of Christ, saying: "We are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free woman: with which freedom Christ has made us free" (John 8:34).

(Chapter V.—Verse 1.) "Stand, and be not held again by the yoke of servitude." And from this it is shown that he who clings to the yoke of servitude does not stand. And because he who has been given freedom by Christ would be under the yoke for as long as he had the spirit of servitude in fear and followed the beginnings of the Law. But when he says, "stand," he exhorts to a firm and stable faith in Christ, so that the Churches of Galatia may remain with a fixed foot in the Savior.

De quo et in alio loco justus loquitur: Statuit super petram pedes meos (Ps. XXXIX, 3), pro eo quod est, super Christum: ne scilicet circumferantur omni vento doctrinae, et in diversa rapiantur (Ephes. IV). Unde et ad stantes dicitur: Et qui stat, videat ne cadat (I Cor. X, 12). Et in alio loco: State, viriliter agite, confortamini (Ibid. XVI, 13), ut stent cum eo, quem Stephanus a dextris Patris stantem vidit in martyrio perseverans (Act. VII). Et qui locutus est ad Moysen: Tu vero sta mecum (Exod. XXXIV, 2). Jugum autem servitutis, Legem vocat duram, difficilem, laboriosam, quae die ac nocte cultores suos gravi opere consumit. Sicut et Petrus in Actibus apostolorum: Quid tentatis, inquit, imponere jugum grave super collum fratrum, quod neque nos, neque patres nostri portare potuerunt (Act. XV, 10)? Quod autem apposuit, nolite iterum, non quo prius Legem Galatae custodierint; sed quo et idololatriae jugum grave sit, quo Aegyptiorum populus oppressus, ad instar plumbi in Rubrum mare mersus est (Exod. XV). Juxta quem sensum et supra dixerat: Quomodo convertimini iterum ad infirma, et egena elementa; quibus rursum servire vultis, dies observantes, et menses, et tempora, et annos? Galatae enim qui ad Pauli apostoli praedicationem, idolis derelictis, statim ad Evangelii conscenderant gratiam, non revertebantur ad Legis Judaicae servitutem, quam numquam prius cognoverant: sed volentes observare tempora, circumcidi carne, et hostias offerre corporeas, quodammodo in eosdem revertebantur cultus, quibus in idololatria ante servierant. Aiunt enim, et Aegypti sacerdotes, et Ismaelitas, et Madianaeos praeputium non habere. Quod autem nationes observent dies, menses, et annos, utinam nesciremus, ne nobis cum eis esse umquam mixta festivitas.

(Vers. 2.) Ecce ego Paulus dico vobis: quoniam si circumcidamini, Christus vobis nihil prodest. In Evangelio Salvator ad discipulos loquitur. Qui vos audit, me audit: qui vos suscipit, me suscipit (Luc. X, 16). Et Apostolus testatur, dicens: Vivo autem, jam non ego; vivit autem in me Christus (Supra, II, 20); et alibi: An experimentum quaeritis ejus qui in me loquitur Christus (II Cor. XIII, 3)? Ex quo liquido comprobatur hoc quod nunc dicit: Ecce ego Paulus dico vobis, non quasi Pauli tantum verba accipienda, sed Domini. Nam cum et in prima ad Corinthios praemisisset: His autem qui nupti sunt denuntio, non ego, sed Dominus (I Cor. VII, 10); et statim intulisset: caeteris autem ego praecipio (Ibid., 12), ne vilis sua putaretur auctoritas: puto, inquit, quod et ego spiritum Dei habeo: ut spiritu et Christo in se loquente, non contemptui duceretur, qui prophetas imitans diceret: Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens.

Of which also in another place the just man speaks: "He set my feet upon a rock" (Ps. 39:3), for that which is "upon Christ": so that they may not be carried about by every wind of doctrine, and be snatched into different directions (Eph. 4). Hence it is said to those who stand: "And let him who stands take heed lest he fall" (1 Cor. 10:12). And in another place: "Stand, act manfully, be strengthened" (1 Cor. 16:13), so that they may stand with him whom Stephen saw standing at the right hand of the Father, persevering in martyrdom (Acts 7). And who spoke to Moses: "But as for you, stand here with me" (Exod. 34:2). The yoke of servitude, however, he calls the Law: harsh, difficult, laborious, which consumes its cultivators by day and night with heavy work. Just as Peter also in the Acts of the Apostles: "Why do you tempt [God]," he says, "to put a heavy yoke upon the neck of the brothers, which neither we nor our fathers could carry" (Acts 15:10)? But when he added, "be not [held] again," it is not because the Galatians had previously kept the Law; but because the yoke of idolatry is also heavy, by which the people of the Egyptians was oppressed, and was sunk into the Red Sea like lead (Exod. 15). According to which sense he had also said above: "How are you turned again to weak and needy elements, to which you wish to serve again, observing days, and months, and times, and years?" For the Galatians, who at the preaching of the apostle Paul, having left idols, had immediately ascended to the grace of the Gospel, were not returning to the servitude of the Jewish Law, which they had never known before: but wishing to observe times, to be circumcised in the flesh, and to offer bodily sacrifices, they were in a certain way returning to the same cults which they had previously served in idolatry. For they say that both the priests of Egypt, and the Ishmaelites, and the Midianites have no foreskin. But that the nations observe days, months, and years, would that we did not know, so that we might never have a shared festival with them.

(Verse 2.) "Behold, I Paul say to you: that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." In the Gospel the Savior speaks to the disciples: "He who hears you, hears me: he who receives you, receives me" (Luke 10:16). And the Apostle testifies, saying: "But I live, now not I; but Christ lives in me" (Above, 2:20); and elsewhere: "Do you seek a proof of him who speaks in me, Christ" (2 Cor. 13:3)? From which it is clearly proved that what he now says: "Behold, I Paul say to you," is to be accepted not as the words of Paul only, but of the Lord. For although he had also premised in the first [Epistle] to the Corinthians: "But to those who are married I command, not I, but the Lord" (1 Cor. 7:10); and immediately had brought in: "but to the rest I command" (ibid., 12), lest his authority should be thought cheap: "I think," he says, "that I also have the spirit of God": so that with the spirit and Christ speaking in him, he who would say, imitating the prophets, "Thus says the Lord almighty," should not be led into contempt.

Majus autem fiet id quod dictum est: Ecce ego Paulus dico vobis: quoniam si circumcidamini, Christus vobis nihil prodest, si cum principio copuletur, in quo ait: Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus, neque per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum, et reliqua: ut audientes, non tam missi, quam mittentis auctoritate moveantur. Potest aliquis dicere: Contrarium est huic loco illud quod ad Romanos scribitur: Circumcisio quidem prodest, si Legem custodias (Rom. II, 25); et infra: Quid ergo est amplius Judaeo; aut quae utilitas circumcisionis? Multum per omnem modum. Primum quidem, quia credita sunt illis eloquia Dei (Ibid., 1, 2). Si enim his qui circumcisi fuerint Christus nihil prodest: quomodo Legem custodientibus prodest circumcisio? Quod quidem hac responsione solvetur, ut dicamus [Al. dicatur], Epistolam quae ad Romanos scripta est, ad eos esse dictatam, qui ex Judaeis Gentibusque crediderant: et hoc egisse Paulum, ut [Al. ne] neuter populus offenderetur: quo scilicet suum utraque plebs privilegium possideret: ut nec gentiles circumciderentur, nec circumcisi adducerent praeputium. Ad Galatas autem scribens alio usus sit argumento. Non enim erant ex circumcisione: sed ex gentibus qui crediderant. Nec poterat eis prodesse circumcisio, qui post Evangelii gratiam iterum ad Legalia reverterentur elementa. Et in Actibus apostolorum narrat historia (Actor. XV): cum quidam de circumcisione surgentes asseruissent eos qui ex gentibus crediderant, debere circumcidi, et legem custodire Moysi, seniores qui Jerosolymis erant, et apostolos pariter congregatos, statuisse per litteras, ne superponeretur eis jugum Legis, nec amplius observarent, nisi ut custodirent se tantum ab idolothytis, et sanguine, et fornicatione, sive ut in nonnullis exemplaribus scriptum est, et a suffocatis. Et ne resideat ulla dubitatio, quod circumcisio nihil prosit, sed propter eos qui ex Judaeis crediderant, ad Romanos de circumcisione sententiam temperavit, paulatim ad Epistolae ejusdem posteriora descendens, nec circumcisionem, nec praeputium aliquid valere, monstravit dicens: Circumcisio itaque nihil est, et praeputium nihil est, sed observatio mandatorum Dei (I Cor. VII, 19). Intantum enim circumcisio nihil est, ut Israeliticae quoque domui, se de circumcisione jactanti, nihil profuerit, propheta memorante: Omnes gentes incircumcisae carne, domus autem Israel incircumcisa corde (Ezech. XLIV, 9), et incircumcisis Melchisedec, circumcisu benedixit Abraham. Nam quod ait: Si circumcidamini (Genes. XLIV); tale est, quale si dicere voluisset, si carne circumcidamini. Quam in alio loco non circumcisionem, sed concisionem vocat, dicens: Videte concisionem.

But that which has been said will become greater: "Behold, I Paul say to you: that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing," if it be joined with the beginning, in which he says: "Paul an apostle not from men, nor through man, but through Jesus Christ," and the rest: so that those hearing may be moved not so much by the authority of the one sent as of the one sending. Someone may say: That which is written to the Romans is contrary to this place: "Circumcision indeed profits, if you keep the Law" (Rom. 2:25); and below: "What then is more to the Jew; or what is the utility of circumcision? Much in every way. First indeed, because the oracles of God were entrusted to them" (ibid., 3:1, 2). For if to those who shall have been circumcised Christ profits nothing: how does circumcision profit those keeping the Law? This indeed will be solved by this response, that we may say that the Epistle which was written to the Romans was dictated to those who had believed from the Jews and Gentiles: and that Paul did this so that neither people should be offended: by which namely each people should possess its own privilege: so that neither the Gentiles should be circumcised, nor the circumcised should bring on a foreskin. But writing to the Galatians he used another argument. For they were not from the circumcision: but from the Gentiles who had believed. Nor could circumcision profit them, who after the grace of the Gospel were returning again to the legal elements. And the history in the Acts of the Apostles narrates (Acts 15): when certain ones rising from the circumcision had asserted that those who had believed from the Gentiles ought to be circumcised and keep the law of Moses, the elders who were at Jerusalem, and the apostles gathered together likewise, decreed through letters that the yoke of the Law should not be placed upon them, nor should they observe more, except that they should keep themselves only from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from fornication, or as it is written in some copies, and from things strangled. And lest any doubt should remain that circumcision profits nothing, but for the sake of those who had believed from the Jews he tempered the sentence on circumcision to the Romans, gradually descending to the later parts of the same Epistle, he showed that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is of any avail, saying: "Circumcision therefore is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God" (1 Cor. 7:19). For so much is circumcision nothing, that it profited nothing even to the house of Israel, boasting of its circumcision, as the prophet records: "All the nations are uncircumcised in the flesh, but the house of Israel is uncircumcised in heart" (Ezek. 44:9), and the uncircumcised Melchizedek blessed the circumcised Abraham. For what he says: "If you be circumcised" (Gen. 44); is such as if he had wished to say, if you be circumcised in the flesh. Which in another place he calls not circumcision, but concision, saying: "Beware of the concision."

Nos enim sumus circumcisio, qui spiritu Dei servimus, et gloriamur in Christo, et non in carne confidimus (Philipp. III, 2, 3). Non confidit in carne, qui omnem utilitatem expectat a Christo, et non seminat in carne, ut de carne metat corruptionem; sed in spiritu, de quo vita aeterna generatur. Subtilius intuenda sententia: Si circumcidamini, Christus vobis nihil prodest. Quod non solum in eo si circumcidantur, non eis prosit ipsa circumcisio; sed etiamsi caeteras videantur extra circumcisionem in Christo habere virtutes, universae pereant, cum post fidem Christi fuerint circumcisi. Quid igitur? nihil profuit Timotheo circumcisio? Multum per omnem modum. Non enim tam ideo circumcisis est, ut ex ipsa circumcisione aliquid emolumenti aestimaret posse se consequi, quam ut caeteros lucrificaret (I Cor. IX). Factus Judaeis Judaeus, ut Judaeos ad fidem Christi sua circumcisione transduceret. Tunc siquidem non prodest circumcisio, cum aliquid per semetipsam putatur utilitatis afferre.

(Vers. 3.) Contestor autem omnem hominem circumcidentem se, quoniam debitor est universae Legis faciendae. Deus qui circumcisionem primo ad Abraham, deinde per Moysen in Lege praecipit, non solum circumcisionem, sed et alia multa observanda constituit: Dies festos Jerosolymis frequentandos: hostiarum holocausta, mane semper et vespere: immolationem in uno tantum loco agni, terrae septima aetate ferias: quinquagesimum remissionis annum, et caetera quae facile est de Scripturis excerptare sibi unumquemque lectorem. Coarctabimus itaque Ebionem, et sectatores ejus, qui post Evangelium credentes in Christo circumcidendos putant, ut aut circumcisionem faciant, et caetera quae praecipiuntur in Lege: aut si impossibile est cuncta fieri, cesset et circumcisio, quae cum caeteris quasi mutilis praetermissa est. Quod si responderint, possibilia tantum debere se facere (non enim Deum ea a nobis exigere quae non possumus, sed ea quae possumus implere), dicemus eis, non ejusdem esse Dei, custodiri velle Legem, et eos qui Legem custodiant derelinquere. Aut quomodo propter intermissam Legem reos eos faciat, qui etiamsi velint, universa complere non possint?

Nos vero legem sequi spiritualem, quae dicat: Non infrenabis os bovi trituranti (Deut. XXV, 4). Et cum Apostolo intelligere: Numquid de bobus cura est Deo (I Tim. X, 18; I Cor. IX, 9)? sed propter nos utique dicit, et observare sabbata delicata (Isai. LVIII, 13), non ut bos et asinus noster, et vilia pecora laetentur in sabbato; sed illi homines, et pecora, de quibus scriptum est: Homines et jumenta salvos facies, Domine (Ps. XXXV, 7). Homines rationabiles quosque et spirituales viros, animalia vero, eos qui tardioris ingenii sunt, et a spiritualibus ad agenda Domini sabbata erudiuntur.

For we are the circumcision, who serve by the spirit of God, and glory in Christ, and have no confidence in the flesh" (Phil. 3:2, 3). He has no confidence in the flesh, who expects all utility from Christ, and does not sow in the flesh, that from the flesh he may reap corruption; but in the spirit, from which eternal life is generated. The sentence is to be looked into more subtly: "If you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." Because not only in this if they are circumcised does circumcision itself not profit them; but even if they seem to have other virtues in Christ outside of circumcision, all of them perish when they shall have been circumcised after the faith of Christ. What therefore? did circumcision profit Timothy nothing? Much in every way. For he was not so much circumcised for this, that from the circumcision itself he should estimate that he could follow any benefit, as that he might gain the rest (1 Cor. 9). Having become a Jew to the Jews, that he might translate the Jews to the faith of Christ by his circumcision. For then indeed circumcision does not profit, when any utility is thought to be brought by itself.

(Verse 3.) "And I testify again to every man circumcising himself, that he is a debtor to do the whole Law." God, who commanded circumcision first to Abraham, then through Moses in the Law, established not only circumcision, but also many other things to be observed: Feast days to be frequented at Jerusalem: burnt offerings of hosts, always morning and evening: the immolation of the lamb in one place only, the holidays of the land in the seventh age: the fiftieth year of remission, and other things which it is easy for each reader to excerpt for himself from the Scriptures. We shall therefore constrain Ebion and his followers, who think that those believing in Christ after the Gospel ought to be circumcised, so that they either perform circumcision and the other things which are commanded in the Law: or if it is impossible for all to be done, let circumcision also cease, which with the rest has been passed over as if mutilated. But if they respond that they ought to do only what is possible (for God does not require from us those things which we cannot do, but those which we can fulfill), we shall say to them, that it is not of the same God to wish the Law to be kept, and to abandon those who keep the Law. Or how should he make them guilty for the omitted Law, who even if they wished, could not fulfill everything?

But we follow the spiritual law, which says: "Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treads out the corn" (Deut. 25:4). And understand with the Apostle: "Does God have care for oxen" (1 Tim. 10:18; 1 Cor. 9:9)? but he says it certainly for our sakes, and to observe the delicate sabbaths (Isa. 58:13), not that our ox and ass and cheap cattle should rejoice in the sabbath; but those men, and the cattle of whom it is written: "Men and beasts thou wilt save, O Lord" (Ps. 35:7). Rational men and spiritual men; but the animals, those who are of slower wit, and are instructed by the spiritual ones to perform the sabbaths of the Lord.

Nec contrarium esse id quod supra dictum est: Si circumcidamini, Christus vobis nihil prodest: Et quod sequitur: Testificor omnem hominem circumcidentem se, quoniam debitor est universae Legis faciendae, huic quod infertur a nobis. Neque enim auditores Legis sunt iusti apud Deum: sed factores Legis justificabuntur. Quia factor ille sit Legis, qui potest dicere: Non sumus circumcisio; et, In occulto Judaeus: et, scimus quia Lex spiritualis est. Qui autem concisionem et interfectricem sequatur litteram, eum non Legis esse factorem, sed vere legis inimicum, maxime post Salvatoris adventum, qui ad se convertentibus tollat velamen de corde, ut omnes revelata facie gloriam Domini contemplantes, transfiguremur de vetustate litterae in novitatem spiritus.

(Vers. 4.) Evacuati estis a Christo: qui in Lege justificamini, a gratia excidistis. Quomodo nemo potest duobus dominis servire (Matth. VI), sic umbram pariter et veritatem Legis implere difficile est. Umbra in Lege veteri est, donec aspiret dies, et amoveantur umbrae: veritas in Evangelio Christi: Gratia enim et veritas per Jesum Christum factae sunt (Joan. I, 17). Perdit ergo gratiam Christi, et Evangelium quod tenuerat, amittit, qui in aliqua observatione Legis se justificari putat: et cum gratiam amiserit, a Christi fide destituitur, et in ejus opere conquiescit. *κατηργήθητε* enim *ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, non ut in Latino male interpretatum est: Evacuati estis a Christo, sed, in Christi opere cessastis, magis intelligitur, ut id quod supra specialiter de circumcissione praeceperat, dicens: si circumcidamini, Christus vobis nihil prodest, nunc de tota Lege generaliter comprehendat, nihil eos in Christi opere proficere, qui in quacumque observatione Legis se crediderint justificandos.

(Vers. 5.) Nos enim spiritu ex fide, spem justitiae expectamus. Spiritum, ad distinctionem litterae posuit. Spes vero justitiae, Christus intelligendus: quia ipse est veritas, patientia, spes, justitia, omnesque virtutes, cujus nos secundum expectamus adventum, quod judicaturus est omnia, et jam non patientia, sed justitia affuturus, ut reddat unicuique secundum opera sua. Cujus Dei praesentiam apostolus, et qui ei sunt similes expectantes, aiunt: Adveniat regnum tuum (Matth. VI, 10), ut cum Filius Deo et Patri tradiderit regnum, et in subjectis omnibus fuerit et ipse subjectus: tunc caput subjiciatur in corpore, et sit Deus omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV). Quia qui nunc est ex parte, per singulos, tunc incipiet totus esse per cunctos.

Nor is it contrary, that which has been said above: "If you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing": and that which follows: "I testify to every man circumcising himself, that he is a debtor to do the whole Law," to this which is brought in by us. For the hearers of the Law are not just before God: but the doers of the Law shall be justified. Because that man is a doer of the Law who can say: "We are not the circumcision"; and, "A Jew in secret": and, "we know that the Law is spiritual." But he who follows the concision and the killing letter, he is not a doer of the Law, but truly an enemy of the law, especially after the coming of the Savior, who takes away the veil from the heart of those turning to him, so that all contemplating the glory of the Lord with revealed face, we may be transfigured from the oldness of the letter into the newness of the spirit.

(Verse 4.) "You are made void from Christ: you who are justified in the Law, are fallen from grace." Just as no one can serve two masters (Matt. 6), so it is difficult to fulfill the shadow and the truth of the Law together. The shadow is in the old Law, until the day breathes and the shadows be removed: the truth is in the Gospel of Christ: "For grace and truth were made through Jesus Christ" (John 1:17). He therefore loses the grace of Christ, and loses the Gospel which he had held, who thinks he is justified in some observation of the Law: and when he has lost grace, he is destitute of the faith of Christ, and rests in his work. for *katērgēthēte apo tou Christou*, not as it is badly interpreted in Latin: "You are made void from Christ," but, "you have ceased in the work of Christ," is better understood, so that that which he had specially commanded above concerning circumcision, saying: "if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing," he now comprehends generally concerning the whole Law, that they profit nothing in the work of Christ, who shall have believed they are to be justified in any observation of the Law.

(Verse 5.) "For we in spirit from faith, wait for the hope of justice." He placed Spirit for the distinction of the letter. But Christ is to be understood as the hope of justice: because he himself is truth, patience, hope, justice, and all virtues, whose second coming we wait for, because he is to judge all things, and already to be present not with patience, but with justice, that he may render to each one according to his works. Expecting which presence of God the Apostle and those who are like him say: "Thy kingdom come" (Matt. 6:10), so that when the Son shall have delivered the kingdom to God and the Father, and he himself shall be subject in all things subject: then the head may be subjected in the body, and God may be all in all (1 Cor. 15). Because he who now is in part, through each individual, then shall begin to be whole through all.

(Vers. 6.) Nam in Christo Jesu, neque circumcisio aliquid valet, neque praeputium, sed fides quae per charitatem operatur. His qui in Christo Jesu volunt vivere, virtutes appetendae sunt, vitia fugienda. media vero quae inter virtutes et vitia sunt, nec fugienda, nec appetenda, ut circumcisio et praeputium, et caetera his similia. Circumcisio quidem prodest, si Legem custodias. Quae idcirco utilis fuit his qui in Lege vixerunt, non quia circumcisi erant, sed quia credita sunt illis eloquia Dei, quae in opera vertentes, a salute extranei non fuerunt. Nec nos moveat quod a Sephora tollens caleulum, filium circumcidit, et suffocantem angelum prohibuit a marito (Exod. IV), sive ut aliter in Hebraeo scriptum refertur, quia nunc non tam circumcisionem penitus nil prodesse, quam in Christo Jesu eam non valere testatus est, ex eo siquidem tempore quo Evangelium in toto orbe radiavit, superflua est circumcisionis injuria. Quae tunc, ut caetera quoque Legis, valuit, quando et benedictiones carnales Legem servantibus spondebantur; quod scilicet, si implessent eam, benedicti essent in civitate, benedicti in agro, plena haberent horrea, et multa alia quae in repromissionibus continentur (Deut. XXVIII). Nos autem in Christo Jesu valere volumus et confortari, id est, in vera circumcisione, et non in concisione Judaica. Neque enim qui in aperto Judaeus est, neque manifesta in carne circumcisio, sed in abscondito Judaeus, et circumcisio cordis in spiritu, non littera (Rom. II, 28, 29). Nihil itaque prodest in Christo carnis circumcisio, sed cordis et aurium, quae aufert illud opprobrium Judaeorum: Ecce incircumcisae aures vestrae, et non potestis audire (Exod. VI, 12). Prodest circumcisio labiorum, quam juxta humilitatem, necdum se habere causabatur Moyses, ut in Hebraeo scriptum est: Ego autem sum praeputium habens in labiis. Multum utilitatis praebet, et in rebus venereis circumcisio cum per castitatem impudicitia desecatur. Igitur in Christo Jesu nec circumcisio valet, neque praeputium, sed fides quae per charitatem operatur. Et pulchre non ait: fides quae tantum credit, sed quae per charitatem operatur, ut eam a fide daemonum segreget, qui et ipsi credunt et contremiscunt.

(Verse 6.) "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision is of any force, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by charity." For those who wish to live in Christ Jesus, virtues are to be sought and vices are to be fled. But the middle things which are between virtues and vices are neither to be fled nor sought, such as circumcision and uncircumcision, and other things similar to these. Circumcision indeed profits if you keep the Law. It was therefore useful to those who lived under the Law, not because they were circumcised, but because the oracles of God were entrusted to them, which, turning into works, they were not strangers to salvation. Nor should it move us that Zipporah, taking a flint, circumcised her son and prevented the suffocating angel from her husband (Exod. 4); or as it is related written otherwise in the Hebrew, because he has now testified not so much that circumcision is entirely of no profit, as that in Christ Jesus it has no force; since from that time in which the Gospel radiated in the whole world, the injury of circumcision is superfluous. Which then, like the other things of the Law, was of force when carnal blessings were also promised to those keeping the Law; namely, that if they fulfilled it, they would be blessed in the city, blessed in the field, they would have full barns, and many other things which are contained in the promises (Deut. 28). But we wish to be of force and to be strengthened in Christ Jesus, that is, in true circumcision, and not in the Jewish concision. For he is not a Jew who is one outwardly, nor is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh, but he is a Jew who is one inwardly, and circumcision is of the heart in the spirit, not in the letter (Rom. 2:28-29). Therefore, the circumcision of the flesh profits nothing in Christ, but that of the heart and ears, which takes away that reproach of the Jews: "Behold, your ears are uncircumcised, and you cannot hear" (Exod. 6:12). The circumcision of the lips profits, which according to humility Moses pleaded he did not yet have, as it is written in the Hebrew: "But I have uncircumcised lips." It offers much utility, and in venereal matters circumcision is when through chastity impudicity is cut away. Therefore, in Christ Jesus neither circumcision is of force, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh through charity. And he beautifully did not say: faith which only believes, but "which worketh through charity," so that he might distinguish it from the faith of the demons, who also believe and tremble.

LIBER TERTIUS.

