SAINT AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

# The City of God

*De Civitate Dei*

VOLUME I · IV

SABBATISMUS

Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430)
De Civitate Dei · The City of God

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# S. AURELII AUGUSTINI HIPPONENSIS EPISCOPI AD MARCELLINUM DE CIVITATE DEI CONTRA PAGANOS Libri viginti duo.

*LIBER PRIMUS.*

Paganos reprehendit, qui orbis calamitates, maximeque Romanae urbis recentem a Gothis vastationem christianae religioni, qua deorum cultus prohibetur, tribuebant. Agit de commodis et incommodis, quae tunc bonis et malis, ut solet, fuerunt communia. Illorum denique retundit procacitatem, qui christianarum feminarum violatum a militibus pudorem objectabant.

## PRAEFATIO.

De suscepti operis consilio et argumento.

Gloriosissimam civitatem Dei, sive in hoc temporum cursu, cum inter impios peregrinatur ex fide vivens (Habac. II, 4), sive in illa stabilitate sedis aeternae, quam nunc exspectat per patientiam (Rom. VIII, 25), quoadusque justitia convertatur in judicium (Psal. XCIII, 15), deinceps adeptura per excellentiam victoria ultima et pace perfecta, hoc opere a te instituto , et mea promissione debito, defendere adversus eos qui Conditori ejus deos suos praeferunt, fili charissime Marcelline, suscepi. Magnum opus et arduum: sed Deus adjutor noster est (Psal. LXI, 9). Nam scio quibus viribus opus sit, ut persuadeatur superbis quanta sit virtus humilitatis, qua fit ut omnia terrena cacumina, temporali mobilitate nutantia, non humano usurpata fastu, sed divina gratia donata celsitudo transcendat. Rex enim et conditor civitatis hujus, de qua loqui instituimus, in Scriptura populis suis sententiam divinae legis aperuit, qua dictum est, Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam (Jacobi IV, 6; et I Petr. V, 5). Hoc vero quod Dei est, superbae quoque animae spiritus inflatus affectat, amatque sibi in laudibus dici, Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos (Virgil. Aeneid. lib. 6, vers. 854.) Unde etiam de terrena civitate, quae cum dominari appetit, etsi populi serviant, ipsa ei dominandi libido dominatur, non est praetereundum silentio quidquid dicere suscepti hujus operis ratio postulat, et facultas datur.

### Caput Primum.

*De adversariis nominis Christi, quibus in vastatione Urbis propter Christum Barbari pepercerunt.*

# The Twenty-Two Books of Saint Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, to Marcellinus on the City of God against the Pagans.

*BOOK FIRST.*

He censures the pagans, who attributed the calamities of the world, and especially the recent devastation of the Roman city by the Goths, to the Christian religion, by which the worship of the gods is prohibited. He treats of the advantages and disadvantages which then, as is usual, were common to the good and the evil. Finally, he represses the insolence of those who objected that the chastity of Christian women had been violated by the soldiers.

## PREFACE.

Of the design and argument of the undertaken work.

The most glorious city of God, whether in this course of time, when living by faith (Hab. 2:4) it sojourns as a stranger among the impious, or in that stability of the eternal seat, which it now awaits through patience (Rom. 8:25), until justice be turned into judgment (Ps. 94:15), hereafter to be obtained through excellence by the final victory and perfect peace, I have undertaken to defend in this work, instituted at your request and owed by my promise, against those who prefer their own gods to its Founder, my dearest son Marcellinus. A great and arduous work: but God is our helper (Ps. 62:8). For I know what powers are needed to persuade the proud how great is the virtue of humility, by which it comes to pass that a height, not usurped by human pride, but given by divine grace, transcends all earthly summits that totter with temporal instability. For the King and Founder of this city, concerning which we have resolved to speak, has revealed in the Scripture to His people the sentence of the divine law, in which it is said: God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble (James 4:6; and 1 Pet. 5:5). This indeed, which belongs to God, the inflated spirit of a proud soul also affects, and loves to have it said to itself in praises: To spare the subject and to battle down the proud (Virgil, Aeneid, Book 6, line 853). Wherefore, also concerning the earthly city, which, when it seeks to dominate, even though the nations serve it, is itself dominated by that very lust of dominating, I must not pass over in silence whatever the plan of this undertaken work requires and the opportunity is given to say.

## Chapter I.

*Of the adversaries of the name of Christ, whom the barbarians spared for Christ's sake in the devastation of the City.*

Ex hac namque existunt inimici, adversus quos defendenda est Dei civitas: quorum tamen multi, correcto impietatis errore, cives in ea fiunt satis idonei; multi vero in eam tantis exardescunt ignibus odiorum, tamque manifestis beneficiis Redemptoris ejus ingrati sunt, ut hodie contra eam linguas non moverent, nisi ferrum hostile fugientes, in sacratis ejus locis vitam, de qua superbiunt, invenirent. Annon etiam illi Romani Christi nomini infesti sunt, quibus propter Christum Barbari pepercerunt? Testantur hoc martyrum loca et basilicae Apostolorum, quae in illa vastatione Urbis ad se confugientes suos alienosque receperunt . Hucusque cruentus saeviebat inimicus; ibi accipiebat limitem trucidatoris furor: illo ducebantur a miserantibus hostibus quibus etiam extra ipsa loca pepercerant, ne in eos incurrerent, qui similem misericordiam non habebant . Qui tamen etiam ipsi alibi truces atque hostili more saevientes, posteaquam ad loca illa veniebant, ubi fuerat interdictum, quod alibi jure belli licuisset, tota feriendi refrenabatur immanitas, et captivandi cupiditas frangebatur. Sic evaserunt multi, qui nunc christianis temporibus detrahunt, et mala quae illa civitas pertulit, Christo imputant: bona vero quae in eos, ut viverent, propter Christi honorem facta sunt, non imputant Christo nostro, sed fato suo: cum potius deberent, si quid recti saperent , illa, quae ab hostibus aspera et dura perpessi sunt, illi divinae providentiae tribuere, quae solet corruptos hominum mores bellis emendare atque conterere; itemque vitam mortalium justam atque laudabilem talibus afflictionibus exercere, probatamque vel in meliora transferre, vel in his adhuc terris propter usus alios detinere: illud vero, quod eis vel ubicumque, propter Christi nomen, vel in locis Christi nomini dedicatissimis et amplissimis, ac pro largiore misericordia ad capacitatem multitudinis electis, praeter bellorum morem truculenti Barbari pepercerunt, hoc tribuere temporibus christianis; hinc Deo gratias agere, hinc ad ejus nomen veraciter currere, ut effugiant poenas ignis aeterni; quod nomen multi eorum mendaciter usurparunt, ut effugerent poenas praesentis exitii. Nam quos vides petulanter et procaciter insultare servis Christi, sunt in eis plurimi qui illum interitum clademque non evasissent, nisi servos Christi se esse finxissent. Et nunc ingrata superbia atque impiissima insania ejus nomini resistunt corde perverso, ut sempiternis tenebris puniantur, ad quod nomen ore vel subdolo confugerunt, ut temporali luce fruerentur.

For from this city arise the enemies against whom the City of God must be defended: many of whom, however, having corrected the error of their impiety, become sufficiently suitable citizens therein; but many are inflamed against it with such fires of hatred, and are so ungrateful for the manifest benefits of its Redeemer, that today they would not move their tongues against it, unless, fleeing from the hostile sword, they had found in its sacred places that life of which they are proud. Are not those very Romans hostile to the name of Christ, whom the barbarians spared for Christ's sake? The places of the martyrs and the basilicas of the Apostles are witnesses to this, which in that devastation of the City received those who fled to them, whether their own or strangers. Thus far the bloodstained enemy raged; there the fury of the slayer found its limit: thither the victims were led by merciful foes, who had spared them even outside those places, lest they should fall in with those who did not have similar mercy. Yet even those who elsewhere were fierce and raged in hostile fashion, as soon as they came to those places where what was elsewhere permitted by the law of war was forbidden, all their cruelty in striking was restrained, and their desire for making captives was broken. Thus many escaped, who now disparage Christian times and impute to Christ the evils which that city suffered; but the good things which were done to them, that they might live, out of honor for Christ, they do not impute to our Christ, but to their own fate: whereas they ought rather, if they had any right sense, to attribute those things which they suffered as harsh and hard from the enemy to that divine providence which is wont to amend and wear down the corrupt morals of men by wars; and likewise to exercise the just and laudable life of mortals by such afflictions, and having proved it, either to transfer it to better things or to detain it still on this earth for other uses: but that which was done for them, whether anywhere else because of the name of Christ, or in the places most dedicated and spacious for the name of Christ, and chosen for a wider mercy for the capacity of the multitude, the truculent barbarians spared them contrary to the custom of wars, this they should attribute to Christian times; for this they should give thanks to God, for this they should truly run to His name, that they may escape the pains of eternal fire; which name many of them falsely usurped, that they might escape the pains of present destruction. For among those whom you see petulantly and insolently insulting the servants of Christ, there are very many who would not have escaped that ruin and slaughter, unless they had feigned themselves to be servants of Christ. And now with ungrateful pride and most impious madness they resist His name with a perverse heart, so that they may be punished with everlasting darkness, to which name they fled with a guileful mouth, that they might enjoy temporal light.

## Caput II.

*Quod nulla unquam bella ita gesta sunt, ut victores, propter deos eorum quos vicerant, parcerent victis.*

Tot bella gesta conscripta sunt, vel ante conditam Romam, vel ab ejus exortu et imperio: legant, et proferant sic ab alienigenis aliquam captam esse civitatem, ut hostes qui ceperant, parcerent eis, quos ad deorum suorum templa confugisse compererant; aut aliquem ducem Barbarorum praecepisse , ut irrupto oppido nullus feriretur, qui in illo vel illo templo fuisset inventus. Nonne vidit Aeneas Priamum per aras Sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignes? (Virgil. Aeneid. lib. 2, vers. 501, 502.) Nonne Diomedes et Ulysses, caesis summae custodibus arcis, Corripuere sacram effigiem, manibusque cruentis Virgineas ausi divae contingere vittas? Nec tamen quod sequitur verum est: Ex illo fluere, ac retro sublapsa referri Spes Danaûm. (Ibid. vers. 166-170). Postea quippe vicerunt, postea Trojam ferro ignibusque deleverunt, postea confugientem ad aras Priamum obtruncaverunt. Nec ideo Troja periit, quia Minervam perdidit. Quid enim prius ipsa Minerva perdiderat, ut periret? an forte custodes suos? Hoc sane verum est: illis quippe interemptis potuit auferri. Neque enim homines a simulacro, sed simulacrum ab hominibus servabatur. Quomodo ergo colebatur, ut patriam custodiret et cives, quae suos non valuit custodire custodes?

## Caput III.

*Quam imprudenter Romani deos penates, qui Trojam custodire non potuerant, sibi crediderunt profuturos.*

Ecce qualibus diis Urbem Romani servandam se commendasse gaudebant. O nimium miserabilem errorem! Et nobis succensent, cum de diis eorum talia dicimus, nec succensent auctoribus suis, quos ut ediscerent, mercedem dederunt; doctoresque ipsos insuper et salario publico et honoribus dignissimos habuerunt. Nempe apud Virgilium, quem propterea parvuli legunt, ut videlicet poeta magnus omniumque praeclarissimus atque optimus teneris ebibitus animis non facile oblivione possit aboleri; secundum illud Horatii, Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu: (Epist. lib. 1, Ep. 2, vers. 69, 70.) apud hunc ergo Virgilium nempe Juno inducitur infesta Trojanis, Aeolo ventorum regi adversus eos irritando dicere: Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor, Ilium in Italiam portans, victosque penates. Itane istis penatibus victis Romam, ne vinceretur, prudentes commendare debuerunt?

## Chapter II.

*That no wars were ever so waged that the victors, for the sake of the gods of those whom they had conquered, spared the conquered.*

So many wars have been waged and recorded, either before the founding of Rome, or from its rise and empire: let them read and produce some city taken by foreigners in such a way that the enemies who had taken it spared those whom they found to have fled to the temples of their gods; or that any leader of the barbarians commanded that when the town was broken into, no one should be struck who was found in this or that temple. Did not Aeneas see Priam "staining with his blood the fires which he himself had consecrated at the altars"? (Virgil, Aeneid, Book 2, lines 501, 502.) Did not Diomedes and Ulysses, "having slain the guards of the highest citadel, seize the sacred image, and with blood-stained hands dare to touch the virgin fillets of the goddess"? Yet what follows is not true: "From that time the hope of the Greeks began to flow away and, slipping backward, to be carried off." (Ibid. lines 166-170). For afterward they conquered, afterward they destroyed Troy with fire and sword, afterward they slaughtered Priam as he fled to the altars. Nor did Troy perish because it lost Minerva. For what had Minerva herself lost first, that she should perish? perchance her guards? This indeed is true: for when they were slain, she could be carried off. For men were not kept by the image, but the image by men. How then was she worshipped that she might guard the country and the citizens, who was not able to guard her own guards?

## Chapter III.

*How imprudently the Romans believed that the household gods (penates), who had not been able to guard Troy, would be of use to them.*

Behold what kind of gods the Romans rejoiced to have commended themselves to for the protection of the City. O most miserable error! And they are angry with us when we say such things of their gods, yet they are not angry with their own authors, whom they paid to learn from; and they even held those teachers most worthy of both a public salary and honors. Surely in Virgil, whom for this reason children read, so that forsooth a great poet and the most illustrious and best of all, being drunk in by tender minds, might not easily be abolished by oblivion; according to that saying of Horace: "The jar will long preserve the odor with which it was once steeped when new" (Epist. Book 1, Ep. 2, lines 69, 70); in this Virgil, then, Juno is introduced as hostile to the Trojans, saying to Aeolus, the king of the winds, to incite him against them: "A race hostile to me sails the Tyrrhenian sea, carrying Ilium into Italy, and their conquered household gods" (Aeneid, Book 1, lines 67, 68). Was it thus to these conquered household gods that prudent men ought to have commended Rome, lest it should be conquered?

Sed haec Juno dicebat, velut irata mulier, quid loqueretur ignorans. Quid Aeneas ipse pius toties appellatus? nonne ita narrat: Panthus Othryades, arcis Phoebique sacerdos, Sacra manu, victosque deos, parvumque nepotem Ipse trahit, cursuque amens ad limina tendit? (Aeneid. lib. 2, vers. 319-321.) Nonne deos ipsos, quos victos non dubitat dicere, sibi potius quam se illis perhibet commendatos, cum ei dicitur, Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troja penates? (Ibid. vers. 293.) Si igitur Virgilius tales deos et victos dicit, et, ut vel victi quoquo modo evaderent, homini commendatos; quae dementia est existimare his tutoribus Romam sapienter fuisse commissam, et nisi eos amisisset, non potuisse vastari? Imo vero victos deos tanquam praesides ac defensores colere, quid est aliud quam tenere non numina bona, sed omina mala ? Quanto enim sapientius creditur, non Romam ad istam cladem non fuisse venturam, nisi prius illi perissent; sed illos potius olim fuisse perituros, nisi eos, quantum potuisset, Roma servasset? Nam quis non, cum adverterit, videat, quanta sit vanitate praesumptum, non posse vinci sub defensoribus victis, et ideo perisse, quia custodes perdidit deos; cum vel sola potuerit esse causa pereundi, custodes habere voluisse perituros? Non itaque, cum de diis victis illa conscriberentur atque canerentur, poetas libebat mentiri, sed cordatos homines cogebat veritas confiteri. Verum ista opportunius alio loco diligenter copioseque tractanda sunt: nunc quod institueram de ingratis hominibus dicere, parumper explicem , ut possum: qui ea mala, quae pro suorum morum perversitate merito patiuntur, blasphemantes Christo imputant; quod autem illis etiam talibus propter Christum parcitur, nec dignantur attendere, et eas linguas adversus ejus nomen dementia sacrilegae protervitatis exercent, quibus linguis usurpaverunt mendaciter ipsum nomen, ut viverent; vel quas linguas in locis ei sacratis metuendo presserunt, ut illic tuti atque muniti , ubi propter cum illaesi ab hostibus fuerunt, inde in eum maledictis hostilibus prosilirent.

## Caput IV.

*De asylo Junonis in Troja, quod neminem liberavit a Graecis, et basilicis Apostolorum, quae omnes ad se confugientes a Barbaris defenderunt.*

But these things Juno said as an angry woman, not knowing what she spoke. What of Aeneas himself, so often called "pious"? does he not thus relate: "Panthus, son of Othrys, priest of the citadel and of Apollo, himself drags along the sacred objects, and the conquered gods, and his little grandson, and distracted runs to the threshold"? (Aeneid, Book 2, lines 319-321.) Does he not show that the gods themselves, whom he does not hesitate to call "conquered," were commended to him rather than he to them, when it is said to him: "Troy commends to you its sacred objects and its household gods"? (Ibid. line 293.) If, therefore, Virgil calls such gods both conquered, and, so that even being conquered they might in any way escape, commended to a man; what madness is it to think that Rome was wisely committed to these protectors, and that unless it had lost them, it could not have been devastated? Nay, rather, to worship conquered gods as presidents and defenders, what else is it than to hold not good divinities (numina), but bad omens (omina)? For how much more wisely is it believed, not that Rome would not have come to that slaughter unless they had first perished; but rather that they would have long ago perished unless Rome had preserved them as much as she could? For who, when he attends to it, does not see with how much vanity it is presumed that one cannot be conquered under conquered defenders, and that it perished because it lost its guardian gods; when the very fact of having wished to have guardians who were to perish could be the sole cause of perishing? Therefore, when those things were written and sung concerning the conquered gods, it was not that it pleased the poets to lie, but truth compelled thinking men to confess. But these matters are to be treated more opportunely in another place, diligently and copiously: now let me briefly explain, as I can, what I had begun to say concerning ungrateful men: who blasphemously impute to Christ those evils which they deservedly suffer for the perversity of their own morals; but that they are spared, even being such as they are, for Christ's sake, they do not deign to notice, and they exercise those tongues against His name with the madness of sacrilegious insolence, with which tongues they falsely usurped that very name that they might live; or which tongues they pressed through fear in places sacred to Him, so that being safe and protected there, where for His sake they were uninjured by the enemy, they might break out from thence in hostile curses against Him.