483-484 Tertium ad Galatas, o Paula et Eustochium, volumen hoc cudimus: non ignari imbecillitatis nostrae, et exilis ingenii rivulum, vix parvo strepentem murmure sentientes. Jam enim et in Ecclesiis ista quaeruntur: omissaque apostolicorum simplicitate et puritate verborum, quasi ad Athenaeum, et ad auditoria convenitur, ut plausus circumstantium suscitentur. ut oratio rhetoricae artis fucata mendacio, quasi quaedam meretricula procedat in publicum, non tam eruditura populos, quam favorem populi quaesitura, et in modum psalterii et tibiae dulce canentis, sensus demulceat audientium. ut vere illud prophetae Ezechielis nostris temporibus possit aptari, dicente Domino ad eum: Et factus es eis quasi vox citharae suave canentis, et bene compositae: et audiunt verba tua, et non faciunt ea (Ezech. XXXIII, 32). Verum quid agam? Taceamne? Sed scriptum est: Non apparebis in conspectu Domini tui vacuus. Et Isaïas (sicut in Hebraeis tamen habetur voluminibus) ingemiscit: Vae mihi misero, quia tacui. Loquar? 485-486 Sed omnem sermonis elegantiam, et Latini eloquii venustatem, stridor lectionis Hebraicae sordidavit. Nostis enim et ipsae, quod plus quam quindecim anni sunt, ex quo in manus meas numquam Tullius, numquam Maro, numquam gentilium litterarum quilibet Auctor ascendit. et si quid forte inde dum loquimur, obrepit, quasi antiqui per nebulam somnii recordamur. Quod autem profecerim ex linguae illius infatigabili studio, aliorum iudicio derelinquo: ego quid in mea amiserim, scio. Accedit ad hoc, quia propter oculorum et totius corpusculi infirmitatem, manu mea ipse non scribo: nec labore et diligentia compensare queo eloquii tarditatem. quod de Virgilio quoque tradunt, quia libros suos in modum ursorum fetum [Al. fetuum] lambendo figuraverit. verum accito notario, aut statim dicto quodcumque in buccam venerit: aut si paululum voluero cogitare, melius aliquid prolaturus, tunc me tacitus ille reprehendit, manum contrahit, frontem rugat, et se frustra adesse, toto gestu corporis contestatur.

BOOK THREE.

(483-484) This third volume on the Galatians, O Paula and Eustochium, we are forging: not unaware of our weakness, and feeling the stream of our thin genius, scarcely sounding with a small murmur. For already even in the Churches these things are sought: and the simplicity and purity of the apostolic words having been omitted, they meet as if at the Athenaeum and at the auditoriums, so that the applause of the bystanders may be aroused. so that a speech of rhetorical art, painted with a lie, may proceed into public like some little harlot, not so much to instruct the peoples as to seek the favor of the people, and in the manner of a psaltery and a sweetly sounding flute, may soothe the senses of the listeners. so that truly that word of the prophet Ezekiel can be adapted to our times, the Lord saying to him: "And thou art become to them as the voice of a harp sweetly sounding, and well composed: and they hear thy words, and do them not" (Ezek. 33:32). But what shall I do? Shall I be silent? But it is written: "Thou shalt not appear empty in the sight of thy Lord." And Isaiah (as it is held in the Hebrew volumes) groans: "Woe to me, miserable one, because I was silent." Shall I speak? (485-486) But the harshness of Hebrew reading has defiled all elegance of speech and the beauty of Latin eloquence. For you yourselves know that it is more than fifteen years since never has Tully, never Maro, never any Author of Gentile literature ascended into my hands. and if by chance something from there creeps in while we speak, we remember it as if through the mist of an old dream. But what I have progressed from the indefatigable study of that language, I leave to the judgment of others: I know what I have lost in my own. To this is added that because of the infirmity of my eyes and of my whole little body, I do not write with my own hand: nor can I compensate by labor and diligence for the slowness of my speech. which they also hand down concerning Virgil, that he shaped his books in the manner of bears licking their offspring. but a notary having been called, either whatever comes into the mouth is immediately spoken: or if I wish to think for a little while, about to bring forth something better, then that silent one reproves me, contracts his hand, wrinkles his brow, and by his whole gesture of body contests that he is present in vain.

Oratio autem etsi de bonae indolis ingenio sit profecta, et distincta inventionibus, et ornata flore verborum: tamen nisi auctoris sui manu limata fuerit et polita, non est nitida, non habet mixtam cum decore gravitatem; sed in modum divitum rusticorum, opibus suis magis arguitur, quam exornatur. Quorsum ista? videlicet ut et vobis, et caeteris (qui forte legere voluerint) sit responsum, me non panegyricum, aut controversiam scribere, sed commentarium, id est, hoc habere propositum, non ut mea verba laudentur, sed ut quae ab alio bene dicta sunt, ita intelligantur ut dicta sunt. Officii mei est obscura disserere, manifesta perstringere, in dubiis immorari. Unde et a plerisque commentariorum opus, explanatio nominatur. Si quis eloquentiam quaerit, vel declamationibus delectatur, habet in utraque lingua Demosthenem et Tullium, Polemonem et Quintilianum. Ecclesia Christi non de Academia, et Lyceo, sed de vili plebecula congregata est. Unde et Apostolus: Videte, inquit, vocationem vestram, fratres, quia non multi sapientes secundum carnem, non multi potentes, non multi nobiles; sed quae stulta sunt hujus mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat sapientes: et infirma mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat fortia: et ignobilia hujus mundi, et contemptibilia elegit Deus, et quae non sunt, ut ea quae sunt, destrueret (I Cor. I, 26, 27, 28). Quia enim ex creaturarum ordine, varietate, constantia, non cognoverat mundus per sapientiam Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis, salvos facere credentes: non in sapientia verbi, ut non evacuaretur crux Christi. Ubi enim sapiens, ubi grammaticus, ubi causarum naturalium scrutatores? Nec in persuasibilibus sapientiae verbis, sed in ostensione virtutis et spiritus: ut fides credentium non esset in sapientia hominum, sed in virtute Dei. Quamobrem et ipse Apostolus ad eosdem Corinthios loquebatur: Et ego veniens ad vos, fratres, veni non per sublimitatem sermonum, et sapientiae, annuntians vobis testimonium Domini. Non enim judicavi scire me aliquid inter vos, nisi Christum Jesum et hunc crucifixum (I Cor. II, 1, 2). 487-488 Et ne forsitan putaretur, haec dicens, esse insipientiae praedicator, mente praesaga, quod opponi poterat, evertit. Sed loquitur, inquit, Dei sapientiam in mysterio, quae abscondita est: quam nemo principum hujus saeculi cognovit.

But a speech, even if it should have proceeded from a genius of good character, and be distinct with inventions, and adorned with the flower of words: yet unless it shall have been filed and polished by the hand of its author, it is not bright, it does not have gravity mixed with decorum; but in the manner of rich rustics, it is more argued by its riches than adorned. To what purpose are these things? Namely, so that both to you, and to the others (who perhaps shall wish to read) there may be an answer, that I am not writing a panegyric or a controversy, but a commentary, that is, to have this purpose, not that my words may be praised, but that those things which were well said by another may be so understood as they were said. It is of my office to discuss obscure things, to touch upon manifest things, to dwell in doubtful things. Whence also by many the work of commentaries is named an explanation. If anyone seeks eloquence, or is delighted by declamations, he has in both languages Demosthenes and Tully, Polemon and Quintilian. The Church of Christ was gathered not from the Academy and the Lyceum, but from the vile common people. Whence also the Apostle says: "See your vocation, brethren, that there are not many wise according to the flesh, not many powerful, not many noble; but the foolish things of this world God has chosen, that he may confound the wise: and the weak things of the world God has chosen, that he may confound the strong: and the ignoble things of this world, and the contemptible things God has chosen, and those which are not, that he might destroy those which are" (1 Cor. 1:26-28). For because from the order, variety, and constancy of creatures, the world through wisdom had not known God, it pleased God through the foolishness of preaching to save those who believe: not in the wisdom of the word, so that the cross of Christ should not be made void. For where is the wise, where the grammarian, where the searchers of natural causes? Nor in the persuasive words of wisdom, but in the showing of power and spirit: so that the faith of believers should not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. Wherefore also the Apostle himself spoke to the same Corinthians: "And I coming to you, brethren, came not through sublimity of speeches, and of wisdom, announcing to you the testimony of the Lord. For I judged not myself to know anything among you, except Christ Jesus and him crucified" (1 Cor. 2:1-2). (487-488) And lest perhaps he should be thought, saying these things, to be a preacher of foolishness, with a presaging mind he overturned what could be opposed. "But he speaks," he says, "the wisdom of God in a mystery, which is hidden: which none of the princes of this world knew."

Quotusquisque nunc Aristotelem legit? quanti Platonis vel libros novere, vel nomen? Vix in angulis otiosi eos senes recolunt. Rusticanos vero et piscatores nostros totus orbis loquitur, universus mundus sonat. Itaque sermone simplici, simplicia eorum verba pandenda sunt. Verba, inquam, non sensus. Caeterum si, orantibus vobis, illum possim [Al. possem] in exponendis Epistolis eorum habere spiritum, quem illi in dictando habuerunt: tunc videritis [Al. videretis] tantam majestatem et latitudinem in his verae fuisse sapientiae, quanta in saeculi litteratis arrogantia et vanitas fuit. Breviter vobis meae mentis fateor arcanum: Qui per me intellecturus est Apostolum, nolo ut mea scripta difficulter intelligat, et ad interpretem cognoscendum, alium quaerat interpretem. Sed jam tempus est, ut reliqua persequamur.

(Vers. 7.) Currebatis bene, quis vos impedivit veritati non obedire? Id quod nunc Latinus posuit interpretes, veritati non obedire, et in Graeco scriptum est, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι, in superiori loco ita interpretatus est, non credere veritati. Quod quidem nos, in vetustis codicibus non haberi, in suo loco annotavimus: licet et Graeca exemplaria hoc errore confusa sint. Sensus autem iste: Adorabatis Patrem in spiritu et veritate, et de plenitudine Christi accipientes, sciebatis, quia Lex data est tantum populo per Moysen, et non etiam facta. Gratia autem et veritas non solum data, sed et facta per Jesum Christum. Cum igitur tam bene curreretis, veritati magis quam imaginibus servientes, a quo praepediti doctore perverso, umbram Legis sequimini, et Evangelii relinquitis veritatem? Sequitur.

Nemini consenseritis. Sed quia nec in Graecis libris, nec in his qui in Apostolum commentati sunt, hoc scriptum invenimus, praetereundum videtur.

(Vers. 8.) Persuasio vestra non est ex eo qui vocavit vos. In Latinis codicibus ita scriptum reperi: Persuasio vestra ex Deo est, qui vocavit vos. Quod quidem puto, ex eo, fuisse, et non intellectum, paulatim ob similitudinem, ex Deo, increbuisse, pro eo quod est, ex eo. Sed nec sic potest stare sensus, ut quos modo accusaverat quare non obedierint veritati, ostendens in eorum arbitrio positum, vel obedire, vel non obedire, nunc econtrario asserat persuasionem et obedientiam eorum, non tam ex ipsis esse qui vocentur, quam ex eo qui vocet.

How many now read Aristotle? How many know either the books or the name of Plato? Scarcely in corners do idle old men recall them. But our rustics and fishermen the whole world speaks of, the universal world resounds. Therefore with simple speech, their simple words are to be unfolded. Words, I say, not senses. Furthermore if, you praying, I could have that spirit in explaining their Epistles which they had in dictating: then you would see that there was as much majesty and breadth of true wisdom in these, as there was arrogance and vanity in the literati of the age. Briefly I confess to you the secret of my mind: He who is about to understand the Apostle through me, I do not wish that he should understand my writings with difficulty, and seek another interpreter for knowing the interpreter. But now it is time that we pursue the remaining things.

(Verse 7.) "You ran well, who hindered you from not obeying the truth?" That which the Latin interpreter has now placed, "not obeying the truth," and in the Greek is written, *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι*, in the upper place he thus interpreted: "not believing the truth." Which indeed we noted in its place was not held in the ancient codices: although even the Greek copies are confused by this error. But this is the sense: You were adoring the Father in spirit and truth, and receiving from the fullness of Christ, you were knowing that the Law was only given to the people through Moses, and not also made. But grace and truth were not only given, but also made through Jesus Christ. Since therefore you were running so well, serving the truth more than images, by what perverse teacher were you hindered, that you follow the shadow of the Law, and leave the truth of the Gospel? It follows.

"Consent to no one." But because we have found this written neither in the Greek books, nor in those which have commented on the Apostle, it seems it should be passed over.

(Verse 8.) "Your persuasion is not from him who called you." In the Latin codices I have found it written thus: "Your persuasion is from God, who called you." Which indeed I think was "from him," and not being understood, gradually because of the similarity, "from God" became frequent for that which is "from him." But neither thus can the sense stand, as those whom he had just accused because they did not obey the truth, showing it placed in their judgment either to obey or not to obey, now on the contrary he should assert their persuasion and obedience not so much to be from themselves who are called, as from him who calls.

Melius igitur et verius sic legitur: Persuasio vestra non est ex eo qui vocavit vos. Aliud quippe Dei opus est, aliud hominum. Dei opus est, vocare: hominum, vel credere, vel non credere. Et sicubi de scripturis liberum hominis affirmatur arbitrium ut ibi: Si volueritis et audieritis me (Exod. XIX, 5). Et iterum: Et nunc, Israel, quid petit a te Dominus Deus tuus (Deut. X, 12), et ex hoc loco vel maxime comprobatur. Verum simpliciores quique putantes se deferre Deo, ut persuasio quoque nostra in ejus sit potestate, abstulerunt partem orationis non et sensum contrarium Apostolo reddidere. Sive ergo in bonam, sive in malam partem, nec Deus, nec diabolus in causa est, quia persuasio nostra non est ex eo qui vocavit nos, sed ex nobis, qui vel consentimus, vel non consentimus vocanti. Aliter: Persuasio haec quam nunc sequimini, non est ex Deo, qui in principio vos vocavit, sed ex his qui vos postea turbaverunt.

(Vers. 9.) Modicum fermentum totam conspersionem fermentat. Male in nostris codicibus habetur: Modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit, et sensum potius interpret suum, quam verba Apostoli transtulit. 489 Hac autem ipsa sententia Paulus et ad Corinthios utitur: ubi praecepit eum qui uxorem patris sui habebat, tolli de medio, et tradi poenitentiae in interitum et vexationem carnis per jejunia et aegrotationes, ut spiritus salvus fiat in die Domini [Al. addit nostri] Jesu Christi. Ait quippe: Non bona gloriatio vestra. Nescitis quia modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit (I Cor. V, 5, 6 seqq.)? sive (ut jam [Al. et jam] emendavimus) totam conspersionem fermentat? Et statim intulit: Expurgate vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi, etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Itaque epulemur non in fermento veteri, neque in fermento malitiae et nequitiae, sed in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis. Nunc autem per hanc eandem sententiam docet panem Ecclesiae spiritualem, qui de coelo descendit, non debere Judaica interpretatione violari: et Dominus idipsum discipulis praecepit, ut caveant a fermento Phariseorum (Joan. VI). Quod evangelista manifestius faciens addidit: Dixerat autem eis de doctrina Phariseorum (Matth. XVI, 12). Porro quae est ista alia doctrina Phariseorum, nisi Legis secundum carnem observatio? Sensus itaque iste est: Nolite putare pancorum hominum, qui de Judaea venientes aliud docent, insidias contemnendas. Scintilla res parva est, et pene dum cernitur, non videtur; sed si fomitem comprehenderit, et nutrimenta sui quamvis parvus ignis invenerit, moenia, urbes, latissimos saltus, regionesque consumit. Fermentum quoque cujus ad aliam partem in Evangelio parabola temperata est (Luc. XIII), res modica videtur et nihili; sed cum farinae conspersum, totam massam suo vigore corruperit, in illius vim transit omne quod mixtum est: ita et doctrina perversa ab uno insipiens vix duos aut tres primum in exordio reperit auditores; sed...

Therefore it is better and more truly read thus: "Your persuasion is not from him who called you." For one thing is the work of God, another the work of men. The work of God is to call; of men, either to believe or not to believe. And everywhere in the scriptures the free will of man is affirmed, as there: "If you will be willing and will hear me" (Exod. 19:5). And again: "And now, Israel, what does the Lord thy God ask of thee" (Deut. 10:12), and from this place it is especially proved. But the simpler ones, thinking they defer to God so that our persuasion also should be in his power, took away the part of the speech "not" and rendered a sense contrary to the Apostle. Therefore, whether in a good part or in a bad part, neither God nor the devil is in the cause, because our persuasion is not from him who called us, but from us, who either consent or do not consent to the one calling. Otherwise: This persuasion which you now follow is not from God, who in the beginning called you, but from those who afterwards disturbed you.

(Verse 9.) "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." It is poorly held in our codices: "A little leaven corrupteth the whole mass," and the interpreter translated his own sense rather than the words of the Apostle. (489) But Paul uses this same sentence also to the Corinthians: where he commanded him who had his father's wife to be taken from the midst, and to be delivered to penance for the destruction and vexation of the flesh through fasts and sicknesses, so that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus Christ. For he says: "Your glorying is not good." Know you not that a little leaven corrupteth the whole mass (1 Cor. 5:5, 6 etc.)? or (as we have already emended) "leaveneth the whole lump"? And immediately he brought in: "Purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new lump, as you are unleavened, for Christ our pasch is sacrificed." Therefore let us feast not in the old leaven, nor in the leaven of malice and wickedness, but in the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." But now through this same sentence he teaches that the spiritual bread of the Church, which descended from heaven, ought not to be violated by a Jewish interpretation: and the Lord commanded the same thing to his disciples, that they should beware of the leaven of the Pharisees (John 6). Which the evangelist making more manifest added: "But he had said to them concerning the doctrine of the Pharisees" (Matt. 16:12). Furthermore, what is that other doctrine of the Pharisees, except the observation of the Law according to the flesh? Therefore this is the sense: Do not think the snares of a few men, who coming from Judea teach otherwise, are to be despised. A spark is a small thing, and while it is almost seen, it is not seen; but if it should catch tinder, and even a small fire should find its nourishment, it consumes walls, cities, the widest forests, and regions. Leaven also, of which in the Gospel a parable is tempered for another part (Luke 13), seems a small thing and of nothing; but when mixed with flour, it should have corrupted the whole mass by its vigor, everything that is mixed passes into its power: so also perverse doctrine from one senseless one at first finds scarcely two or three auditors in the beginning; but...

(Vers. 10.) Ego confido in vobis in Domino, quia nihil aliud sapietis. Non per conjecturam, ut quidam volunt, sed prophetico spiritu Paulus pronuntiat, Galatas ad veritatis viam, quam amiserant, regressuros (I Cor. XII). Etenim qui alios hortabatur, ut aemularentur charismata, magis autem ut prophetarent: ipse quoque eadem plenus gratia loquebatur: Ex parte cognoscimus, et ex parte prophetamus (Ibid., XIII, 9). Praevidens igitur spiritu, quia nihil aliud essent credituri, nisi quod per Epistolam docebantur, ait: Ego confido in vobis in Domino, quod nihil aliud sapietis. Nam et additio Dominici nominis, idipsum significat. Si enim per conjecturam hoc aestimabat, potuerat dicere: Ego confido in vobis. Nunc autem apponens, in Domino, divino quodam confidens spiritu, quod futurum cognoverat, prophetavit.

(Vers. 10.) Qui autem conturbat vos, portabit iudicium, quicumque est ille. Occulte, inquit, Petrum lacerat, cui supra in faciem restitisse se scribit, quod non recto pede incesserit ad Evangelii veritatem. Sed nec Paulus tam procaci maledicto de Ecclesiae principe loqueretur (Galat. II), nec Petrus dignus qui conturbatae Ecclesiae reus fieret. Ex quo arbitrandum est de alio quodam dici, qui aut cum Apostolis fuerat, aut de Iudaea venerat, aut ex Phariseis crediderat, aut certe magnus sit apud Galatas aestimatus, ut portet iudicium Ecclesiae conturbatae, quicumque est ille. Portare autem iudicium, id est, quod aliis verbis in sequentibus dixit: Unusquisque proprium onus portabit. Et puto in Scripturis, onus et in bonam et in malam partem posse accipi, hoc est, et in his qui peccatis gravibus opprimuntur, et in illis qui virtutum levia onera sustentant. De peccatis in psalmo poenitens loquitur: Iniquitates meae elevatae sunt super caput meum, quasi onus grave gravatae sunt super me (Psal. XXXVII, 5). De virtutibus, doctrinaque virtutum Salvator ait: Jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve est (Matth. XI, 30). Quod autem et doctrina pro onere accipiat, perspicuum fit in Evangelio. Alligant quippe Pharisei onera gravia, et quae portari non possunt, et superponunt [Al. ponunt] ea super humeros hominum, ipsi autem uno ea digito nolunt contingere (Ibid., XXIII). Quam grave sit aliquem de tranquillitate turbare, et serena corda hominum quibusdam quasi fluctibus concitare, Salvatoris ad apostolos verba testantur, dicentis: Ne conturbetur cor vestrum, neque timeatis (Joan. XIV). Expediit quippe ei qui conturbat et scandalizat quempiam in Ecclesia, ut lapis molaris circumdetur collo ejus, et mittatur cum eo in mare, quam ut scandalizet unum de his minimis, qui a Salvatore monstrantur (Luc. XVII). Turbati ergo fuerant Galatae inter spiritum et litteram, circumcisionem et concisionem, Iudaismum occultum et manifestum, quid agerent ignorantes.

(Verse 10.) "I trust in you in the Lord, that you will be of no other mind." Not by conjecture, as some wish, but by a prophetic spirit Paul pronounces that the Galatians will return to the way of truth, which they had lost (1 Cor. 12). For he who exhorted others to emulate charisms, but rather that they should prophesy: he himself also full of the same grace was speaking: "We know in part, and we prophesy in part" (Ibid., 13:9). Foreseeing therefore in spirit that they would believe nothing else except what they were taught through the Epistle, he says: "I trust in you in the Lord, that you will be of no other mind." For also the addition of the Lord's name signifies that very thing. For if he estimated this by conjecture, he could have said: "I trust in you." But now adding "in the Lord," trusting by a certain divine spirit, he prophesied what he had known would be.

(Verse 10.) "But he who troubles you shall bear his judgment, whoever he is." In secret, they say, he lacerates Peter, to whom above he writes that he resisted him to his face, because he did not walk uprightly to the truth of the Gospel (Gal. 2). But neither would Paul speak with such a bold curse concerning the prince of the Church, nor was Peter worthy to be made guilty of a troubled Church. From which it is to be thought that it is said concerning some other, who either had been with the Apostles, or had come from Judea, or had believed from the Pharisees, or at least was estimated great among the Galatians, so that he may bear the judgment of the troubled Church, whoever he is. But to bear judgment is that which in other words he said in the following things: "Every one shall bear his own burden" (Gal. 6). And I think in the Scriptures, "burden" can be taken in both a good and a bad part, that is, both in those who are oppressed by grave sins, and in those who sustain the light burdens of virtues. Concerning sins the penitent speaks in the psalm: "My iniquities are gone over my head, as a heavy burden they are become heavy upon me" (Ps. 37:5). Concerning virtues, and the doctrine of virtues, the Savior says: "For my yoke is sweet, and my burden is light" (Matt. 11:30). But that doctrine also is taken for a burden becomes clear in the Gospel. For the Pharisees bind heavy burdens, and which cannot be borne, and lay them upon the shoulders of men, but they themselves will not touch them with one finger (Ibid., 23). How (491) grave it is to trouble someone from tranquility, and to excite the serene hearts of men with certain waves, as it were, the words of the Savior to the apostles testify, saying: "Let not your heart be troubled, nor fear" (John 14). For it is expedient for him who troubles and scandalizes anyone in the Church, that a millstone be hanged about his neck, and he be cast with it into the sea, than that he should scandalize one of these little ones, who are shown by the Savior (Luke 17). Therefore the Galatians had been troubled between the spirit and the letter, circumcision and concision, hidden and manifest Judaism, not knowing what they should do.

(Vers. 11.) Ego, autem, fratres, si circumcisionem praedico, quid adhuc persecutionem patior? Ergo evacuatum est (sive ut in Graeco melius habet, cessavit) scandalum crucis. Legimus in Actibus apostolorum, ipse quoque apostolus Paulus in Epistolis suis saepe commemorat, se a Judaeis persecutiones creberrimas sustinuisse, propterea quod doceret eos qui de gentibus crediderant in Christo, non debere circumcidi. Hi itaque de quibus supra ait: Qui autem conturbat vos, portabit iudicium, quicumque est ille, ut deciperent Galatas, etiam hoc addebant: Non solum Petrus, et Jacobus, et Joannes, et caeteri in Iudaea apostoli circumcisionem, et alia praecepta Legis observant, sed ipse quoque Paulus, qui vos aliter docuit, quam se rei veritas habet, Timotheum circumcidit, et Judaeis frequenter Judaeus factus est, veritate cogente. Quam opinionem de Galatarum mentibus Paulus nunc volens tollere, ait: Ego autem, fratres, si circumcisionem praedico, quid adhuc persecutionem patior? Omne, inquit, in me odium Iudaeorum, et qua adversum me furiunt insania, ob nihil aliud est, nisi quod doceo gentes non debere circumcidi, et Legis onera superflua et jam abolita custodire. Cum autem persecutionem 492 patiar, manifestum est me circumcisionem non praedicare, quam destruo. Non enim tam persecutionem patior a Judaeis, quia praedico crucifixum, et Jesum dico esse Christum, quem Lex et prophetae prae-nuntiaverunt, quam quia doceo Legem esse completam. Quod autem crux Judaeis scandalum sit, gentibus stultitia, ipse Dominus noster ostendit, qui lapis dicitur offensionis, et petra scandali (Matth. XXI; Luc. XX): propter nihil aliud puto, nisi quia praedicatio cum plenis velis ad audientes processerit, statim ut ad crucem venerit, impingit: et nequam libero cursu potest ultra procedere. Sed haec crux quae apud Iudaeos scandalum est, et apud gentes stultitia, nobis qui credimus virtus est et sapientia. Christus enim Dei virtus est, et Dei sapientia (I Cor. I, 24), ut propter id quod stultitia dicebatur, fatuum Dei sapientius fieret hominibus: et propter id quod infirmitas et scandalum, infirmum Dei fortius fieret hominibus. Cum autem, inquit, crucis Christi scandalum maneat, et ego persecutionem patiar, quam non paterer, si scandalum non maneret: frustra quidam jactitant me circumcisionem praedicare, quam impugnando sustineo persecutionem.

(Verse 11.) "But I, brethren, if I still preach circumcision, why do I still suffer persecution?" Then the scandal of the cross has been made void (or as it is better in the Greek, has ceased). We read in the Acts of the Apostles, and the apostle Paul himself often mentions in his Epistles, that he sustained very frequent persecutions from the Jews, because he taught those of the Gentiles who had believed in Christ that they ought not to be circumcised. Therefore these of whom he said above: "But he who troubles you shall bear his judgment, whoever he is," in order to deceive the Galatians, added also this: Not only do Peter, and James, and John, and the other apostles in Judea observe circumcision and other precepts of the Law, but Paul himself also, who taught you otherwise than the truth of the matter is, circumcised Timothy, and frequently became a Jew to the Jews, truth compelling it. Wishing now to remove this opinion from the minds of the Galatians, Paul says: "But I, brethren, if I still preach circumcision, why do I still suffer persecution?" All the hatred of the Jews against me, he says, and the madness with which they rage against me, is for no other reason than that I teach the Gentiles that they ought not to be circumcised, and to keep the superfluous and now abolished burdens of the Law. Since I suffer persecution (492), it is manifest that I do not preach circumcision, which I destroy. For I do not suffer persecution from the Jews so much because I preach the crucified one and say that Jesus is the Christ, whom the Law and the prophets foretold, as because I teach that the Law is fulfilled. But that the cross is a scandal to the Jews and foolishness to the Gentiles, our Lord himself shows, who is called the stone of stumbling and the rock of offense (Matt. 21; Luke 20): for no other reason I think than because the preaching, having proceeded with full sails to the hearers, immediately as it has come to the cross, strikes against it, and can by no means proceed further in a free course. But this cross which is a scandal among the Jews and foolishness among the Gentiles, is to us who believe power and wisdom. For Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God (1 Cor. 1:24), so that because of that which was called foolishness, the foolish thing of God might become wiser than men; and because of that which was weakness and scandal, the weak thing of God might become stronger than men. Since, he says, the scandal of the cross of Christ remains, and I suffer persecution, which I would not suffer if the scandal did not remain, in vain do certain ones boast that I preach circumcision, which I sustain persecution by impugning.

(Vers. 12.) Utinam et abscindantur qui vos conturbant. Quaeritur quomodo Paulus discipulus ejus qui ait: Benedicite maledicentibus vobis. Et ipse loquens: Benedicite et nolite maledicere (Rom. XII, 14). Et in alio loco: Neque maledici regnum Dei possidebunt (I Cor. XV): nunc et maledixerit eis, qui Ecclesias Galatiae conturbant [Al. conturbabant], et cum optantis voto maledixerit: Utinam et abscindantur qui vos conturbant. Tam enim detestanda abscisionis est passio, ut et qui invitis eam intulerit, legibus publicis puniatur, et qui seipsum castraverit, infamis habeatur. Ut enim illud, aiunt, verum sit: Vivit in me Christus (II Cor. XIII, 3); et hoc: An experimentum quaeritis ejus qui in me loquitur Christus? certe maledictionis vox non potest ejus intelligi, qui dicit: Discite a me, quia humilis sum, et mitis, et mansuetus corde (Matth. XI, 29). Et magis putatur Judaico furore, et quadam effrenata insania se non potuisse cohibere, quam imitatus esse eum, qui tamquam agnus coram tondente se, non aperuit os suum, et maledicentibus non remaledixit (Isai. LIII). Tradidit autem 493 se morti condemnatus. Ad quod qui pro Paulo respondebit, haec dicet: non tam furoris in adversarios, quam dilectionis in Ecclesias Dei, verba esse quae locutus sit. Videbat quippe totam provinciam, quam ipse suo sanguine, et periculis ab idololatria, ad Christi transduxerat fidem, subita persuasione turbatam, et dolore apostolico, dolore patris, se tenere non poterat: mutabat vocem, et quibus blanditus fuerat, irascebatur, ut quos nequiverat lenitate, saltem objurgatione retineret. Nec mirum esse si Apostolus, ut homo, et adhuc vasculo clausus infirmo, vidensque aliam legem in corpore suo captivantem se, et ducentem in lege peccati, semel fuerit hoc locutus, in quod frequenter sanctos viros cadere perspicimus. Sed et illud dici potest (licet superfluum quibusdam esse videatur) quod Paulus non tam maledixerit eis, quam oraverit pro illis, ut eas partes corporis perderent, per quas delinquere cgebantur. Et quomodo in Evangelio dictum est: melius esse aliquem sine oculo, et sine manu, et sine pede, et qualibet alia parte membrorum intrare in regnum coelorum, quam totum ire in gehennam (Matth. XVIII): ita et nunc optare eis magis unam partem corporis perdere, quam per occasionem integri corporis perpetuo igne damnari.

Hic locus si quando ab ethnicis reprehenditur, quomodo eis responderi possit, ostendimus. Nunc a nobis contra haereticos proferatur, Marcionem videlicet, et Valentinum et omnes qui contra vetus latrant Testamentum, qua ratione illi qui Creatorem sanguinarium, severum bellatorem, et tantum judicem criminantur, hoc in Apostolo Dei boni valeant excusare. Et certe nullam puto in veteri Lege tam trucem, tam cruentam in aliquo esse sententiam, quam, utinam abscindantur qui vos conturbant. Nec possunt dicere orasse Apostolum pro inimicis Christi, qui ejus Ecclesias conturbant.

(Verse 12.) "I wish that they were even cut off who trouble you." It is asked how Paul, the disciple of him who says: "Bless those who curse you." And himself speaking: "Bless and do not curse" (Rom. 12:14). And in another place: "Neither shall revilers possess the kingdom of God" (1 Cor. 15): now both cursed those who trouble the churches of Galatia and cursed with the vow of one wishing: "I wish that they were even cut off who trouble you." For the suffering of cutting off is so detestable that even he who inflicts it on the unwilling is punished by public laws, and he who castrates himself is held infamous. For that that may be true, they say: "Christ lives in me" (2 Cor. 13:3); and this: "Do you seek a proof of him who speaks in me, Christ?" certainly the voice of a curse cannot be understood of him who says: "Learn of me, for I am humble, and mild, and meek of heart" (Matt. 11:29). And it is thought rather that he could not restrain himself by Jewish fury and a certain unbridled madness, than that he imitated him who, like a lamb before his shearers, did not open his mouth, and did not revile in return to those reviling him (Isa. 53). But being condemned, he delivered (493) himself to death. To which he who will respond for Paul will say these things: that the words which he spoke were not so much of fury against adversaries as of love for the churches of God. For he saw the whole province, which he had translated from idolatry to the faith of Christ by his own blood and through dangers, troubled by a sudden persuasion, and with apostolic grief, the grief of a father, he could not contain himself: he changed his voice, and was angry with those whom he had flattered, so that those whom he had not been able to retain by leniency, he might at least retain by rebuke. Nor is it a wonder if the Apostle, as a man, and still enclosed in a weak vessel, and seeing another law in his body captivating him and leading him in the law of sin, spoke this once, into which we frequently perceive holy men to fall. But that also can be said (although it may seem superfluous to some) that Paul did not so much curse them as pray for them, that they might lose those parts of the body through which they were compelled to transgress. And just as it is said in the Gospel: that it is better for someone to enter into the kingdom of heaven without an eye, and without a hand, and without a foot, and any other part of the members, than to go whole into Gehenna (Matt. 18): so also now he wishes them rather to lose one part of the body than by the occasion of the whole body to be damned by perpetual fire.

How it can be responded to the pagans if this place is ever criticized by them, we have shown. Now let it be brought forward by us against the heretics, namely Marcion, and Valentinus, and all who bark against the Old Testament, by what reason those who criminate the Creator as bloodthirsty, a severe warrior, and only a judge, may avail to excuse this in the Apostle of the good God. And certainly I think no sentence in the Old Law is so grim, so bloody in anyone, as: "I wish they were cut off who trouble you." Nor can they say that the Apostle prayed for the enemies of Christ who troubled his churches.

Nec ex dilectione prolatum, quod tumore et indignatione plenum, ipso verborum pondere demonstratur. Quidquid ergo illi pro Apostolo excusationis attulerint, 494 hoc non pro Lege veteri defendemus.

(Vers. 13.) Vos enim in libertatem vocati estis, fratres: tantum ne libertatem in occasionem carni (subauditur) detis: quod quia in Graeco non habetur, Latinus posuit interpres. Hunc locum quia valde obscurus est, de decimo Stromatum libro transferri placuit ad verbum. Non quo singula non possint suis locis et sensibus explanari; sed quo a superiori negotio separata, unum difficile corpus efficiant: et si sic intelligantur ut resonant, inconsequenter et abrupte repugnare inter se et scatere videantur.

Origenis itaque haec verba sunt: «Difficilis locus est: et ita nobis disserendus videtur. Qui liber est, et altiori sensu spiritum, et veritatem sequitur, praecedentes et typos contemnit et litteram: non idcirco debet minores despicere, et occasionem dare his qui non possunt sentire sublimius, de se penitus desperandi. Licet enim infirmi sint et caro comparatione spiritus appellentur: caro tamen Christi sunt. Si enim intelligit mysterium charitatis infirmioribus servientis, faciat aliquid propter infirmos: ne in scientia sua frater pereat, pro quo Christus est mortuus. Diligenter itaque attende, an ex consequentibus sensus iste texatur. Vos, inquit, fratres, in libertatem vocati estis: forsitan ideo, quia non omnes vocationem capere poterant libertatis. Propter quod nunc auditis: Tantum ne libertatem in occasionem detis carni. Per dilectionem enim oportet minoribus servire majores: quia qui vult esse major, erit omnium servus (Matth. XX; Marc. X). Neque ergo spiritualis laceret Christi carnes: neque occasionem illis tribuat, ut se remordeant provocantem ne ab invicem consumantur. Oportet ergo spiritu ambulanti, et spiritu Scripturarum verba sectanti, non perficere desiderium carnis earum. Si autem hoc quod dicitur: Spiritu ambulate, et desiderium carnis non perficietis, simpliciter intelligimus (ut plerique arbitrantur) contra argumentum et hypothesin totius Epistolae, in haec subito Paulus erumpet; 495 statim quippe sequitur: Si autem spiritu ducimini, non estis sub Lege. Et cum hucusque aliqua ex parte sibi sermo cohaereat, rursum si simplicem intelligentiam sequamur, ad inordinata repente praecepta nos transfert, de carne et spiritu disserens, id est: Manifesta autem opera carnis illa et illa. Et econtrario: Fructus autem spiritus, est charitas, et reliqua. Sed neque in his consequentiam desperare debemus; quia opera carnis divinatorum voluminum historia continet; non valde eos juvans qui sic eam intelligunt, ut scripta est.

Nor was it brought forth from love, which is demonstrated by the weight of the words themselves, full of tumor and indignation. Whatever excuse (494) they bring therefore for the Apostle, this we will not defend for the Old Law.

(Verse 13.) "For you have been called into liberty, brethren; only do not (give) liberty for an occasion to the flesh": because this is not found in the Greek, the Latin translator placed it there. Because this place is very obscure, it pleased me to transfer it word for word from the tenth book of the Stromata. Not that individual things cannot be explained in their own places and senses; but that being separated from the superior business, they may effect one difficult body: and if they are understood as they sound, they may seem inconsequentially and abruptly to repugn among themselves and to abound.

These therefore are the words of Origen: "The place is difficult: and so it seems to us it must be discussed. He who is free, and follows the spirit and truth in a higher sense, contemns preceding types and the letter: he ought not for that reason to despise the lesser ones, and give an occasion to those who cannot perceive more sublimely, of despairing of themselves within. For although they are weak and are called flesh in comparison of the spirit: nevertheless they are the flesh of Christ. For if he understands the mystery of charity serving the weaker ones, let him do something for the sake of the weak: lest in his knowledge a brother perish for whom Christ died. Diligently therefore attend whether this sense is woven from the following things. 'You,' he says, 'brethren, have been called into liberty': perhaps for this reason, because not all were able to take the calling of liberty. Wherefore you now hear: 'Only do not give liberty for an occasion to the flesh.' For through charity it behooves the greater to serve the lesser: because he who wishes to be greater shall be the servant of all (Matt. 20; Mark 10). Therefore let not the spiritual one lacerate the flesh of Christ: nor grant an occasion to them, that they may bite one another back when provoked, lest they be consumed by one another. It behooves him therefore who walks in the spirit and follows the words of the Scriptures in the spirit, not to fulfill the desire of their flesh. But if we understand simply (as most think) that which is said: 'Walk in the spirit, and you shall not fulfill the desire of the flesh,' against the argument and hypothesis of the whole Epistle, Paul will suddenly burst forth into these things (495); for immediately there follows: 'But if you are led by the spirit, you are not under the Law.' And although up to this point the speech coheres in some part with itself, again if we follow the simple understanding, he transfers us suddenly to inordinate precepts, discussing concerning the flesh and the spirit, that is: 'But manifest are the works of the flesh,' those and those. And on the contrary: 'But the fruit of the spirit is charity,' and the rest. But neither in these ought we to despair of consequence; because the history of the divine volumes contains the works of the flesh; not helping them much who so understand it as it is written.

Quis enim non docebitur servire luxuriae, et fornicationem habere pro nihilo: cum Judas ad meretricem legerit ingredientem (Gen. XXVIII); et patriarchas habuisse multas pariter uxores? Quomodo non ad idololatriam provocabitur, qui sanguinem taurorum, et caeteras Levitici victimas non plus quam quod in littera sonat, putaverit indicare? Quod autem inimicitias, in aperto positus Scripturae sermo doceat, et ex hoc loco probatur: Filia Babylonis misera, beatus qui retribuet tibi retributionem tuam, quam retribuisti nobis. Beatus qui tenebit, et allidet parvulos tuos ad petram (Ps. CXXXVI, 8, 9). Et ex illo: In matutino interficiebam omnes peccatores terrae (Ps. C, 8), et caetera his similia: de contentionibus videlicet, aemulatione, ira, rixis, dissensionibus. Ad quae (si non altius aliquid sentiamus) provocant nos magis historiae exempla, quam prohibent. Haereses quoque magis de carnali Scripturae intelligentia, quam de opere carnis nostrae, ut plurimi aestimant, substituerunt. Necnon invidiam et ebrietates per Legis litteram discimus. Inebriatur Noe post diluvium, et patriarchae apud fratrem Joseph in Aegypto (Gen. IX et XLIII). Sed et comessationes in Regnorum libro scriptae sunt; saltante David et concrepante tympanis coram Arca testamenti Dei (I Reg. VI), et his similia. Quaeritur quomodo ad veneficia, et ad maleficas artes, simplex Scripturae divinae sermo qui dicitur caro, nos provocet: nisi ad ejusdem Scripturae spiritum transcendamus. Puto hoc significare, decies Danielelem, et tres pueros, magis, incantatoribus, et Gazarenis 496 atque Chaldaeis sapientiores repertos, et Moysen omni sapientia et doctrina Aegyptiorum eruditum. Multorum ergo malorum occasio est, si quis in Scripturae carne permaneat. Quae qui fecerint, regnum Dei non consequenter. Quamobrem spiritum Scripturae fructusque quaeramus, qui non dicuntur esse manifesti. Multo quippe labore et sudore, et digno cultu in Scripturis fructus spiritus invenitur. Unde arbitror, Paulum diligenter et caute de Scripturae sensibus dixisse carnalibus: Manifesta autem sunt opera carnis (Galat. V, 19). De spiritualibus vero non ut ibi posuisse, manifestus est fructus spiritus; sed ita: Fructus autem Spiritus, est charitas, gaudium, pax, et reliqua (Ibid., 22). Quod si relictis typis, ad veritatem Scripturae transeamus et spiritum, statim nobis prima charitas panditur, et ad gaudium inde gradientes, pervenimus ad pacem, per quam consequimur patientiam. Quis autem non ad miserationem et bonitatem erudiat, cum etiam ea quae quibusdam tristia putantur in Lege supplicia dico et praelia, et eversiones gentium, et comminationes ad populos per prophetas, magis remedia intellexerit esse, quam poenas? Non enim in aeternum irascetur Dominus (Isai. LVII). Cum haec ergo nobis aperta fuerint, rationabiliorem habebimus fidem, et correctos mores temperantia comitabitur, quam continentia sequetur et castitas: et post haec omnia incipiet esse Lex pro nobis.»

For who will not be taught to serve luxury, and to have fornication for nothing: when he has read Judas entering in to a harlot (Gen. 28); and that the patriarchs had many wives likewise? How will he not be provoked to idolatry, who has thought that the blood of bulls and the other victims of Leviticus indicate no more than what sounds in the letter? But that the speech of Scripture placed in the open teaches enmities is proved also from this place: 'Miserable daughter of Babylon, blessed is he who shall repay you your retribution, which you have repaid us. Blessed is he who shall take and dash your little ones against the rock' (Ps. 136:8, 9). And from that: 'In the morning I slew all the sinners of the earth' (Ps. 100:8), and other things like these: namely concerning contentions, emulation, wrath, brawls, dissensions. To which (if we do not perceive something higher) the examples of history provoke us more than they prohibit. Heresies also have stood rather from the carnal understanding of Scripture than from the work of our flesh, as very many estimate. Also we learn envy and drunkenness through the letter of the Law. Noah is inebriated after the deluge, and the patriarchs with their brother Joseph in Egypt (Gen. 9 and 43). But also revelings are written in the book of Kings; David dancing and sounding with drums before the Ark of the testament of God (1 Kings 6), and things like these. It is asked how the simple speech of divine Scripture which is called flesh provokes us to sorceries and to wicked arts: unless we transcend to the spirit of the same Scripture. I think this signifies that Daniel and the three boys were found ten times wiser than the incantators, and Gazarenes (496), and Chaldeans, and Moses was erudite in all the wisdom and doctrine of the Egyptians. Therefore it is an occasion of many evils if anyone should remain in the flesh of Scripture. They who do these things shall not follow the kingdom of God. Wherefore let us seek the spirit and fruits of Scripture, which are not said to be manifest. For with much labor and sweat, and worthy cultivation, the fruit of the spirit is found in the Scriptures. Whence I think Paul spoke diligently and cautiously concerning the carnal senses of Scripture: 'But manifest are the works of the flesh' (Gal. 5:19). But concerning the spiritual things he did not place there as if 'manifest is the fruit of the spirit'; but thus: 'But the fruit of the Spirit is charity, joy, peace,' and the rest (Ibid., 22). But if, types being left, we should pass over to the truth and spirit of Scripture, immediately the first charity is opened to us, and stepping thence to joy, we arrive at peace, through which we follow patience. But who would not be erudite unto commiseration and goodness, when he has understood even those things which are thought sad by some in the Law—I say punishments and battles, and eversions of nations, and comminations to the peoples through the prophets—to be remedies rather than punishments? For the Lord will not be angry for ever (Isa. 57). When these things therefore shall have been opened to us, we will have a more reasonable faith, and temperance will accompany corrected manners, which continence and chastity will follow: and after all these things the Law will begin to be for us."

Hucusque Origenes. Quibus nos possumus addere, ut dicamus de servitute legali ad Evangelii libertatem vocatos (quibus superius dicitur: State, et nolite rursum iugo servitutis haerere) etiam nunc moneri, ut leve Christi jugum et delectabilia Evangelii praecepta sectantes, nequaquam putent sibi licere, ut hac ipsa libertate vivendi, in occasione carnis utantur: scilicet ut juxta carnem vivant, juxta carnem circumcendantur; sed spiritu magis stent, spiritu praeputium carnis abscindant, et ad spiritus altiora tendentes, humilitatem litterae derelinquant. Potest autem et aliter intelligi. Discat quispiam: Si cessavi, o Paule, esse sub Lege, et de servitute 497 libertatem vocatus sum: ergo debeo ita vivere ut convenit libertati, nec aliquibus praeceptis teneri, sed quodcumque placuerit, et voluntas suggesserit, hoc facere implere, sectari. Ad quod respondit Apostolus: Vocatos quidem nos esse in spiritus libertatem: sed ita, ut libertas ipsa carni non serviat. Nec putemus quia nobis omnia licent, omnia expedire: quin potius quia servi Legis esse cessavimus, facti liberi, magis per charitatem nobis invicem serviamus, ut laciniosae Legis praecepta, uno dilectionis capitulo concludantur.

(Vers. 14.) Sed per charitatem servite invicem, omnis enim lex in uno sermone impletur. Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum. Qui cum esset liber ex omnibus, omnium se propter charitatem servum fecit, ut plures lucrifaceret (I Cor. XIII), recte hortatur et caeteros, ut per charitatem sibi serviant: quae non quaerit quod suum est, sed quod proximi. Qui enim vult fieri primus, erit omnium servus (Marc., X, 44): ut quomodo Salvator in forma Dei constitutus, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed seipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, et habitu inventus ut homo, humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis (Philip. II): ita et nos quaecumque ante sub Legis necessitate facere videbamur, nunc sciamus, nobis liberis, magis per charitatem esse facienda.

Tantum autem bonum est charitas, ut omnis lex in illa recapituletur. Enumerat et in alio loco Apostolus charitatis bona, dicens: Non zelatur, non agit perperam (I Cor. XIII, 7, 8). Multisque in medio replicatis, in fine concludit: Omnia sperat, omnia sustinet, charitas numquam excidit. Et Salvator in Evangelio, hoc signum sui, ait, esse discipuli, si [Al. ut] diligat proximum (Matth. XXII). Quod quidem puto non solum hominibus, sed etiam angelis convenire.

Hitherto Origen. To which we can add, so that we may say that those called from legal servitude to the liberty of the Gospel (to whom it is said above: "Stand, and do not again be entangled in the yoke of servitude") are even now warned, that following the light yoke of Christ and the delectable precepts of the Gospel, they should by no means think it is permitted to them that they use this very liberty of living for an occasion of the flesh: namely that they live according to the flesh, and be circumcised according to the flesh; but rather let them stand by the spirit, by the spirit let them cut off the foreskin of the flesh, and tending to the higher things of the spirit, let them leave behind the humility of the letter. But it can also be understood otherwise. Let someone learn: If I have ceased, O Paul, to be under the Law, and have been called (497) from servitude to liberty: therefore I ought so to live as befits liberty, nor be held by any precepts, but whatever has pleased, and the will has suggested, this to do, to fulfill, to follow. To which the Apostle responded: That we have indeed been called into the liberty of the spirit: but so, that liberty itself may not serve the flesh. Nor let us think that because all things are permitted to us, all things are expedient: but rather because we have ceased to be servants of the Law, having been made free, let us rather serve one another through charity, so that the precepts of the laciniose Law may be concluded in one chapter of love.

(Verse 14.) "But through charity serve one another, for all the law is fulfilled in one word: You shall love your neighbor as yourself." He who, although he was free from all, made himself the servant of all for the sake of charity, that he might gain more (1 Cor. 13), rightly exhorts others also to serve one another through charity, which does not seek what is its own, but what belongs to its neighbor. For he who wishes to become first shall be the servant of all (Mark 10:44); so that just as the Savior, being constituted in the form of God, did not think it robbery to be equal to God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, and being found in fashion as a man, humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross (Phil. 2): so also we, whatever we seemed to do before under the necessity of the Law, should now know, being free, that it must be done rather through charity.

For charity is so great a good that the entire law is recapitulated in it. The Apostle also enumerates the goods of charity in another place, saying: "It is not jealous, it does not act perversely" (1 Cor. 13:4). And many things having been repeated in the middle, he concludes at the end: "It hopes all things, it endures all things, charity never fails" (1 Cor. 13:7, 8). And the Savior in the Gospel says that this is the sign of his disciple, if [otherwise: that] he love his neighbor (Matt. 22). Indeed, I think this applies not only to men, but also to angels.

Aliis verbis idipsum dicitur: Quae vobis fieri non vultis, aliis ne feceritis, et quae vultis ut vobis faciant homines, haec eadem et vos eis facite similiter (Ibid., VII, 12). Nolo adulterari uxorem meam, nolo substantiam diripi, nolo me falso opprimi testimonio, et ut cuncta brevi sermone comprehendam, indigne fero aliquid mihi fieri quod injustum est. Haec eadem si 498 per charitatem in me operantem, vel fecero alteri, vel voluero, lex omnis impleta est. Nec difficile est docere quomodo universa praecepta, non occides, non adulterabis, non furaberis, non falsum testimonium dices, et caetera his similia, una charitatis observatione teneantur. Hoc ostendere arduum est, quomodo hostiae quoque, quae in Levitico sunt praeceptae, et ciborum vel abstinentia, vel permissio, cum alia munda, alia dicantur immunda, solemnitatum quoque jugis per annos recursus, in uno charitatis praecepto recapitulentur. Nisi forte quis illo se transferat, ut affirmet Legem spiritualem esse, et imaginibus et exemplaribus nos coelestium deservisse, antequam verus Pontifex adveniret: qui postquam semel seipsum offerens victimam, suo sanguine nos redemit, omnis illa praelegis varietas, et difficultas, in ipsius super homines dilectione completa est. Intantum quippe Pater amavit mundum, ut Filium suum charissimum, et unigenitum daret pro nobis.

Ei autem qui semel spiritu vivens, opera carnis mortificavit, et a Salvatore dilectus, nequaquam servus, sed amicus vocatur, non est ultra Lex posita, quae impiis et peccatoribus, et non subjectis et nefariis constituta est. At nunc cum omnia quae difficiliora sunt, vel modica ex parte faciamus, hoc solum non facimus, quod et factum facilius est, et absque quo cassa sunt universa quae facimus. Jejunii corpus sentit injuriam: vigiliae carnem macerant: eleemosynae labore quaeruntur: sanguis in Martyrio, quamvis ardeat fides, tamen sine dolore et timore non funditur. Haec omnia sunt qui faciant: sola charitas sine labore est. Et quia sola cor mundum efficit, a diabolo expugnatur in nobis, ne Deum pura mente videamus. Quando enim sedens loquor contra fratrem meum, et contra filium matris meae pono scandalum (Ps. XLIX, 20), quando aliena torqueor felicitate, et alterius bonum, meum malum facio, nonne hoc quod sequitur, in me expletur: Si invicem mordetis et comeditis, videte ne ab invicem consumamini? Charitatis rara possessio est. Quis vult ipse anathema esse a Christo pro fratribus suis, Apostolum sequens?