## Chapter IV.

*Of the asylum of Juno in Troy, which freed no one from the Greeks; and the basilicas of the Apostles, which defended all who fled to them from the barbarians.*

Ipsa, ut dixi, Troja, mater populi Romani , sacratis in locis deorum suorum munire non potuit cives suos ab ignibus ferroque Graecorum, eosdem ipsos deos colentium: quin etiam, Junonis asylo Custodes lecti, Phoenix et dirus Ulysses Praedam asservabant; huc undique Troia gaza Incensis erepta adytis, mensaeque deorum, Crateresque auro solidi, captivaque vestis Congeritur: pueri et pavidae longo ordine matres Stant circum. (Virgil. Aeneid lib. 2, vers. 761-767.) Electus est videlicet locus tantae deae sacratus, non unde captivos non liceret educere, sed ubi captivos liberet includere. Compara nunc asylum illud, non cujuslibet dei gregalis, vel de turba plebis, sed Jovis ipsius sororis et conjugis et reginae omnium deorum, cum memoriis nostrorum Apostolorum. Illuc incensis templis et diis erepta spolia portabantur, non reddenda victis , sed dividenda victoribus; huc autem, et quod alibi ad ea loca compertum est pertinere, cum honore et obsequio religiosissimo reportatum est . Ibi amissa, hic servata libertas; ibi clausa, hic interdicta captivitas; ibi possidendi a dominantibus hostibus premebantur, huc liberandi a miserantibus ducebantur : postremo illud Junonis templum sibi elegerat avaritia et superbia levium Graecorum ; istas Christi basilicas misericordia et humilitas etiam immanium Barbarorum . Nisi forte Graeci quidem in illa sua victoria templis deorum communium pepercerunt, atque illo confugientes miseros victosque Trojanos ferire vel captivare non ausi sunt; sed Virgilius, poetarum more, illa mentitus est. Imo vero morem hostium civitates evertentium ille descripsit.

## Caput V.

*De generali consuetudine hostium victas civitates evertentium, quid Caesar senserit.*

Quem morem etiam Caesar (sicut scribit Sallustius, nobilitatae veritatis historicus) sententia sua, quam de conjuratis in senatu habuit, commemorare non praetermittit: «Rapi virgines, pueros; divelli liberos a parentum complexu, matres familiarum pati quae victoribus collibuisset , fana atque domos spoliari, caedem, incendia fieri; postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia repleri» (Sallust. de Conjuratione Catilinae, cap. 51). Hic si fana tacuisset, deorum sedibus solere hostes parcere putaremus. Et haec non ab alienigenis hostibus, sed a Catilina et sociis ejus, nobilissimis senatoribus et Romanis civibus, Romana templa metuebant. Sed hi videlicet perditi et patriae parricidae.

Troy itself, as I said, the mother of the Roman people, was not able to protect its citizens in the sacred places of its gods from the fire and sword of the Greeks, who themselves worshipped the same gods: nay, even "in the asylum of Juno, chosen guards, Phoenix and dire Ulysses, kept watch over the spoil; hither from all sides Troy's treasure, snatched from the burning shrines, the tables of the gods, bowls of solid gold, and captive raiment are heaped up: boys and fearful mothers in a long line stand around." (Virgil, Aeneid, Book 2, lines 761-767.) A place was chosen, forsooth, sacred to so great a goddess, not where it was not permitted to lead out captives, but where it was permitted to shut in captives. Compare now that asylum, not of any common god of the herd or from the crowd of the plebs, but of the sister and wife of Jupiter himself and the queen of all the gods, with the memorials of our Apostles. To the former, when the temples were burned and the gods snatched away, the spoils were carried, not to be restored to the conquered, but to be divided by the victors; but to the latter, even what was found elsewhere to belong to those places was reported with honor and most religious observance. There liberty was lost, here preserved; there captivity was shut in, here prohibited; there victims were oppressed by dominating foes as their possessions, here they were led by merciful ones to be set free: finally, the avarice and pride of the frivolous Greeks had chosen that temple of Juno for themselves; the mercy and humility of even the cruel barbarians have chosen these basilicas of Christ. Unless, perchance, the Greeks in that victory of theirs spared the temples of the common gods, and did not dare to strike or make captive the miserable and conquered Trojans who fled thither; but Virgil, after the manner of poets, lied in these things. Nay, rather, he described the custom of enemies overturning cities.

## Chapter V.

*Of the general custom of enemies overturning conquered cities; what Caesar thought.*

Which custom also Caesar (as Sallust writes, a historian of noble truth) does not fail to commemorate in his opinion, which he delivered in the senate concerning the conspirators: "That virgins and boys are ravished; children torn from the embrace of their parents; mothers of families suffer whatever might please the victors; temples and houses are spoiled; slaughter and fire are made; finally, all places are filled with arms, corpses, blood, and mourning." (Sallust, Bellum Catilinae, chap. 51). If he had been silent here about temples, we might think that enemies were wont to spare the seats of the gods. And these things the Roman temples feared, not from foreign enemies, but from Catiline and his associates, most noble senators and Roman citizens. But these, forsooth, were abandoned men and parricides of their country.

## Caput VI.

*Quod nec Romani quidem ita ullas ceperint civitates, ut in templis earum parcerent victis.*

Quid ergo per multas gentes, quae inter se bella gesserunt et nusquam victis in deorum suorum sedibus pepercerunt, noster sermo discurrat? Romanos ipsos videamus: ipsos, inquam, recolamus respiciamusque Romanos, de quorum praecipua laude dictum est, Parcere sabjectis, et debellare superbos. et quod accepta injuria ignoscere, quam persequi malebant (Sallust. de conjuratione Catilinae, cap. 9 in fine): quando tot tantasque urbes, ut late dominarentur, expugnatas captasque everterunt, legatur nobis quae templa excipere solebant, ut ad ea quisquis confugisset, liberaretur. An illi faciebant, et scriptores earumdem rerum gestarum ista reticebant? Itane vero, qui ea quae laudarent maxime requirebant, ista praeclarissima secundum ipsos pietatis indicia praeterirent? Egregius Romani nominis Marcus Marcellus, qui Syracusas , urbem ornatissimam, cepit, refertur eam prius flevisse ruituram, et ante ejus sanguinem suas illi lacrymas effudisse . Gessit et curam pudicitiae, etiam in hoste servandae. Nam priusquam oppidum victor jussisset invadi, constituit edicto, ne quis corpus liberum violaret . Eversa est tamen civitas more bellorum, nec uspiam legitur ab imperatore tam casto atque clementi fuisse praeceptum, ut quisquis ad illud vel illud templum fugisset, abiret illaesus. Quod utique nullo modo praeteriretur, quando nec ejus fletus, nec quod edixerat pro pudicitia minime violanda, potuit taceri. Fabius, Tarentinae urbis eversor, a simulacrorum depraedatione se abstinuisse laudatur. Nam cum ei scriba suggessisset quid de signis deorum, quae multa capta fuerant, fieri juberet, continentiam suam etiam jocando condivit. Quaesivit enim, cujusmodi essent: et cum ei non solum multa grandia, verum etiam renuntiarentur armata, Relinquamus, inquit, Tarentinis deos iratos . Cum igitur nec illius fletum, nec hujus risum, nec illius castam misericordiam, nec hujus facetam continentiam, Romanarum rerum gestarum scriptores tacere potuerint; quando praetermitteretur, si aliquibus hominibus in honorem cujuspiam deorum suorum sic pepercissent, ut in quoquam templo caedem vel captivitatem fieri prohiberent?

## Caput VII.

*Quod in eversione Urbis quae aspere gesta sunt, de consuetudine acciderint belli; quae vero clementer, de potentia provenerint nominis Christi.*

## Chapter VI.

*That not even the Romans themselves took any cities in such a way as to spare the conquered in their temples.*

Why then should our discourse run through many nations, which have waged wars among themselves and nowhere spared the conquered in the seats of their gods? Let us see the Romans themselves: them, I say, let us recall and look back upon, concerning whose chief praise it was said: "To spare the subject and to battle down the proud"; and that "they preferred rather to forgive than to avenge a received injury" (Sallust, Bellum Catilinae, chap. 9); when they overturned so many and so great cities, stormed and captured that they might dominate far and wide, let us read what temples they were wont to except, so that whoever had fled to them should be set free. Or did they do it, and the writers of the same deeds were silent about these things? Would it be so indeed, that they who sought out what they might especially praise, would pass over these most illustrious signs of piety according to themselves? The excellent Marcus Marcellus of the Roman name, who took Syracuse, a most ornate city, is reported to have wept for it before its ruin, and to have shed his own tears for it before its blood. He also took care for chastity, even to be preserved in an enemy. For before the victor had commanded the town to be invaded, he established by edict that no one should violate a free person. Yet the city was overturned after the manner of wars, and nowhere is it read that it was commanded by so chaste and merciful a general that whoever fled to this or that temple should depart unhurt. Which certainly would by no means be passed over, when neither his weeping, nor that he had edicted that chastity should not be violated, could be kept silent. Fabius, the overturner of the city of Tarentum, is praised for having abstained from the plundering of images. For when a scribe had suggested to him what he should command to be done with the statues of the gods, which had been captured in great numbers, he seasoned his continence even with a jest. For he asked what kind they were: and when it was reported to him that they were not only many and large, but also armed, he said, "Let us leave the angry gods to the Tarentines." Since, therefore, the writers of Roman deeds could not keep silent neither the weeping of the former, nor the laughter of the latter, nor the chaste mercy of the one, nor the witty continence of the other; when would it be passed over, if they had spared any men in honor of any of their gods in such a way that they prohibited slaughter or captivity to be made in any temple?

## Chapter VII.

*That whatever was cruelly done in the overturning of the City happened according to the custom of war; but whatever was done mercifully, proceeded from the power of the name of Christ.*

Quidquid ergo vastationis, trucidationis, depraedationis, concrematonis, afflictionis, in ista recentissima Romana clade commissum est, fecit hoc consuetudo bellorum. Quod autem more novo factum est, quod inusitata rerum facie immanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimae basilicae implendae populo cui parceretur, eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus ducerentur, unde captivandi ulli nec a crudelibus hostibus abducerentur; hoc Christi nomini, hoc christiano tempori tribuendum quisquis non videt, caecus; quisquis videt, nec laudat, ingratus; quisquis laudanti reluctatur, insanus est. Absit ut prudens quisquam hoc feritati imputet Barbarorum. Truculentissimas et saevissimas mentes ille terruit, ille frenavit, ille mirabiliter temperavit, qui per prophetam tanto ante praedixit: Visitabo in virga iniquitates eorum, et in flagellis peccata eorum; misericordiam autem meam non dispergam ab eis (Psal. LXXXVIII, 33, 34).

## Caput VIII.

*De commodis atque incommodis, quae bonis ac malis plerumque communia sunt.*

1. Dicet aliquis: Cur ergo ista divina mercy etiam ad impios ingratosque pervenit? Cur, putamus, nisi quia eam ille praebuit, qui quotidie facit oriri solem suum super bonos et malos, et pluit super justos et injustos (Matth. V, 45)? Quamvis enim quidam eorum ista cogitantes, poenitendo ab impietate se corrigant; quidam vero, sicut Apostolus dicit, divitias bonitatis et longanimitatis Dei contemnentes, secundum duritiam cordis sui et cor impoenitens thesaurizent sibi iram in die irae et revelationis justi judicii Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera ejus (Rom. II, 4, 6): tamen patientia Dei ad poenitentiam invitat malos, sicut flagellum Dei ad patientiam erudit bonos. Itemque misericordia Dei fovendos amplectitur bonos, sicut severitas Dei puniendos corripit malos. Placuit quippe divinae providentiae praeparare in posterum bona justis, quibus non fruentur injusti; et mala impiis, quibus non excruciabuntur boni. Ista vero temporalia bona et mala utrisque voluit esse communia: ut nec bona cupidius appetantur, quae mali quoque habere cernuntur; nec mala turpiter evitentur, quibus et boni plerumque afficiuntur.

Whatever devastation, slaughter, plundering, burning, and affliction was committed in that most recent Roman calamity, was done by the custom of wars. But that which was done in a new way, that in such an unusual aspect of things barbarian ferocity appeared so mild that very spacious basilicas were chosen and designated to be filled with the people who were to be spared, where no one was to be struck, from whence no one was to be snatched, whither many were led by merciful foes to be set free, from whence none were to be led away into captivity even by cruel foes; whoever does not see that this is to be attributed to the name of Christ and to Christian times is blind; whoever sees it and does not praise it is ungrateful; whoever resists one who praises it is insane. Far be it from any prudent person to impute this to the ferocity of the barbarians. He terrified, He bridled, He wonderfully tempered their most truculent and savage minds, who long ago predicted by the prophet: "I will visit their iniquities with a rod, and their sins with scourges; but my mercy I will not disperse from them" (Psalm 89:32, 33).

## Chapter VIII.

*Of the advantages and disadvantages which are for the most part common to the good and the evil.*

1. Some one will say: Why then did that divine mercy reach even to the impious and ungrateful? Why do we think, except because He provided it who daily "makes His sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and rains upon the just and the unjust"? (Matt. 5:45). For although some of them, considering these things, correct themselves from their impiety by repenting; yet others, as the Apostle says, "despising the riches of the goodness and long-suffering of God, according to the hardness of their heart and impenitent heart treasure up for themselves wrath in the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works" (Rom. 2:4, 5, 6): nevertheless the patience of God invites the evil to repentance, just as the scourge of God instructs the good in patience. And likewise the mercy of God embraces the good to be cherished, just as the severity of God seizes the evil to be punished. For it pleased divine providence to prepare for the future good things for the just, which the unjust shall not enjoy; and evil things for the impious, with which the good shall not be tormented. But He willed these temporal good and evil things to be common to both: so that neither the good things might be too eagerly sought, which the evil also are seen to have; nor the evil things be basely avoided, with which even the good are for the most part afflicted.

2. Interest autem plurimum, qualis sit usus vel earum rerum quae prosperae, vel earum quae dicuntur adversae. Nam bonus temporalibus nec bonis extollitur, nec malis frangitur; malus autem ideo hujuscemodi infelicitate punitur, quia felicitate corrumpitur. Ostendit tamen Deus saepe even in his distribuendis evidentius operationem suam. Nam si nunc omne peccatum manifesta plecteret poena , nihil ultimo judicio servari putaretur: rursus, si nullum peccatum nunc puniret aperte Divinitas, nulla es e providentia divina crederetur. Similiter in rebus secundis, si non eas Deus quibusdam petentibus evidentissima largitate concederet, non ad eum ista pertinere diceremus: itemque si omnibus eas petentibus daret, nonnisi propter talia praemia serviendum illi esse arbitraremur; nec pios nos faceret talis servitus, sed potius cupidos et avaros. Haec cum ita sint, quicumque boni et mali pariter afflicti sunt, non ideo ipsi distincti non sunt, quia distinctum non est quod utrique perpessi sunt. Manet enim dissimilitudo passorum etiam in similitudine passionum; et licet sub eodem tormento, non est idem virtus et vitium. Nam sicut sub uno igne aurum rutilat, palea fumat; et sub eadem tribula stipulae comminuuntur, frumenta purgantur; nec ideo cum oleo amurca confunditur, quia eodem preli pondere exprimitur: ita una eademque vis irruens bonos probat, purificat, eliquat; malos damnat, vastat, exterminat. Unde in eadem afflictione mali Deum detestantur atque blasphemant; boni autem precantur et laudant. Tantum interest, non qualia, sed qualis quisque patiatur. Nam pari motu exagitatum et exhalat horribiliter coenum, et suaviter fragrat unguentum.

## Caput IX.

*De causis correptionum, propter quas et boni et mali pariter flagellantur.*

1. Quid igitur in illa rerum vastitate Christiani passi sunt, quod non eis magis fideliter ista considerantibus ad profectum valeret? Primo, quod ipsa peccata, quibus Deus indignatus implevit tantis calamitatibus mundum, humiliter cogitantes, quamvis longe absint a facinorosis, flagitiosis atque impiis, tamen non usque adeo se a delictis deputant alienos, ut nec temporalia pro eis mala perpeti se judicent dignos.

2. But it matters very much what is the use of those things which are prosperous, or of those which are called adverse. For the good man is neither puffed up by temporal good things, nor broken by evil things; but the evil man is punished by this kind of unhappiness for this reason, because he is corrupted by happiness. Yet God often shows His operation even in distributing these things more evidently. For if now every sin were to be punished with manifest penalty, it would be thought that nothing was reserved for the final judgment: on the other hand, if the Divinity now punished no sin openly, it would be believed that there was no divine providence. Similarly in prosperous things, if God did not grant them to some who ask with most evident bounty, we should say that these things did not pertain to Him: and likewise if He gave them to all who ask, we should think that He was not to be served except for the sake of such rewards; nor would such service make us pious, but rather covetous and avaricious. These things being so, whatever good and evil men have suffered together, they themselves are not therefore not distinct, because that which they both suffered is not distinct. For the dissimilarity of the sufferers remains even in the similarity of the sufferings; and although under the same torment, virtue and vice are not the same. For as under one fire gold glows and dross smokes; and under the same threshing-floor the straws are crushed and the grains are cleansed; nor is the oil-dregs confounded with the oil, because it is expressed by the same weight of the press: so one and the same force rushing in proves, purifies, and melts the good; it damns, devastates, and exterminates the evil. Wherefore in the same affliction the evil detest and blaspheme God; but the good pray and praise Him. So much does it matter, not what things, but what sort of person each one suffers. For by the same motion stirred up, the mud exhales horribly, and the ointment smells sweetly.

## Chapter IX.

*Of the causes of corrections, on account of which both the good and the evil are equally scourged.*

1. What then did the Christians suffer in that devastation of things, which would not rather avail for their profit if they faithfully considered these things? First, that humbly considering those very sins, by which God, being indignant, filled the world with such great calamities, although they may be far from the criminal, the flagitious, and the impious, yet they do not judge themselves so entirely foreign to faults that they should not think themselves worthy to suffer even temporal evils for them.

Excepto enim quod unusquisque, quamlibet laudabiliter vivens, cedit in quibusdam carnali concupiscentiae, etsi non ad facinorum immanitatem et gurgitem flagitiorum atque impietatis abominationem, ad aliqua tamen peccata vel rara vel tanto crebriora, quanto minora: hoc ergo excepto, quis tandem facile reperitur, qui eosdem ipsos, propter quorum horrendam superbiam, luxuriam et avaritiam, atque exsecrabiles iniquitates et impietates, Deus, sicut minando praedixit, conterit terras (Isai. XXIV, et alibi), sic habeat, ut habendi sunt? sic cum eis vivat, ut cum talibus est vivendum? Plerumque enim ab eis docendis, admonendis, aliquando etiam objurgandis et corripiendis male dissimulatur; vel cum laboris piget, vel cum eorum os coram verecundamur offendere; vel cum inimicitias devitamus, ne impediant et noceant in istis temporalibus rebus, sive quas adipisci adhuc appetit nostra cupiditas, sive quas amittere formidat infirmitas: ita ut, quamvis bonis vita malorum displiceat, et ideo cum eis non incidant in illam damnationem, quae post hanc vitam talibus praeparatur; tamen quia propterea peccatis eorum damnabilibus parcunt, dum eos in suis licet levibus et venialibus metuunt, jure cum eis temporaliter flagellentur, quamvis in aeternum minime puniantur. Jure istam vitam, quando divinitus affliguntur cum eis, amaram sentiunt, cujus amando dulcedinem peccantibus eis amari esse noluerunt.