In other words, the same thing is said: "What you do not wish to be done to you, do not do to others; and what you wish that men should do to you, do these same things also to them likewise" (Ibid., 7:12). I do not want my wife to be committed adultery with, I do not want my substance to be plundered, I do not want to be oppressed by false testimony, and to comprehend all things in a brief speech, I take it indignantly if anything is done to me that is unjust. These same things, if through charity working in me I either do to another or wish for another, all the law is fulfilled. Nor is it difficult to teach how all the precepts—"you shall not kill, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not steal, you shall not bear false witness," and others like these—are held in the one observation of charity. This is difficult to show: how the sacrifices also, which are commanded in Leviticus, and the abstinence from or permission of foods (when some are called clean and others unclean), and also the continual recurrence of solemnities through the years, are recapitulated in the one precept of charity. Unless perhaps someone transfers himself to that point, as to affirm that the Law is spiritual, and that we served the images and patterns of heavenly things before the true High Priest arrived: who, after once offering himself as a victim, redeemed us with his own blood, all that variety and difficulty of the ancient Law was completed in his own love toward men. For the Father so loved the world that he gave his most dear and only-begotten Son for us.

But to him who, once living in the spirit, has mortified the works of the flesh, and being loved by the Savior, is by no means called a servant but a friend, the Law is no longer placed, which was established for the impious and sinners, and for the non-subject and wicked. But now, while we do all things that are more difficult, even if only in a small part, this alone we do not do, which is both easier to do, and without which all the things we do are void. The body feels the injury of fasting; vigils macerate the flesh; alms are sought with labor; blood in martyrdom, although faith burns, is nevertheless not poured out without pain and fear. All these things there are those who do; charity alone is without labor. And because it alone makes the heart clean, it is assaulted by the devil in us, lest we see God with a pure mind. For when "sitting I speak against my brother, and I set a scandal against the son of my mother" (Ps. 49:20), when I am tormented by another's happiness, and make another's good my own evil, is not that which follows fulfilled in me: "If you bite and eat one another, take heed that you be not consumed by one another"? The possession of charity is rare. Who wishes to be anathema from Christ for his brothers, following the Apostle?

Quis 499 cum lugentibus lugens, cum gaudentibus gaudens, alieno vulnere vulneratur? Quis fratris morte perimitur? Omnes magis amatores nostri, quam amatores Dei sumus. Vide quantum bonum sit charitatis. Si ita martyrium fecerimus, ut nostras velimus ab hominibus reliquias honorari: si opinionem vulgi sectantes, intrepidi sanguinem fuderimus, et substantiam nostram usque ad mendicitatem propriam dederimus, huic [Al. hinc] operi non tam praemium quam poena debetur: et perfidiae magis tormenta sunt, quam corona victoriae.

(Vers. 15.) Quod si invicem mordetis, et comeditis, videte ne ab invicem consumamini. Potest hoc et simpliciter accipi, ne detrahamus invicem, ne maledicto nos putemus ulcisci, ne contristati contristare cupiamus, et similes bestiarum, mordere pariter et remorderi, ut post morsus sequatur interitus atque consumptio. Melius autem est, ne contra rationem et totius Epistolae consequentiam, subito in extraordinaria praecepta, Paulus erumpat, hoc ita intelligere, ut ad circumcisionem observationemque Legis cuncta referamus. Si vos, inquit, conturbant alii, vos autem conturbamini. Si totam Scripturam veterem legentes, sic intelligitis ut scripta est: Oculum pro oculo: dentem pro dente (Deut. XIX, 21), et ira desiderat ultionem, ultio vero imponit dolorem: quod Lex non solum non prohibet, verum etiam praecipit, justitiam in talione restituens, sequitur, ut et nudatus nudet, et vulneratus revulneret, et comestus remordeat, et quae videtur justitia esse, consumptio sit, non unum vindicans, sed utrumque consumens.

(Vers. 16.) Dico autem: Spiritu ambulate, et desiderium carnis non perficietis. Et hoc secundum superiora dupliciter accipiendum, ut dicamus eos qui spiritu opera carnis mortificaverint ei seminaverint in spiritu, ut de spiritu metant vitam aeternam, quotiescumque voluptatem carnis senserint titillare, non perficere desiderium ejus (quod quidem si expletum fuerit, blandiri videtur ad tempus), sed spiritu refrenare, et secundum sententiam Historici (Sallust.) , Animi imperio, corporis servitio magis vivere. Nec non et illud, quia Lex spiritualis est (Rom. VII), et non qui in manifesto Judaeus, sed qui in occulto, et circumcisio cordis in spiritu, non littera, eos ambulare spiritu, et carnis desiderium non perficere dicimus, qui spiritualiter egrediuntur Aegyptum, et spiritualem escam potumque de spiritali hauriunt petra, qui non judicantur in cibo, aut in potu, aut in parte diei festi, aut neomeniae et sabbati, sed ambulant in omnibus spiritualiter, non perficientes carnae legis, litteraeve desiderium, sed fructus metentes intelligentiae spiritualis. Tertia quoque interpretatio a quibusdam in hoc loco dicta est, sed quae non multum discrepet a secunda, ut desiderium carnis in his asserant esse qui parvuli in Christo sunt: iter autem spiritus in perfectis viris, et esse sensum: In gravitate spiritus, id est, in itinere viri ambulate perfecti, et non facietis desideria parvulorum.

Who, mourning with those who mourn, rejoicing with those who rejoice, is wounded by another's wound? Who is slain by a brother's death? We are all lovers of ourselves rather than lovers of God. See how great a good of charity it is. If we perform martyrdom in such a way that we wish our remains to be honored by men; if, following the opinion of the common people, we shed our blood intrepidly, and give our substance even to our own beggary, to this work not so much a reward as a punishment is owed: and they are torments of perfidy rather than a crown of victory.

(Verse 15.) "But if you bite and devour one another, take heed that you be not consumed one of another." This can be received simply, lest we detract from one another, lest we think to avenge ourselves by a curse, lest being saddened we desire to sadden, and like beasts, to bite and be bitten in turn, so that after the bites destruction and consumption follow. But it is better, lest Paul should suddenly break out into extraordinary precepts against the reason and consequence of the whole Epistle, to understand this so that we refer all things to circumcision and the observation of the Law. If, he says, others disturb you, and you are disturbed. If reading the whole ancient Scripture, you understand it as it is written: "An eye for an eye: a tooth for a tooth" (Deut. XIX, 21), and anger desires vengeance, but vengeance imposes pain: which the Law not only does not prohibit, but even commands, restoring justice in retaliation, it follows that both the stripped should strip, and the wounded should re-wound, and the devoured should bite back, and that which seems to be justice should be consumption, not vindicating one, but consuming both.

(Verse 16.) "I say then: Walk in the Spirit, and you shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh." And this according to the things above is to be received in two ways: that we say those who have mortified the works of the flesh by the spirit and have sown in the spirit, that from the spirit they may reap eternal life, as often as they feel the pleasure of the flesh to titillate, do not fulfill its desire (which indeed if it were completed, seems to flatter for a time), but refrain it by the spirit, and according to the sentence of the Historian (Sallust), live more by the empire of the mind, and the service of the body. Also that, because the Law is spiritual (Rom. VII), and not he who is a Jew outwardly, but he who is one inwardly, and the circumcision of the heart is in the spirit, not in the letter, we say those walk in the spirit and do not fulfill the desire of the flesh, who spiritually go out of Egypt, and draw spiritual food and drink from the spiritual rock, who are not judged in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon and of the sabbath, but walk in all things spiritually, not fulfilling the desire of the carnal law or of the letter, but reaping the fruits of spiritual understanding. A third interpretation also has been said by some in this place, but which does not much differ from the second, that they assert the desire of the flesh to be in those who are little ones in Christ: but the way of the spirit in perfect men, and the sense to be: Walk in the gravity of the spirit, that is, in the way of a perfect man, and you will not do the desires of the little ones.

(Vers. 17.) Caro enim concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem. Haec enim sibi invicem adversantur, ut non quaecumque vultis, illa faciatis. Caro praesentibus delectatur et brevibus: spiritus perpetuis et futuris. Inter hoc jurgium media anima constitit, habens quidem in sua potestate bonum et malum, velle et nolle, sed non habens hoc ipsum velle ac nolle perpetuum: 501 quia fieri potest, ut cum carni consenserit, et opera ejus fecerit, rursum per poenitentiam se remordens, spiritui copuletur, et opera ejus efficiat. Hoc est ergo quod ait: Haec enim sibi invicem adversantur, id est, caro et spiritus: ut non quaecumque vultis, illa faciatis. Non quo proprium nobis tulerit arbitrium, quo vel carni, vel spiritui assentiamur: sed quia quod facimus, non est nostrum proprie, sed opus ipsum vel carni, vel spiritui deputatur [Al. deputetur].

Grandis laboris et disputationis est nimiae, ostensis carnis operibus et spiritus, media aliqua reperire, quae nec ad carnem videantur pertinere, nec ad spiritum. Carnales dicimur, quando totos nos voluptatibus damus. Spirituales, quando Spiritum sanctum praeivum sequimur, id est, cum ipso sapimus instruente, ipso docemur auctore. Animales reor esse philosophos, qui proprios cogitatus putant esse sapientiam, de quibus recte dicitur: Animalis autem homo non recipit [Al. percipit] ea quae sunt spiritus. Stultitia quippe est ei. Quod ut manifestius fiat, aliquod sumamus exemplum: Caro, terra, anima, aurum, spiritus, ignis vocentur. Quamdiu aurum fuerit in terra, perdit vocabulum suum, et a terra cui commixtum est, appellatur. Cum vero separatum ab humo, auri et speciem et nomen acceperit, aurum quidem dicitur, sed necdum probatum. Si autem per ignem excoctum fuerit et purgatum, tunc auri splendorem, et ornatus sui accipit dignitatem. Ita et anima inter humum et ignem, hoc est, inter carnem spiritumque consistens, quando se tradiderit carni, caro dicitur: quando spiritui, spiritus appellatur. Quod si proprio crediderit cogitatui, et absque gratia Spiritus sancti invenire se aestimaverit veritatem, quasi aurum sordidum, animalis hominis appellatione signatur [Al. signabitur]. Potest locus iste sic melius explanari, et quasi una series corpusque fieri, se invicem nectens, sibique non discrepans. Fratres, de servitute Legis vocati estis in Evangelii libertatem. Verum obsecro vos, ne libertate pro licentia abutamini, et putetis vobis cuncta expedire quae licent: detisque occasionem 502 carni atque luxuriae.

(Verse 17.) "For the flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. For these are contrary to one another, so that you do not the things that you would." The flesh is delighted by present and brief things; the spirit by perpetual and future things. In the middle of this quarrel the soul consists, having indeed in its own power good and evil, to will and not to will, but not having this same to will and not to will perpetual: (501) because it can happen that when it has consented to the flesh, and has done its works, again biting itself back through repentance, it may be coupled to the spirit and perform its works. This is therefore what he says: "For these are contrary to one another," that is, the flesh and the spirit: "so that you do not the things that you would." Not that he has taken away from us our own choice, by which we may assent either to the flesh or to the spirit: but because what we do is not properly ours, but the work itself is deputed either to the flesh or to the spirit.

It is of great labor and excessive disputation, the works of the flesh and of the spirit having been shown, to find some middle things which seem to pertain neither to the flesh nor to the spirit. We are called carnal when we give ourselves entirely to pleasures. Spiritual, when we follow the Holy Spirit as our guide, that is, when we are wise with him instructing, and are taught with him as the author. I think philosophers are "animal" [soulish], who think their own thoughts are wisdom, concerning whom it is rightly said: "But the animal man does not receive [otherwise: perceive] those things which are of the spirit. For it is foolishness to him." That this may become more manifest, let us take some example: let flesh be called earth, the soul gold, and the spirit fire. As long as gold shall have been in the earth, it loses its own name, and is called from the earth with which it is mixed. But when, being separated from the ground, it has received both the appearance and name of gold, it is indeed called gold, but not yet proved. If, however, it shall have been boiled out and purged through fire, then it receives the splendor of gold and the dignity of its own ornament. So also the soul, consisting between the ground and the fire, that is, between the flesh and the spirit, when it has delivered itself to the flesh, it is called flesh: when to the spirit, it is called spirit. But if it has believed its own thought, and has estimated that it finds the truth without the grace of the Holy Spirit, like sordid gold, it is signed [otherwise: will be signed] with the appellation of the animal man. This place can be better explained thus, and become as it were one series and body, connecting itself in turn, and not disagreeing with itself. Brethren, you have been called from the servitude of the Law into the liberty of the Gospel. But I beseech you, do not abuse liberty for license, and think that all things are expedient for you which are permitted: and give an occasion (502) to the flesh and to luxury.

Quin potius discite quod libertas haec major sit servitus, ut quod ante Lex ab invitis extorquebat obsequium, nunc per charitatem vobis invicem serviatis. Siquidem omne illud Legis onus, et multiplicia praecepta, non tam exclusa sunt per Evangelii gratiam, quam uno charitatis sermone breviate, ut diligamus proximum sicut nosmetipsos. Qui enim diligit proximum, totam legem implet (Matth. XXII), bona ei tribuens, mala non inferens. Quod si cesset dilectio, et non sit charitas, per quam lex universa completur, publicum quoddam inter homines latrocinium erit, ut contra se invicem defurentes [Al. deferentes], seque mordentes, consumantur ab invicem.

Vos autem fratres, propterea secundum spiritualementem legem debetis vivere, ne desideria quae carnis sunt, perficiatis. Caro enim frigus timet, aspernatur famem, attenuatur vigiliis, libidinibus exardescit, mollia quaeque et jucunda desiderat. E contra spiritus, ea quae carni contraria sunt, et quae illam debilitare queant, expetit. Et ita fit, ut non ideo quia sub servitute Legis esse cessastis, putetis esse vos liberos: sed sciatis magis naturae vos lege retineri, quia non statim si lex non imperat, et natura cessavit, ne voluntatem scilicet vestram, opera subsequantur, sed frequenter ea facere compellamini, repugnante carne adversus spiritum, quae facere non vultis. Ex quo, fratres, obsecro, ut non detis libertatem vestram in occasionem carnis, sed magis spiritui serviatis, ut incipiat ea facere quae vultis, et nihil debere legi, id est, non esse sub carne. Quia libertatem legis abolitae tunc vere in Evangelio habere poteritis, cum vos nequaquam caro compulerit facere quae non vultis, sed spiritui servientes, docueritis vos non esse sub Lege. Et quia supra secundum duplicem intelligentiam hunc locum coeperamus exponere, reddenda sunt quae omisimus. Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, id est, historia et Scripturae carnis intellectus, contra allegoriam et spiritualementem doctrinam repugnat. Spiritus autem adversus carnem, id est, sublimiora dejectis, aeterna brevibus, umbrae veritas refragatur. 503 Et carnis Scripturae sensus, qui adimpleri [Al. quia impleri] non potest (nec enim valemus omnia quae scripta sunt facere) ostendit nos non in nostra positos potestate Legis explendae, cum etiam si velimus litteram sequi, impossibilitas non admittat.

(Vers. 18.) Quod si spiritu ducimini, non estis sub Lege. Spiritum non eum, de quo Apostolus in alio loco loquitur: Ipse Spiritus testimonium perhibet spiritui nostro, quod sumus filii Dei (Rom. VIII, 16), id est, non spiritum hominis qui in ipso est, sed Spiritum sanctum significat: quem sequentes, efficimur spirituales, et sub Lege esse desistimus.

Rather learn that this liberty is a greater servitude, so that what the Law before extorted as service from the unwilling, you should now serve one another through charity. Since indeed all that burden of the Law, and the manifold precepts, are not so much excluded through the grace of the Gospel as abbreviated in one word of charity, that we should love our neighbor as ourselves. For he who loves his neighbor fulfills the whole law (Matt. 22), bestowing good things on him, not bringing in evil things. But if charity should cease, and there be no love through which the whole law is completed, there will be a certain public robbery among men, so that raging against one another [otherwise: bringing charges], and biting themselves, they may be consumed by one another.

But you, brethren, ought therefore to live according to the spiritual law, lest you fulfill the desires which are of the flesh. For the flesh fears the cold, scorns hunger, is attenuated by vigils, burns with lusts, desires everything soft and pleasant. On the contrary, the spirit seeks those things which are contrary to the flesh, and which are able to debilitate it. And so it happens that you should not think that you are free for the reason that you have ceased to be under the servitude of the Law: but you should know rather that you are retained by the law of nature, because it does not follow that if the law does not command, nature also has ceased, namely lest works should follow your will, but you are frequently compelled to do those things which you do not wish to do, the flesh repugning against the spirit. Wherefore, brethren, I beseech you that you do not give your liberty for an occasion of the flesh, but rather serve the spirit, so that you may begin to do those things which you wish, and owe nothing to the law, that is, not be under the flesh. Because you will then truly be able to have the liberty of the abolished law in the Gospel, when the flesh has by no means compelled you to do what you do not wish, but serving the spirit, you have taught that you are not under the Law. And because above we had begun to expose this place according to a twofold understanding, those things which we omitted must be rendered. The flesh lusts against the spirit, that is, the history and the carnal intellect of Scripture repugn against allegory and spiritual doctrine. But the spirit against the flesh, that is, the higher against the cast down, the eternal against the brief, the truth refracts the shadow. (503) And the carnal sense of Scripture, which cannot be fulfilled [otherwise: because it cannot be fulfilled] (for neither are we able to do all things that are written), shows that we are not placed in our own power for fulfilling the Law, since even if we wish to follow the letter, impossibility does not admit it.

(Verse 18.) "But if you are led by the spirit, you are not under the Law." He signifies not that spirit of which the Apostle speaks in another place: "The Spirit itself bears witness to our spirit, that we are the children of God" (Rom. 8:16), that is, not the spirit of the man which is in him, but the Holy Spirit: following whom, we are made spiritual, and we cease to be under the Law.

Notandum ergo quod hic spiritus non cum $\text{Î}\pm\acute{\alpha}\frac{1}{2}\acute{\alpha}\text{Î},\text{Î}\ddot{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}^3$ (articulo), et cum additamento aliquo, sicut in caeteris legimus, spiritum mansuetudinis, et spiritum fidei: sed simpliciter Spiritus appellatur: quae quidem minutiae magis in Graeco, quam in nostra lingua observatae (qui $\acute{\alpha}\frac{1}{2}\acute{\alpha}\text{Î},\text{Î}\ddot{\alpha}\pm$ penitus non habemus) videtur aliquid habere momenti.

Quaeritur in hoc loco, si quicumque spiritu ducitur, non est sub Lege, utrum Moses et prophetae, vel spiritu acti sint, et sub Lege vixerint, quod Apostolus negat: aut habentes spiritum, sub Lege non fuerint, quod Apostolus hic affirmat: aut quod est tertium, sub Lege viventes, spiritum non habuerint, quod de tantis viris nefas est credere. Ad quod nos breviter respondebimus: Non idem esse sub Lege esse, et esse quasi sub Lege: quomodo non idipsum est, in similitudine carnis peccati, et in carne esse peccati. Nec idem sonat verus serpens. et aerei similitudo serpentis, quem Moyses in eremo suspendit (Num. XXI). Sic igitur et sanctos prophetas, et Moysen, ambulantes spiritu, et spiritu viventes, non sub Lege, sed quasi sub Lege vixisse, ut ipsi viderentur quidem esse sub Lege; sed eos qui sub Lege erant lucrifacerent, et ab humilitate litterae, ad altitudinem spiritus provocarent. Nam et Paulus qui Judaeis Judaeus factus est, et omnibus omnia, ut omnes lucrifaceret (I Cor. IX): non dixit, factus sub Lege, sed, factus quasi sub Lege, ut ostenderet se non veritatem Legis, sed similitudinem custodisse. Videmur nobis solvisse propositam quaestionem. Sed quid faciemus de illo Pauli capitulo 504 dicentis: Cum autem venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus filium suum, factum est muliere, factum sub Lege, ut eos qui sub Lege erant, redimeret (Supra)? Si enim Christus sub Lege fuit, et non quasi sub Lege, tota illa superior disputatio vacua fiet. Verum et haec oppositio de suo solvetur loco. Qui enim propterea factus sub Lege est, ut eos qui erant sub Lege, redimeret, utique cum esset liber a Lege, Legi se subdidit voluntate: et multo erat Paulo liberior, qui non sub Lege, sed quasi sub Lege se fuisse testatus est. Et quomodo in coenum et barathrum mortis propter nos descendit, qui orabamus dicentes: Quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus (Rom. VII, 14)? ita et ex muliere nasci voluit, et esse sub Lege, ut eos qui nati erant de muliere, et sub Lege, salvaret. Et certe non est natus de muliere, id est, de nupta, sed de virgine. Verum abusive virgo mulier appellata est, propter eos qui illam fuisse virginem nesciebant. Ut itaque propter illos, qui sanctam Mariam arbitrabantur maritum habere, mulier pro virgine posita est: sic propter eos qui aestimabant Christum esse sub Lege, nescientes quia factus esset his qui erant sub Lege, quasi sub Lege, dicitur et ipse factus esse sub Lege.

It should be noted therefore that here "spirit" is called simply Spirit, not with the article (*arthros*), and without any addition, such as we read in other places: "spirit of meekness," and "spirit of faith": which minutiae observed more in Greek than in our language (who do not have articles at all) seem to have some weight.

It is asked in this place, if whoever is led by the spirit is not under the Law, whether Moses and the prophets were either acted upon by the spirit and lived under the Law (which the Apostle denies), or having the spirit were not under the Law (which the Apostle here affirms), or as a third option, living under the Law they did not have the spirit (which is a crime to believe concerning such great men). To which we shall briefly respond: That it is not the same thing to be under the Law and to be as if under the Law; just as it is not the same thing to be in the likeness of the flesh of sin and to be in the flesh of sin. Nor does a true serpent sound the same as the likeness of the brazen serpent which Moses suspended in the desert (Num. 21). Thus therefore both the holy prophets and Moses, walking by the spirit and living by the spirit, lived not under the Law, but as if under the Law, so that they themselves indeed seemed to be under the Law; but they might gain those who were under the Law, and provoke them from the humility of the letter to the height of the spirit. For Paul also, who was made a Jew to the Jews, and all things to all, that he might gain all (1 Cor. 9), did not say "made under the Law," but "made as if under the Law," to show that he kept not the truth of the Law, but the likeness. We seem to ourselves to have solved the proposed question. But what shall we do about that chapter of Paul (504) saying: "But when the fullness of time came, God sent his Son, made of a woman, made under the Law, that he might redeem those who were under the Law" (Above)? For if Christ was under the Law, and not as if under the Law, all that superior disputation will become void. But this opposition also will be solved from its own place. For he who for this reason was made under the Law, that he might redeem those who were under the Law, certainly since he was free from the Law, subjected himself to the Law by will: and he was much freer than Paul, who testified that he had been not under the Law, but as if under the Law. And just as he descended into the mire and pit of death for us, who were praying and saying: "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" (Rom. 7:24)? so also he willed to be born of a woman and to be under the Law, that he might save those who were born of a woman and under the Law. And certainly he was not born of a woman, that is, of a married one, but of a virgin. But improperly a virgin was called a woman, because of those who did not know that she had been a virgin. As therefore because of those who estimated that holy Mary had a husband, "woman" was placed for "virgin"; so because of those who estimated that Christ was under the Law, not knowing that he had been made to those who were under the Law as if under the Law, he himself also is said to have been made under the Law.

(Vers. 19-21.) Manifesta autem sunt opera carnis, quae sunt, fornicatio, immunditia, luxuria, idolorum servitus, veneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes, irae, rixae, dissensiones, haereses, invidiae, ebrietates, comessationes, et his similia, quae praedico vobis sicut et praedixi: quoniam qui haec agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt:

Superius cum exponeremus de carne et spiritu, triplicem intelligentiam dixeramus: vel eos esse carneos, qui parvuli et corporei, in Christo solidum cibum, et perfectae aetatis alimenta capere non possent: vel carnales eos esse, qui more Judaico historiam tantum sequerentur et litteram: aut certe, juxta simplicem sensum, in hominis fictione carnem spiritumque subsistere, et juxta diversitatem substantiae, vel opera carnis esse, vel spiritus. Nunc ergo quae hic carnis opera nominantur, fornicatio videlicet, immunditia, luxuria, et caetera quae sequuntur, magis mihi videntur ad simplicem carnis 505 et spiritus intelligentiam, quam ad carnem Legis, et parvulos in Christo referri, licet in eo loco, ubi supra de decimo Origenis Stromate verbum transtulimus ad verbum, quid etiam de his sentiri possit, expressum sit. Quod autem ait: Manifesta autem sunt opera carnis, vel omnibus ea nota esse demonstrat: quia per se pateant mala esse et fugienda, intantum ut etiam hi qui ea faciunt, cupiant occultare quod faciunt. Vel certe his tantum manifesta, qui in Christo crediderint. Plurimi quippe gentilium in suis ignominiiis gloriantur, et putant si expleverint voluptatem, quamdam se turpitudinum victoriam consecutos. Sed et illud eleganter, quod in carne opera posuit, et fructus in spiritu: quia vitia in semetipsa finiuntur et pereunt, virtutes frugibus pullulant et redundant. Nec putemus animae nullum esse opus, si vitia carni, virtutes spiritui deputentur. Quia anima (ut supra diximus) in quodam meditullio posita, vel carni jungitur, et dicitur de ea: Non permanebit spiritus meus in hominibus istis, quia carnes sunt (Gen. VI, 3); vel spiritui copulatur, et in spiritus vocabulum transit. Qui enim adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est (I Cor. VI, 17). Primum itaque carnis opus, est fornicatio. Manifesta in exordio posuit, ne de mediis ambigamus. Omne enim quodcumque fecerit homo, extra corpus est: qui autem fornicatur, in corpus suum peccat. Et non sumus nostri: empti enim sumus pretio, glorificemus et portemus Deum in corpore nostro.

(Verses 19-21.) "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are: fornication, uncleanness, luxury, the service of idols, sorceries, enmities, contentions, emulations, wraths, brawls, dissensions, heresies, envies, drunkennesses, revelings, and things like these, which I foretold to you as I have also foretold: that they who do these things shall not possess the kingdom of God."

When we were exposing above concerning the flesh and the spirit, we had spoken of a threefold understanding: either that those are carnal who are little ones and corporeal, who in Christ could not take solid food and the nourishments of perfect age; or that those are carnal who following the Jewish manner follow only the history and the letter; or certainly, according to the simple sense, that the flesh and spirit consist in the fiction of man, and according to the diversity of substance, there are either works of the flesh or of the spirit. Now therefore the works of the flesh which are named here—namely fornication, uncleanness, luxury, and the rest which follow—seem to me to be referred rather to the simple understanding of the flesh (505) and spirit than to the flesh of the Law and the little ones in Christ, although in that place where we transferred word for word from the tenth book of Origen's *Stromata*, what can also be felt concerning these was expressed. But that he says, "Now the works of the flesh are manifest," he demonstrates either that they are known to all: because they are open through themselves as being evil and to be avoided, so much so that even those who do them desire to hide what they do; or certainly they are manifest only to those who have believed in Christ. For very many of the gentiles glory in their own ignominies, and think that if they have fulfilled pleasure, they have obtained a certain victory of turpitudes. But also that is elegant: that he placed "works" in the flesh and "fruit" in the spirit; because vices are finished and perish in themselves, while virtues bud and abound in fruits. Nor let us think that there is no work of the soul if vices are deputed to the flesh and virtues to the spirit. Because the soul (as we said above), being placed in a certain middle, is either joined to the flesh, and it is said of it: "My spirit shall not remain in those men, because they are flesh" (Gen. 6:3); or it is coupled to the spirit and passes into the name of spirit. "For he who adheres to the Lord is one spirit" (1 Cor. 6:17). The first work of the flesh, therefore, is fornication. He placed "manifest" in the beginning, lest we should doubt concerning the middle things. For everything whatever a man shall have done is outside the body; but he who fornicates sins against his own body. And we are not our own: for we have been bought with a price; let us glorify and bear God in our body.

In eo fornicator majoris est criminis: quia tollit membra Christi, et facit ea membra meretricis. Erunt quippe duo in carne una. Qui non est fidelis, nec credit in Christo, sua membra facit membra meretricis: qui credit et fornicatur, Christi membra facit membra meretricis. Econtrario infidelis in fornicatione sua utrum violet, an aedificet templum idolo, nescio. Per vitia quippe vel maxime daemones coluntur. Hoc unum scio: quod qui post fidem Christi fornicatur, violat templum Dei. Secundum opus carnis, immunditia nuncupatur, et eam comes luxuria sequitur. Quomodo enim in veteri Lege de nefandis criminibus, quae in occulto 506 fiunt, et ea nominare turpissimum est (ne et dicentis os et aures audientium polluerentur) generaliter Scriptura complexa est, dicens: Verecundos, vel reverentes facite filios Israel ab omni immunditia (Levit. XV, 31): sic in hoc loco caeteras extraordinarias voluptates, ipsarum quoque opera nuptiarum, si non verecunde, et cum honestate, quasi sub oculis Dei fiant, ut tantum liberis serviatur, immunditiam et luxuriam nominavit. Quartum, in catalogo operum carnis, idololatria locum tenet. Qui enim semel se luxuriae voluptatique permiserit, non respicit Creatorem. Alias autem omnis idololatria, festivitate, gula, ventre, et his quae infra ventrem sunt, delectatur. Et ne forsitan veneficia, et maleficae artes non viderentur in novo prohibita Testamento, ipsae quoque inter carnis opera nominantur. Quia saepe magicis artibus, et amare miseris evenit et amari. Inimicitia quoque, quae post veneficia ponitur, quem habeat reatum, manifesti criminis subiectio declarat. Quantum enim in nobis est, nullius esse debemus inimici, sed cum omnibus habere pacem. Quod si loquentes veritatem, aliquos meremur inimicos: non tam nos inimici eorum sumus, quam illi inimici sunt veritatis. Nam quod et in Genesi dicitur ad Abraham: Inimicus ero inimicis tuis: et adversabor adversantibus tibi, sicut supra intelligendum, non tam Abraham illis inimicum fuisse, quam illos Abrahae virtutibus et religioni, per quam, calcatis idolis, cognitum venerabatur Deum. Illud quoque quod populo praecipitur Israel, ut odio sempiterno, et in posteros transmissa discordia, inimici sint Madianeis (Num. XXXI), quasi his dicitur, qui sub paedagogo erant, et in alio loco merebantur audire: Odio habebis inimicum tuum (Matth. V, 43). Aut certe non tam personarum, quam morum est facta dissensio: ut quomodo Deus utiliter inter serpentem et mulierem inimicitias posuit, ne amicitiae eorum inutiles essent homini, per quas projectus est de paradiso: ita et in Israelitis, et Madianeis vita magis dissimilis, quam gens una damnata est.

In this the fornicator is of greater crime: because he takes the members of Christ and makes them the members of a harlot. For there shall be two in one flesh. He who is not faithful nor believes in Christ makes his own members the members of a harlot: he who believes and fornicates makes the members of Christ the members of a harlot. On the contrary, whether the infidel in his fornication violates or builds a temple for an idol, I do not know. Indeed, by vices especially the demons are worshiped. This one thing I know: that he who after the faith of Christ fornicates violates the temple of God. The second work of the flesh is called uncleanness, and its companion luxury follows it. For just as in the old Law concerning the unspeakable crimes (506) which are done in secret and to name them is most base (lest both the mouth of the speaker and the ears of the listeners be polluted), the Scripture generally encompassed them, saying: "Make the sons of Israel modest [or: reverent] from all uncleanness" (Lev. 15:31); so in this place he named as uncleanness and luxury the other extraordinary pleasures, and also the works of the marriages themselves, if they are not done modestly and with honesty, as if under the eyes of God, so that only children may be served. Fourth, in the catalog of the works of the flesh, idolatry holds a place. For he who has once permitted himself to luxury and pleasure does not look back to the Creator. Otherwise, all idolatry is delighted by festivity, gluttony, the belly, and those things which are below the belly. And lest perhaps sorceries and wicked arts should not seem prohibited in the New Testament, these also are named among the works of the flesh. Because often through magic arts it happens to miserable ones both to love and to be loved. Enmity also, which is placed after sorceries, what guilt it has, the subjection of the manifest crime declares. For as much as is in us, we ought to be the enemy of no one, but to have peace with all. But if, speaking the truth, we deserve some enemies, we are not so much their enemies as they are enemies of the truth. For what is also said in Genesis to Abraham: "I will be an enemy to your enemies, and I will oppose those opposing you," is to be understood as above, that Abraham was not so much an enemy to them as they were to Abraham's virtues and religion, through which, having trampled upon idols, he worshiped the known God. That also which is commanded to the people of Israel, that they should be enemies to the Midianites with a perpetual hatred and discord transmitted to posterity (Num. 31), is said as if to those who were under a pedagogue, and in another place deserved to hear: "You shall hate your enemy" (Matt. 5:43). Or certainly the dissension was made not so much of persons as of manners: so that just as God usefully placed enmities between the serpent and the woman, lest their friendships be useless to man, through which he was cast out of paradise: so also in the Israelites and Midianites a life more dissimilar rather than one nation was damned.

Septimum locum inter carnis opera, contentio possidet, quodam quasi sacrato, et eminenti 507 inter vitia numero collocata. Servum autem Domini non oportet rixari, sed esse mansuetum ad omnes, doctorem, longanimum, cum mansuetudine erudientem, etiam eos qui econtra disputant (II Tim. II, 24, 25). Post contentionem, octava succedit aemulatio, quae Graeco sermone ἰσχυρισμὸς significantius et notius appellatur. Quo quidem malo, nescio quis nostrum careat. Zelati sunt enim, et patriarchae Joseph fratrem suum: et Maria, et Aaron prophetae Dei et sacerdos, contra Moysen tali passione decepti sunt (Genes. XXXVII, Num. XII): intantum ut illa de qua Scriptura narraverat, dicens: Tollens autem Maria prophetae tympanum (Exod. XV. 20), et caetera, postea extra castra projecta, leprae vitio sordidata sit, et poenitentiam longiorem septem dierum separatione signaverit (Num. XII). Ira deinde succedit, quae iustitiam Dei non operatur (Jacob. I), et species est furoris. Inter iracundiam autem et iram, hoc interest: quod iracundus semper irascitur: iratus pro tempore concitatur. Et nescio quis possit regnum Dei possidere: cum is qui irascitur, separetur a regno (Matth. V). Rixae quoque quas aliud Graeci significantes, ἰσχυρισμὸς, ἰσχυρισμὸς vocant (siquidem rixa ἰσχυρισμὸς dicitur) a regno Dei prohibent. Est autem ἰσχυρισμὸς, cum quis semper ad contradicendum paratus, stomacho delectatur alieno: et muliebri jurgio contendit, et provocat contendentem. Haec alio nomine apud Graecos ἰσχυρισμὸς appellatur. Necnon et dissensiones opera carnis sunt: cum quis nequaquam perfectus, eodem sensu, et eadem sententia dicit: Ego sum Pauli, et ego Apollo, et ego Cephae, et ego Christi (I Cor. I, 12). Sed et domorum inter se haec eadem dissensio reperitur: mariti videlicet ad uxorem, patris ad filium, fratris ad fratrem, conservi ad conservum, militis ad contubernalem, artificis ad ejusdem operis artificem. Nonnumquam evenit, ut et in expositionibus Scripturarum oriatur dissensio: e quibus haereses quoque quae nunc in carnis opere ponuntur, ebulliunt. Si enim sapientia carnis inimica est Deo (Rom. VIII) (inimica autem sunt omnia dogmata falsitatis Deo repugnantia) consequenter et haereses inimicae Deo, ad carnis opera referuntur. ἰσχυρισμὸς autem Graece, ab electione 508 dicitur: quod scilicet eam sibi unusquisque eligat disciplinam, quam putat esse meliorem. Quicumque igitur aliter Scripturam intelligit, quam sensus Spiritus sancti flagitat, quo conscripta est: licet de Ecclesia non recesserit, tamen haereticus appellari potest, et de carnis operibus est, eligens quae pejora sunt.

The seventh place among the works of the flesh contention possesses, being placed in a certain as it were sacred and eminent number among vices. "But it behooves the servant of the Lord not to brawl, but to be mild toward all, a teacher, long-suffering, with mildness instructing even those who dispute on the contrary" (2 Tim. 2:24, 25). After contention, the eighth emulation succeeds, which in the Greek speech is called *zelos* more significantly and notably. Indeed, I do not know which of us lacks this evil. For the patriarchs also were jealous of their brother Joseph; and Mary and Aaron, the prophet of God and the priest, were deceived against Moses by such a passion (Gen. 37, Num. 12): so much so that she of whom Scripture had narrated, saying: "And Mary the prophetess took a drum" (Exod. 15:20), and the rest, was afterwards cast out of the camp, sordid with the vice of leprosy, and marked a longer repentance by a separation of seven days (Num. 12). Wrath then succeeds, which does not work the justice of God (James 1), and is a species of fury. But between wrathfulness and wrath this is the difference: that the wrathful man is always angry; the angry man is incited for a time. And I do not know who can possess the kingdom of God: since he who is angry is separated from the kingdom (Matt. 5). Brawls also, which the Greeks signifying as something else call *eritheias* (since a brawl is called *mache*), they prohibit from the kingdom of God. But it is *eritheia* when someone, always ready to contradict, is delighted by another's stomach: and contends with womanly quarrel and provokes the one contending. This is called by another name among the Greeks *philoneikia*. Also dissensions are works of the flesh: when someone by no means perfect says with the same sense and the same sentence: "I am of Paul, and I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ" (1 Cor. 1:12). But also this same dissension is found between houses: namely of husbands toward the wife, of a father toward the son, of a brother toward a brother, of a fellow-servant toward a fellow-servant, of a soldier toward a tent-mate, of an artisan toward an artisan of the same work. Sometimes it happens that also in the expositions of the Scriptures dissension arises: from which heresies also, which are now placed in the work of the flesh, bubble forth. For if the wisdom of the flesh is enemy to God (Rom. 8) (for all dogmas of falsehood repugnant to God are enemies), consequently also heresies, being enemies to God, are referred to the works of the flesh. (508) But *hairesis* in Greek is called from election: because namely each one chooses for himself that discipline which he thinks to be better. Whoever therefore understands the Scripture otherwise than the sense of the Holy Spirit demands, by whom it was written: although he has not receded from the Church, he can nevertheless be called a heretic, and is of the works of the flesh, choosing what things are worse.

Haereses sequitur invidia, quam non putemus idem esse quod zelum. Quia zelus et in bonam partem accipi potest, cum quis nititur ea quae meliora sunt, aemulari. Invidia vero aliena felicitate torquetur, et in duplicem scinditur passionem: cum aut ipse est aliquid in eo, in quo alium esse non vult: aut alium esse videns meliorem, dolet se ei non esse consimilem. Pulchre quidam de neotericis, Graecum versum transferens, elegiaco metro de invidia lusit, dicens: Justius invidia nihil est: quae protinus ipsum Auctorem rodit, excruciatque animum. Scripsit et beatus Cyprianus librum de Zelo et Livore valde optimum: quem qui legerit, non dubitabit annumerare operibus carnis invidiam. Inter invidum autem et invidiosum hoc interest: quod invidus feliciori invidet. Invidiosus autem is est, qui ab alio patitur invidiam. Quartumdecimum locum inter carnis opera ebrietas tenet. Ebriosis quippe regnum Dei non possidebunt. Et Dominus ad discipulos: Cavete, ait, ne forte graventur corda vestra in vino et crapula (Luc. XXI, 34). Vino homini sensus evertitur: pedes corruunt: mens vacillat: libido succenditur: Unde Apostolus clamat: Et vinum in quo est luxuria (Ephes. V, 18). Habet unusquisque suae sententiae potestatem. Ego Apostolum sequor: in vino esse luxuriam, in vino ebrietatem. Ebrietatem autem et luxuriam inter carnis opera numerari, nec ille potest negare qui eisdem passionibus vincitur. Et licet me quidam in eo libro, quem de servanda virginitate scripsi, reprehendendum putent: quod dixerim adolescentulas ita vinum debere fugere ut venenum: non me sententiae poenitebit. Opus quippe ibi magis vini, quam Dei a nobis creatura damnata est: et licentiam tulimus 509 virgini proprio aetatis calore ferventi, ne sub occasione parum bibendi, plus biberet et periret. Alioquin sciebamus, et in Christi sanguinem vinum consecrari: et Timotheo vinum ut biberet, imperatum. Ebrietas autem tam ex vino quam ex caeteris bibendi generibus, quae vario modo conficiuntur, potest accidere; ex quo et de sancto dicitur: Vinum et siceram non bibet (Luc. I, 15). Sicera interpretatur ebrietas. Et ne quis vinum non bibens, aliud sibi putaret bibendum, exclusa causatio est; dum omne quod inebriare potest, cum vino pariter aufertur. Quintadecima, quae et extrema inter carnis opera, commessatio est. Manducavit quippe populus et bibit, et surrexerunt ludere (Exod. XXXII, 6). Semper ebrietati juncta luxuria est. Pulchre quidam non ignobilis orator, cum ebrium de somno describeret excitatum, ait: «Nec dormire excitatus, nec vigilare ebrius poterat.» Qua sententia expressit, quodammodo nec mortuum eum fuisse nec vivum.

Envy follows heresies, which let us not think to be the same thing as zeal. Because zeal can also be taken in a good part, when someone strives to emulate those things which are better. But envy is tormented by another's happiness, and is split into a twofold passion: when either he himself is something in that in which he does not want another to be: or seeing another to be better, he grieves that he is not similar to him. Beautifully a certain one of the neoterics, transferring a Greek verse, played in elegiac meter concerning envy, saying: "Nothing is more just than envy: which immediately gnaws The author himself, and excruciates the mind." Blessed Cyprian also wrote a very excellent book concerning *Zeal* and *Envy*: which whoever has read will not doubt to enumerate envy among the works of the flesh. But between the envious and the invidious this is the difference: that the envious man envies the more fortunate man. But the invidious man is he who suffers envy from another. The fourteenth place among the works of the flesh drunkenness holds. For drunkards shall not possess the kingdom of God. And the Lord says to the disciples: "Take heed," he says, "lest perhaps your hearts be burdened in wine and surfeiting" (Luke 21:34). By wine the sense for a man is overturned: the feet fall: the mind vacillates: lust is kindled: Whence the Apostle cries out: "And wine in which is luxury" (Eph. 5:18). Each one has the power of his own sentence. I follow the Apostle: that in wine is luxury, in wine is drunkenness. But that drunkenness and luxury are numbered among the works of the flesh, even he cannot deny who is conquered by the same passions. And although some think I should be reprehended in that book which I wrote concerning the preserving of virginity: because I said that adolescent girls ought to flee wine like poison: I shall not repent of the sentence. (509) For there rather the work of wine was damned by us than God's creature: and we took away license from a virgin fervent with the heat of her own age, lest under the occasion of drinking a little, she should drink more and perish. Otherwise we knew both that wine is consecrated into the blood of Christ: and it was commanded to Timothy that he should drink wine. But drunkenness can happen both from wine and from other kinds of drinking which are made in various ways; whence it is also said of a saint: "He shall not drink wine and cider" (Luke 1:15). *Sicera* [cider] is interpreted as drunkenness. And lest anyone not drinking wine should think he should drink something else, the excuse was excluded; while everything that can inebriate is taken away equally with wine. The fifteenth, which is also the last among the works of the flesh, is reveling. "For the people ate and drank, and they rose up to play" (Exod. 32:6). Luxury is always joined to drunkenness. Beautifully a certain not ignoble orator, when he described a drunkard excited from sleep, said: "Excited he could not sleep, nor could he watch being drunk." By which sentence he expressed that in a certain way he had been neither dead nor alive.

Longum erat universa carnis opera replicare, et catalogum facere vitiorum. Uno igitur omnia sermone conclusit dicens, et his similia. Quae utinam tam facile vitare possemus, quam facile intelligimus. Praedico, inquit, vobis sicut praedixi: quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non consequuntur. Ubi ante praedixerat: Non regnet, inquit, peccatum in mortali vestro corpore, ad obediendum desideriis ejus (Rom. VI, 12). Peccatum omnes istas species habet, in quibus nunc discriminandis plus forsitan quam oportuit, immorati sumus. Ergo in anima, in qua peccatum regnavit, non potest Dei regnare regnum. Quae enim participatio justitiae et iniquitati? quae communicatio luci ad tenebras? qui consensus Christo et Belial (II Cor. VI, 14, 15). Et putamus nos regnum Dei consequi, si a fornicatione, idololatria, et veneficiis immunes simus. Ecce inimicitiae, contentio, ira, rixa, dissensio, ebrietas quoque, et caetera quae parva arbitramur, excludunt nos a regno Dei. Nec refert uno quis a beatitudine excludatur, an pluribus, cum omnia similiter excludant. In Latinis codicibus, adulterium quoque, et impudicitia, et homicidia, in hoc catalogo vitiorum scripta referuntur. Sed sciendum non plus quam quindecim carnis opera nominata, de quibus et disseruimus.

(Vers. 22.) Fructus autem spiritus, est charitas, gaudium, pax, longanimitas, benignitas, bonitas, fides, mansuetudo, continentia, adversus hujusmodi non est Lex. Et quae alia inter fructus spiritus debuit tenere primatum, nisi charitas, sine qua virtutes caeterae non reputantur esse virtutes, et ex qua nascuntur universa quae bona sunt? Siquidem et in Lege, et in Evangelio ipsa obtinet principatum: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota virtute tua: et diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum (Deut. VI, 5; Matt. XXII, 37). Quantis bonis referta sit charitas, et supra breviter perstrinximus, et nunc vel parum dixisse sufficiat: quod dilectio non quaerit quae sua sunt, sed quae aliena (I Cor. XIII). Et quamvis suo quis vitio inimicus sit diligenti, et tranquillitatem ejus ad odiorum fluctus concitare nitatur: tamen numquam ille turbatur: numquam creaturam Dei odio dignam aestimat. Charitas enim operit multitudinem peccatorum (I Petr. IV, 8). Illud quoque quod a Salvatore dicitur: Non potest arbor bona fructus afferre malos: neque arbor mala, fructus afferre bonos (Matt. VII, 18), non tam de hominibus, quam de fructibus carnis et spiritus, arbitror pronuntiatum: quia nec spiritus umquam potest ea vitia, quae in carnis operibus numerata sunt, facere; nec caro his fructibus qui oriuntur ex spiritu redundare. Potest autem fieri per negligentiam possidentis, ut spiritus qui versatur in homine, fructus non habeat suos: et econtrario caro operibus suis mortificatis, peccare desistat.

It was long to repeat all the works of the flesh and to make a catalog of vices. Therefore he concluded all things in one speech saying, "and things like these." Which would that we could as easily avoid as we easily understand. "I foretell," he says, "to you as I have foretold: that they who do such things shall not follow the kingdom of God." Where he had foretold before: "Let not sin reign," he says, "in your mortal body, to obey the desires thereof" (Rom. 6:12). Sin has all these species, in discriminating which now we have lingered perhaps more than was behooving. Therefore in the soul in which sin shall have reigned, the kingdom of God cannot reign. "For what participation of justice and iniquity? what communication of light to darkness? what consensus to Christ and Belial" (2 Cor. 6:14, 15). And we think we obtain the kingdom of God if we are immune from fornication, idolatry, and sorceries. Behold enmities, contention, wrath, brawl, dissension, drunkenness also, and the rest which we estimate small, exclude us from the kingdom of God. (510) Nor does it matter by which one anyone is excluded from beatitude, or by many, since all exclude similarly. In the Latin codices, adultery also, and unchastity, and homicides, are reported written in this catalog of vices. But it should be known that no more than fifteen works of the flesh were named, concerning which we have also discussed.

(Verse 22.) "But the fruit of the spirit is charity, joy, peace, longanimity, benignity, goodness, faith, mildness, continence; against such things there is no Law." And what else ought to hold the primacy among the fruits of the spirit but charity, without which the rest of the virtues are not reputed to be virtues, and from which all things that are good are born? For indeed both in the Law and in the Gospel she obtains the principate: "You shall love the Lord your God from your whole heart, and from your whole soul, and from your whole strength; and you shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Deut. 6:5; Matt. 22:37). With how many goods charity is filled, we have both touched upon briefly above, and now let it suffice to have said even a little: that love does not seek what are its own, but what are another's (1 Cor. 13). And although someone by his own vice is an enemy to the one loving, and strives to excite his tranquility toward the waves of hatreds, yet that one is never troubled: he never estimates a creature of God worthy of hatred. For charity covers a multitude of sins (1 Pet. 4:8). That also which is said by the Savior: "A good tree cannot bear evil fruits, nor an evil tree bear good fruits" (Matt. 7:18), I think was pronounced not so much concerning men as concerning the fruits of the flesh and of the spirit: because neither can the spirit ever do those vices which are numbered in the works of the flesh; nor the flesh abound in these fruits which arise from the spirit. But it can happen through the negligence of the possessor that the spirit which is engaged in the man does not have its fruits; and on the contrary, the flesh, with its works mortified, may desist from sinning.

Non tamen illo usque procedunt, ut et neglecta arbor spiritus, opera carnis afferat, et arbor carnis exculta, fructus germinet spirituales. In secundo spiritualium fructuum loco, gaudium positum est: quod Stoici quoque qui distinguunt inter verba subtilius, aliud quid esse aestimant quam laetitiam. Gaudium quippe, esse, aiunt elationem animi super his quae digna sunt exsultantis: Laetitiam vero effrenatam animi elationem, quae modum nesciat, et in his quae vilia sunt, intemperantius redundet. Unde et in alio loco dicitur: Stultus in risu exultat vocem suam (Eccli. XXI, 23). Et in hoc ipso quem nunc habemus in manibus: Gaudium autem meum est pax. Neque enim potest quis gaudere, nisi pacem habeat cum Deo, et secum ipse non pugnet: et (ut ita dicam) integra eorum quae facit, et quae cogitat, consonantia sit. De qua pace et Salvator in Evangelio loquitur: Pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam relinquo vobis (Joan. XIV, 27). Et iterum: In quocumque introieritis, dicite: Pax huic domui (Luc. X, 5). Qui autem pacem in aliis quaerunt, debent prius in se habere pacem. Pacatus deinde, et qui gaudium de pace conceperit, longanimis esse debet: ut expectet poenitentiam peccatoris, et non statim ut peccatum est, gladium vibret ultoris, sed imitatione Patris, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos, et pluit super justos et injustos, multo tempore sustineat et expectet, ut tandem hi qui perierant, revertantur. Benignitas quoque, vel suavitas (quia in Graeco *χρηστότης* utrumque significat) fructus spiritus est: quae virtus est omnibus permixta, et ad societatem hominum nata: quae in multorum vitis tantam habet gratiam, ut ad eam omnes trahat, et ad se provocet, et nihil amarius in conversatione habeat, nihil triste, nihil rigidum, nihil superbum: et juxta vocabulum suum, bonum quod habet, in omnes effundat. Huic juncta est bonitas (Graece *ἀγαθοσύνη*) quae ab illa hoc distat: quod bonitas potest esse tristior, et fronte severa incedens: benefaciens tamen, et tribuat quod videtur: Benignitas vero semper blanda est, et ad alliciendos in consortium sui, vultu pariter et sermone dulcis.

Inter fructus spiritus, septimum et sacratiorem locum fides possidet, quae etiam alibi inter tres ponitur: spes, fides, charitas. Nec mirum si spes in hoc catalogo non referatur: cum in fide sit quod speratur: et ita eam Apostolus ad Hebraeos scribens definiat: Est autem fides sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum necdum apparentium (Hebr. XI, 1), Siquidem id quod speramus esse venturum, et necdum est in praesenti, fide possidemus, sperantes nos tenere quod credimus. Quaeritur quoque quomodo fides in charitate sit posita.