2. Nam si propterea quisque objurgandis et corripiendis male agentibus parcit, quia opportunius tempus inquirit, vel eisdem ipsis metuit, ne deteriores ex hoc efficiantur, vel ad bonam vitam et piam erudiendos impediant alios infirmos, et premant atque avertant a fide; non videtur esse cupiditatis occasio, sed consilium charitatis. Illud est culpabile, quod hi, qui dissimiliter vivunt et a malorum factis abhorrent, parcunt tamen peccatis alienis, quae dedocere aut objurgare deberent, dum eorum offensiones cavent, ne sibi noceant in his rebus, quibus licite boni atque innocentes utuntur, sed cupidius quam oportebat eos, qui in hoc mundo peregrinantur et spem supernae patriae prae se gerunt. Non solum quippe infirmiores, vitam ducentes conjugalem, filios habentes vel habere quaerentes, domos ac familias possidentes (quos Apostolus in Ecclesiis alloquitur, docens et monens quemadmodum vivere debeant et uxores cum maritis, et mariti cum uxoribus, et filii cum parentibus, et parentes cum filiis, et servi cum dominis, et domini cum servis [Coloss. III, 18 22]), multa temporalia, multa terrena libenter adipiscuntur et moleste amittunt, propter quae non audent offendere homines, quorum sibi vita contaminatissima et consceleratissima displicet:

For except that everyone, however laudably living, yields in some things to carnal concupiscence—even if not to the enormity of crimes and the gulf of flagitious acts and the abomination of impiety, yet to some sins either rare or so much the more frequent as they are smaller—this, therefore, excepted, who at length is easily found, who holds those very persons, on account of whose horrendous pride, luxury, and avarice, and execrable iniquities and impieties, God, as He foretold by threatening, crushes the lands (Isaiah 24, and elsewhere), so as they are to be held? so lives with them, as one must live with such? For for the most part, it is poorly dissembled from teaching, admonishing, sometimes even rebuking and correcting them; either when it loathes the labor, or when we are ashamed to offend their face before us; or when we avoid enmities, lest they should hinder and harm us in these temporal things, which either our cupidity still desires to obtain, or our infirmity fears to lose: so that, although the life of the evil may displease the good, and therefore they do not fall with them into that damnation which is prepared for such after this life; yet because they spare their damnable sins for this reason, while they fear them in their own although light and venial ones, they are justly scourged with them temporally, although they are by no means punished eternally. Justly they feel this life bitter when they are afflicted with them divinely, by whose sweetness in loving they did not wish to be bitter to them when they were sinning.

2. For if for this reason anyone spares those acting poorly from being rebuked and corrected, because he seeks a more opportune time, or fears for those very same persons, lest they should be made worse by this, or lest they should hinder others who are weak from being instructed in a good and pious life, and should oppress and turn them away from the faith; it does not seem to be an occasion of cupidity, but a counsel of charity. That is culpable, that those who live differently and abhor the deeds of the evil, yet spare the sins of others, which they ought to unteach or rebuke, while they avoid their offenses, lest they should harm themselves in those things which the good and innocent lawfully use, but more covetously than was fitting for those who are pilgrims in this world and bear before them the hope of a heavenly country. For not only the weaker, leading a conjugal life, having children or seeking to have them, possessing houses and families (whom the Apostle addresses in the Churches, teaching and admonishing how they ought to live both wives with husbands, and husbands with wives, and children with parents, and parents with children, and servants with masters, and masters with servants [Colossians 3:18-22]), freely acquire and painfully lose many temporal things, many earthly things, on account of which they do not dare to offend men whose most contaminated and most criminal life displeases them:

verum etiam hi, qui superiorem vitae gradum tenent, nec conjugalibus vinculis irretiti sunt, et victu parvo ac tegumento utuntur, plerumque suae famae ac saluti consulentes, dum insidias atque impetus malorum timent, ab eorum reprehensione sese abstinent. Et quamvis non in tantum eos metuant, ut ad similia perpetranda quibuslibet eorum terroribus atque improbitatibus cedant; ea ipsa tamen, quae cum eis non perpetrant, nolunt plerumque corripere, cum fortasse possint aliquos corripiendo corrigere; ne, si non potuerint, sua salus ac fama in periculum exitiumque perveniat: nec ea consideratione, qua suam famam ac salutem vident esse necessariam utilitati erudiendorum hominum; sed ea potius infirmitate, qua delectat lingua blandiens et humanus dies (I Cor. IV, 3), et reformidatur vulgi judicium et carnis excruciatio vel peremptio; hoc est, propter quaedam cupiditatis vincula, non propter officia charitatis.

3. Non mihi itaque videtur haec parva esse causa, quare cum malis flagellentur et boni, quando Deo placet perditos mores etiam temporalium poenarum afflictione punire. Flagellantur enim simul, non quia simul agunt malam vitam, sed quia simul amant temporalem vitam; non quidem aequaliter, sed tamen simul: quam boni contemnere deberent, ut illi correpti atque correcti consequerentur aeternam; ad quam consequendam si nollent esse socii, ferrentur et diligerentur inimici: quia, donec vivunt, semper incertum est utrum voluntatem sint in melius mutaturi. Qua in re non utique parem, sed longe graviorem habent causam, quibus per prophetam dicitur, Ille quidem in suo peccato morietur, sanguinem autem ejus de manu speculatoris requiram (Ezech. XXXIII, 6). Ad hoc enim speculatores, hoc est populorum praepositi, constituti sunt in Ecclesiis, ut non parcant objurgando peccata. Nec ideo tamen ab hujuscemodi culpa penitus alienus est, qui, licet praepositus non sit, in eis tamen quibus vitae hujus necessitate conjungitur, multa monenda vel arguenda novit, et negligit, devitans eorum offensiones, propter illa quibus in hac vita non indebitis utitur, sed plus quam debuit delectatur. Deinde habent aliam causam boni, quare temporalibus affligantur malis; qualem habuit Job: ut sibi ipse humanus animus sit probatus et cognitus, quanta virtute pietatis gratis Deum diligat.

## Caput X.

*Quod sanctis in amissione rerum temporalium nihil pereat.*

but even those who hold a higher grade of life, and are not entangled in conjugal bonds, and use little food and covering, for the most part consulting their own reputation and safety, while they fear the snares and attacks of the evil, abstain from their reprehension. And although they do not fear them so much as to yield to any of their terrors and improprieties for perpetrating similar things; yet those very things which they do not perpetrate with them, they for the most part do not wish to rebuke, when perhaps they might be able to correct some by rebuking; lest, if they should not be able, their own safety and reputation should come into danger and destruction: not by that consideration by which they see their reputation and safety to be necessary for the utility of men to be instructed; but rather by that infirmity by which a flattering tongue and the human day (1 Cor. 4:3) delights, and the judgment of the common people and the torment or destruction of the flesh is dreaded; that is, on account of certain bonds of cupidity, not on account of the duties of charity.

3. Therefore it does not seem to me that this is a small cause why the good are scourged together with the evil, when it pleases God to punish lost morals even with the affliction of temporal penalties. For they are scourged together, not because they together lead an evil life, but because they together love the temporal life; not indeed equally, but yet together: which the good ought to despise, so that those rebuked and corrected might attain the eternal; to attain which, if they did not wish to be associates, they should be borne and loved as enemies: because, as long as they live, it is always uncertain whether they are about to change their will for the better. In which matter they have by no means an equal, but a far graver cause, to whom it is said by the prophet, "He indeed shall die in his sin, but his blood I will require from the hand of the watchman" (Ezekiel 33:6). For for this purpose watchmen, that is, those set over the peoples, were constituted in the Churches, that they should not spare sins by rebuking. Nor yet is he entirely foreign to a fault of this kind, who, although he is not set over, yet in those to whom he is joined by the necessity of this life, knows many things to be admonished or argued, and neglects it, avoiding their offenses on account of those things which he use in this life not unduly, but is delighted with more than he ought. Then the good have another cause why they should be afflicted with temporal evils, such as Job had: that his human soul itself might be proved and known, with what virtue of piety it loves God for naught.

## Chapter X.

*That nothing is lost to the saints in the loss of temporal things.*

1. Quibus recte consideratis atque perspectis, attende utrum aliquid mali acciderit fidelibus et piis, quod eis non in bonum verteretur: nisi forte putandum est apostolicam illam vacare sententiam, ubi ait, Scimus quia diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum (Rom. VIII, 28).

[CAPUT X.] Amiserunt omnia quae habebant. Numquid fidem? numquid pietatem? numquid interioris hominis bona, qui est ante Deum dives (I Petr. III, 4)? Hae sunt opes Christianorum, quibus opulentus dicebat Apostolus: Est autem quaestus magnus pietas cum sufficientia. Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum, sed nec auferre aliquid possumus: habentes autem victum et tegumentum, his contenti simus. Nam qui volunt divites fieri, incidunt in tentationem et laqueum, et desideria multa stulta et noxia, quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem. Radix est enim omnium malorum avaritia: quam quidam appetentes, a fide pererraverunt, et inseruerunt se doloribus multis (I Tim. VI, 6-10).

2. Quibus ergo terrenae divitiae in illa vastatione perierunt, si eas sic habebant, quemadmodum ab isto foris paupere, intus divite audierant; id est, si mundo utebantur, tanquam non utentes (I Cor. VII, 31): potuerunt dicere, quod ille graviter tentatus et minime superatus: Nudus exivi de utero matris meae, nudus revertar in terram. Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit; sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum (Job I, 21): ut bonus servus magnas facultates haberet ipsam sui Domini voluntatem, cui pedissequus mente ditesceret, nec constristaretur eis rebus vivens relictus, quas cito fuerat moriens relicturus. Illi autem infirmiores, qui terrenis his bonis, quamvis ea non praeponerent Christo, aliquantula tamen cupiditate cohaerebant; quantum haec amando peccaverint, perdendo senserunt. Tantum quippe doluerunt, quantum se doloribus inseruerant; sicut Apostolum dixisse supra commemoravi. Oportebat enim ut eis adderetur etiam experimentorum disciplina, a quibus fuerat tam diu neglecta verborum. Nam cum dixit Apostolus, Qui volunt divites fieri, incidunt in tentationem, et caetera; profecto in divitiis cupiditatem reprehendit, non facultatem: qui praecepit alibi, dicens, Praecipe divitibus hujus mundi, non superbe sapere, neque sperare in incerto divitiarum; sed in Deo vivo, qui praestat nobis omnia abundanter ad fruendum; bene faciant, divites sint in operibus bonis, facile tribuant, communicent, thesaurizent sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut apprehendant veram vitam (I Tim. VI, 17-19). Haec qui de suis faciebant divitiis, magnis sunt lucris levia damna solati; plusque laetati ex his, quae facile tribuendo tutius servaverunt, quam contristati ex his, quae timide retinendo facilius amiserunt. Hoc enim potuit in terra perire, quod piguit inde transferre.

1. These things being rightly considered and perceived, attend whether anything of evil happened to the faithful and pious, which would not turn to good for them: unless perhaps it is to be thought that that apostolic sentence is void, where he says, "We know that for those who love God all things work together for good" (Romans 8:28).

[CHAPTER X.] They lost all things which they had. Did they lose faith? did they lose piety? did they lose the goods of the inner man, who is rich before God (1 Peter 3:4)? These are the riches of Christians, with which the Apostle said he was wealthy: "But godliness with sufficiency is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, but neither can we carry anything out: but having food and covering, with these let us be content. For those who wish to become rich fall into temptation and a snare, and many foolish and harmful desires, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For avarice is the root of all evils: which some desiring, have wandered from the faith, and have pierced themselves through with many sorrows" (1 Tim. 6:6-10).

2. To those, therefore, for whom earthly riches perished in that devastation, if they held them in such a way as they had heard from that man who was poor outside but rich inside; that is, if they used the world as though not using it (1 Cor. 7:31): they were able to say, as he who was severely tempted and by no means overcome: "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, naked shall I return to the earth. The Lord gave, the Lord has taken away; as it pleased the Lord, so it was done: blessed be the name of the Lord" (Job 1:21): so that a good servant might have as great resources the very will of his Lord, being enriched in mind as a follower, nor be saddened by those things being left while living, which he was soon to leave while dying. But those weaker ones, who although they did not prefer these earthly goods to Christ, yet adhered to them with some small cupidity; they felt by losing them how much they sinned by loving them. For they grieved just so much as they had pierced themselves through with sorrows; as I recalled above that the Apostle said. For it was fitting that to them should be added even the discipline of experiences, by whom the discipline of words had been for so long neglected. For when the Apostle said, "Those who wish to become rich fall into temptation," and so forth; surely he rebuked the cupidity in riches, not the resource: who commanded elsewhere, saying, "Command the rich of this world, not to be proudly wise, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches; but in the living God, who provides for us all things abundantly for enjoyment; let them do well, let them be rich in good works, let them easily give, communicate, treasure up for themselves a good foundation for the future, that they may apprehend true life" (1 Tim. 6:17-19). Those who were doing these things with their riches, have consoled light losses with great gains; and have rejoiced more from those things which, by easily giving, they more safely preserved, than they were saddened from those things which, by timidly retaining, they more easily lost. For that could perish on earth, which it was loathsome to transfer from there.

Nam qui receperunt consilium Domini sui, dicentis, Nolite condere vobis thesauros in terra, ubi tinea et rubigo exterminant, et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur; sed thesaurizate vobis thesauros in coelo, quo fur non accedit, neque tinea corrumpit: ubi enim est thesaurus tuus, ibi erit et cor tuum (Matth. VI, 19-21); tribulationis tempore probaverunt quam recte sapuerint, non contemnendo veracissimum praeceptorem et thesauri sui fidelissimum invictissimumque custodem. Nam si multi sunt gavisi, ibi se habuisse divitias suas, quo contigit ut hostis non accederet; quanto certius et securius gaudere potuerunt qui monitu Dei sui illuc migraverant, quo accedere omnino non posset? Unde Paulinus noster, Nolensis episcopus, ex opulentissimo divite voluntate pauperrimus et copiosissime sanctus, quando et ipsam Nolam Barbari vastaverunt, cum ab eis teneretur, sic in corde suo, ut ab eo postea cognovimus, precabatur: Domine, non excrucier propter aurum et argentum; ubi enim sint omnia mea, tu scis. Ibi enim habebat omnia sua, ubi eum condere et thesaurizare ille monstraverat, qui et haec mala mundo ventura praedixerat. Ac per hoc qui Domino suo monenti obedierant, ubi et quomodo thesaurizare deberent, nec ipsas terrenas divitias Barbaris incursantibus amiserunt: quos autem non obedisse poenituit, quid de talibus rebus faciendum esset, si non praecedente sapientia, certe consequente experientia didicerunt.

3. At enim quidam boni etiam Christiani tormentis excruciati sunt, ut bona sua hostibus proderent. Illi vero nec prodere, nec perdere potuerunt bonum, quo et ipsi boni erant. Si autem torqueri, quam mammona iniquitatis prodere maluerunt, boni non erant. Admonendi autem fuerant, qui tanta patiebantur pro auro, quanta essent sustinenda pro Christo: ut eum potius diligere discerent, qui pro se passos aeterna felicitate ditaret; non aurum et argentum, pro quo pati miserrimum fuit, seu mentiendo occultaretur, seu verum dicendo proderetur. Namque inter tormenta nemo Christum confitendo amisit: nemo aurum, nisi negando, servavit. Quocirca utiliora erant fortasse tormenta, quae bonum incorruptibile amandum docebant, quam illa bona, quae sine ullo utili fructu dominos sui amore torquebant. Sed quidam etiam non habentes quod proderent, dum non creduntur, torti sunt. Et hi forte habere cupiebant, nec sancta voluntate pauperes erant: quibus demonstrandum fuit, non facultates, sed ipsas cupiditates talibus esse dignas cruciatibus.

For those who received the counsel of their Lord, saying, "Do not store up for yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and rust destroy, and where thieves dig through and steal; but treasure up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where no thief approaches, nor moth corrupts: for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also" (Matt. 6:19-21); in the time of tribulation they proved how rightly they were wise, by not contemning the most true Teacher and the most faithful and invincible guardian of their treasure. For if many rejoiced that they had their riches there, where it happened that the enemy did not approach; how much more certainly and securely could they rejoice who, by the admonition of their God, had migrated thither, where no one could approach at all? Whence our Paulinus, bishop of Nola, from being most opulent and rich, becoming most poor by will and most abundantly holy, when the Barbarians devastated Nola itself, since he was held by them, prayed thus in his heart, as we later learned from him: "Lord, let me not be tormented for gold and silver; for where all my things are, You know." For there he had all his things, where He had shown him to store and treasure them up, who also had foretold that these evils were about to come to the world. And through this, those who had obeyed their Lord admonishing where and how they ought to treasure up, did not lose even those earthly riches when the Barbarians rushed in: but those who repented not having obeyed, learned what was to be done concerning such things, if not by preceding wisdom, certainly by following experience.

3. But indeed some good men, even Christians, were tortured, that they might betray their goods to the enemies. But they were able neither to betray nor to lose that good by which they themselves were good. But if they preferred to be tortured rather than to betray the mammon of iniquity, they were not good. But they were to be admonished, who suffered so great things for gold, how great things were to be sustained for Christ: that they might rather learn to love Him who would enrich those having suffered for Him with eternal happiness; not gold and silver, for which it was most miserable to suffer, whether it were hidden by lying or betrayed by telling the truth. For during the torments no one lost Christ by confessing Him: no one saved gold except by denying it. Wherefore perhaps the torments were more useful which taught that an incorruptible good was to be loved, than those goods which tortured their masters with the love of themselves without any useful fruit. But some even not having what they might betray, while they are not believed, were tortured. And these perhaps desired to have, nor were they poor by a holy will: to whom it was to be demonstrated that not the resources, but those very cupidities are worthy of such torments.

Si vero melioris vitae proposito reconditum aurum argentumque non habebant, nescio quidem utrum cuiquam talium acciderit, ut dum habere creditur, torqueretur: verumtamen etiamsi accidit, profecto qui inter illa tormenta paupertatem sanctam confitebatur, Christum confitebatur. Quapropter etsi non meruit ab hostibus credi, non potuit tamen sanctae paupertatis confessor sine coelesti mercede torqueri.

4. [XI.] Multos, inquiunt, etiam Christianos fames diuturna vastavit. Hoc quoque in usus suos boni fideles pie tolerando verterunt. Quos enim fames necavit, malis vitae hujus, sicut corporis morbus, eripuit: quos autem non necavit, docuit parcius vivere, docuit productius jejunare.

## Caput XI.

*De fine temporalis vitae, sive longioris, sive brevioris.*

Sed enim multi etiam Christiani interfecti sunt, multi multarum mortium foeda varietate consumpti. Hoc si aegre ferendum est, omnibus qui in hanc vitam procreati sunt, utique commune est. Hoc scio, neminem fuisse mortuum, qui non fuerat aliquando moriturus. Finis autem vitae tam longam quam brevem vitam hoc idem facit. Neque enim aliud melius, et aliud deterius; aut aliud majus, et aliud brevius est, quod jam pariter non est. Quid autem interest, quo mortis genere vita ista finiatur, quando ille cui finitur, iterum mori non cogitur? Cum autem unicuique mortalium sub quotidianis vitae hujus casibus innumerabiles mortes quodammodo comminentur, quamdiu incertum est, quaenam earum ventura sit; quaero utrum satius sit, unam perpeti moriendo, an omnes timere vivendo. Nec ignoro quam inertius eligatur diu vivere sub timore tot mortium, quam semel moriendo nullam deinceps formidare. Sed aliud est quod carnis sensus infirmiter pavidus refugit, aliud quod mentis ratio diligenter enucleata convincit. Mala mors putanda non est, quam bona vita praecesserit: neque enim facit malam mortem, nisi quod sequitur mortem. Non itaque multum curandum est eis, qui necessario morituri sunt, quid accidat ut moriantur; sed moriendo quo ire cogantur. Cum igitur Christiani noverint longe meliorem fuisse religiosi pauperis mortem inter lingentium canum linguas, quam impii divitis in purpura et bysso (Luc. XVI, 19-31); horrenda illa genera mortium quid mortuis obfuerunt, qui bene vixerunt.

## Caput XII.

*De sepultura humanorum corporum, quae Christianis etiamsi fuerit negata, nil adimit.*

But if by a proposal of a better life they did not have hidden gold and silver, I know not indeed whether it happened to any of such, that while he is believed to have, he was tortured: nevertheless even if it happened, surely he who among those torments was confessing holy poverty, was confessing Christ. Wherefore even if he did not merit to be believed by the enemies, yet a confessor of holy poverty could not be tortured without a heavenly reward.

4. [XI.] Many, they say, even Christians, a long famine has devastated. This also the good faithful turned into their own uses by piously tolerating it. For those whom famine killed, it snatched from the evils of this life, as a disease of the body: but those whom it did not kill, it taught to live more sparingly, it taught to fast more lengthily.

## Chapter XI.

*Of the end of temporal life, whether longer or shorter.*

But indeed many Christians were also killed, many consumed by a foul variety of many deaths. If this is to be borne with difficulty, it is certainly common to all who have been procreated into this life. This I know, that no one has died who was not at some time about to die. But the end of life makes the same of a life as long as of one as short. For one thing is not better, and another worse; or one greater, and another shorter, which is already equally not at all. But what does it matter by what kind of death this life is finished, when he for whom it is finished is not compelled to die again? But when to each one of mortals under the daily accidents of this life innumerable deaths in a certain way threaten, as long as it is uncertain which of them is about to come; I ask whether it is better to suffer one by dying, or to fear all by living. Nor am I ignorant how much more sluggishly it is chosen to live long under the fear of so many deaths, than by dying once to dread none thereafter. But it is one thing which the sense of the flesh weakly fearful avoids, another which the reason of the mind diligently scrutinized convinces. Death is not to be thought evil, which a good life has preceded: for nothing makes death evil except what follows death. Therefore it is not much to be cared for by those who are necessarily about to die, what happens that they should die; but by dying whither they are compelled to go. Since therefore Christians know that the death of the religious poor man among the tongues of licking dogs was far better than that of the impious rich man in purple and fine linen (Luke 16:19-31); those horrendous kinds of deaths, what did they harm the dead who lived well?

## Chapter XII.

*Of the burial of human bodies, which even if it were denied to Christians, takes away nothing.*

1. At enim in tanta strage cadaverum nec sepeliri potuerunt. Neque istud pia fides nimium reformidat, tenens praedictum, nec absumentes bestias resurrecturis corporibus obfuturas, quorum capillus capitis non peribit (Id. XXI, 18). Nullo modo diceret Veritas, Nolite timere eos qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere (Matth. X, 28); si quidquam obesset futurae vitae, quidquid inimici de corporibus occisorum facere voluissent. Nisi forte quispiam sic absurdus est, ut contendat eos, qui corpus occidunt, non debere timeri ante mortem, ne corpus occidant, et timeri debere post mortem, ne corpus occisum sepeliri non sinant. Falsum est ergo quod ait Christus, Qui corpus occidunt, et postea non habent quid faciant (Luc. XII, 4); si habent tanta, quae de cadaveribus faciant. Absit ut falsum sit quod Veritas dixit. Dictum est enim aliquid eos facere cum occidunt, quia in corpore sensus est occidendo; postea vero nihil habere quod faciant, quia nullus sensus est in corpore occiso. Multa itaque corpora Christianorum terra non texit: sed nullum eorum quisquam a coelo et terra separavit, quam totam implet praesentia sui, qui novit unde resuscitet quod creavit. Dicitur quidem in Psalmo, Posuerunt mortalia servorum tuorum escas volatilibus coeli, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae: effuderunt sanguinem eorum, sicut aquam in circuitu Jerusalem, et non erat qui sepeliret (Psal. LXXVIII, 2, 3): sed magis ad exaggerandam crudelitatem eorum qui ista fecerunt, non ad eorum infelicitatem qui ista perpessi sunt. Quamvis enim haec in conspectu hominum dura et dira videantur; sed pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus (Psal. CXV, 15). Proinde omnia ista, id est, curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exsequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum. Si aliquid prodest impio sepultura pretiosa, oberit pio vilis aut nulla. Praeclaras exsequias in conspectu hominum exhibuit purpurato illi diviti turba famulorum: sed multo clariores in conspectu Domini ulceroso illi pauperi ministerium praebuit Angelorum, qui eum non extulerunt in marmoreum tumulum, sed in Abrahae gremium sustulerunt.

2. Rident haec illi, contra quos defendendam suscepimus civitatem Dei. Verumtamen sepulturae curam etiam eorum philosophi contempserunt: et saepe universi exercitus, dum pro terrena patria morerentur, ubi postea jacerent, vel quibus bestiis esca fierent, non curarunt: licuitque de hac re poetis plausibiliter dicere: Coelo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.

1. But indeed in so great a slaughter of carcasses they could not even be buried. Nor does pious faith dread that too much, holding what was foretold, that the devouring beasts would not harm the bodies about to rise, of whom not a hair of the head shall perish (Luke 21:18). By no means would Truth say, "Do not fear those who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul" (Matt. 10:28); if anything were to harm the future life, whatever the enemies should have wished to do with the bodies of the slain. Unless perhaps someone is so absurd as to contend that those who kill the body ought not to be feared before death, lest they kill the body, and ought to be feared after death, lest they should not permit the slain body to be buried. False therefore is what Christ says, "Those who kill the body, and afterwards have nothing that they may do" (Luke 12:4); if they have so many things which they may do with the carcasses. Let it be far that what Truth said should be false. For it was said that they do something when they kill, because there is sense in the body by killing; but afterwards to have nothing which they may do, because there is no sense in the slain body. Therefore many bodies of Christians the earth has not covered: but no one has separated any of them from heaven and earth, which He fills entirely by the presence of Himself, who knows whence He may resuscitate what He created. It is said indeed in the Psalm, "They have placed the dead bodies of Your servants as food for the birds of heaven, the flesh of Your saints for the beasts of the earth: they have poured out their blood like water round about Jerusalem, and there was no one who might bury" (Psalm 79:2, 3): but more for exaggerating the cruelty of those who did these things, not for the unhappiness of those who suffered these things. For although these things seem hard and dire in the sight of men; "but precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints" (Psalm 116:15). Accordingly all those things, that is, the care of the funeral, the condition of the burial, the pomp of the obsequies, are rather solaces of the living than subsidies of the dead. If a precious burial profits the impious anything, a vile one or none will harm the pious. A crowd of servants exhibited distinguished obsequies in the sight of men to that purple-clad rich man: but far more distinguished in the sight of the Lord the ministry of Angels provided to that ulcerous poor man, who did not carry him out into a marble tomb, but raised him up into the bosom of Abraham.

2. Those laugh at these things against whom we have undertaken to defend the city of God. Nevertheless even their philosophers contemned the care of burial: and often entire armies, while they were dying for their earthly country, cared not where they might afterwards lie, or for which beasts they might become food: and it was permitted to the poets to say plausibly concerning this matter: "He is covered by heaven, who has no urn."

Quanto minus debent de corporibus insepultis insultare Christianis, quibus et ipsius carnis et membrorum omnium reformatio non solum ex terra, verum etiam ex aliorum elementorum secretissimo sinu, quo dilapsa cadavera recesserunt, in temporis puncto reddenda et redintegranda promittitur (I Cor. XV, 52)?

## Caput XIII.

*Quae sit ratio sanctorum corpora sepeliendi.*

Nec ideo tamen contemnenda et abjicienda sunt corpora defunctorum, maximeque justorum atque fidelium, quibus tanquam organis et vasis ad omnia bona opera sanctus usus est Spiritus. Si enim paterna vestis et annulus, ac si quid hujusmodi, tanto charius est posteris, quanto erga parentes major affectus; nullo modo ipsa spernenda sunt corpora, quae utique multo familiarius atque conjunctius, quam quaelibet indumenta, gestamus. Haec enim non ad ornamentum vel adjutorium, quod adhibetur extrinsecus, sed ad ipsam naturam hominis pertinent. Unde et antiquorum justorum funera officiosa pietate curata sunt, et exsequiae celebratae, et sepultura provisa (Gen. XXV, 9; XXXV, 29; L, 2-13, etc.): ipsique dum viverent, de sepeliendis, vel etiam transferendis suis corporibus filiis mandaverunt (Id. XLVII, 29, 30; L, 24): et Tobias sepeliendo mortuos Deum promeruisse, teste angelo, commendatur (Tob. II, 9; XII, 12). Ipse quoque Dominus die tertio resurrecturus, religiosae mulieris bonum opus praedicat, praedicandumque commendat, quod unguentum pretiosum super membra ejus effuderit, atque hoc ad eum sepeliendum fecerit (Matth. XXVI, 10-13). Et laudabiliter commemorantur in Evangelio qui corpus ejus de cruce acceptum diligenter atque honorifice tegendum, sepeliendumque curarunt (Joan. XIX, 38-42). Verum istae auctoritates non hoc admonent, quod insit ullus cadaveribus sensus; sed ad Dei providentiam, cui placent etiam talia pietatis officia, corpora quoque mortuorum pertinere significant, propter fidem resurrectionis astruendam. Ubi et illud salubriter discitur, quanta possit esse remuneratio pro eleemosynis, quas viventibus et sentientibus exhibemus, si neque hoc apud Deum perit, quod exanimis hominum membris officii diligentiaeque persolvitur. Sunt quidem et alia, quae sancti Patriarchae de corporibus suis vel condendis vel transferendis prophetico spiritu dicta intelligi voluerunt: non autem hic locus est, ut ea pertractemus, cum sufficiant ista quae diximus.

How much less ought they to insult Christians concerning unburied bodies, to whom the reformation of the flesh itself and of all members, not only from the earth, but also from the most secret bosom of the other elements, into which the collapsed carcasses have receded, is promised to be rendered and reintegrated in a point of time (1 Cor. 15:52)?

## Chapter XIII.

*What is the reason for burying the bodies of the saints.*

Nevertheless, the bodies of the defunct are not therefore to be contemned and cast away, and especially of the just and faithful, which the Holy Spirit has used as organs and vessels for all good works. For if a paternal garment and ring, and if anything of this kind, is so much the dearer to posterity as the affection toward parents is greater; by no means are the bodies themselves to be spurned, which certainly we wear much more familiarly and conjunctly than any garments. For these do not pertain to ornament or help which is applied from without, but to the very nature of man. Whence also the funerals of the ancient just were cared for with dutiful piety, and obsequies celebrated, and burial provided (Gen. 25:9; 35:29; 50:2-13, etc.): and they themselves while they were living, commanded their sons concerning burying or even transferring their bodies (Id. 47:29, 30; 50:24): and Tobias is commended for having merited before God by burying the dead, the angel being witness (Tobit 2:9; 12:12). The Lord Himself also, about to rise on the third day, preaches the good work of the religious woman, and commands it to be preached, that she poured precious ointment over His members, and did this for His burial (Matt. 26:10-13). And those are laudably commemorated in the Gospel who cared for His body received from the cross to be diligently and honorably covered and buried (John 19:38-42). But these authorities do not admonish this, that any sense is in the carcasses; but they signify that the bodies also of the dead pertain to the providence of God, to whom such duties of piety also are pleasing, for the sake of establishing faith in the resurrection. Where also it is wholesomely learned how great the remuneration can be for alms which we exhibit to the living and feeling, if this too is not lost with God, which is paid to the lifeless members of men as a duty and diligence. There are indeed also other things which the holy Patriarchs wished to be understood as said by a prophetic spirit concerning their bodies either being stored or transferred: but here is not the place that we should treat them, since these things which we have said suffice.

Sed si ea quae sustentandis viventibus sunt necessaria, sicut victus et amictus, quamvis cum gravi afflictione desint, non frangunt in bonis perferendi tolerandique virtutem, nec cradicant ex animo pietatem, sed exercitatam faciunt fecundiorem: quanto magis, cum desunt ea quae curandis funeribus condendisque corporibus defunctorum adhiberi solent, non efficiunt miseros in occultis piorum sedibus jam quietos? Ac per hoc, quando ista cadaveribus Christianorum in illa magnae urbis, vel etiam aliorum oppidorum vastatione defuerunt; nec vivorum culpa est, qui non potuerunt ista praebere, nec poena mortuorum, qui non possunt ista sentire.

## Caput XIV.

*De captivitate sanctorum, quibus nunquam divina solatia defuerunt.*

Sed multi, inquiunt, Christiani etiam captivi ducti sunt. Hoc sane miserrimum est, si aliquo duci potuerunt, ubi Deum suum non invenerunt. Sunt in Scripturis sanctis hujus etiam cladis magna solatia. Fuerunt in captivitate tres pueri, fuit Daniel, fuerunt alii prophetae: nec Deus defuit consolator. Sic ergo non deseruit fideles suos sub dominatione gentis, licet barbarae, tamen humanae, qui prophetam non deseruit nec in visceribus belluae (Jonae II). Haec quoque illi, cum quibus agimus, malunt irridere, quam credere: qui tamen in suis litteris credunt Arionem Methymnaeum, nobilissimum citharistam, cum esset dejectus e navi, exceptum delphini dorso, et ad terras esse pervectum. Verum illud nostrum de Jona propheta incredibilius est. Plane incredibilius, quia mirabilius; et mirabilius, quia potentius.

## Caput XV.

*De Regulo, in quo captivitatis, ob religionem etiam sponte tolerandae, exstat exemplum: quod tamen illi deos colenti prodesse non potuit.*

1. Habent tamen isti de captivitate religionis causa etiam sponte toleranda et in suis praeclaris viris nobilissimum exemplum. Marcus Attilius Regulus, imperator populi Romani, captivus apud Carthaginenses fuit. Qui cum sibi mallent a Romanis suos reddi, quam eorum tenere captivos, ad hoc impetrandum etiam istum praecipue Regulum cum legatis suis Romam miserunt, prius juratione constrictum, si quod volebant minime peregisset, rediturum esse Carthaginem. Perrexit ille, atque in senatu contraria persuasit, quoniam non arbitrabatur utile esse Romanae reipublicae mutare captivos.

But if those things which are necessary for sustaining the living, such as food and clothing, although they are lacking with grave affliction, do not break in the good the virtue of enduring and tolerating, nor eradicate piety from the soul, but make it exercised and more fruitful: how much more, when those things are lacking which are wont to be applied for caring for funerals and storing the bodies of the defunct, do they not make miserable those already quiet in the secret seats of the pious? And through this, when these things were lacking to the carcasses of Christians in that devastation of the great city, or even of other towns; it is neither the fault of the living, who were not able to provide these things, nor the penalty of the dead, who are not able to feel these things.

## Chapter XIV.

*Of the captivity of the saints, to whom divine solaces were never lacking.*

But many, they say, Christians were even led captive. This indeed is most miserable, if they could be led anywhere where they did not find their God. There are in the holy Scriptures great solaces even of this calamity. The three youths were in captivity, Daniel was, other prophets were: nor was God lacking as a consoler. So therefore He did not desert His faithful under the domination of a nation, although barbarian, yet human, who did not desert the prophet even in the bowels of a beast (Jonah 2). These things also those with whom we deal prefer to deride rather than to believe: who yet in their own literature believe that Arion of Methymna, a most noble citharist, when he had been cast down from a ship, was received on the back of a dolphin and carried to the lands. But that of ours concerning the prophet Jonah is more incredible. Plainly more incredible, because more wonderful; and more wonderful, because more powerful.

## Chapter XV.

*Of Regulus, in whom there exists an example of captivity to be tolerated even voluntarily on account of religion: which however could not profit him who worshipped the gods.*

1. Those, however, have also a most noble example of captivity even voluntarily to be tolerated for the cause of religion among their distinguished men. Marcus Attilius Regulus, a general of the Roman people, was a captive among the Carthaginians. Who, since they preferred that their own be returned to them by the Romans, rather than to hold their captives, for the sake of impetrating this sent also this Regulus especially with their legates to Rome, first bound by an oath, that if he should have by no means performed what they wished, he was about to return to Carthage. He went, and in the senate persuaded the contrary, since he did not think it useful to the Roman republic to exchange captives.

Nec post hanc persuasionem a suis ad hostes redire compulsus est; sed quod juraverat, id sponte complevit. At illi eum excogitatis atque horrendis cruciatibus necaverunt. Inclusum quippe angusto ligno, ubi stare cogeretur, clavisque acutissimis undique confixo, ut se in nullam ejus partem sine poenis atrocissimis inclinaret, etiam vigilando peremerunt. Merito certe laudant virtutem tam magna infelicitate majorem. Et per deos ille juraverat, quorum cultu prohibito, has generi humano clades isti opinantur infligi. Qui ergo propterea colebantur, ut istam vitam prosperam redderent, si verum juranti has irrogari poenas seu voluerunt, seu permiserunt, quid perjuro gravius irati facere potuerunt? Sed cur non ratiocinationem meam potius ad utrumque concludam? Deos certe sic ille coluit, ut propter jurisjurandi fidem nec remaneret in patria, nec inde quolibet ire, sed ad suos acerrimos inimicos redire minime dubitaret. Hoc si huic vitae utile existimabat, cujus tam horrendum exitum meruit, procul dubio fallebatur. Suo quippe docuit exemplo, nihil deos ad istam temporalem felicitatem suis prodesse cultoribus: quandoquidem ille eorum deditus cultui, et victus et captivus abductus, et quia noluit aliter quam per eos juraverat facere, novo ac prius inaudito nimiumque horribili supplicii genere cruciatus exstinctus est. Si autem deorum cultus post hanc vitam velut mercedem reddit felicitatem, cur calumniantur temporibus christianis, ideo dicentes Urbi accidisse illam calamitatem, quia deos suos colere destitit, cum potuerit etiam illos diligentissime colens tam infelix fieri, quam ille Regulus fuit? Nisi forte contra clarissimam veritatem tanta quisquam dementia mirae caecitatis obnititur, ut contendere audeat universam civitatem deos colentem infelicem esse non posse, unum vero hominem posse; quod videlicet potentia deorum suorum multos potius sit idonea conservare, quam singulos; cum multitudo constet ex singulis.