Yet they do not proceed so far that both the neglected tree of the spirit should bear works of the flesh, and the cultivated tree of the flesh should germinate spiritual fruits. In the second place of the spiritual fruits, joy is placed: which the Stoics also, who distinguish between words more subtly, estimate to be something else than gladness. For joy, they say, is an elation of the mind over those things which are worthy of the one exulting; but gladness is an unbridled elation of the mind which knows no measure and abounds more intemperately in those things which are vile. Whence also in another place it is said: "The fool in laughter exalts his voice" (Sir. 21:23). And in this very thing which we now have in hands: "But my joy is peace." For neither can anyone rejoice unless he has peace with God, and does not fight with himself: and (so to speak) there is an entire consonance of those things which he does and which he thinks. Concerning which peace the Savior also speaks in the Gospel: "My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you" (John 14:27). And again: "In whatever place you shall have entered, say: Peace to this house" (Luke 10:5). But those who seek peace in others ought first to have peace in themselves. Pacified then, and he who shall have conceived joy from peace, ought to be long-suffering: that he may wait for the repentance of the sinner, and not immediately as it is sinned, vibrate the sword of the avenger, but in imitation of the Father, who makes his sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and rains upon the just and the unjust, he should sustain and wait for a long time, so that at length those who had perished may return. Benignity also, or sweetness (because in Greek **chrestotes** signifies both), is a fruit of the spirit: which is a virtue mixed in all, and born for the society of men: which in the lives of many has such grace that it draws all to it, and provokes them to itself, and has nothing bitter in conversation, nothing sad, nothing rigid, nothing proud: and according to its name, it pours out into all the good which it has. Joined to this is goodness (in Greek **agathosyne**), which differs from that in this: that goodness can be sadder, and walking with a severe brow: doing good nevertheless, and distributing what is seen; but benignity is always mild, and sweet equally in countenance and speech for enticing into consortium with itself.

Among the fruits of the spirit, faith possesses the seventh and more sacred place, which is also placed among three elsewhere: hope, faith, charity. Nor is it a wonder if hope is not reported in this catalog: since in faith is that which is hoped for; and so the Apostle, writing to the Hebrews, defines it: "Now faith is the substance of things to be hoped for, the argument of things not yet appearing" (Heb. 11:1). For indeed that which we hope is to come, and is not yet in the present, we possess by faith, hoping that we hold what we believe. It is also asked how faith is placed in charity.

Qui diligit, numquam se laedi aestimat: numquam aliud nisi quod diligit et diligitur, suspicatur. Cum autem dilectio procul abfuerit, et fides pariter abscedit. Post fidem mansuetudo numeratur, quae adversa est irae, rixis, dissensionibus: et numquam ad sui contraria provocatur, vere de bona spiritus arbore, bonos fructus egerminans. Per hanc famulus Dei Moyses, testimonium Scripturae meruit accipere, dicentis: Moyses mansuetus erat, plusquam omnes homines super terram (Num. XII, 3). Super terram, inquit. Super eos enim qui facie ad faciem Deum videbant, esse non poterat: quia multa saepe compellimur per carnis facere infirmitatem. De David quoque, licet multi de Domino nostro aestiment prophetatum, quod nos etiam non negamus, Spiritus sanctus in typo venturi canit: Memento, Domine, David, et omnis mansuetudinis ejus (Ps. CV, 1). Cujus mansuetudo adversus Saul, Absalon, et Semei, vel maxime claruit (I Reg. XXIV; II Reg. XV)? Cum alius eum vellet occidere: alius res novas molitus, fraudare imperio niteretur: alius lapides in eum jaciens, et pulverem ventilans, clamaret et diceret: Egrede, egredere, vir inique (Ibid., XVI, 7). Extrema continentia in fructibus spiritus collocatur. Quam non solum in castitate debemus accipere, sed etiam in cibo et potu, in ira quoque et vexatione mentis, et detrahendi libidine. Inter modestiam autem et continentiam hoc interest, quod modestia in viris perfectis est, consumataeque virtutis, de quibus Salvator loquitur: Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde (Matth. XI, 29). Continentia vero in his qui adhuc concupiscentias sentiunt, et ex parte spiritus appetitus carnis refrenant. Unde et inter opera carnis, et fructus spiritus, medium quoddam locum tenet. Quia si non fuerit in carne concupiscentia, continentia esse non potest. Sin autem contra spiritum concupiscit caro, et regit eam spiritus, continentia appellatur.

(Vers. 24.) Qui autem sunt Christi, carnem crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis. Origenes hunc locum superioribus nectens, ita legit: Adversus huiusmodi non est Lex, qui Christi carnem crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis: ut non sicut in Latino sonat, eos qui Christi sunt, carnem suam dicat crucifixisse cum vitiis et concupiscentiis; sed Christi carnem ab his cum vitiis et concupiscentiis crucifixam. Et quaerit quomodo in his qui fructus spiritus habeant, et adversum quos Lex esse cessavit, crucifixio carnis Dominicae ponatur in laude, cum ad Hebraeos in vituperatione sit positum: Rursus crucifigentes in semetipsis Filium Dei, et ostentui habentes (Hebr. VI, 6). Pro rursus crucifigentes, melius unum verbum compositum in Graeco est, ἀνασταυρόντες, quod nos interpretari possumus, recrucifigentes. Primum ergo notandum quod aliud sit crucifigere, aliud recrucifigere. Deinde quia non idipsum sit recrucifigere Filium Dei, et crucifigere carnem Christi cum vitiis et concupiscentiis.

He who loves never estimates himself to be harmed: he never suspects anything except that which he loves and is loved. But when love shall have been far away, faith likewise departs. After faith, mildness is numbered, which is adverse to wrath, brawls, dissensions: and is never provoked toward its contraries, truly germinating good fruits from the good tree of the spirit. Through this the servant of God Moses deserved to receive the testimony of Scripture, saying: "Moses was mild more than all men upon the earth" (Num. 12:3). "Upon the earth," it says. For over those who saw God face to face, he could not be: because often we are compelled to do many things through the infirmity of the flesh. Concerning David also, although many estimate it was prophesied of our Lord, which we also do not deny, the Holy Spirit sings in a type of him to come: "Remember, O Lord, David, and all his mildness" (Ps. 132:1). Whose mildness against Saul, Absalom, and Shimei especially shone (1 Sam. 24; 2 Sam. 15)? When one wanted to kill him; another, striving for new things, endeavored to defraud him of the empire; another, throwing stones at him and ventilating the dust, cried out and said: "Come out, come out, you man of iniquity" (Ibid., 16:7). Lastly, continence is placed in the fruits of the spirit. Which we ought to receive not only in chastity, but also in food and drink, in wrath also and vexation of mind, and in the libido of detracting. But between modesty and continence this is the difference: that modesty is in perfect men and of consummate virtue, of whom the Savior speaks: "Learn of me, because I am mild and humble of heart" (Matt. 11:29). But continence is in those who still feel concupiscences, and on the part of the spirit refrain the appetites of the flesh. Whence also it holds a certain middle place between the works of the flesh and the fruits of the spirit. Because if there were no concupiscence in the flesh, continence could not be. But if the flesh concupisces against the spirit, and the spirit rules it, it is called continence.

(Verse 24.) "But they who are Christ's have crucified the flesh with its vices and concupiscences." Origen, connecting this place with the preceding ones, reads it thus: "Against such things there is no Law, who have crucified the flesh of Christ with its vices and concupiscences"; so that it does not, as it sounds in the Latin, say that those who are Christ's have crucified their own flesh with its vices and concupiscences, but that the flesh of Christ was crucified by these with the vices and concupiscences. And he asks how, in those who have the fruits of the spirit and against whom the Law has ceased to be, the crucifixion of the Lord's flesh is placed in praise, when to the Hebrews it was placed in vituperation: "Crucifying again in themselves the Son of God, and making him a mockery" (Heb. 6:6). In place of "crucifying again," there is better one compound word in Greek, **anastaurountes**, which we can interpret as "recrucifying." First, therefore, it should be noted that it is one thing to crucify, another to recrucify. Next, that it is not the same thing to recrucify the Son of God and to crucify the flesh of Christ with vices and concupiscences.

Caro quippe Christi non principaliter, et proprie Filius Dei est, sed Jesus Christus, qui cum esset in principio apud Patrem, Verbum Deus caro factus est, et seipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, ut crucifigeret carnem, et despoliaret principatus et potestates, triumphans de eis in ligno (Philip. II), ut compleretur illud Apostoli: Quod enim mortuus est, peccato, mortuus est semel (Rom. VI, 10). Igitur si corpora nostra membra sunt Christi, consequenter et caro nostra caro Christi est, quam crucifigimus, mortificantes per eam super terram, fornicationem, immunditiam, passionem, desiderium malum, et avaritiam: et de nobis in laude nunc ponitur, qui Christi Jesu carnem crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis, et semper mortificationem Jesu circumferimus in corpore nostro, ut et vita ejus manifestetur in carne nostra. Non modici autem laboris est, sic in praesenti saeculo vivere, ut jam nunc vita Jesu manifestetur in carne nostra. Ita enim vivificabuntur et mortalia corpora nostra propter inhabitantem spiritum ejus in nobis.

(Vers. 25.) Si spiritu vivimus, spiritu et ambutemus. Utamur hoc testimonio adversum eos qui nolunt Scripturas spiritualiter intelligere. Quis est autem qui vivit spiritu, nisi absconditus homo noster, qui et juxta carnem interdum solet vivere? Sed cum spiritu vixerit, spiritu ambulat. Cum in carne voluerit ambulare, vivens mortuus est. Vir perfectus in Christo, semper vivit in spiritu: spiritui obedit, numquam vivit in carne. Et contra: Qui se totum carni dedit, et passionibus deputarit, numquam vivit in spiritu. Inter hos medii sunt, quos nec spirituales possumus appellare, nec carneos; sed qui inter virtutes et vitia fluctuantes, nunc ad meliora retrahuntur, et spiritus sunt: nunc carnis lubrico supplantantur, et caro sunt.

(Vers. 26.) Non efficiamur inanis gloriae cupidi, invicem provocantes, invicem invidentes. Unum verbum apud Graecos κενόδοξοι, trium verborum circuitu interpret Latinus expressit. Quantas autem habeat definitiones, et significantias gloria, et philosophorum innumerabiles libri, et Ciceronis duo volumina, quae de gloria scripsit, inditio sunt. Verum nos quia non verborum etymologias, sed Scripturae sensum disserere conamur, ita hunc locum cum superioribus copulabimus: Si spiritu vivimus, spiritui obtemperemus, nequaquam per Legem, sed per charitatem nobis invicem servientes.

For the flesh of Christ is not principally and properly the Son of God, but Jesus Christ, who when he was in the beginning with the Father, the Word God was made flesh, and emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, so that he might crucify the flesh, and despoil the principalities and powers, triumphing over them on the tree (Phil. 2), so that that saying of the Apostle might be fulfilled: "For what he died to sin, he died once" (Rom. 6:10). Therefore if our bodies are members of Christ, consequently our flesh also is the flesh of Christ, which we crucify, mortifying through it upon the earth fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil desire, and avarice: and concerning us it is now placed in praise, who have crucified the flesh of Christ Jesus with its vices and concupiscences, and always we carry around the mortification of Jesus in our body, so that his life also may be manifested in our flesh. But it is not of small labor to live thus in the present age, so that already now the life of Jesus may be manifested in our flesh. For thus also our mortal bodies shall be vivified on account of his spirit inhabiting in us.

(Verse 25.) "If we live by the spirit, let us also walk by the spirit." Let us use this testimony against those who do not want to understand the Scriptures spiritually. But who is it who lives by the spirit, except our hidden man, who also is accustomed to live sometimes according to the flesh? But when he shall have lived by the spirit, he walks by the spirit. When he shall have willed to walk in the flesh, living he is dead. The man perfect in Christ always lives in the spirit: he obeys the spirit, he never lives in the flesh. And on the contrary: he who shall have given himself wholly to the flesh, and deputed himself to passions, never lives in the spirit. Among these there are those in the middle, whom we can call neither spiritual nor carnal; but who, fluctuating between virtues and vices, are now drawn back toward better things and are spirit: now are supplanted by the slipperiness of the flesh and are flesh.

(Verse 26.) "Let us not be made desirous of vain glory, provoking one another, envying one another." The Latin interpreter expressed the one Greek word **kenodoxoi** by a circuit of three words. But how many definitions and significations glory has, both the innumerable books of the philosophers and the two volumes of Cicero which he wrote concerning glory are an indication. But because we endeavor to discuss not the etymologies of words but the sense of Scripture, we shall thus connect this place with the preceding ones: If we live by the spirit, let us obey the spirit, by no means through the Law, but serving one another through charity.

Non debemus de Scripturarum interpretatione contendere et dicere: Circumcisio melior est: non, sed praeputium. Contemnenda historia, et allegoria sequenda immo allegoria vana est et umbratica, et nullis veritatis fixa radicibus. Unde evenit, ut invicem nascantur invidiae. Excludere enim, ait, vos volunt, ut illos aemulemini: non tam veritatem Legis volentes docere, quam vincere. Ne autem penitus verbum gloriae praetermittamus intactum, suas philosophis ineptias relinquentes, de Scripturis aliqua retractemus. Opinionem vulgi, et laudem hominum favore quaesitam, gloriae nomen sonat, ubi dicitur: Omnia autem faciunt, ut ab hominibus glorificentur (Matt. XXIII, 5). Et alibi: Quomodo potestis credere, gloriam ab invicem quaerentes (Joan. V, 44)? Porro in bonam partem in eodem loco: Et gloriam ab eo qui solus est, non quaerentes. Ex quo intelligimus idem verbum, nunc virtutem significare, nunc vitium. Si ab hominibus quaero gloriam, vitium est: si a Deo, virtus est, qui et ad veram nos gloriam cohortatur, dicens: Eos autem qui me glorificant, glorificabo. Significat et aliud in Scripturis divinis gloria, cum augustius aliquid, et divinius hominum se praebet obtutibus. Visa est in tabernaculo gloria Domini, et in templo quod a Salomone constructum est, gloria erat (I Reg. VIII). Et in facie Moysi, quando nesciebat quod glorificatus esset vultus ejus (Exod. XL). De qua vultus gloria, puto et Apostolum scripsisse: Nos autem revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes, in eandem imaginem transformamur a gloria in gloriam, tanquam a Domini spiritu (II Cor. III, 18).

(Cap. VI.---Vers. 1.) Fratres, et si praeoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui spirituales estis, instruite hujusmodi in spiritu mansuetudinis: considerans teipsum, ne et tu tenteris. Sciens Paulus ejus Dei se esse cultorem, qui nollet mortem peccatoris, sed poenitentiam (Ezech. XVIII, XXXIII): et excepta Trinitate, omnem creaturam, licet non peccet, tamen posse peccare: eum quoque qui spirituales est, cohortatur sui timore ne peccet, manum porrigere corruenti. Et pulchre praeoccupatum in delicto, hominem vocat, qui mori possit: ex ipso nomine fragilitatem conditionis ostendens; ut dignus sit venia, qui velut homo errore deceptus, et mersus in voraginem, seipsum sine auxilio, et adjutore erigere non possit. Spirituali autem non additur homo: sed quasi Deo praecipitur, ut hominem praeoccupatum in delicto instruat: sive (ut melius habetur in Graeco) perficiat in spiritu lenitatis. Qui autem perficitur, non ei desunt universa, sed aliqua.

We ought not to contend concerning the interpretation of the Scriptures and say: "Circumcision is better"; "No, but uncircumcision." History is to be contemned and allegory followed; or rather allegory is vain and shadowy, and fixed in no roots of truth. Whence it happens that envies are born in turn. For they wish to exclude you, he says, so that you may emulate them: not so much willing to teach the truth of the Law as to conquer. But lest we pass over the word glory entirely untouched, leaving their ineptitudes to the philosophers, let us retract some things from the Scriptures. The opinion of the common people and praise sought by the favor of men sounds with the name of glory, where it is said: "But they do all things so that they may be glorified by men" (Matt. 23:5). And elsewhere: "How can you believe, seeking glory from one another?" (John 5:44). Furthermore, in a good part in the same place: "And not seeking glory from him who is alone." From which we understand that the same word now signifies virtue, now vice. If I seek glory from men, it is a vice; if from God, it is a virtue, who also exhorts us to true glory, saying: "But those who glorify me, I will glorify." Glory also signifies another thing in the divine Scriptures, when something more august and divine offers itself to the gazes of men. The glory of the Lord was seen in the tabernacle, and in the temple which was constructed by Solomon there was glory (1 Kings 8). And in the face of Moses, when he did not know that his face had been glorified (Exod. 40). Concerning which glory of the face I think the Apostle also wrote: "But we, beholding with revealed face the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory into glory, as by the spirit of the Lord" (2 Cor. 3:18).

(Chapter 6, Verse 1.) "Brethren, even if a man be overtaken in some fault, you who are spiritual, instruct such a one in the spirit of mildness: considering yourself, lest you also be tempted." Paul, knowing himself to be a worshiper of that God who does not will the death of a sinner, but repentance (Ezek. 18, 33); and that, the Trinity excepted, every creature, although it does not sin, is nevertheless able to sin: he exhorts also him who is spiritual, by fear of his own sinning, to stretch out his hand to the one falling. And beautifully he calls the one overtaken in fault a "man," who is able to die: showing by the very name the fragility of the condition; so that he who, as a man deceived by error and submerged in a whirlpool, cannot raise himself up without help and a helper, might be worthy of pardon. But "man" is not added to the spiritual one: but as if to a god it is commanded that he should instruct the man overtaken in fault: or (as it is better held in the Greek) that he should perfect him in the spirit of lenity. But to him who is perfected, not all things are lacking, but some.

Denique si non peccatis pluribus, sed vitio aliquo praeoccupatus erravit: lenitatis spiritum et mansuetudinis in correctione peccantis spiritualis adhibeat, ne rigidus, ne iratus et tristis corrigere cupiat errantem; sed provocet eum, spondens salutem; veniam repromittens. Christi testimonium proferat: quod gravi legis et peccatorum onere depressos, ad jugum suum suave, et leve invitet onus. ut discant, quia humilis sit et mitis, et mansuetus corde (Matth. XI), et inveniant requiem animabus suis. Utamur hoc testimonio adversum haereticos: qui diversarum fingentes fabulas naturarum, aiunt spirituales, bonam esse arborem, et numquam malos afferre fructus. Ecce Apostolus, cujus et ipsi auctoritatem sequuntur, dicit eos qui spirituales sunt, posse peccare, si per altitudinem cordis sui inflentur et corruant. Quod et nos quoque fatemur; et χοῖκοὺς (terrenos), spirituales fieri, si ad meliora revertantur. Opponi nobis potest illud quod ad Corinthios scribitur: Quid vultis? In virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate, et spiritu mansuetudinis (I Cor. IV, 21)? Quod videtur non omnibus spiritum mansuetudinis Apostolus impertiri, sed his tantum qui se ab aliquo delicto praeoccupatos faterentur. Caeterum in contumaces et tumentes, non in mansuetudine, sed in virga opus esse.

(Vers. 2.) Alter alterius onera portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi. Quia peccatum onus sit, et Psalmista testatur dicens: Iniquitates meae elevatae sunt super caput meum, quasi onus grave gravatae sunt super me (Psal. XXXVII, 5). Et Zacharias, in specie mulieris, vidit super talentum plumbi sedere iniquitatem (Zach. V). Hoc onus Salvator pro nobis tulit, suo nos exemplo docens quid facere deberemus. Ipse quippe iniquitates nostras portat, et pro nobis dolet (Isai. LIII), et eos qui peccatorum ac Legis onere sunt depressi, ad leve onus virtutis invitat, dicens: Jugum meum suave est, et onus meum leve (Matth. XI, 30). Qui igitur fratris non desperat salutem, sed manum porrigit deprecanti, et quantum in se est, flet cum flente, infirmus est cum infirmo, suaeque judicat aliena peccata, iste per charitatem adimplebit legem Christi. Quae Christi lex est? Hoc est mandatum meum, ut diligatis invicem (Joan. XIII, 34.) Quae lex Filii Dei est? Diligite alterutrum, sicut et ego dilexi vos. Quomodo Dei Filius nos dilexit? Major hac dilectione non est, quam ut quis animam suam ponat pro amicis suis (Joan. XV, 13). Qui clementiam non habet, nec indutus est viscera misericordiae et lacrymarum, quamvis spiritualis sit, non adimplebit legem Christi. Sed et hunc locum cum superioribus copulemus. Duplicem enim sequimur intelligentiam.

Finally, if he has erred not by many sins, but overtaken by some vice: let the spiritual one apply the spirit of lenity and mildness in the correction of the one sinning, lest being rigid, lest being angry and sad, he should desire to correct the one erring; but let him provoke him, promising health, repromising pardon. Let him bring forth the testimony of Christ: that he invites those depressed by the heavy burden of the law and of sins to his sweet yoke and light burden. so that they may learn that he is humble and mild and meek of heart (Matt. 11), and find rest for their souls. Let us use this testimony against the heretics: who, feigning fables of diverse natures, say that the spiritual one is a good tree, and never bears evil fruits. Behold the Apostle, whose authority they also follow, says that those who are spiritual are able to sin, if they be puffed up by the height of their heart and fall. Which we also confess; and that the *choikous* (earthly) become spiritual if they return to better things. That which is written to the Corinthians can be opposed to us: "What do you want? Shall I come to you with a rod, or in charity and the spirit of mildness?" (1 Cor. 4:21). By which it seems that the Apostle does not impart the spirit of mildness to all, but only to those who would confess themselves overtaken by some fault. Otherwise, in the contumacious and swelling ones, there is need not of mildness but of the rod.

(Verse 2.) "Bear one another's burdens, and so you shall fulfill the law of Christ." That sin is a burden, the Psalmist also testifies saying: "My iniquities are elevated over my head, as a heavy burden they are weighed down upon me" (Ps. 38:5). And Zechariah, in the species of a woman, saw iniquity sitting upon a talent of lead (Zech. 5). The Savior bore this burden for us, teaching us by his example what we ought to do. For he himself bears our iniquities and sorrows for us (Isa. 53), and invites those who are depressed by the burden of sins and of the Law to the light burden of virtue, saying: "My yoke is sweet, and my burden is light" (Matt. 11:30). Therefore he who does not despair of a brother's health, but stretches out his hand to the one praying, and as much as is in him, weeps with the one weeping, is weak with the weak, and judges another's sins as his own, this one through charity shall fulfill the law of Christ. What is Christ's law? "This is my commandment, that you love one another" (John 13:34). What is the law of the Son of God? "Love one another, just as I have loved you." How did the Son of God love us? "Greater love than this no one has, than that one lay down his life for his friends" (John 15:13). He who has not clemency, nor is clothed with bowels of mercy and of tears, although he be spiritual, he shall not fulfill the law of Christ. But let us also connect this place with the preceding ones. For we follow a twofold understanding.

Si quis infirmus in fide est, et adhuc lacte nutritur infantiae, nec potest tam cito a legali observatione ad spiritualia sacramenta transire: vos qui robustiores estis, ejus onera portate: ne per scientiam vestram frater percat, pro quo Christus est mortuus. Portat quoque fratris necessitatem, qui gravatum pauperem onere egestatis adjuvat, et facit sibi amicos de iniquo mammona (Luc. XVI), quem post resurrectionem Christus affatur: Venite ad me, benedicti Patris mei: possidete praeparatum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi. Esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare: sitivi, et dedistis mihi bibere (Matth. XXV, 34, 35). Juxta hunc sensum etiam Apostolus ad Galatas loquitur, onera mutua portantibus, ut qui habet divitias, onera paupertatis impleat in fratre: et qui paupertate premitur, orationis onera impleat in divite.

(Vers. 3.) Nam si quis existimat se esse aliquid, cum nihil sit, seipsum seducit. Si quis non vult onera aliena portare, et immisericors suo tantum opere et virtute contentus est, non quaerens quae aliena sunt, sed quae sua, hoc est, sui tantum amator, et non etiam Dei, ipse se seducit. Dupliciter autem legi potest atque distingui: Vel, si quis existimat esse se aliquid, cum sit nihil: aut ita: Si quis existimat se esse aliquid, ut postea inferamus, cum sit nihil, se ipse seducit. Et magis in Graeco quam in Latino resonat ista distantia. Prioris distinctionis hic sensus est: Qui se aliquid existimat esse, et nihil est, ipse se decipit. Secundus sensus altior est, et qui nobis magis placet: Si quis existimat se esse aliquid, in eo quod se putat esse aliquid, et non ex clementia in proximum; sed ex suo opere et labore se judicat, sua tantum virtute contentus, iste ex hac ipsa arrogantia nihil fit, et ipse se decipit: quod melius in Graeco dicitur *φρεναπατά*, hoc est, mentem suam decipit: pro quo Latinus posuit Interpres, se ipse seducit. Mentem autem suam decipit, qui se putat esse sapientem, et secundum Isaiam, sapiens in se est, et in conspectu suo intelligens (Isai. V). Ad circumcisionem et Legem, ita loci hujus connectitur intellectus: Qui spiritualis est, et misericordiam in proximum non habet, contemnens humilem, quia ipse sublimior est, ipse se decipit, nesciens hanc spiritus esse legem, ut nos invicem diligamus.

(Vers. 4.) Opus autem suum probet unusquisque: et sic in semetipso tantum gloriam habebit, et non in altero. Sensus iste est: Tu qui te aestimas spiritualementem, et de alterius infirmitate robustior es, non debes imbecillitatem jacentis, sed tuam fortitudinem considerare. Neque enim si alius perfecte non potest ad Christianismum a Judaismo transire, idcirco tu perfectus es Christianus: sed si te propria conscientia non remordet, habes in temetipso gloriam et non in altero.

If anyone is weak in faith, and is still nourished with the milk of infancy, nor can so quickly pass from legal observation to spiritual sacraments: you who are more robust, bear his burdens: lest through your knowledge a brother perish for whom Christ has died. He also bears a brother's necessity who helps a poor man weighed down by the burden of poverty, and makes friends for himself from the unrighteous mammon (Luke 16), whom after the resurrection Christ addresses: "Come to me, you blessed of my Father: possess the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." "For I was hungry and you gave me to eat: I was thirsty and you gave me to drink" (Matt. 25:34, 35). According to this sense also the Apostle speaks to the Galatians, to those bearing mutual burdens, so that he who has riches should fulfill the burdens of poverty in a brother: and he who is pressed by poverty should fulfill the burdens of prayer in the rich man.