2. Si autem dicunt M. Regulum etiam in illa captivitate illisque cruciatibus corporis, animi virtute beatum esse potuisse; virtus potius vera quaeratur, qua beata possit esse et civitas. Neque enim aliunde beata civitas, aliunde homo: cum aliud civitas non sit, quam concors hominum multitudo. Quamobrem nondum interim disputo, qualis in Regulo virtus fuerit: sufficit nunc, quod isto nobilissimo exemplo coguntur fateri, non propter corporis bona, vel earum rerum quae extrinsecus homini accidunt, colendos deos; quandoquidem ille carere his omnibus maluit, quam deos per quos juravit offendere.

Nor after this persuasion was he compelled by his own to return to the enemies; but what he had sworn, that he fulfilled voluntarily. But they killed him with excogitated and horrendous torments. For having shut him up in a narrow wooden enclosure, where he was compelled to stand, and fixed with most sharp nails on every side, so that he might incline himself toward no part of it without most atrocious penalties, they also destroyed him by wakefulness. Worthily certainly they praise a virtue greater than so great an unhappiness. And he had sworn by the gods, by whose prohibited worship they think these calamities are inflicted on the human race. If those, therefore, were worshipped for this purpose, that they might render this life prosperous, if they either willed or permitted these penalties to be imposed on him who swore truly, what could they have done more heavily enraged against a perjurer? But why should I not rather conclude my reasoning to both? Surely he so worshipped the gods, that on account of the faith of his oath he would neither remain in his country, nor go anywhere from there, but did by no means doubt to return to his most bitter enemies. If he thought this useful for this life, whose so horrendous exit he merited, without doubt he was deceived. For he taught by his own example that the gods profit their worshippers nothing for this temporal happiness: since indeed he, devoted to their worship, and being conquered and led away captive, and because he did not wish to do otherwise than as he had sworn by them, was extinguished having been tortured with a new and previously unheard-of and too-horrible kind of punishment. But if the worship of the gods returns happiness as a reward after this life, why do they calumniate Christian times, saying that that calamity happened to the City for this reason, because it ceased to worship its gods, since even worshipping them most diligently one could become as unhappy as that Regulus was? Unless perhaps someone struggles with such dementia of wonderful blindness against the most clear truth, as to dare to contend that a whole city worshipping the gods cannot be unhappy, but one man can; because, forsooth, the power of their gods is more fit to preserve many rather than individuals; since a multitude consists of individuals.

2. But if they say that Marcus Regulus, even in that captivity and those tortures of the body, could be happy by the virtue of his mind; let true virtue rather be sought, by which the city also can be happy. For a happy city does not come from one source, and a happy man from another: since a city is nothing else than a harmonious multitude of men. Wherefore, I do not yet dispute meanwhile what kind of virtue was in Regulus: it suffices now that by this most noble example they are forced to confess that the gods are not to be worshipped for the sake of the goods of the body, or of those things which happen to a man from without; since he preferred to be without all these things rather than to offend the gods by whom he swore.

Sed quid faciamus hominibus qui gloriantur talem se habuisse civem, qualem timent habere civitatem? Quod si non timent, tale ergo aliquid, quale accidit Regulo, etiam civitati tam diligenter, quam ille, deos colenti accidere potuisse fateantur, et christianis temporibus non calumnientur. Verum quia de illis Christianis orta quaestio est, qui etiam captivi ducti sunt ; hoc intueantur et taceant, qui saluberrimae religioni hinc impudenter atque imprudenter illudunt: quia si diis eorum probro non fuit, quod attentissimus cultor illorum, dum eis jurisjurandi fidem servaret, patria carnit, cum aliam non haberet, captivusque apud hostes per longam mortem supplicio novae crudelitatis occisus est: multo minus nomen criminandum est christianum in captivitate sacratorum suorum, qui supernam patriam veraci fide expectantes, etiam in suis sedibus peregrinos se esse noverunt (I Petr. II, 11).

## Caput XVI.

*An stupris, quae etiam sanctarum forte virginum est passa captivitas, contaminari potuerit virtus animi sine voluntatis assensu.*

Magnum sane crimen se putant objicere Christianis, cum eorum exaggerantes captivitatem, addunt etiam stupra commissa, non solum in aliena matrimonia virginesque nupturas, sed etiam in quasdam sanctimoniales. Hic vero non fides, non pietas, non ipsa virtus quae castitas dicitur, sed nostra potius disputatio inter pudorem atque rationem quibusdam coarctatur angustiis . Nec tantum curamus hic alienis responsionem reddere, quantum ipsis nostris consolationem. Sit igitur in primis positum atque firmatum, virtutem qua recte vivitur, ab animi sede membris corporis imperare, sanctumque corpus usu fieri sanctae voluntatis: qua inconcussa ac stabili permanente, quidquid alius de corpore vel in corpore fecerit, quod sine peccato proprio non valeat evitari, praeter culpam esse patientis. Sed quia non solum quod ad dolorem, verum etiam quod ad libidinem pertinet, in corpore alieno perpetrari potest; quidquid tale factum fuerit, et si retentam constantissimo animo pudicitiam non excutit, pudorem tamen incutit; no credatur factum cum mentis etiam voluntate, quod fieri fortasse sine carnis aliqua voluptate non potuit.

## Caput XVII.

*De morte voluntaria ob metum poenae sive dedecoris.*

But what shall we do with men who boast that they had such a citizen as they fear the city should have? But if they do not fear, then let them confess that something such as happened to Regulus could also happen to a city worshipping the gods as diligently as he did, and let them not calumniate Christian times. But because a question has arisen concerning those Christians who were also led away as captives; let those look at this and be silent, who impudently and imprudently mock the most salutary religion on this account: because if it was no reproach to their gods that their most attentive worshipper, while he kept the faith of his oath to them, was deprived of his country, when he had no other, and as a captive among enemies was slain by a long death with the torture of a new cruelty: much less is the Christian name to be incriminated in the captivity of its own consecrated ones, who, expecting the heavenly country with true faith, know that they are pilgrims even in their own seats (1 Peter 2:11).

## Chapter XVI.

*Whether the virtue of the mind could be contaminated by violations, which even the captivity of holy virgins perhaps suffered, without the assent of the will.*

They think they object a great crime to the Christians, when, exaggerating their captivity, they add also the violations committed, not only upon others' marriages and virgins about to marry, but even upon certain nuns. Here indeed not faith, not piety, not that virtue itself which is called chastity, but rather our disputation is constrained within certain narrows between shame and reason. Nor do we care here so much to return an answer to strangers, as to provide consolation to our own. Let it therefore be first laid down and established, that the virtue by which one lives rightly commands the members of the body from the seat of the mind, and that the body becomes holy by the use of a holy will: which remaining unshaken and stable, whatever another may have done of the body or in the body, which cannot be avoided without one's own sin, is beyond the fault of the sufferer. But because not only what pertains to pain, but also what pertains to lust, can be perpetrated in another's body; whatever of such kind shall have been done, even if it does not shake out the chastity retained with a most constant mind, yet it incites shame; lest it be believed to have been done with the will of the mind also, which perhaps could not be done without some pleasure of the flesh.

## Chapter XVII.

*Of voluntary death for fear of punishment or disgrace.*

Ac per hoc et quae se occiderunt, ne quidquam hujusmodi paterentur, quis humanus affectus eis nolit ignosci? et quae se occidere noluerunt, ne suo facinore alienum flagitium devitarent, quisquis eis hoc crimini dederit, ipse crimine insipientiae non carebit . Nam utique si non licet privata potestate hominem occidere vel nocentem, cujus occidendi licentiam lex nulla concedit: profecto etiam qui se ipsum occidit, homicida est; et tanto fit nocentior, cum se occiderit, quanto innocentior in ea causa fuit, qua se occidendum putavit. Nam si Judae factum merito detestamur, eumque veritas judicat, cum se laqueo suspendit, sceleratae illius traditionis auxisse potius quam expiasse commissum; quoniam Dei misericordiam desperando exitiabiliter poenitens, nullum sibi salubris poenitentiae locum reliquit (Matth. XXVII, 3): quanto magis a sua nece se abstinere debet qui tali supplicio quod in se puniat, non habet? Judas enim cum se occidit, sceleratum hominem occidit: et tamen non solum Christi, verum etiam suae mortis reus finivit hanc vitam; quia licet propter suum scelus, alio suo scelere occisus est. Cur autem homo, qui mali nihil fecit, sibi male faciat, et se ipsum interficiendo hominem interficiat innocentem, ne alium patiatur nocentem; atque in se perpetret peccatum proprium, ne in eo perpetretur alienum?

## Caput XVIII.

*De aliena violentiarum libidine, quam in oppresso corpore meus invita perpetitur.*

1. At enim, ne vel aliena polluat libido, metuitur. Non polluet, si aliena erit: si autem polluet, aliena non erit. Sed cum pudicitia virtus sit animi, comitemque habeat fortitudinem, qua potius quaelibet mala tolerare, quam malo consentire decernit; nullus autem magnanimus et pudicus in potestate habeat, quid de sua carne fiat, sed tantum quid annuat mente, vel renuat: quis eadem sana mente putaverit se perdere pudicitiam, si forte in apprehensa et oppressa carne sua exerceatur et expleatur libido non sua? Si enim hoc modo pudicitia perit, profecto pudicitia virtus animi non erit; nec pertinebit ad ea bona, quibus bene vivitur, sed in bonis corporis numerabitur; qualia sunt, vires, pulchritudo, sana integraque valetudo, ac si quid hujusmodi est: quae bona, etiam si minuantur, bonam justamque vitam omnino non minuunt. Quod si tale aliquid est pudicitia, utquid pro illa, ne amittatur, etiam cum periculo corporis laboratur? Si autem animi bonum est, etiam oppresso corpore non amittitur. Quin etiam sanctae continentiae bonum cum immunditiae carnalium concupiscentiarum non cedit, et ipsum corpus sanctificatur: et ideo cum eis non cedere inconcussa intentione persistit, nec de ipso corpore perit sanctitas , quia eo sancte utendi perseverat voluntas, et quantum in ipso est, etiam facultas.

And by this, who of human affection would not wish to be forgiven those women who killed themselves lest they should suffer anything of this kind? and as for those who would not kill themselves, lest they should avoid another's crime by their own misdeed, whoever shall charge this to them as a crime will not himself be free from the crime of foolishness. For certainly, if it is not permitted by private authority to kill a man, even a guilty one, whose killing no law grants license for: surely he who kills himself is also a homicide; and he becomes the more guilty when he kills himself, the more innocent he was in that cause for which he thought he should be killed. For if we deservedly detest the deed of Judas, and truth judges that when he hanged himself with a noose, he rather increased than expiated the guilt of that wicked betrayal; since by despairing of God's mercy and repenting destructively, he left himself no place for salutary repentance (Matt. 27:3): how much more ought he to abstain from his own destruction who has no such punishment to punish in himself? For Judas, when he killed himself, killed a wicked man: and yet he ended this life guilty not only of Christ's death, but also of his own; because, although on account of his crime, he was killed by another crime of his own. But why should a man, who has done nothing evil, do evil to himself, and by killing himself kill an innocent man, lest he should suffer another's guilt; and perpetrate a sin of his own in himself, lest another's sin be perpetrated in him?

## Chapter XVIII.

*Of another's lust for violence, which the unwilling mind suffers in the oppressed body.*

1. But indeed, it is feared lest even another's lust should pollute. It will not pollute, if it be another's; but if it pollute, it will not be another's. But since chastity is a virtue of the mind, and has as its companion fortitude, by which it decrees to endure any evils rather than to consent to evil; and no magnanimous and chaste person has in his power what becomes of his flesh, but only what the mind assents to or refuses: who of a sound mind would think that he loses chastity, if perchance in his seized and oppressed flesh another's lust, not his own, is exercised and fulfilled? For if chastity perishes in this way, surely chastity will not be a virtue of the mind; nor will it pertain to those goods by which one lives well, but it will be numbered among the goods of the body; such as are strength, beauty, sound and entire health, and if there is anything of this kind: which goods, even if they be diminished, do not at all diminish a good and just life. But if chastity is something of this sort, why is it labored for with danger even to the body, lest it be lost? But if it is a good of the mind, it is not lost even when the body is oppressed. Nay, even the good of holy continence, when it does not yield to the uncleanness of carnal concupiscences, even the body itself is sanctified: and therefore, when it persists in not yielding with unshaken intention, sanctity does not perish even from the body itself, because the will of using it holily perseveres, and as far as in it lies, the faculty also.

2. Neque enim eo corpus sanctum est, quod ejus membra sunt integra, aut eo, quod nullo contrectantur attactu; cum possint diversis etiam casibus vulnerata vim perpeti, et medici aliquando saluti opitulantes haec ibi faciant, quae horret aspectus. Obstetrix virginis cujusdam integritatem manu velut explorans, sive malevolentia, sive inscitia, sive casu, dum inspicit, perdidit: non opinor quemquam tam stulle sapere, ut huic periisse aliquid existimet etiam de ipsius corporis sanctitate, quamvis membri illius integritate jam perdita. Quocirca proposito animi permanente, per quod etiam corpus sanctificari meruit, nec ipsi corpori aufert sanctitatem violentia libidinis alienae, quam servat perseverantia continentiae suae. An vero si aliqua femina mente corrupta, violatoque proposito quod Deo voverat, pergat vitianda ad deceptorem suum; adhuc eam pergentem sanctam vel corpore dicimus, ea sanctitate animi, per quam corpus sanctificabatur, amissa atque destructa? Absit hic error: et hinc potius admoneamur, ita non amitti corporis sanctitatem, manente animi sanctitate, etiam corpore oppresso, sicut amittitur corporis sanctitas violata animi sanctitate, etiam corpore intacto. Quamobrem non habet quod in se morte spontanea puniat femina, sine ulla sua consensione violenter oppressa, et alieno compressa peccato: quanto minus ante quam hoc fiat; ne admittatur homicidium certum, cum ipsum flagitium, quamvis alienum, adhuc pendet incertum?

## Caput XIX.

*De Lucretia, quae se ob illatum sibi stuprum peremit.*

1. An forte huic perspicuae rationi, qua dicimus corpore oppresso, nequaquam proposito castitatis ulla in malum consensione mutato, illius tantum esse flagitium qui opprimens concubuerit, non illius quae oppressa concumbenti nulla voluntate consenserit, contradicere audebunt hi, contra quos feminarum christianarum in captivitate oppressarum non tantum mentes, verum etiam corpora sancta defendimus? Lucretiam certe, matronam nobilem veteremque Romanam, pudicitiae magnis efferunt laudibus. Hujus corpore cum violenter oppresso Tarquinii regis filius libidinose potitus esset, illa scelus improbissimi juvenis marito Collatino et propinquo Bruto, viris clarissimis et fortissimis, indicavit, eosque ad vindictam constrinxit: deinde foedi in se commissi aegra atque impatiens se peremit . Quid dicemus? adultera haec, an casta judicanda est? Quis in hac controversia laborandum putaverit? Egregie quidam ex hoc veraciterque declamans, ait: «Mirabile dictu; duo fuerunt, et adulterium unus admisit.» Splendide atque verissime.

2. For the body is not holy because its members are entire, or because they are handled by no touch; since they can suffer violence when wounded by various accidents, and physicians sometimes, aiding health, do such things there as the sight abhors. A midwife, as if exploring the integrity of a certain virgin with her hand, whether by ill-will, or ignorance, or accident, destroyed it while inspecting: I do not suppose anyone so foolishly wise as to think that anything of the sanctity of her body also has perished for her, although the integrity of that member is now lost. Wherefore, while the purpose of the mind remains, through which the body also deserved to be sanctified, the violence of another's lust does not take away sanctity even from the body itself, which the perseverance of its own continence preserves. Or indeed, if some woman, corrupted in mind and having violated the purpose she had vowed to God, should go to be defiled to her deceiver; do we call her still going holy even in body, that sanctity of the mind by which the body was sanctified being lost and destroyed? Far be this error: and from this let us rather be admonished, that the sanctity of the body is not lost, the sanctity of the mind remaining, even when the body is oppressed, just as the sanctity of the body is lost when the sanctity of the mind is violated, even when the body is untouched. Wherefore, a woman violently oppressed without any consent of hers, and crushed by another's sin, has nothing to punish in herself by spontaneous death: how much less before this happens; lest a certain homicide be admitted, while the disgrace itself, although another's, still hangs uncertain?

## Chapter XIX.

*Of Lucretia, who killed herself because of the violation inflicted on her.*

1. Or perhaps against this clear reason, by which we say that when the body is oppressed, if the purpose of chastity is not changed by any consent to evil, the disgrace belongs only to him who oppressed and lay with her, not to her who was oppressed and consented to the one lying with her with no will of her own, will those dare to contradict, against whom we defend not only the minds but even the holy bodies of Christian women oppressed in captivity? They certainly extol Lucretia, a noble and ancient Roman matron, with great praises of chastity. When the son of King Tarquin had lustfully taken possession of her body after it was violently oppressed, she indicated the crime of the most wicked youth to her husband Collatinus and her kinsman Brutus, men most illustrious and brave, and constrained them to vengeance: then, sick and impatient of the foul deed committed upon her, she killed herself. What shall we say? Is she to be judged an adulteress, or chaste? Who would think it necessary to labor in this controversy? A certain one, declaiming excellently and truly from this, says: "Wonderful to say; there were two, and one committed adultery." Splendidly and most truly.

Intuens enim in duorum corporum commixtione unius inquinatissimam cupiditatem, alterius castissimam voluntatem; et non quid conjunctione membrorum, sed quid animorum diversitate ageretur, attendens, «Duo,» inquit, «fuerunt, et adulterium unus admisit.»

2. Sed quid est hoc, quod in eam gravius vindicatur, quae adulterium non admisit? Nam ille patria cum patre pulsus est ; haec summo est mactata supplicio. Si non est illa impudicitia, qua invita opprimitur; non est haec justitia, qua casta punitur. Vos appello, leges judicesque Romani. Nempe post perpetrata facinora nec quemquam scelestum indemnatum impune voluistis occidi. Si ergo ad vestrum judicium quisquam deferret hoc crime, vobisque probaretur, non solum indemnatam, verum etiam castam et innocentem interfectam esse mulierem; nonne eum qui id fecisset, severitate congrua plecteretis? Hoc fecit illa Lucretia; illa, illa sic praedicata Lucretia innocentem, castam, vim perpessam Lucretiam insuper interemit . Proferte sententiam. Quod si propterea non potestis, quia non astat quam punire possitis; cur interfectricem innocentis et castae tanta praedicatione laudatis? Quam certe apud infernos judices, etiam tales, quales poetarum vestrorum carminibus cantitantur, nulla ratione defenditis, constitutam scilicet inter illos, qui sibi letum Insontes peperere manu, lucemque perosi, Projecere animas. Cui ad superna redire cupienti Fata obstant, tristique palus innabilis unda Alligat (Virgil. Aeneid. lib. 6, vers. 434-439.) An forte ideo ibi non est, quia non insontem, sed male sibi consciam se peremit? Quid si enim (quod ipsa tantummodo nosse poterat), quamvis juveni violenter irruenti, etiam sua libidine illecta consensit, idque in se puniens ita doluit, ut morte putaret expiandum? Quanquam nec sicquidem occidere se debuit, si fructuosam posset apud deos falsos agere poenitentiam. Verumtamen si forte ita est, falsumque est illud, quod duo fuerunt, et adulterium unus admisit, sed potius ambo adulterium commiserunt, unus manifesta invasione, altera latente consensione: non se occidit insontem, et ideo potest a litteratis ejus defensoribus dici non esse apud inferos inter illos, «qui sibi letum insontes peperere manu.» Sed ita haec causa ex utroque latere coarctatur, ut si extenuatur homicidium, adulterium confirmetur; si purgatur adulterium, homicidium cumuletur: nec omnino invenitur exitus, ubi dicitur, Si adulterata , cur laudata? si pudica, cur occisa?

For beholding in the commingling of two bodies the most foul cupidity of one, and the most chaste will of the other; and attending not to what was done by the conjunction of members, but what by the diversity of minds, "Two," he says, "were there, and one committed adultery."

2. But what is this, that she is more severely punished who did not admit adultery? For he was driven from his country with his father; she was slaughtered with the supreme punishment. If that is not unchastity by which she is unwillingly oppressed; this is not justice by which a chaste woman is punished. I appeal to you, Roman laws and judges. Surely after crimes are perpetrated you have not wished any wicked man to be killed uncondemned with impunity. If therefore anyone had brought this crime before your judgment, and it were proved to you that not only an uncondemned woman, but even a chaste and innocent one had been killed; would you not punish him who had done it with congruent severity? This did that Lucretia do; that, that so lauded Lucretia moreover slew the innocent, chaste Lucretia who had suffered violence. Pronounce the sentence. But if for this reason you cannot, because there is no one present whom you can punish; why do you praise with such great preaching the murderess of an innocent and chaste woman? Whom certainly before the infernal judges, even such as are chanted in the songs of your poets, you defend by no reason, being established, forsooth, among those, "who by their own hand brought death upon themselves, though guiltless, and hating the light, cast away their souls. To whom, desiring to return to the upper world, the fates stand in the way, and the unnavigable marsh with its dismal water binds them." (Virgil, Aeneid, Book 6, lines 434-439.) Or perhaps she is not there for this reason, because she killed herself not guiltless, but conscious of evil in herself? For what if (which she alone could know) although the youth rushed in violently, she also consented, enticed by her own lust, and punishing this in herself so grieved that she thought it should be expiated by death? Although not even so ought she to have killed herself, if she could have performed fruitful repentance before the false gods. Nevertheless, if perchance it is so, and that is false which says that there were two, and one committed adultery, but rather both committed adultery, one by manifest invasion, the other by latent consent: she did not kill herself guiltless, and therefore it can be said by her learned defenders that she is not among those in the lower world "who by their own hand brought death upon themselves, though guiltless." But thus this cause is so constrained on both sides, that if the homicide is extenuated, the adultery is confirmed; if the adultery is purged, the homicide is heaped up: nor is any exit found at all, where it is said, If adulterated, why praised? if chaste, why killed?

3. Nobis tamen in hoc tam nobili feminae hujus exemplo ad istos refutandos, qui christianis feminis in captivitate compressis alieni ab omni cogitatione sanctitatis insultant, sufficit quod in praeclaris ejus laudibus dictum est: «Duo fuerunt, et adulterium unus admisit.» Talis enim ab eis Lucretia magis credita est, quae se nullo adulterino potuerit maculare consensu. Quod ergo se ipsam, quoniam adulterum pertulit, etiam non adulterata occidit, non est pudicitiae charitas, sed pudoris infirmitas. Puduit enim eam turpitudinis alienae in se commissae, etiamsi non secum; et Romana mulier laudis avida nimium verita est, ne putaretur, quod violenter est passa cum viveret, libenter passa si viveret. Unde ad oculos hominum mentis suae testem illam poenam adhibendam putavit, quibus conscientiam demonstrare non potuit. Sociam quippe facti se credi erubuit, si, quod alius in ea fecerat turpiter, ferret ipsa patienter. Non hoc fecerunt feminae christianae, quae passae similia vivunt. Tamen nec in se ultae sunt crimen alienum, ne aliorum sceleribus adderent sua, si, quoniam hostes in eis concupiscendo stupra commiserant, illae in se ipsis homicidia erubescendo committerent. Habent quippe intus gloriam castitatis, testimonium conscientiae: habent autem coram oculis Dei sui, nec requirunt amplius, ubi, quid recte faciant, non amplius habent; ne devient ab auctoritate legis divinae, cum male devitant offensionem suspicionis humanae.

## Caput XX.

*Nullam esse auctoritatem, quae Christianis in qualibet causa jus voluntariae necis tribuat.*

Neque enim frustra in sanctis canonicis Libris nusquam nobis divinitus praeceptum permissumve reperiri potest, ut vel ipsius adipiscendae immortalitatis, vel ullius carendi cavendive mali causa, nobismetipsis necem inferamus. Nam et prohibitos nos esse intelligendum est, ubi Lex ait, Non occides: praesertim quia non addidit, proximum tuum: sicut falsum testimonium cum vetaret, Falsum, inquit, testimonium non dices adversus proximum tuum (Exod. XX, 13, 16). Nec ideo tamen si adversus se ipsum quisquam falsum testimonium dixerit, ab hoc crimine se putaverit alienum. Quoniam regulam diligendi proximum a semetipso dilector accepit; quandoquidem scriptum est, Diliges proximum tuum tanquam te ipsum (Matth. XXII, 39).

3. Nevertheless, for us, in this so noble example of this woman, for the purpose of refuting those who, being estranged from all thought of holiness, insult Christian women oppressed in captivity, it is sufficient what was said in her illustrious praises: "Two were there, and one committed adultery." For such a Lucretia was rather believed by them, as could not stain herself with any adulterous consent. That she therefore killed herself, since she suffered an adulterer, although not herself adulterated, is not the charity of chastity, but the infirmity of shame. For she was ashamed of the foulness of another committed upon her, even if not with her; and the Roman woman, too greedy for praise, feared exceedingly lest it should be thought that what she suffered violently while she lived, she would have suffered willingly if she continued to live. Wherefore she thought that that punishment should be applied before the eyes of men as a witness of her mind, to whom she could not demonstrate her conscience. For she blushed to be believed a partner in the deed if she bore patiently what another had foully done in her. Not so did the Christian women act, who live having suffered similar things. Yet they did not avenge the crime of another upon themselves, lest they should add their own to the wickedness of others, if, because enemies had committed violations in them by lusting, they themselves should commit homicides in themselves by blushing. For they have within the glory of chastity, the testimony of conscience: they have it, moreover, before the eyes of their God, and they require no more, where they have no more that they can do rightly; lest they should deviate from the authority of the divine law, while they evilly avoid the offense of human suspicion.

## Chapter XX.

*That there is no authority which grants to Christians the right of voluntary death in any cause whatever.*

For not in vain can it be found nowhere divinely commanded or permitted to us in the holy canonical Books, that for the sake of either attaining immortality itself, or of lacking or avoiding any evil, we should bring death upon ourselves. For we must understand that we are prohibited where the Law says, "Thou shalt not kill": especially because it did not add, "thy neighbor": as when it forbade false witness, it said, "Thou shalt not speak false witness against thy neighbor" (Exod. 20:13, 16). Nor yet, if anyone should speak false witness against himself, would he think himself estranged from this crime. Since the lover received the rule of loving his neighbor from himself; since indeed it is written, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Matth. 22:39).

Porro si falsi testimonii non minus reus est qui de se ipso falsum fatetur, quam si adversus proximum hoc faceret; cum in eo praecepto, quo falsum testimonium prohibetur, adversus proximum prohibeatur, possitque non recte intelligentibus videri non esse prohibitum ut adversus se ipsum quisque falsus testis assistat: quanto magis intelligendum est, non licere homini se ipsum occidere, cum in eo, quod scriptum est, Non occides, nihilo deinde addito, nullus, nec ipse utique cui praecipitur, intelligatur exceptus? Unde quidam hoc praeceptum etiam in bestias ac pecora conantur extendere, ut ex hoc nullum etiam illorum liceat occidere. Cur non ergo et herbas, et quidquid humo radicitus alitur ac figitur? nam et hoc genre rerum, quamvis non sentiat, dicitur vivere; ac per hoc potest et mori; proinde etiam, cum vis adhibetur, occidi. Unde et Apostolus, cum de hujuscemodi seminibus loqueretur, Tu, inquit, quod seminas, non vivificatur, nisi moriatur (I Cor. XV, 36). Et in Psalmo scriptum est, Occidit vites eorum, in grandine (Psal. LXXVII, 47). Num igitur ob hoc, cum audimus, Non occides, virgultum vellere nefas ducimus, et Manichaeorum errori insanissime acquiescimus? His igitur deliramentis remotis, cum legimus, Non occides, si propterea non accipimus hoc dictum esse de frutectis, quia nullus est eis sensus; nec de animantibus irrationalibus, volatilibus, natatilibus, ambulatilibus, reptilibus, quia nulla nobis ratione sociantur, quam non eis datum est nobiscum habere communem; unde justissima ordinatione Creatoris et vita et mors eorum nostris usibus subditur: restat ut de homine intelligamus, quod dictum est, Non occides: nec alterum ergo, nec te. Neque enim qui se occidit, aliud quam hominem occidit.

## Caput XXI.

*De interfectionibus hominum, quae ab homicidii crimine excipiuntur.*

Quasdam vero exceptiones eadem ipsa divina fecit auctoritas, ut non liceat hominem occidi. Sed his exceptis, quos Deus occidi jubet, sive data lege, sive ad personam pro tempore expressa jussione: non autem ipse occidit, qui ministerium debet jubenti, sicut adminiculum gladius utenti: et ideo nequaquam contra hoc praeceptum fecerunt, quo dictum est, Non occides, qui Deo auctore bella gesserunt, aut personam gerentes publicae potestatis secundum ejus leges, hoc est justissimae rationis imperium, sceleratos morte punierunt.

Furthermore, if he is no less guilty of false witness who confesses false things about himself than if he did this against his neighbor; although in that precept by which false witness is prohibited, it is prohibited against a neighbor, and it might seem to those not rightly understanding that it is not prohibited that anyone should stand as a false witness against himself: how much more is it to be understood that it is not lawful for a man to kill himself, since in that which is written, "Thou shalt not kill," with nothing then added, no one, not even he to whom it is commanded, is understood to be excepted? Whence some attempt to extend this precept even to beasts and cattle, so that from this it is not lawful to kill even any of them. Why not therefore also herbs, and whatever is nourished and fixed by its roots in the ground? For even this kind of things, although it does not feel, is said to live; and through this it can also die; and likewise also, when force is applied, be killed. Whence also the Apostle, when he spoke of seeds of this sort, says, "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die" (1 Cor. 15:36). And in the Psalm it is written, "He killed their vines with hail" (Psal. 77:47). Do we therefore for this reason, when we hear, "Thou shalt not kill," deem it a nefas to pluck a twig, and most insanely acquiesce in the error of the Manichaeans? These ravings therefore being removed, when we read, "Thou shalt not kill," if for this reason we do not accept this as having been said of shrubs, because they have no sense; nor of irrational animals, whether flying, swimming, walking, or creeping, because they are associated with us by no reason, which it has not been given them to have in common with us; whence by the most just ordination of the Creator both their life and death are subjected to our uses: it remains that we understand of man what is said, "Thou shalt not kill": neither another, therefore, nor thyself. For he who kills himself kills nothing else than a man.

## Chapter XXI.

*Of the killings of men which are excepted from the crime of homicide.*

The same divine authority itself, however, has made certain exceptions, so that it is lawful for a man to be killed. But these being excepted, whom God commands to be killed, whether by a law given, or by a command expressed to a person for the time: he, however, does not kill who owes ministry to the one commanding, just as a sword is a help to the one using it: and therefore they by no means acted against this precept, by which it was said, "Thou shalt not kill," who have waged wars by God's authority, or bearing the person of public power according to His laws, that is, the command of most just reason, have punished wicked men with death.

Et Abraham non solum non est culpatus crudelitatis crimine, verum etiam laudatus est nomine pietatis, quod voluit filium, nequaquam scelerate, sed obedienter occidere (Gen. XXII). Et merito quaeritur, utrum pro jussu Dei sit habendum, quod Jephte filiam, quae patri occurrit, occidit, cum se immolaturum Deo id vovisset, quod ei redeunti de praelio victori primitus occurrisset (Judic. XI). Nec Samson aliter excusatur, quod se ipsum cum hostibus ruina domus oppressit, nisi quia spiritus latenter hoc jusserat, qui per illum miracula faciebat (Id. XVI, 30). His igitur exceptis, quos vel lex justa generaliter, vel ipse fons justitiae Deus specialiter occidi jubet; quisquis hominem vel se ipsum, vel quemlibet occiderit, homicidii crimine innectitur.

## Caput XXII.

*Quod nunquam possit mors voluntaria ad magnitudinem animi pertinere.*

1. Et quicumque hoc in se ipsis perpetraverunt, animi magnitudine fortasse mirandi, non sapientiae sanitate laudandi sunt. Quanquam si rationem diligentius consulas, ne ipsa quidem animi magnitudo recte nominatur, ubi quisque non valendo tolerare vel quaeque aspera vel aliena peccata, se ipse interemerit. Magis enim mens infirma deprehenditur, quae ferre non potest vel duram sui corporis servitutem, vel stultam vulgi opinionem; majorque animus merito dicendus est, qui vitam aerumnosam magis potest ferre, quam fugere; et humanum judicium, maximeque vulgare, quod plerumque caligine erroris involvitur, prae conscientiae luce ac puritate contemnere. Quamobrem si magno animo fieri putandum est, cum sibi homo ingerit mortem, ille potius Cleombrotus in hac animi magnitudine reperitur; quem ferunt lecto Platonis libro, ubi de immortalitate animae disputavit, se praecipitem dedisse de muro, atque ita ex hac vita migrasse ad eam, quam credidit esse meliorem. Nihil enim urgebat aut calamitatis, aut criminis, seu verum, seu falsum, quod non valendo ferre, se auferret; sed ad capessendam mortem, atque ad hujus vitae suavia vincula rumpenda sola adfuit animi magnitudo. Quod tamen magne potius factum esse quam bene, testis ei potuit esse Plato ipse, quem legerat: qui profecto id praecipue potissimumque fecisset, vel etiam praecepisset; nisi ea mente, qua immortalitatem animae vidit, nequaquam faciendum, quin etiam prohibendum esse judicasset.

And Abraham not only was not blamed for the crime of cruelty, but was even praised by the name of piety, because he wished to kill his son, by no means wickedly, but obediently (Gen. 22). And it is deservedly questioned whether it is to be held as by the command of God, that Jephthah killed his daughter, who met her father, when he had vowed that he would immolate to God that which should first meet him returning as victor from battle (Judges 11). Nor is Samson otherwise excused, because he oppressed himself with his enemies by the ruin of the house, except because the Spirit had secretly commanded this, who worked miracles through him (Ibid. 16:30). These therefore being excepted, whom either a just law generally, or God Himself, the very fountain of justice, specially commands to be killed; whoever kills a man, whether himself or any other, is bound by the crime of homicide.

## Chapter XXII.

*That voluntary death can never pertain to greatness of mind.*

1. And whoever have perpetrated this in themselves, are perhaps to be wondered at for greatness of mind, but are not to be praised for sanity of wisdom. Although if you consult reason more diligently, not even that greatness of mind itself is rightly named, where anyone, not being able to tolerate either any hardships or the sins of others, has killed himself. For rather is that mind detected as infirm, which cannot bear either the hard servitude of its own body, or the foolish opinion of the common people; and that mind is deservedly to be called greater, which can rather bear a calamitous life than flee from it; and to despise human judgment, and especially that of the common people, which is mostly involved in the darkness of error, before the light and purity of conscience. Wherefore if it is to be thought that it is done with a great mind when a man brings death upon himself, that Cleombrotus is rather found in this greatness of mind; whom they say, having read Plato's book where he disputed concerning the immortality of the soul, cast himself headlong from a wall, and so migrated from this life to that which he believed to be better. For nothing of calamity or of crime, whether true or false, urged him, which not being able to bear, he should take himself away; but for the seizing of death, and for the breaking of the sweet bonds of this life, greatness of mind alone was present. That this was done greatly rather than well, Plato himself whom he had read could be a witness to him: who surely would have done it chiefly and especially, or even commanded it, had he not judged by that mind by which he saw the immortality of the soul, that it was by no means to be done, but even to be prohibited.

2. [XXIII.] At enim multi se interemerunt, ne in manus hostium pervenirent. Non modo quaerimus utrum sit factum, sed utrum fuerit faciendum. Sana quippe ratio etiam exemplis anteponenda est, cui quidem et exempla concordant, sed illa quae tanto digniora sunt imitatione, quanto excellentiora pietate. Non fecerunt Patriarchae, non Prophetae, non Apostoli: quia et ipse Dominus Christus, quando eos, si persecutionem paterentur, fugere admonuit de civitate in civitatem (Matth. X, 23), potuit admonere ut sibi manus inferrent, ne in manus persequentium pervenirent. Porro si hoc ille non jussit, aut monuit, ut eo modo sui ex hac vita migrarent, quibus migrantibus mansiones aeternas se praeparaturum esse promisit (Joan. XIV, 2); quaelibet exempla opponant gentes quae ignorant Deum, manifestum est hoc non licere colentibus unum verum Deum.