(Verse 3.) "For if anyone estimates himself to be something, when he is nothing, he seduces himself." If anyone does not want to bear another's burdens, and being unmerciful is content only with his own work and virtue, not seeking what are another's but what are his own—that is, a lover only of himself, and not also of God—he seduces himself. But it can be read and distinguished in a twofold way: Either, "if anyone estimates himself to be something, when he is nothing"; or thus: "if anyone estimates himself to be something," so that we may later infer, "when he is nothing, he seduces himself." And this distance resounds more in the Greek than in the Latin. The sense of the first distinction is this: He who estimates himself to be something, and is nothing, he deceives himself. The second sense is higher, and the one which pleases us more: If anyone estimates himself to be something, in that he thinks himself to be something, and not from clemency toward his neighbor; but judges himself from his own work and labor, content only with his own virtue, this one from this very arrogance becomes nothing, and he deceives himself: which is better said in Greek **phrenapata**, that is, he deceives his own mind; for which the Latin interpreter put "he seduces himself." But he deceives his own mind who thinks himself to be wise, and according to Isaiah, is wise in himself, and intelligent in his own sight (Isa. 5). To circumcision and the Law the understanding of this place is thus connected: He who is spiritual and does not have mercy on his neighbor, contemning the humble one because he himself is more sublime, he deceives himself, not knowing that this is the law of the spirit, that we love one another.

(Verse 4.) "But let every man prove his own work: and so he shall have glory only in himself, and not in another." This sense is: You who estimate yourself spiritual, and are more robust by another's infirmity, you ought to consider not the weakness of the one lying down, but your own fortitude. For neither if another cannot perfectly pass to Christianity from Judaism, are you therefore a perfect Christian: but if your own conscience does not remorsefully bite you, you have glory in yourself and not in another.

Athleta non ideo fortis est, quia vicit infirmum, et languida adversarii membra superavit: sed si robustus est, et in sua fortitudine, non in infirmitate alterius gloriatur. Intelligi potest et aliter: Qui conscientiam habet operis boni, et seipsum considerans, opus suum non reprehendit, non debet de hoc apud alium gloriari, et laudem suam foras fundere, et communicare cum cunctis, et ex hominum quaerere favore jactantiam: sed in semetipso habeat gloriam, et dicat: Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo. Qui gloriam quaerit ab altero, huic nec mundus crucifixus est, nec crucifixus est ipse cum Christo. Recepit quippe, quod quaerebat ab hominibus, mercedem suam.

(Vers. 5.) Unusquisque enim onus suum portabit. Videtur superioribus contraire, ubi ait: Alter alterius onera portate: si enim onus suum unusquisque portabit, alter alterius onera portare non poterit. Sed videndum, quod ibi praeceperit ut peccantes in hac vita nos invicem sustentemus, et in praesenti saeculo alterutrum auxilio simus: hic autem de Domini dicat in nos iudicio, quod non ex alterius peccato et comparatione deterioris; sed juxta nostrum opus, aut peccatores ab eo judicemur, aut sancti, recipiente unoquoque secundum opus suum. Obscure licet docemur per hanc sententiam, novum dogma quod latitat: dum in praesenti saeculo sumus, sive orationibus, sive consiliis, invicem posse nos coadjuvari. Cum autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, non Job, non Daniel, nec Noe rogare posse pro quoquam, sed unumquemque portare opus suum (Ezech. XIV).

(Vers. 6.) Communicet autem is qui catechizatur verbum, ei qui se catechizat in omnibus bonis. Marcion hunc locum ita interpretatus est, ut putaret fideles, et catechumenos simul orare debere, et magistrum communicare in oratione discipulis; illo vel maxime elatus, quod sequatur, in omnibus bonis. Cum utique si de oratione sermo fuisset, non debuerit ei praecipi qui catechizatur, sed ei qui se catechizat, id est, non discipulo, sed magistro. Deinde etiam caetera quae sequuntur, cum ejus expositione non congruunt: Quae seminaverit homo, haec et metet.

An athlete is not strong for that reason, because he conquered a weak man and overcame the languid members of an adversary: but if he is robust, and glories in his own fortitude, not in the infirmity of another. It can be understood otherwise: He who has a conscience of a good work and, considering himself, does not reprehend his own work, ought not to glory concerning this before another, and to pour his praise abroad, and to communicate with all, and to seek boasting from the favor of men: but let him have glory in himself, and say: "But far be it from me to glory, except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom the world is crucified to me, and I to the world." He who seeks glory from another, to him neither is the world crucified, nor is he himself crucified with Christ. He has received, indeed, what he was seeking from men, his reward.

(Verse 5.) "For every man shall bear his own burden." It seems to be contrary to the preceding, where he says: "Bear one another's burdens": for if each one shall bear his own burden, he will not be able to bear another's burdens. But it should be seen that there he commanded that we, sinning in this life, should sustain one another, and in the present age be of help to each other: but here he speaks concerning the Lord's judgment upon us, that not from another's sin and comparison with an inferior, but according to our own work, we may be judged by him as either sinners or saints, each one receiving according to his own work. Obscurely, although we are taught through this little sentence, a new dogma that lies hidden: while we are in the present age, whether by prayers or by counsels, we are able to be helped by each other. But when we shall have come before the tribunal of Christ, not Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah are able to pray for anyone, but each one must bear his own work (Ezek. 14).

(Verse 6.) "And let him who is instructed in the word communicate to him who instructs him in all good things." Marcion interpreted this place in such a way that he thought the faithful and the catechumens ought to pray together, and the master to communicate in prayer with the disciples; being especially elated by that which follows, "in all good things." Since certainly if the speech had been concerning prayer, it ought not to have been commanded to him who is instructed, but to him who instructs, that is, not to the disciple, but to the master. Then also the other things which follow do not agree with his exposition: "What a man shall have sown, these things he shall also reap."

Et: Bonum autem facientes, non deficiamus: tempore enim suo metemus, non deficientes. Sensus itaque iste est: Quia superius spiritualibus praeceperat, ut eos qui praeoccupati fuerant in aliquo delicto, instruerent in spiritu lenitatis, et alter alterius onera portarent, adimplentes legem Christi. nunc econtrario his qui adhuc imbecilliores, et discipuli, et carnales erant, praecipit, ut quomodo ipsi a magistris spiritualia metunt: sic magistris carnalia praebeant. qui totos se divinae eruditioni et studio tradentes, vitae hujus necessariis indigeant; et fiat illud quod de manna scriptum est: Qui multum, non abundavit; et qui modicum, non minoravit (II Cor. VIII, 15). Bona autem in praesenti loco juxta vulgi consuetudinem, moremque communem, victum et vestitum, et caetera quae homines inter bona numerant, appellavit. Habentes enim victum et vestitum, his contenti sumus (I Tim. VI, 8). Nec mirum si Paulus ea quae erant corpori necessaria boni appellatione signavit: cum etiam Salvator noster ad eos qui necdum ad virtutum culmen ascenderant, sed adhuc humiliius incedebant, et sibi addi poscebant fidem, dixerit: Si ergo vos cum mali sitis, scitis bona data dare filiis vestris: quanto magis Pater vester coelestis dabit bona petentibus se (Matth. VII, 11)! Ego puto et Job, cum ad uxorem, quasi unam de insipientibus mulieribus loqueretur, respectu ejus, quae ita putabat, de corporalibus divitiis locutum: Si bona accepimus de manu Domini, quare mala non sustineamus (Job. II, 10)?

(Vers. 7.) Nolite errare, Deus non irridetur: quae enim seminaverit homo, haec et metet. Praevidens spiritu, eos qui docentur, et debent magistris sumptus et vitae necessaria ministrare, posse obtendere paupertatem, et dicere: Ager meus hoc anno aruit siccitate: vineam grando contrivit: redditus qui esse potuerunt [Al. poterunt], tributa rapuerunt: non habeo unde tribuam quod jubetur, adjecit: Nolite errare, Deus non irridetur. Scit, inquit, corda vestra, non ignorat facultates. Excusatio verisimilis hominem potest utcumque placare, Deum non potest fallere. Et simul cohortatur ad id quod praeceptum est exhibendum, semen nominans, ne putet perditum, quod multiplicato fenore recepturus est. Ad Corinthios quoque rationem dati et accepti, simili docuit exemplo: Qui parce seminat, parce et metet: et qui seminat in benedictione, de benedictione et metet. Unusquique sicut propositum habet in corde, non ex tristitia, aut necessitate: hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus (I Cor. IX, 6, 7).

And: "But doing good, let us not fail: for in his own time we shall reap, not failing." The sense therefore is this: Because above he had commanded the spiritual ones that they should instruct those who had been overtaken in some fault in the spirit of lenity, and that they should bear one another's burdens, fulfilling the law of Christ. now on the contrary he commands these who were still weaker, and disciples, and carnal, that just as they reap spiritual things from the masters, so they should provide carnal things to the masters. who, giving themselves entirely to divine erudition and study, are in need of the necessities of this life; and let that happen which is written of the manna: "He who much, did not abound; and he who little, did not diminish" (2 Cor. 8:15). But in the present place he called "good things," according to the custom of the common people and common manner, food and clothing, and the rest which men number among good things. "For having food and clothing, with these we are content" (1 Tim. 6:8). Nor is it a wonder if Paul signified those things which were necessary to the body by the name of good: when also our Savior, to those who had not yet ascended to the summit of virtues, but were still walking more humbly and asking for faith to be added to them, said: "If you then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give good things to those asking him!" (Matt. 7:11). I think also Job, when he spoke to his wife as if to one of the foolish women, spoke concerning corporeal riches in respect of her who thus thought: "If we have received good things from the hand of the Lord, why should we not sustain evil things?" (Job 2:10).

(Verse 7.) "Be not deceived, God is not mocked: for what a man shall have sown, these things he shall also reap." Foreseeing by the spirit that those who are taught and ought to administer expenses and life's necessities to the masters might be able to pretend poverty and say: "My field this year dried up by drought; hail crushed the vineyard; the rents that could have been, tributes snatched away; I do not have whence I may pay what is commanded," he added: "Be not deceived, God is not mocked." He knows, he says, your hearts, he is not ignorant of your faculties. A plausible excuse can in some way appease a man, it cannot deceive God. And at the same time he exhorts to exhibiting what has been commanded, naming it "seed," lest one think it lost, which he is to receive with multiplied interest. To the Corinthians also he taught the reason of giving and receiving by a similar example: "He who sows sparingly shall also reap sparingly: and he who sows in blessing shall also reap from blessing." "Each one as he has purposed in his heart, not from sadness or necessity: for God loves a cheerful giver" (1 Cor. 9:6, 7).

(Vers. 8.) Quoniam qui seminat in carne sua, de carne et metet corruptionem. Qui autem seminat in spiritu, de spiritu metet vitam aeternam. Omne quod loquimur, agimus, cogitamus, in duobus seminatur agris, carne et spiritu. Si bona sunt, quae de manu, ore, corde promuntur, seminata in spiritu, vitae aeternae fructibus redundabunt. Si mala, ab agro carnis excepta, corruptionis nobis segetem pullulabunt. Aliter: Qui legem carnaliter intelligit, repromissiones quoque carnales, et quae in praesenti saeculo corrumpuntur, exspectat. Qui autem spiritualis auditor est, seminat in spiritu, et de spiritu metet vitam sempiternam. Simul notemus sermonis consequentiam, et eam cum superioribus copulemus: hominem vocari in spiritu seminantem, qui quando coeperit vitam metere sempiternam, homo fortasse esse desistit. Cassianus, qui putativam Christi carnem introducens, omnem conjunctionem masculi ad feminam immundam arbitratur, Encratitarum vel acerrimus haeresiarches, tali adversum nos sub occasione praesentis testimonii usus est argumento: Si quis seminat in carne, de carne metet corruptionem: in carne autem seminat, qui mulieri jungitur: ergo et is qui uxore utitur, et seminat in carne ejus, de carne metet corruptionem. Respondebitur ei, primum non dixisse Paulum, qui seminat in carne; sed, in carne sua. Nemo autem secum ipse concumbit, et in sua carne seminat. Deinde ut observationem hanc quam annotavimus, in carne sua, ex abundanti ei concedamus, addendum est eos quoque, qui comedant et bibant, et dormiant et aliquid faciant ob refrigerium corporis, juxta illum seminare in carne, et de ea metere corruptionem. Quod si ad hoc confugerit, ut dicat eos qui, sive bibant, sive manducent, sive dormiant, in nomine tamen Domini omnia cum ratione perficiant, non in carne seminare, sed in spiritu; et nos ei similiter respondebimus, eos quoque qui Dei primam sententiam sequantur cum ratione facientes: Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram (Genes. I, 22), non in carne, sed in spiritu seminare.

(Vers. 9.) Bonum autem facientes, non deficiamus: tempore enim suo metemus, non deficientes. Cohortatur eos ad studium perseverantiae, qui in hac vita mercedem boni operis exspectant, nescientes quia sicut in semine aliud sationis, aliud messis est tempus: sic et in praesenti vita, sementem esse opera (quae vel in spiritu, vel in carne metantur), messem vero futurum iudicium, et pro qualitate vel diversitate sementis, diversas nos facere messuras, centesimum et sexagesimum, et tricesimum fructum, quam segetem nemo potest metere deficiens. Qui enim perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit (Matt. X, 22). Sicut et in alio loco praecipitur: Esto non deficiens (Isai. V). Quale est autem, ut cum peccatores quotidie in malis operibus augeamur, nos in bono opere lassemur?

(Verse 8.) "For he who sows in his flesh, from the flesh he shall also reap corruption. But he who sows in the spirit, from the spirit he shall reap eternal life." Everything that we speak, do, or think is sown in two fields: flesh and spirit. If the things that are brought forth from the hand, mouth, or heart are good, sown in the spirit, they shall abound in fruits of eternal life. If evil, received from the field of the flesh, they shall sprout for us a crop of corruption. Otherwise: He who understands the law carnally also expects carnal promises, and things which are corrupted in the present age. But he who is a spiritual hearer sows in the spirit, and from the spirit he shall reap everlasting life. At the same time let us note the consequence of the speech, and connect it with the preceding things: that the one sowing in the spirit is called a man, who, when he shall have begun to reap everlasting life, perhaps ceases to be a man. Cassianus, who introducing the putative flesh of Christ thinks every conjunction of male to female to be unclean—being the most sharp heresiarch of the Encratites—used such an argument against us on the occasion of the present testimony: "If anyone sows in the flesh, he shall reap corruption from the flesh; but he who is joined to a woman sows in the flesh; therefore also he who uses a wife, and sows in her flesh, shall reap corruption from the flesh." It will be answered to him, first, that Paul did not say, "he who sows in the flesh"; but, "in his own flesh." For no one sleeps with himself and sows in his own flesh. Then, so that we may grant him in abundance this observation which we noted, "in his own flesh," it must be added that those also who eat and drink, and sleep and do anything for the refreshment of the body, according to him sow in the flesh and reap corruption from it. But if he should fly to this, so that he says those who, whether they drink, or eat, or sleep, nevertheless perform all things with reason in the name of the Lord, do not sow in the flesh but in the spirit; we shall answer him similarly, that those also who follow God's first sentence, doing it with reason—"Increase and multiply, and fill the earth" (Gen. 1:22)—do not sow in the flesh but in the spirit.

(Verse 9.) "But doing good, let us not fail: for in due time we shall reap, not failing." He exhorts them to the study of perseverance, who expect the reward of a good work in this life, not knowing that just as in seed one is the time of sowing, another of harvest: so also in the present life, the sowing is the works (which are reaped either in the spirit or in the flesh), but the harvest is the future judgment, and according to the quality or diversity of the sowing, we make different harvests, hundredfold, and sixtyfold, and thirtyfold fruit, which crop no one can reap if he is failing. "For he who shall have persevered unto the end, he shall be saved" (Matt. 10:22). As also in another place it is commanded: "Be not failing" (Isa. 5). What sort of thing is it, however, that while sinners daily increase in evil works, we should grow weary in a good work?

(Vers. 10.) Ergo dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei. Tempus istud, praesentis vitae spatium est, in quo seminare possumus, ut in futuro metamus. Qui autem in hoc tempore non seminaverit, nihil habebit in messis tempore quod colligat. Operemur, inquit, bonum ad omnes. Nullus excipiat a charitate Christiana: nullo modo dicatur: Hic peccator est, hic gentilis, hic Judaeus est: sed ad omnes bonum operemur, secundum quod Salvator noster facit solem suum oriri super bonos et malos. Maxime autem ad domesticos fidei. Qui licet omnes debeamus diligere, tamen eos debemus prae caeteris quibus eadem fidei societas, eadem religionis unitas copulavit. Domesticus enim est qui in eadem domo versatur. Domus Dei autem Ecclesia est, in qua omnes nos unum corpus, et una sumus in Christo.

(Vers. 11.) Videte qualibus litteris scripsi vobis mea manu. In hoc loco duplex intelligentia est. Quidam putant Paulum, qui erat in Hebraeorum litteris eruditus, Graecas litteras nesciisse: et quia necessitas compellebat ut Galatis scriberet, ex ignorantia litterarum, grandes eas, et inconditas fecisse: quod usque hodie videmus a multis fieri, qui in aliena lingua scribere conantur. Alii vero altiori sensu accipiunt: quod non de magnitudine litterarum, sed de sensuum sublimitate loquatur: quod scilicet non verbis tantum, sed factis, et toto corpore, et ipsa manu, quae bona operatur, illis scripserit. Ego vero puto, quod de his litteris dicat, quas supra scripserat, in quibus libertatem fidei, et circumcisionis abdicationem, et Legis cessationem tota ratiocinatione firmaverat.

(Vers. 10.) Ergo, dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei. Tempus sementis, ut diximus, tempus est praesens, et vita quam currimus. In hac licet nobis quod volumus seminare; cum ista vita transierit, operandi tempus aufertur. Unde et Salvator ait: Operamini dum dies est: veniet nox, quando jam nullus poterit operari (Joan. IX, 4.) Ortus est nobis Dei sermo, sol verus, et congregatae sunt bestiae recedentes in cubilia sua: procedamus ut homines ad opus nostrum, et usque ad vesperam laboremus, sicut mystice cantatur in psalmo: Posuisti tenebras, et facta est nox. In ipsa pertransibunt bestiae silvae, catuli leonum rugientes, ut rapiant, et quaerant a Deo escam sibi. Ortus est sol, et congregatae sunt, et in cubilibus suis dormierunt. Egredietur homo ad opus suum, et ad operationem suam usque ad vesperam (Ps. CIII, 20 seqq.).

(Verse 10.) "Therefore, while we have time, let us work good to all, but especially to the domestics of the faith." This time is the space of the present life, in which we are able to sow, so that in the future we may reap. But he who shall not have sown in this time, shall have nothing in the time of harvest to collect. "Let us work," he says, "good to all." Let no one be excepted from Christian charity: in no way let it be said: "This one is a sinner, this one a gentile, this one is a Jew": but let us work good to all, according to which our Savior makes his sun to rise upon the good and the evil. "But especially to the domestics of the faith." Whom, although we ought to love all, yet we ought to love beyond the others those to whom the same society of faith, the same unity of religion has coupled us. For a domestic is he who is engaged in the same house. But the house of God is the Church, in which we all are one body, and one in Christ.

(Verse 11.) "See with what letters I have written to you with my own hand." In this place there is a twofold understanding. Some think that Paul, who was erudite in the letters of the Hebrews, did not know the Greek letters: and because necessity compelled him to write to the Galatians, from ignorance of the letters, he made them large and unpolished: which until today we see happen by many, who attempt to write in a foreign language. But others receive it with a higher sense: that he speaks not of the magnitude of letters, but of the sublimity of senses: that namely he wrote to them not only with words, but with deeds, and his whole body, and his very hand, which works good things. I, however, think that he speaks concerning these letters which he had written above, in which he had confirmed the liberty of faith, and the abdication of circumcision, and the cessation of the Law by his entire reasoning.

(Verse 10.) "Therefore, while we have time, let us work good to all, especially, however, to the domestics of the faith." The time of sowing, as we have said, is the present time, and the life which we run. In this it is permitted to us to sow what we wish; when that life shall have passed away, the time of working is taken away. Wherefore also the Savior says: "Work while it is day: the night will come, when now no one will be able to work" (John 9:4). The Word of God has risen for us, the true sun, and the beasts have been gathered together, receding into their dens: let us proceed as men to our work, and let us labor until evening, as it is mystically sung in the psalm: "You have placed darkness, and night was made." In it the beasts of the forest shall pass through, the young lions roaring, that they may seize, and seek food for themselves from God. The sun has risen, and they were gathered together, and they have slept in their dens. Man shall go forth to his work, and to his operation until evening" (Ps. 103:20 ff.).

Sive aegrotamus, sive sani sumus, humiles, vel potentes, pauperes, divites, ignobiles, honorati, esurientes, sive vescentes, omnia in nomine Domini cum patientia et aequanimitate faciamus, et implebitur in nobis illud quod scriptum est: Diligentibus autem Dominum, omnia cooperantur in bonum. Ira ipsa et libido, et injuria quae desiderat ultionem, si me refrenem: si propter Deum taccam: si per singulos commotionis aculeos, et incentiva vitiorum, Dei desuper me videntis recorder, fiunt mihi occasio triumphorum. Ne dicamus in largiendo: Ille est amicus, hunc nescio: hic debet accipere, iste contemni. Imitemur Patrem nostrum, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos, et pluit super justos et injustos (Matt. V). Fons bonitatis omnibus patet. Servus et liber, plebeius et rex, dives et pauper, ex eo similiter bibunt. Lucerna cum accensa fuerit in domo, omnibus lucet aequaliter. Quod si in cunctos indifferenter liberalitatis frena laxantur, quanto magis in domesticos fidei, et in Christianos, qui eundem habent Patrem, ejusque magistri appellatione censentur!

Videtur autem mihi locus iste posse et superioribus cohaerere, ut domesticos fidei, magistros nominet, quibus supra omnia quae putantur bona, ab auditoribus suis jusserat ministrari. Breve est vitae istius curriculum. Hoc ipsum quod loquor, quod dicto, quod scribo, quod emendo, quod relego, de tempore meo mihi aut crescit, aut deperit. Titus, filius Vespasiani, qui in ultionem Dominici sanguinis, subversis Jerosolymis, Romam victor ingressus est, tantae dicitur fuisse bonitatis, ut cum quadam nocte sero recordaretur, in coena, quod nihil boni die illa fecisset, dixerit amicis: Hodie diem perdidi. Nos putamus non perire nobis horam, diem, momenta, tempus, aetates, cum otiosum verbum loquimur, pro quo reddituri sumus rationem in die judicii (Matt. XII)? Quod si hoc ille sine Lege, sine Evangelio, sine Salvatoris, et apostolorum doctrina, naturaliter et dixit, et fecit: quid nos oportet facere, in quorum condemnationem habet et Juno univiras, et Vesta virgines, et alia idola continentes? Beatus Joannes evangelista cum Ephesi moraretur usque ad ultimam senectutem, et vix inter discipulorum manus ad ecclesiam deferretur, nec posset in plura vocem verba contexere, nihil aliud per singulas solebat proferre collectas, nisi hoc: Filioli, diligite alterutrum. Tandem discipuli et fratres qui aderant, taedio affecti, quod eadem semper audirent, dixerunt: Magister, quare semper hoc loqueris? Qui respondit dignam Joanne sententiam: Quia praeceptum Domini est, et si solum fiat, sufficit. Hoc propter praesens Apostoli mandatum: Operemur bonum ad omnes: maxime autem ad domesticos fidei.

Whether we are sick, or we are healthy, humble, or powerful, poor, rich, ignoble, honored, hungering, or eating, let us do all things in the name of the Lord with patience and equanimity, and that which is written will be fulfilled in us: "But to those who love the Lord, all things work together for good." Anger itself and lust, and injury which desires vengeance, if I restrain myself: if for the sake of God I am silent: if through the individual stings of commotion, and incentives of vices, I remember God seeing me from above, they become for me an occasion of triumphs. Let us not say in bestowing: "That one is a friend, this one I do not know: this one ought to receive, that one be despised." Let us imitate our Father, who makes his sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and rains upon the just and the unjust (Matt. 5). The fountain of goodness lies open to all. Slave and free, plebeian and king, rich and poor, drink from it similarly. When a lamp has been lit in a house, it shines for all equally. But if the reins of liberality are loosened indifferently towards all, how much more towards the domestics of the faith, and towards Christians, who have the same Father, and are assessed by the name of the same teacher!

It seems to me, however, that this place can also cohere with the superior things, so that he names the "domestics of the faith" the teachers, to whom above all things which are thought good, he had ordered to be administered by their hearers. Brief is the course of this life. This very thing that I speak, that I dictate, that I write, that I emend, that I reread, from my time it either increases for me, or perishes. Titus, the son of Vespasian, who in vengeance for the Lord's blood, after Jerusalem was subverted, entered Rome as victor, is said to have been of such great goodness, that when on a certain night late he remembered, at supper, that he had done nothing good on that day, he said to his friends: "Today I have lost a day." Do we think an hour, a day, moments, time, ages, do not perish for us, when we speak an idle word, for which we are to render an account in the day of judgment (Matt. 12)? But if he said and did this naturally without the Law, without the Gospel, without the doctrine of the Savior and the apostles: what is it necessary for us to do, in whose condemnation even Juno has her one-husband-wives (univiras), and Vesta her virgins, and other idols their continent ones? The blessed John the evangelist, when he was staying at Ephesus until extreme old age, and was scarcely carried to the church between the hands of the disciples, nor was he able to weave his voice into more words, was accustomed to bring forth nothing else through individual assemblies, except this: "Little children, love one another." At last the disciples and brothers who were present, affected by weariness that they always heard the same things, said: "Master, why do you always speak this?" Who replied with a sentence worthy of John: "Because it is the precept of the Lord, and if it alone be done, it suffices." This is on account of the present command of the Apostle: "Let us work good to all: but especially to the domestics of the faith."