## Caput XXIII.

*Quale exemplum sit Catonis, qui se, victoriam Caesaris non ferens, interemit.*

Sed tamen etiam illi praeter Lucretiam, de qua supra satis quod videbatur diximus, non facile reperiunt de cujus auctoritate praescribant, nisi illum Catonem, qui se Uticae occidit: non quia solus id fecit, sed quia vir doctus et probus habebatur, ut merito putetur recte etiam fieri potuisse vel posse quod fecit. De cujus facto quid potissimum dicam; nisi quod amici ejus etiam docti quidam viri, qui hoc fieri prudentius dissuadebant, imbecillioris quam fortioris animi facinus esse censuerunt, quo demonstraretur non honestas turpia praecavens, sed infirmitas adversa non sustinens? Hoc et ipse Cato in suo charissimo filio indicavit. Nam si turpe erat sub victoria Caesaris vivere, cur auctor hujus turpitudinis pater filio fuit, quem de Caesaris benignitate omnia sperare praecepit? cur non et illum secum coegit ad mortem? Nam si eum filium, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, etiam victorem laudabiliter Torquatus occidit; cur victus victo filio pepercit Cato, qui non pepercit sibi? an turpius erat contra imperium esse victorem, quam contra decus ferre victorem? Nullo modo igitur Cato turpe esse judicavit, sub victore Caesare vivere; alioquin ab hac turpitudine paterno ferro filium liberaret. Quid est ergo, nisi quod filium quantum amavit, cui parci a Caesare et speravit et voluit; tantum gloriae ipsius Caesaris, ne ab illo etiam sibi parceretur, ut ipse Caesar dixisse fertur, invidit; aut, ut aliquid nos mitius dicamus, erubuit?

2. [XXIII.] But indeed many have killed themselves, lest they should fall into the hands of enemies. We do not only ask whether it was done, but whether it should have been done. For sane reason is to be preferred even to examples, with which indeed examples also accord, but those which are so much more worthy of imitation as they are more excellent in piety. The Patriarchs did not do it, the Prophets did not, the Apostles did not: because even the Lord Christ himself, when he admonished them, if they suffered persecution, to flee from city to city (Matth. 10:23), could have admonished them to lay hands upon themselves, lest they should fall into the hands of the persecutors. Furthermore, if he did not command this, or advise it, that those should migrate from this life in that way, to whom as they migrated he promised that he would prepare eternal mansions (John 14:2); whatever examples the nations who know not God may oppose, it is manifest that this is not lawful for those who worship the one true God.

## Chapter XXIII.

*What kind of example is that of Cato, who killed himself, not bearing Caesar's victory.*

But yet even they, besides Lucretia, concerning whom we have said above enough of what seemed fit, do not easily find anyone from whose authority they may prescribe, except that Cato who killed himself at Utica: not because he alone did it, but because he was held a learned and upright man, so that it might deservedly be thought that what he did could have been done or can be done rightly. Concerning whose deed what should I chiefly say; except that his friends, even certain learned men, who more prudently dissuaded this from being done, judged it to be the deed of a weaker rather than a stronger mind, by which should be demonstrated not honesty avoiding foul things, but infirmity not sustaining adversities? This Cato himself indicated in his most dear son. For if it was foul to live under Caesar's victory, why was the father the author of this foulness for the son, whom he commanded to hope for all things from Caesar's benignity? why did he not also compel him to death with himself? For if Torquatus laudably killed that son who had fought against a command against the enemy, even though victor; why did the vanquished Cato spare his vanquished son, who did not spare himself? Was it more foul to be a victor against a command, than to bear a victor against honor? In no way therefore did Cato judge it to be foul to live under victor Caesar; otherwise he would have liberated his son from this foulness by a father's sword. What is it therefore, except that as much as he loved his son, for whom he both hoped and wished that he should be spared by Caesar; so much did he envy the glory of Caesar himself, lest he should also be spared by him, as Caesar himself is reported to have said; or, that we may say something more mildly, was he ashamed?

## Caput XXIV.

*Quod in ea virtute, qua Regulus Catone praestantior fuit, multo magis emineant Christiani.*

Nolunt autem isti, contra quos agimus, ut sanctum virum Job, qui tam horrenda mala in sua carne perpeti maluit, quam illata sibi morte omnibus carere cruciatibus, vel alios sanctos ex nostris Litteris summa auctoritate celsissimis, fideque dignissimis, qui captivitatem dominationemque hostium ferre, quam sibi necem inferre maluerunt, Catoni praeferamus: sed ex litteris eorum, eidem illi Marco Catoni Marcum Regulum praeferamus. Cato enim nunquam Caesarem vicerat, cui victus dedignatus est subjici, et ne subjiceretur, a se ipso elegit occidi: Regulus autem Poenos jam vicerat, imperioque Romano Romanus imperator non ex civibus dolendam, sed ex hostibus laudandam victoriam reportaverat; ab eis tamen postea victus, maluit eos ferre serviendo, quam eis se auferre moriendo. Proinde servavit et sub Carthaginensium dominatione patientiam, et in Romanorum dilectione constantiam, nec victum auferens corpus ab hostibus, nec invictum animum a civibus. Nec quod se occidere noluit, vitae hujus amore fecit. Hoc probavit, cum causa promissi jurisque jurandi ad eosdem hostes, quos gravius in senatu verbis quam in bello armis offenderat, sine ulla dubitatione remeavit. Tantus itaque vitae hujus contemptor, cum saevientibus hostibus per quaslibet poenas eam finire, quam se ipse perimere maluit; magnum scelus esse, si se homo interimat, procul dubio judicavit. Inter omnes suos laudabiles et virtutum insignibus illustres viros non proferunt Romam meliorem; quem neque fencitas corruperit, nam in tanta victory mansit pauperrimus; nec infelicitas fregerit, nam ad tanta exitia revertit intrepidus. Porro si fortissimi et praeclarissimi viri terrenae patriae defensores, deorumque licet falsorum, non tamen fallaces cultores, sed veracissimi etiam juratores, qui hostes victos more ac jure belli ferire potuerunt, hi ab hostibus victi se ipsos ferire noluerunt; et cum mortem minime formidarent, victores tamen dominos ferre, quam eam sibi inferre maluerunt:

## Chapter XXIV.

*That in that virtue in which Regulus was more excellent than Cato, Christians much more excel.*

They do not wish, however, those against whom we act, that we should prefer to Cato the holy man Job, who preferred to suffer such horrendous evils in his own flesh rather than to lack all torments by death brought upon himself, or other hits from our Letters most high with the greatest authority and most worthy of faith, who preferred to bear captivity and the domination of enemies rather than to bring death upon themselves: but from their own letters, let us prefer Marcus Regulus to that same Marcus Cato. For Cato had never conquered Caesar, to whom when vanquished he disdained to be subjected, and lest he should be subjected, he chose to be killed by himself: but Regulus had already conquered the Carthaginians, and as a Roman commander for the Roman empire had reported a victory not to be grieved over from citizens, but to be praised from enemies; yet being afterwards conquered by them, he preferred to bear them by serving, than to take himself away from them by dying. Accordingly he preserved both patience under the domination of the Carthaginians, and constancy in the love of the Romans, neither taking away his vanquished body from the enemies, nor his unvanquished mind from the citizens. Nor did he act from the love of this life because he was unwilling to kill himself. This he proved when, because of a promise and an oath, he returned without any hesitation to those same enemies whom he had offended more severely by words in the senate than by arms in war. So great a despiser of this life, therefore, when he preferred to end it through whatever punishments by the raging enemies rather than to kill himself; he judged it without doubt to be a great crime if a man should kill himself. Among all their laudable men and those illustrious with the insignias of virtues, they do not bring forward a better Roman; whom neither felicity corrupted, for in so great a victory he remained most poor; nor infelicity broke, for to such destructions he returned intrepid. Furthermore, if the bravest and most illustrious men, defenders of an earthly country, and worshippers of gods, false though they were, yet not deceitful, but even most truthful swearers, who could strike vanquished enemies by the custom and right of war, being conquered by enemies were unwilling to strike themselves; and when they feared death not at all, yet they preferred to bear victors as masters than to bring it upon themselves:

quanto magis Christiani verum Deum colentes et supernae patriae suspirantes, ab hoc facinore temperabunt, si eos divina dispositio vel probandos vel emendandos ad tempus hostibus subjugaverit; quos in illa humilitate non deserit, qui propter eos tam humiliter venit, Altissimus; praesertim quos nullius militaris potestatis vel talis militiae jura constringunt, ipsum hostem ferire superatum?

[XXV.] Quis ergo tam malus error obrepit, ut homo se occidat, vel quia in cum peccavit, vel ne in eum peccet inimicus; cum vel peccatorem vel peccaturum ipsum occidere non audeat inimicum?

## Caput XXV.

*Quod peccatum non per peccatum debeat declinari.*

At enim timendum est et cavendum, ne libidini hostili subditum corpus illecebrosissima voluptate animum alliciat consentire peccato. Proinde, inquiunt, non jam propter alienum, sed propter suum peccatum, antequam hoc quisque committat, se debet occidere. Nullo modo quidem hoc faciet animus, ut consentiat libidini carnis suae aliena libidine concitatae, qui Deo potius ejusque sapientiae, quam corporis concupiscentiae subjectus est. Verumtamen si detestabile facinus et damnabile scelus est, etiam se ipsum hominem occidere, sicut veritas manifesta proclamat; quis ita desipiat, ut dicat, Jam nunc peccemus, ne postea forte peccemus; jam nunc perpetremus homicidium, ne forte postea incidamus in adulterium? Nonne si tantum dominatur iniquitas, ut non innocentia, sed potius peccata eligantur, satius est incertum de futuro adulterium, quam certum de praesenti homicidium? nonne satius est flagitium committere, quod poenitendo sanetur, quam tale facinus ubi locus salubris poenitentiae non relinquitur? Haec dixi propter eos ve eas, quae non alieni, sed proprii peccati devitandi causa, ne sub alterius libidine etiam excitatae suae forte consentiant, vim sibi, qua moriantur, inferendam putant. Caeterum absit a mente christiana, quae Deo suo fidit, in eoque spe posita ejus adjutorio nititur; absit, inquam, ut mens talis cujuslibet carnis voluptatibus ad consensum turpitudinis cedat. Quod si illa concupiscentialis inobedientia, quae adhuc in membris moribundis habitat, praeter nostrae voluntatis legem quasi lege sua movetur; quanto magis absque culpa est in corpore non consentientis, si absque culpa est in corpore dormientis?

## Caput XXVI.

*De his quae fieri non licent, cum a sanctis facta noscuntur, qua ratione facta credenda sint.*

how much more will Christians, worshipping the true God and sighing for the heavenly country, refrain from this deed, if the divine disposition should subject them for a time to enemies, whether to be proved or to be amended; whom the Most High does not desert in that humility, who for them came so humbly; especially those whom the rights of no military power or of such military service constrain to strike the conquered enemy himself?

[XXV.] What evil error therefore creeps in, that a man should kill himself, either because an enemy has sinned against him, or lest he should sin against him; since he dare not kill even a sinning enemy or one about to sin?

## Chapter XXV.

*That sin ought not to be avoided through sin.*

But indeed it is to be feared and guarded against, lest the body subjected to hostile lust should entice the mind by most alluring pleasure to consent to sin. Accordingly, they say, not now on account of another's, but on account of his own sin, before anyone commits this, he ought to kill himself. In no way indeed will that mind do this, so as to consent to the lust of its own flesh excited by another's lust, which is subject to God rather and His wisdom than to the concupiscence of the body. Nevertheless, if it is a detestable deed and a damnable crime even to kill oneself, as manifest truth proclaims; who would be so foolish as to say: Let us sin now, lest we should perhaps sin afterwards; let us perpetrate homicide now, lest we should perhaps afterwards fall into adultery? If iniquity so dominates that not innocence but rather sins are chosen, is not adultery uncertain for the future better than homicide certain for the present? Is it not better to commit a disgrace which may be healed by repenting, than such a deed where no place for salutary repentance is left? These things I have said on account of those men or women who, for the sake of avoiding not another's but their own sin, lest they should perhaps consent to their own lust even excited under another's lust, think that violence should be brought upon themselves, by which they may die. For the rest, far be it from the Christian mind which trusts in its God, and with hope placed in Him relies on His aid; far be it, I say, that such a mind should yield to the pleasures of any flesh for the consent to foulness. But if that concupiscential disobedience, which still dwells in moribund members, is moved as if by its own law beyond the law of our will; how much more is it without fault in the body of one not consenting, if it is without fault in the body of one sleeping?

## Chapter XXVI.

*Of those things which it is not lawful to do, when they are known to have been done by saints, by what reason they are to be believed done.*

Sed quaedam, inquiunt, sanctae feminae tempore persecutionis, ut insectatores suae pudicitiae devitarent, in rapturum atque necaturum se fluvium projecerunt; eoque modo defunctae sunt, earumque martyria in catholica Ecclesia veneratione celeberrima frequentantur. De his nihil temere audeo judicare. Utrum enim Ecclesiae aliquibus fide dignis testificationibus, ut earum memoriam sic honoret, divina persuaserit auctoritas, nescio: et fieri potest ut ita sit. Quid si enim hoc fecerunt, non humanitus deceptae, sed divinitus jussae; nec errantes, sed obedientes? sicut de Samsone aliud nobis fas non est credere. Cum autem Deus jubet, seque jubere sine ullis ambagibus intimat; quis obedientiam in crimen vocet? quis obsequium pietatis accuset? Sed non ideo sine scelere facit, quisquis Deo immolare filium decreverit, quia hoc Abraham etiam laudabiliter fecit. Nam et miles cum obediens potestati, sub qua legitime constitutus est, hominem occidit, nulla civitatis suae lege reus est homicidii; imo nisi fecerit, reus est imperii deserti atque contempti. Quod si sua sponte atque auctoritate fecisset, in crimen effusi humani sanguinis incidisset. Itaque unde punitur si fecerit injussus, inde punietur nisi fecerit jussus. Quod si ita est jubente imperatore, quanto magis jubente Creatore? Qui ergo audit, non licere se occidere, faciat, si jussit cujus non licet jussa contemnere: tantummodo videat, utrum divina jussio nullo nutet incerto. Nos per aurem conscientiam convenimus, occultorum nobis judicium non usurpamus. Nemo scit quid agatur in homine, nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est (I Cor. II, 11). Hoc dicimus, hoc asserimus, hoc modis omnibus approbamus, neminem spontaneam mortem sibi inferre debere, velut fugiendo molestias temporales, ne incidat in perpetuas: neminem propter aliena peccata, ne hoc ipse incipiat habere gravissimum proprium, quem non polluebat alienum: neminem propter sua peccata praeterita, propter quae magis hac vita opus est, ut possint poenitendo sanari: neminem velut desiderio vitae melioris, quae post mortem speratur; quia reos suae mortis melior post mortem vita non suscipit.

## Caput XXVII.

*An propter declinationem peccati mors spontanea appetenda sit.*

But certain holy women, they say, in the time of persecution, that they might avoid the pursuers of their chastity, cast themselves into a river that would carry them away and kill them; and in that way they died, and their martyrdoms are frequented with the most celebrated veneration in the Catholic Church. Concerning these I dare to judge nothing rashly. For whether divine authority persuaded the Church by some testimonies worthy of faith, so that it might thus honor their memory, I know not: and it can be that it is so. For what if they did this, not humanly deceived, but divinely commanded; not erring, but obedient? as of Samson it is not lawful for us to believe otherwise. But when God commands, and intimates that He commands without any ambiguities; who would call obedience into crime? who would accuse the service of piety? But not for that reason does anyone do it without wickedness, whoever shall have decreed to immolate a son to God, because Abraham also did this laudably. For even a soldier when, obedient to the power under which he is lawfully constituted, he kills a man, by no law of his city is he guilty of homicide; nay, unless he do it, he is guilty of a deserted and despised command. But if he had done it of his own accord and authority, he would have fallen into the crime of shed human blood. Therefore, whence he is punished if he do it unbidden, thence he will be punished unless he do it bidden. But if it is so when an emperor commands, how much more when the Creator commands? He therefore who hears that it is not lawful to kill himself, let him do it if He has commanded whose commands it is not lawful to despise: only let him see whether the divine command wavers with no uncertainty. We address the conscience through the ear, we do not usurp the judgment of hidden things. "No one knows what is done in a man, except the spirit of man, which is in him" (1 Cor. 2:11). This we say, this we assert, this we by all means approve, that no one ought to bring spontaneous death upon himself, as if by fleeing temporal molestations, lest he fall into perpetual ones: no one on account of the sins of others, lest he himself should begin to have this most grave sin of his own, whom another's did not pollute: no one on account of his own past sins, on account of which there is rather need of this life, so that they may be healed by repenting: no one as if by the desire of a better life, which is hoped for after death; because a better life after death does not receive those guilty of their own death.

## Chapter XXVII.

*Whether spontaneous death is to be sought for the avoidance of sin.*

Restat una causa, de qua dicere coeperam, qua utile putatur, ut se quisque interficiat, scilicet ne in peccatum irruat, vel blandiente voluptate, vel dolore saeviente. Quam causam si voluerimus admittere, eo usque progressa perveniet, ut hortandi sint homines tunc se potius interimere, cum lavacro sanctae regenerationis abluti, universorum remissionem acceperint peccatorum. Tunc enim tempus est cavendi omnia futura peccata, cum omnia sunt deleta praeterita. Quod si morte spontanea recte fit, cur non tunc potissimum fit? cur baptizatus sibi quisque parcit? cur liberatum caput tot rursus vitae hujus periculis inserit, cum sit facillimae potestatis illata sibi nece omnia devitare, scriptumque sit, Qui amat periculum, incidit in illud (Eccli. III, 27)? Cur ergo amantur tot et tanta pericula, vel certe, etiamsi non amantur, suscipiuntur, cum manet in hac vita cui abscedere licitum est? An vero tam insulsa perversitas cor evertit, et a consideratione veritatis avertit, ut, si se quisque interimere debet, ne unius captivantis dominatu corruat in peccatum, vivendum sibi existimet, ut ipsum perferat mundum per omnes horas tentationibus plenum, et talibus, quales sub uno domino formidantur, et innumerabilibus caeteris, sine quibus haec vita non ducitur? Quid igitur causae est, cur in eis exhortationibus tempora consumamus, quibus baptizatos alloquendo studemus accendere, sive ad virginalem integritatem, sive ad continentiam vidualem, sive ad ipsam tori conjugalis fidem; cum habeamus meliora et ab omnibus peccandi periculis remota compendia, ut, quibuscumque post remissionem recentissimam peccatorum arripiendam mortem sibique ingerendam persuadere potuerimus, eos ad Dominum saniores purioresque mittamus? Porro si quisquis hoc aggrediendum et suadendum putat, non dico desipit, sed insanit: qua tandem fronte homini dicit, Interfice te, ne parvis tuis peccatis adjicias gravius, dum vivis sub domino barbaris moribus impudico, qui non potest nisi sceleratissime dicere, Interfice te, peccatis tuis omnibus absolutis, ne rursus talia vel etiam pejora committas; dum vivis in mundo tot impuris voluptatibus illecebroso, tot nefandis crudelitatibus furioso, tot erroribus et terroribus inimico? Hoc quia nefas est dicere, nefas est profecto se occidere. Nam si hoc sponte faciendi ulla causa justa esse posset, procul dubio justior quam ista non esset. Quia vero nec ista est, ergo nulla est.