(Vers. 11.) Videte qualibus litteris scripsi vobis mea manu. Hi qui circumcidi Galatas volebant, disseminaverant alia Paulum facere, alia praedicare, et suo opere destruere sermonem, quod qui Legem assereret abolitam, ipse inveniretur in Lege. Hanc opinionem, quia non poterat Paulus apud omnes praesens ipse subvertere (prohibebatur quippe vinculis, quae ob Christi martyrium sustinebat), seipsum per litteras repraesentat. Et ne aliqua suppositae Epistolae suspicio nasceretur, ab hoc loco usque ad finem, manu sua ipse perscripsit, ostendens superiora ab alio exarata. Quod autem sub nomine ejus a falsis doctoribus Epistolae mitterentur, ad Thessalonicenses quoque demonstrat scribens: Rogamus autem vos. fratres, per adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et nostrae congregationis in ipsum, ut non cito moveamini a vestro sensu, nec terreamini, neque per spiritum, neque per sermonem, neque per Epistolam tamquam per nos missam, quasi instet dies Domini, ne quis vos seducat ullo modo (II Thess. II, 1 seqq.). Et ut totam Epistolam quam mittebat, suspicione erueret falsitatis, manu sua in fine subscripsit, dicens: Salutatio mea manu Pauli, quod est signum in omni Epistola: ita scribo: Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum omnibus vobis (II Thess. III, 17, 18). Ad Colossenses etiam quas dictaverat litteras, manu sua similiter subnotavit: Salutatio mea manu Pauli: Memores estote vinculorum meorum. Et ubicumque sciebat falsos adesse doctores, qui possent per Apostoli auctoritatem nova dogmata seminare, Epistolam manu propria subscribebat. Denique et ad Corinthios scribens, in quibus erant schismata et haereses, unoquoque dicente: Ego sum Pauli, et ego Apollo, ego autem Cephae (I Cor. I, 12), epistolam suam tali annotatione signavit: Salutatio mea manu Pauli: Si quis non amat Dominum Jesum Christum, anathema sit, maranatha, et caetera.

Propter hoc igitur volens omnem occasionem falsis auferre doctoribus, qui es Galatas a veritate Evangelii depravarant, finem epistolae manus suae annotatione complevit, dicens: Videte qualibus litteris scripsi vobis; non quod grandes litterae fuerint (hoc quippe in Graeco sonat *pēlikois*), sed quod suae manus essent eis nota vestigia, ut dum litterarum apices recognoscunt, ipsum se putarent videre, qui scripserat. In hoc loco vir apprime nostris temporibus eruditus, miror quomodo rem ridiculam locutus sit. Paulus, inquit, Hebraeus erat, et Graecas litteras nesciebat.

(Verse 11.) "See with what letters I have written to you with my own hand." Those who wished the Galatians to be circumcised had disseminated that Paul did one thing and preached another, and that by his own work he destroyed the discourse, because he who asserted the Law abolished was himself found in the Law. This opinion, because Paul was not able to subvert it in person among all (for he was prohibited by the chains which he sustained on account of Christ's martyrdom), he represents himself through letters. And lest any suspicion of a substituted Epistle should arise, from this place until the end, he wrote it through with his own hand, showing that the superior things were written by another. That, however, Epistles were sent under his name by false teachers, he also demonstrates to the Thessalonians, writing: "But we ask you, brothers, by the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of our gathering into him, that you be not quickly moved from your sense, nor be terrified, neither through spirit, nor through word, nor through an Epistle as if sent through us, as if the day of the Lord were pressing, lest anyone seduce you in any way" (2 Thess. 2:1 ff.). And in order that he might rescue from suspicion of falsehood the whole Epistle which he was sending, he subscribed with his own hand at the end, saying: "The salutation by my hand, Paul's, which is a sign in every Epistle: thus I write: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all" (2 Thess. 3:17, 18). To the Colossians also, the letters which he had dictated, he similarly noted with his own hand: "The salutation by my hand, Paul's: Be mindful of my chains." And wherever he knew false teachers to be present, who were able through the Apostle's authority to sow new dogmas, he subscribed the Epistle with his own hand. Finally, also writing to the Corinthians, in whom there were schisms and heresies, with each one saying: "I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, but I of Cephas" (1 Cor. 1:12), he signed his epistle with such an annotation: "The salutation by my hand, Paul's: If anyone does not love the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema, maranatha," and the rest.

On account of this, therefore, wishing to take away every occasion from the false teachers, who had depraved the Galatians from the truth of the Gospel, he completed the end of the epistle with an annotation of his hand, saying: "See with what letters I have written to you"; not that the letters were large (for this indeed sounds in Greek *pēlikois*), but because there were known traces of his hand to them, so that while they recognized the apices of the letters, they might think they saw himself, who had written. In this place a man especially erudite in our times, I wonder how he spoke a ridiculous thing. Paul, he says, was a Hebrew, and did not know the Greek letters.

Et quia necessitas expetebat, ut manu sua epistolam subscriberet, contra consuetudinem curvos tramites litterarum, vix magnis apicibus exprimebat: etiam in hoc suae ad Galatas indicia charitatis ostendens, quod propter illos id quoque quod non poterat, facere conaretur. Grandibus ergo Paulus litteris scripsit epistolam, quia sensus erat grandis in litteris, et spiritu Dei vivi, non atramento, nec calamo fuerat exaratus. Quod autem apposuit, mea manu, opera intelligamus in manibus. Quam ob causam crebro et in prophetis scribitur: Sermo Dei qui factus est in manu Jeremiae, sive Aggaei, ut per hanc quoque similitudinem in manu Pauli sciamus factum Dei esse sermonem. Grandes Paulus litteras non solum tunc ad Galatas, sed etiam hodie scribit ad cunctos, et quamvis parvi sint apices quibus ejus Epistolae conscribuntur, tamen magnae sunt litterae, quia in litteris magnus est sensus.

(Vers. 12.) Quicumque volunt placere in carne, hi cogunt vos circumcidi: tantum ut crucis Christi persecutionem non patiantur. Superius ostendit ex quo loco sua subscripserit manu: nunc quid scripserit, replicat. Caius Caesar, et Octavianus Augustus, et Tiberius successor Augusti, leges promulgaverant, ut Judaei qui erant in toto Romani imperii orbe dispersi, proprio ritu viverent, et patriis caeremoniis deservirent. Quicumque igitur circumcisis erat, licet in Christum crederet, quasi Judaeus habebatur a Gentibus. Qui vero absque circumcisione se non esse Judaeum praeputio praeferbat, persecutionibus tam Gentilium, quam Judaeorum, fiebat obnoxius. Has igitur persecutiones hi qui Galatas depravaverant declinare cupientes, circumcisionem pro defensione discipulis persuadebant quam nunc Apostolus confidentiam in carne vocat, quod scilicet tam Gentibus [Al. Gentilibus], quos timebant, quam Judaeis, qui volebant placere, circumcisionem in persecutione proponerent. Nam nec Judaei persequi eos poterant, nec Gentiles, quos videbant [Al. volebant] et proselytos circumcidere, et ipsos Legis praecepta servare.

Neque enim qui circumcisi sunt, hi Legem custodiunt, sed volunt vos circumcidi, ut in carne vestra glorientur. Propter infirmitatem, inquit, carnis, Lex impleri non potest. Unde et Judaei praecepta magis hominum et doctrinas, quam Dei mandata custodiunt, neque corporalem facientes Legem, impossibile quippe est: neque spirituales, quam non intelligunt. Unde hoc est omne quod student, quod agunt, quod nituntur, ut apud Judaeos de vestrae carnis injuria glorientur, et jactitent suo Gentes magisterio circumcisis. Hoc autem totum faciunt, ut Judaeis placeant, et expugnatae Legis invidia conquiescat.

And because necessity required that he subscribe the epistle with his own hand, against custom he expressed the curved paths of the letters, scarcely with large apices: showing also in this the indications of his charity towards the Galatians, that on account of them he would also attempt to do that which he was not able to do. Paul, therefore, wrote the epistle with large letters, because the sense was large in the letters, and it had been written by the Spirit of the living God, not with ink, nor with a pen. But that which he added, "with my hand," let us understand works in the hands. For which cause also in the prophets it is frequently written: "The word of God which was made in the hand of Jeremiah," or "of Haggai," so that through this similarity also we may know that the word of God was made in the hand of Paul. Paul writes large letters not only then to the Galatians, but also today he writes to all, and although the apices with which his Epistles are written are small, yet the letters are large, because in the letters the sense is large.

(Verse 12.) "Whoever wish to please in the flesh, these compel you to be circumcised: only that they may not suffer the persecution of the cross of Christ." Above he showed from what place he subscribed with his own hand: now he repeats what he wrote. Caius Caesar, and Octavian Augustus, and Tiberius the successor of Augustus, had promulgated laws, so that the Jews who were dispersed in the whole world of the Roman empire, might live by their own rite, and serve their paternal ceremonies. Whoever, therefore, was circumcised, although he believed in Christ, was held as a Jew by the Gentiles. But he who without circumcision preferred to show by his foreskin that he was not a Jew, became obnoxious to the persecutions both of the Gentiles and of the Jews. These persecutions, therefore, those who had depraved the Galatians, desiring to decline, persuaded the disciples to circumcision for defense, which now the Apostle calls confidence in the flesh, because namely they proposed circumcision in persecution both to the Gentes (Gentiles), whom they feared, and to the Jews, whom they wished to please. For neither were the Jews able to persecute them, nor the Gentiles, whom they saw both circumcising proselytes, and themselves keeping the precepts of the Law.

"For neither they who are circumcised, these keep the Law, but they wish you to be circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh." On account of the infirmity, he says, of the flesh, the Law is not able to be fulfilled. Wherefore also the Jews keep rather the precepts of men and doctrines, than the mandates of God, neither doing the corporal Law, which is indeed impossible: nor the spiritual, which they do not understand. Wherefore this is everything that they study, that they act, that they strive for, that they may glory among the Jews concerning the injury of your flesh, and boast the Gentes (Gentiles) circumcised by their own teaching. This, however, they do entirely, so that they may please the Jews, and the envy of the assaulted Law may rest.

(Vers. 14.) Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo. Solus potest in cruce Christi gloriari, qui tollit eam, et sequitur Salvatorem, qui crucifixit carnem suam cum vitiis et concupiscentiis, qui mortuus est mundo, et non contemplatur ea quae videntur, sed quae non videntur: videns mundum crucifixum, et transeuntem figuram ejus. Crucifigitur autem justo mundus ille, de quo Salvator ait: Ego vici mundum (Joan. XVI, 33). Et: Nolite diligere mundum. Et: Non accepistis spiritum e mundo. Cui crucifixus est mundus, huic mundus et mortuus est: et jam ei venit mundi consummatio, et dignus effectus novo coelo, et nova terra, et novo Testamento, canit canticum novum, et accipit nomen novum scriptum in calculo, quod nemo novit nisi qui acceperit illud. Quaeritur quomodo nunc Paulus dicat: Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cum in alio loco de aliis gloriatur, ut ibi ait: Per vestram gloriam, quam habeo in Christo Jesu (I Cor. XV, 31). Et iterum: Libenter gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis, ut inhabitet in me virtus Christi (II Cor. XII, 9). Et in alio loco: Bonum autem mihi est magis mori, quam ut gloriam meam quis evacuet (I Cor. IX, 15), et caetera quae in hunc modum scripta sunt. Sed sciendum quod omnis illa gloriatio ad crucem relata, gloria cruci sit: et quidquid dignum in virtutibus perpetratur, hoc fieri ob Domini passionem.

(Vers. 15.) Neque enim circumcisio aliquid est, neque praeputium, sed nova creatura. Quomodo fidelis et infidelis, cum unus sit per substantiam, in duos dividitur juxta intelligentiae diversitatem, Apostolo dicente: Exspoliantes vos veterem hominem cum operibus ejus, et induentes novum, qui renovatur in cognitionem juxta imaginem Creatoris (Coloss. III, 9, 10): sic et mundus cum secundum substantiam unus sit, secundum sensum alius atque alius efficitur. Peccatori, mundus vetus est: sancto, novus. Cum enim sancto mundus fuerit crucifixus, nequaquam est ei circumcisio et praeputium: non Judaeus, neque Gentilis: sed nova creatura, in quam transfiguratur corpus humilitatis nostrae, conforme corporis gloriae Christi: Vetera quippe transierunt, ecce facta sunt omnia nova (II Cor. V). Et quomodo alia est gloria solis, alia lunae, alia stellarum: Stella quippe a stella differt in gloria: sic et resurrectio mortuorum (I Cor. XV, 41, 42).

(Verse 14.) "But far be it from me to glory, except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom the world is crucified to me, and I to the world." He alone is able to glory in the cross of Christ, who takes it up, and follows the Savior, who crucified his own flesh with its vices and concupiscences, who is dead to the world, and does not contemplate those things which are seen, but those which are not seen: seeing the world crucified, and its passing figure. But that world is crucified to the just man, concerning which the Savior says: "I have overcome the world" (John 16:33). And: "Do not love the world." And: "You have not received the spirit from the world." To whom the world is crucified, to him the world is also dead: and now for him the consummation of the world has come, and being made worthy of a new heaven, and a new earth, and a new Testament, he sings a new song, and receives a new name written in the pebble, which no one knows except he who shall have received it. It is asked how now Paul says: "But far be it from me to glory, except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ," when in another place he glories concerning others, as there he says: "By your glory, which I have in Christ Jesus" (1 Cor. 15:31). And again: "Gladly will I glory in my infirmities, that the virtue of Christ may dwell in me" (2 Cor. 12:9). And in another place: "But it is better for me to die, than that anyone should make void my glory" (1 Cor. 9:15), and the rest which are written in this manner. But it must be known that all that glorying referred to the cross, is glory to the cross: and whatever worthy thing is perpetrated in the virtues, this is done on account of the Lord's passion.

(Verse 15.) "For neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." Just as the faithful and the unfaithful, although they are one by substance, are divided into two according to the diversity of understanding, with the Apostle saying: "Stripping yourselves of the old man with his works, and putting on the new, who is renewed into knowledge according to the image of the Creator" (Coloss. 3:9, 10): so also the world, while it is one according to substance, is made one thing and another according to sense. To the sinner, the world is old: to the saint, new. For when the world shall have been crucified to the saint, circumcision and uncircumcision is in no way for him: not a Jew, nor a Gentile: but a new creature, into which the body of our humility is transfigured, conformed to the body of the glory of Christ: "For the old things have passed away, behold all things have been made new" (2 Cor. 5). And just as there is one glory of the sun, another of the moon, another of the stars: "For star differs from star in glory: so also is the resurrection of the dead" (1 Cor. 15:41, 42).

De qua et Daniel pari voce concordat, dicens: Plurimi dormientium de terrae pulvere surgent: hi in vitam aeternam, et hi in opprobrium et in confusionem aeternam (Dan. XII, 2); et: Intelligentes fulgebunt sicut splendor firmamenti. Et de justis: Multi sicut stellae in sempiternum. Neque enim in sole et luna, firmamento et stellis, circumcisio aliquid valet, aut praeputium: sed est nova conditio sine his partibus corporum, quae possunt secari. Ita igitur et nos qui diligimus Deum, et praeparata sunt nobis quae nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascenderunt (I Cor. II), cum de corpore humilitatis transformati fuerimus in corpus gloriae Domini Jesu Christi, illud habebimus corpus quod nec Judaeus possit incidere, nec cum praeputio custodire Gentilis. Non quod aliud juxta substantiam sit: sed quod juxta gloriam sit diversum. Oportet enim mortale hoc induere immortalitatem, et corruptivum hoc incorruptione vestiri (I Cor. XV, 53). Huic quid simile et beatus evangelista Joannes sentiens est locutus: Charissimi, nunc Dei filii sumus: et necdum manifestum est quid futuri simus. Scimus quia si manifestatum fuerit, similes ei erimus: quia videbimus eum sicut ipse est (I Joan. III, 2). Quia ergo necdum manifestatum [Al. manifestum] est illud corpus gloriae Jesu Christi, quod et vestigia clavorum post resurrectionem habuit, et clausis januis est ingressum: nos qui jam nunc in baptismo Christo conresurreximus, in novum renati hominem, nec circumcisioni, nec praeputio serviamus: sed quod futuri sumus, jam nunc nos esse credamus.

(Vers. 16.) Et quicumque hanc regulam sequuntur, pax super illos, et misericordia, et super Israel Dei. Ad normam omnia diriguntur; et utrum prava rectave sint, cum regula apposita fuerit, arguuntur. Ita et doctrina Dei quaedam quasi norma sermonis est, quae inter justa judicat et injusta: quam qui secutus fuerit, habebit pacem in semetipso quae superat omnem sensum; et post pacem, misericordiam quae praecipua est in Dei Israel. Dei vero Israel dictus est, ad distinctionem ejus qui Dei Israel esse cessavit. Dicunt enim se esse Judaeos, et non sunt; sed mentiuntur, cum sint de synagoga Satanae. Nec mireris, si ad imitationem spiritualis Israel, carnalis sit Israel, qui nec pacem habeat nec misericordiam; de quo et ad Corinthios scribitur: Videte Israel secundum carnem (I Cor. X, 18); cum ad imitationem quoque Dei et Domini, multi sint dii, et multi domini, sive in coelo, sive in terra. Pulchre autem uno sermone, ut epistolam juxta propositum argumentum finiret, Israel Dei vocavit; quo scilicet omnia quae supra dicta sunt, non extra causam; sed ex causa disputata doceantur.

Concerning which Daniel also agrees with equal voice, saying: "Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall rise: these into eternal life, and those into reproach and into eternal confusion" (Dan. 12:2); and: "The intelligent shall shine as the splendor of the firmament." And concerning the just: "Many as the stars for eternity." For neither in the sun and moon, firmament and stars, does circumcision or uncircumcision avail anything: but there is a new condition without these parts of bodies, which are able to be cut. So therefore also we who love God, and "those things have been prepared for us which neither eye has seen, nor ear has heard, nor have they ascended into the heart of man" (1 Cor. 2), when we shall have been transformed from the body of humility into the body of the glory of the Lord Jesus Christ, we shall have that body which neither a Jew can cut, nor a Gentile preserve with uncircumcision. Not that it is another according to substance: but that it is diverse according to glory. "For it is necessary for this mortal thing to put on immortality, and this corruptible thing to be clothed with incorruption" (1 Cor. 15:53). Feeling something similar to this, the blessed evangelist John spoke: "Beloved, now we are the sons of God: and it is not yet manifest what we shall be." We know that if it shall have been manifested, we shall be like him: because we shall see him just as he is" (1 John 3:2). Because, therefore, that body of the glory of Jesus Christ was not yet manifested, which also had the traces of the nails after the resurrection, and entered with closed doors: let us who already now have risen together with Christ in baptism, reborn into the new man, serve neither circumcision, nor uncircumcision: but let us believe that we are already now what we are to be.

(Verse 16.) "And whoever follow this rule, peace be upon them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God." All things are directed to a norm; and whether they be crooked or right, when the rule has been applied, they are argued. So also the doctrine of God is a certain thing as it were a norm of discourse, which judges between just and unjust things: which whoever shall have followed, shall have peace in himself which surpasses all sense; and after peace, mercy which is principal in the Israel of God. But it is called the Israel of God, for the distinction of him who has ceased to be the Israel of God. For they say themselves to be Jews, and they are not; but they lie, since they are of the synagogue of Satan. Nor should you wonder if, for the imitation of the spiritual Israel, there is a carnal Israel, who has neither peace nor mercy; concerning whom it is also written to the Corinthians: "See Israel according to the flesh" (1 Cor. 10:18); since for the imitation also of God and the Lord, there are many gods, and many lords, whether in heaven, or on earth. Beautifully, however, in one discourse, so that he might finish the epistle according to the proposed argument, he called them the Israel of God; by which namely all things which were said above, should be taught as disputed not outside the cause, but from the cause.

(Vers. 17.) De caetero nemo mihi molestus sit. Non quasi defecerit in docendo; sed quo et agricola hunc habeat laborem, si quae plantaverit virgulta siccentur; et pastor sollicitudinem, si pecora quae congregaverat dissipata lanientur. Melius ergo in Graeco legitur, De caetero labores mihi nemo exhibeat; ne rursum scilicet in vobis necessitatem habeam laborandi. Laborem praestat magistro, qui aliter et vivit et sentit, quam magister et docuit et fecit. Potest et contentionem eorum, si qui contradicere deinceps voluerint, praevenire, quod etiam ad Corinthios in velando mulieris capite, et masculi non velando, post multa complexus est, dicens: Si quis autem videtur contentiosus esse: nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, neque Ecclesia Dei (I Cor. XI, 16). hoc est, nos diximus quae nobis honesta videbantur et justa; si quis autem nolens acquiescere veritati, quaerit quid respondeat, et quibus nitantur contra, sciat se responsione non dignum, qui magis contendere paratus est, quam doceri.

Ego autem stigmata Domini Jesu in corpore meo porto. Qui post adventum Christi in carne circumciditur, non portat stigmata Domini Jesu; sed habet gloriam in confusione sua. Qui vero in plagis supra modum, in carceribus frequenter, ter virgis caesus est, semel lapidatus est, et caetera quae in catalogo scripta sunt gloriandi, hic stigmata Domini Jesu in corpore suo portat. Forte et is qui macerat corpus suum, et subjicit servituti, ne aliis praedicans ipse reprobis inveniatur, portat stigmata Domini Jesu in corpore suo (I Cor. IX). Laetabantur et apostoli quod digni fuerant pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati (Act. V).

(Vers. 18.) Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cum spiritu vestro, fratres, Amen. Non dissensio, non Legis servitus, non rixa, non jurgium, sed gratia Domini Jesu Christi sit cum spiritu vestro. Nequaquam cum carne, nequaquam cum anima; sive quia spirituales facti, caro et anima esse desistis, sive quod in principali etiam ea, quae minora sunt, comprehendantur. Anima enim et caro subjecta sunt spiritui. De quo et Ecclesiastes loquitur: Spiritus revertetur ad eum qui dedit illum (Eccl. XII, 7). Et Paulus in alio loco: Ipse spiritus testimonium perhibet spiritui nostro (Rom. VIII, 16).

(Verse 17.) "For the rest, let no one be troublesome to me." Not as if he had failed in teaching; but in that the farmer also has this labor, if the saplings which he has planted should dry up; and the shepherd solicitude, if the cattle which he had gathered together should be torn while dispersed. Better therefore it is read in Greek: "For the rest, let no one exhibit labors to me"; lest namely I have the necessity of laboring in you again. He exhibits labor to the teacher, who both lives and feels otherwise than the teacher both taught and did. He is also able to prevent their contention, if any should wish to contradict thereafter, which also to the Corinthians in the veiling of a woman's head, and the not veiling of a male's, he embraced after many things, saying: "But if anyone seems to be contentious: we have no such custom, nor the Church of God" (1 Cor. 11:16). that is, we have said what things seemed honest and just to us; but if anyone, unwilling to acquiesce to the truth, seeks what he may reply, and with what things they may strive against, let him know himself not worthy of a response, who is more prepared to contend than to be taught.

"For I bear the marks (stigmata) of the Lord Jesus in my body." He who after the advent of Christ is circumcised in the flesh, does not bear the marks of the Lord Jesus; but has glory in his own confusion. But he who was in stripes beyond measure, in prisons frequently, three times beaten with rods, once was stoned, and the rest which are written in the catalogue of glorying, he bears the marks of the Lord Jesus in his body. Perhaps also he who macerates his own body, and subjects it to servitude, lest preaching to others he himself be found reprobate, bears the marks of the Lord Jesus in his body (1 Cor. 9). The apostles also rejoiced that they had been worthy to suffer contumely for the name of Jesus (Acts 5).

(Verse 18.) "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brothers, Amen." Not dissension, not the servitude of the Law, not strife, not quarreling, but the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. In no way with the flesh, in no way with the soul; either because having been made spiritual, you cease to be flesh and soul, or because in the principal those things which are lesser are also comprehended. For the soul and flesh are subject to the spirit. Concerning which also Ecclesiastes speaks: "The spirit shall return to him who gave it" (Eccl. 12:7). And Paul in another place: "The Spirit itself renders testimony to our spirit" (Rom. 8:16).

Haec autem gratia Domini Jesu non cum omnibus est, sed cum his qui fratres ab apostolo merentur vocari, fratres fideles, fratresque germani, quod AMEN verbum significat Hebraeum. Amen enim Septuaginta interpretes, fiat; Aquila, Symmachus, et Theodotio, fideliter, sive, vere, interpretati sunt. Et quomodo in veteri Testamento quadam jurandi consuetudine Deus sua verba confirmat, dicens: Vivo ego, dicit Dominus (Num. XIV, 28): per sanctos quoque juratur: Vivit anima tua; ita et Salvator noster in Evangelio per verbum Amen, vera esse quae loquitur, ostendit. Quod autem Amen consensum significet audientis, et sit signaculum veritatis, ad Corinthios quoque prima nos docet, in qua Paulus ait: Caeterum si benedixeris spiritu, quis supplet locum idiotae? Quomodo dicet amen super tua benedictione: quoniam quidem nescit quid dicas (I Cor. XIV, 16)? Ex quo ostendit non posse idioten respondere verum esse quod dicitur, nisi intellexerit quod docetur.

This grace of the Lord Jesus, however, is not with all, but with those who deserve to be called brothers by the apostle, faithful brothers, and twin brothers (*fratres germani*), which the Hebrew word AMEN signifies. For the Seventy interpreters interpreted Amen as "so be it" (*fiat*); Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotio as "faithfully" or "truly." And just as in the Old Testament by a certain custom of swearing God confirms his words, saying: "I live, says the Lord" (Num. 14:28): it is also sworn by the saints: "Your soul lives"; so also our Savior in the Gospel through the word Amen, shows that those things which he speaks are true. That Amen, however, signifies the consent of the hearer, and is the seal of truth, the first [Epistle] to the Corinthians also teaches us, in which Paul says: "Otherwise if you shall have blessed in spirit, who supplies the place of the unlearned (*idiotae*)?" How shall he say amen over your blessing: since indeed he does not know what you say" (1 Cor. 14:16)? From which he shows that the unlearned (*idioten*) cannot respond that what is said is true, unless he shall have understood what is taught.