## Caput XXVIII.

*Quo judicio Dei in corpora continentium libido hostilis peccare permissa sit.*

One cause remains, of which I had begun to speak, by which it is thought useful that anyone should kill himself, namely, lest he should rush into sin, either by alluring pleasure or by raging pain. Which cause if we should wish to admit, it will arrive progressed so far, that men are rather to be exhorted to kill themselves then, when being washed in the bath of holy regeneration, they have received the remission of all sins. For then is the time of guarding against all future sins, when all past ones are blotted out. But if it is rightly done by spontaneous death, why is it not then especially done? Why does anyone spare himself when baptized? Why does he insert his liberated head again into so many perils of this life, when it is of the easiest power to avoid all things by death brought upon himself, and it is written, "He that loveth danger shall fall into it" (Ecclus. 3:27)? Why therefore are so many and so great dangers loved, or certainly, even if they are not loved, undertaken, while he remains in this life from which it is lawful to depart? Or does so insipid a perversity overturn the heart, and avert it from the consideration of the truth, that if anyone ought to kill himself lest by the dominion of one captor he should fall into sin, he should think that he must live so as to endure the world itself full of temptations through all hours, and such as are dreaded under one master, and innumerable others without which this life is not led? What cause is there therefore why we should consume time in those exhortations by which, in addressing the baptized, we study to kindle them either to virginal integrity, or to widowed continence, or to the very faith of the conjugal bed; when we have better compendiums and those remote from all dangers of sinning, so that, whomsoever we could persuade after the most recent remission of sins that death is to be seized and brought upon themselves, we might send them to the Lord more sound and more pure? Furthermore, if anyone thinks that this is to be approached and persuaded, I do not say he is foolish, but insane: with what face at length does he say to a man, Kill thyself, lest to thy small sins thou shouldst add a graver one while thou livest under a master unchaste with barbarian manners, who cannot say but most wickedly: Kill thyself, all thy sins being absolved, lest thou shouldst again commit such or even worse things; while thou livest in a world alluring with so many impure pleasures, furious with so many unspeakable cruelties, hostile with so many errors and terrors? Because it is a nefas to say this, it is surely a nefas to kill oneself. For if there could be any just cause of doing this spontaneously, without doubt there would not be one more just than this. But because not even this one is just, therefore there is none.

## Chapter XXVIII.

*By what judgment of God hostile lust was permitted to sin against the bodies of the continent.*

1. Non itaque vobis, o fideles Christi, sit taedio vita vestra, si ludibrio fuit hostibus castitas vestra. Habetis magnam veramque consolationem, si fidam conscientiam retinetis, non vos consensisse peccatis eorum, qui in vos peccare permissi sunt. [XXVIII.] Quod si forte, cur permissi sint quaeritis, alta quidem est providentia Creatoris mundi atque Rectoris, et inscrutabilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus (Rom. XI, 33). Verumtamen interrogate fideliter animas vestras, ne forte de isto integritatis et continentiae vel pudicitiae bono vos inflatius extulistis, et humanis laudibus delectatae in hoc etiam aliquibus invidistis. Non accuso quod nescio, nec audio quod vobis interrogata corda vestra respondent. Tamen si ita esse responderint, nolite mirari hoc vos amisisse, unde hominibus placere gestiistis; illud vobis remansisse, quod ostendi hominibus non potest. Si peccantibus non consensistis, divinae gratiae, ne amitteretur, divinum accessit auxilium; humanae gloriae, ne amaretur, humanum successit opprobrium. In utroque consolamini, pusillanimes; illinc probatae, hinc castigatae; illinc justificatae, hinc emendatae. Quarum vero corda interrogata respondent, nunquam se de bono virginitatis vel viduitatis vel conjugalis pudicitiae superbiisse, sed humilibus consentiendo (Rom. XII, 16) de dono Dei cum tremore exsultasse, nec invidisse cuiquam paris excellentiam sanctitatis et castitatis; sed humana laude postposita, quae tanto major deferri solet, quanto est bonum rarius quod exigit laudem, optasse potius ut earum amplior numerus esset, quam ut ipsae in paucitate amplius eminerent: nec istae, quae tales sunt, si earum quoque aliquas barbarica libido compressit, permissum hoc esse causentur; nec ideo credant Deum ista negligere, quia permittit quod nemo impune committit. Quaedam enim veluti pondera malarum cupiditatum, et per occultum praesens divinum judicium relaxantur, et manifesto ultimo reservantur. Fortassis autem istae, quae bene sibi sunt consciae non se ex isto castitatis bono cor infiato extulisse, et tamen vim hostilem in carne perpessae sunt, habebant aliquid latentis infirmitatis, quae posset in superbiae fastum, si hanc humilitatem in vastatione illa evasissent, extolli. Sicut ergo quidam morte rapti sunt, ne malitia mutaret intellectum eorum (Sap. IV, 11); ita quiddam ab istis vi raptum est, ne prosperitas mutaret modestiam earum. Utrisque igitur, quae de carne sua, quod turpem nullius esset perpessa contactum, vel jam superbiebant, vel superbire, si nec hostium violentia contrectata esset, forsitan poterant; non ablata est castitas, sed humilitas persuasa: illarum tumori succursum est immanenti, istarum occursum est imminenti.

1. Therefore, O faithful of Christ, let not your life be a weariness to you, if your chastity was a mockery to the enemies. You have a great and true consolation, if you retain a faithful conscience, that you did not consent to the sins of those who were permitted to sin against you. [XXVIII.] But if perchance you ask why they were permitted, the providence of the Creator and Ruler of the world is indeed deep, and "His judgments are inscrutable, and His ways unsearchable" (Rom. 11:33). Nevertheless, interrogate your souls faithfully, lest perchance you extolled yourselves more loftily concerning this good of integrity and continence or chastity, and being delighted with human praises, envied some even in this. I do not accuse what I know not, nor do I hear what your hearts respond to you when interrogated. Yet if they should respond that it is so, do not wonder that you have lost this whence you were eager to please men; that that has remained to you which cannot be shown to men. If you did not consent to the sinners, divine aid was added so that divine grace might not be lost; human reproach followed so that human glory might not be loved. Be consoled in both, O ye of little mind; in the one proved, in the other chastised; in the one justified, in the other amended. But those whose hearts when interrogated respond that they never were proud concerning the good of virginity or widowhood or conjugal chastity, but by consenting to the humble (Rom. 12:16) exulted with trembling over the gift of God, nor envied anyone an equal excellence of holiness and chastity; but human praise being postponed, which is wont to be rendered so much the greater as the good is rarer which requires praise, wished rather that their number should be larger than that they themselves should be more eminent in paucity: neither let those who are such, if the barbarian lust has also compressed some of them, complain that this was permitted; nor let them therefore believe that God neglects those things, because He permits what no one commits with impunity. For some things, as weights of evil cupidities, both by the hidden present divine judgment are relaxed, and are reserved for the manifest last one. But perhaps those who are well conscious to themselves that they did not extol a heart inflated from this good of chastity, and yet have suffered hostile violence in the flesh, had something of latent infirmity which could be extolled into the pride of haughtiness, if they had escaped that humility in that vastation. As therefore some were snatched away by death, lest malice should change their understanding (Wisd. 4:11); so something was snatched from these by force, lest prosperity should change their modesty. To both therefore, those who were already proud concerning their flesh because it had suffered the foul contact of no one, or who perhaps could have been proud if they had not also been handled by the violence of enemies; chastity was not taken away, but humility persuaded: the tumor immanent in those was succored, the one imminent in these was met.

2. Quanquam et illud non sit tacendum, quod quibusdam, quae ista perpessae sunt, potuit videri continentiae bonum in bonis corporalibus deputandum, et tunc manere, si nullius libidine corpus attrectaretur; non autem esse positum in solo adjuto divinitus robore voluntatis, ut sit sanctum et corpus et spiritus; nec tale bonum esse, quod invito animo non possit auferri: qui error eis fortasse sublatus est. Cum enim cogitant qua conscientiam Deo servierint, et fide inconcussa non de illo sentiunt quod ita sibi servientes eumque ita invocantes deserere ullo modo potuerit; quantumque illi castitas placeat, dubitare non possunt: vident esse consequens, nequaquam illum fuisse permissurum ut haec acciderent sanctis suis, si eo modo perire posset sanctitas, quam contulit eis et diligit in eis.

## Caput XXIX.

*Quid familia Christi respondere debeat infidelibus, cum exprobrant quod eam a furore hostium non liberaverit Christus.*

Habet itaque omnis familia summi et veri Dei consolationem suam, non fallacem, nec in spe rerum nutantium vel labentium constitutam; vitamque etiam ipsam temporalem minime poenitendam, in qua eruditur ad aeternam, bonisque terrenis tanquam peregrina utitur, nec capitur, malis autem aut probatur, aut emendatur. Illi vero qui probationi ejus insultant, eique dicunt, cum forte in aliqua temporalia mala devenerit, Ubi est Deus tuus (Psal. XLI, 4)? ipsi dicant, ubi sint dii eorum, cum talia patiuntur, pro quibus evitandis eos vel colunt, vel colendos esse contendunt.

Nam ista respondet: Deus meus ubique praesens est, ubique totus, nusquam inclusus, qui possit adesse secretus, abesse non motus: ille cum me adversis rebus exagitat, aut merita examinat, aut peccata castigat, mercedemque mihi aeternam pro toleratis pie malis temporalibus servat: vos autem qui estis, cum quibus loqui dignum sit saltem de diis vestris, quanto minus de Deo meo, qui terribilis est super omnes deos; quoniam dii gentium daemonia, Dominus autem coelos fecit (Psal. XCV, 4, 5)?

## Caput XXX.

*Quam pudendis prosperitatibus affluere velint qui de christianis temporibus conqueruntur.*

2. Although that also should not be passed over in silence, that it could seem to some who suffered these things that the good of continence was to be deputed among corporal goods, and then to remain if the body were handled by the lust of no one; but not to be placed in the divine aided strength of the will alone, so that both body and spirit may be holy; nor to be such a good as cannot be taken away with an unwilling mind: which error was perhaps taken away from them. For when they think with what conscience they served God, and with unshaken faith do not think concerning Him that He could in any way desert those so serving Him and so invoking Him; and how much chastity pleases Him they cannot doubt: they see it to follow, that He would by no means have permitted these things to happen to His saints, if holiness could perish in that way, which He conferred upon them and loves in them.

## Chapter XXIX.

*What the family of Christ ought to respond to the infidels, when they reproach that Christ did not deliver it from the fury of the enemies.*

Thus every family of the highest and true God has its consolation, not fallacious, nor established in the hope of things nodding or falling; and even the temporal life itself is by no means to be repented of, in which it is instructed for the eternal, and uses earthly goods as a pilgrim, and is not captured, but by evils is either proved or amended. But those who insult its probation, and say to it, when perchance it has fallen into some temporal evils, 'Where is thy God?' (Psal. 41:4); let them say themselves where their gods are, when they suffer such things, for the avoidance of which they either worship them, or contend that they ought to be worshipped.

For she responds: My God is everywhere present, everywhere whole, nowhere included, who can be present in secret, be absent without moving: He, when He agitates me with adverse things, either examines merits, or chastises sins, and keeps for me an eternal reward for temporal evils piously tolerated: but who are you, with whom it may be worthy to speak at least concerning your gods, how much less concerning my God, who is terrible above all gods; since the gods of the nations are demons, but the Lord made the heavens (Psal. 95:4, 5)?

## Chapter XXX.

*What shameful prosperities they wish to abound in, who complain concerning the Christian times.*

Si Nasica ille Scipio vester quondam pontifex viveret, quem sub terrore belli Punici in suscipiendis Phrygiis sacris, cum vir optimus quaereretur, universus senatus elegit, cujus os fortasse non auderetis aspicere, ipse vos ab hac impudentia cohiberet. Cur enim afflicti rebus adversis de temporibus querimini christianis, nisi quia vestram luxuriam cupitis habere securam, et perditissimis moribus remota omni molestiarum asperitate diffluere? Neque enim propterea cupitis habere pacem et omni genere copiarum abundare, ut his bonis honeste utamini, hoc est modeste, sobrie, temperanter, pie; sed ut infinita varietas voluptatum insanis effusionibus exquiratur, secundisque rebus ea mala oriantur in moribus, quae saevientibus pejora sint hostibus.

At ille Scipio pontifex maximus vester, ille judicio totius senatus vir optimus, istam vobis metuens calamitatem, nolebat aemulam tunc imperii Romani Carthaginem dirui, et decernenti ut dirueretur, contradicebat Catoni, timens infirmis animis hostem, securitatem; et tanquam pupillis civibus idoneum tutorem, necessarium videns esse terrorem. Nec eum sententia fefellit: re ipsa probatum est, quam verum diceret. Deleta quippe Carthagine, magno scilicet terrore Romanae reipublicae depulso et exstincto, tanta de rebus prosperis orta mala continuo subsecuta sunt, ut corrupta disruptaque concordia prius saevis cruentisque seditionibus, deinde mox malarum connexione causarum, bellis etiam civilibus tantae strages ederentur, tantus sanguis effunderetur, tanta cupiditate proscriptionum ac rapinarum ferveret immanitas, ut Romani illi qui vita integriore mala metuebant ab hostibus, perdita integritate vitae crudeliora paterentur a civibus: eaque ipsa libido dominandi, quae inter alia vitia generis humani meracior inerat universo populo Romano, posteaquam in paucis potentioribus vicit, obtritos fatigatosque caeteros etiam jugo servitutis oppressit.

## Caput XXXI.

*Quibus vitiorum gradibus aucta sit in Romanis cupido regnandi.*

Nam quando illa quiesceret in superbissimis mentibus, donec continuatis honoribus ad potestatem regiam perveniret? Honorum porro continuandorum facultas non esset, nisi ambitio praevaleret. Minime autem praevaleret ambitio, nisi in populo avaritia luxuriaque corrupto.

If that Scipio Nasica of yours, formerly pontiff, whom the whole senate chose when the best man was sought for receiving the Phrygian rites under the terror of the Punic war, whose face you would perhaps not dare to look upon, he himself would restrain you from this impudence. For why, being afflicted by adverse things, do you complain concerning the Christian times, unless because you desire to have your luxury secure, and to flow away in the most lost morals, all asperity of molestations being removed? For neither do you desire for this reason to have peace and to abound in every kind of supplies, that you may use these goods honestly, that is, modestly, soberly, temperately, piously; but that an infinite variety of pleasures may be sought out in insane effusions, and that in prosperous things those evils may arise in morals which are worse than raging enemies.

But that Scipio, your pontifex maximus, that man best by the judgment of the whole senate, fearing that calamity for you, did not wish Carthage, then the rival of the Roman empire, to be destroyed, and contradicted Cato, who was decreeing that it should be destroyed, fearing security as an enemy for weak minds; and seeing that terror was necessary as a suitable tutor for pupil citizens. Nor did his opinion deceive him: by the thing itself it was proved how true a thing he spoke. For Carthage being deleted, the great terror of the Roman republic being clearly driven away and extinguished, so great evils arising from prosperous things immediately followed, that concord being corrupted and broken, first by savage and bloody seditions, then soon by a connection of evil causes, such slaughters were brought forth even in civil wars, such blood was poured out, such immanity boiled with such cupidity of proscriptions and rapines, that those Romans who with a more integral life feared evils from enemies, their integrity of life being lost, suffered more cruel things from their fellow-citizens: and that very lust of dominating, which among other vices of the human race was more pure in the whole Roman people, after it conquered in a few more powerful ones, also oppressed the rest, worn out and fatigued, with the yoke of servitude.

## Chapter XXXI.

*By what degrees of vices the desire of reigning increased in the Romans.*

For when would that [lust] rest in the proudest minds, until by continued honors it should reach to kingly power? Furthermore, the faculty of continuing honors would not be, unless ambition should prevail. But ambition would by no means prevail, unless in a people corrupted by avarice and luxury.

Avarus vero luxuriosusque populus secundis rebus effectus est, quas Nasica ille providentissime cavendas esse censebat, quando civitatem hostium maximam, fortissimam, opulentissimam nolebat auferri; ut timore libido premeretur, libido pressa non luxuriaretur, luxuriaque cohibita nec avaritia grassaretur: quibus vitiis obseratis, civitati utilis virtus floreret et cresceret, eique virtuti libertas congrua permaneret.

Hinc etiam erat, et ex hac providentissima patriae charitate veniebat, quod idem ipse vester pontifex maximus, a senatu temporis illius (quod saepe dicendum est) electus sine ulla sententiarum discrepantia vir optimus, caveam theatri senatum construere molientem, ab hac dispositione et cupiditate compescuit; persuasitque oratione gravissima, ne Graecam luxuriam virilibus patriae moribus paterentur obrepere, et ad virtutem labefactandam enervandamque Romanam peregrinae consentire nequitiae: tantumque auctoritate valuit, ut ejus verbis commota senatoria providentia, etiam subsellia, quibus ad horam congestis in ludorum spectaculo jam uti civitas coeperat, deinceps prohiberet apponi. Quanto studio iste ab urbe Roma ludos ipsos scenicos abstulisset, si auctoritati eorum, quos deos putabat, resistere auderet; quos esse noxios daemones non intelligebat, aut si intelligebat, placandos etiam ipse potius quam contemnendos existimabat. Nondum enim fuerat declarata Gentibus superna doctrina, quae fide cor mundans, ad coelestia vel supercoelestia capessenda, humili pietate humanum mutaret affectum, et a dominatu superborum daemonum liberaret.

## Caput XXXII.

*De scenicorum institutione ludorum.*

Verumtamen scitote, qui ista nescitis; et qui vos scrire dissimulatis, advertite, qui adversus liberatorem a talibus dominis murmuratis: ludi scenici, spectacula turpitudinum et licentia vanitatum, non hominum vitiis, sed deorum vestrorum jussis Romae instituti sunt. Tolerabilius divinos honores deferretis illi Scipioni, quam deos ejusmodi coleretis: neque enim erant illi dii suo pontifice meliores. Ecce attendite, si mens tamdiu potatis erroribus ebria, vos aliquid sanum considerare permittit. Dii propter sedandam corporum pestilentiam ludos sibi scenicos exhiberi jubebant; pontifex autem propter animorum cavendam pestilentiam, ipsam scenam construi prohibebat. Si aliqua luce mentis animum corpori praeponitis, eligite quem colatis.

But an avaricious and luxurious people was made by prosperous things, which that Nasica most providentially thought were to be avoided, when he did not wish the greatest, strongest, and most opulent city of the enemies to be taken away; so that by fear lust might be pressed, and lust being pressed might not luxuriate, and luxury being cohibited avarice might not spread: which vices being shut out, virtue useful to the city might flourish and increase, and a congruous liberty remain to that virtue.

From hence also it was, and from this most provident charity for the fatherland it came, that the very same pontifex maximus of yours, elected by the senate of that time (as must often be said) without any discrepancy of opinions as the best man, restrained the senate from this disposition and cupidity when it was striving to construct the cavea of a theater; and he persuaded by a most grave speech, that they should not suffer Greek luxury to creep into the virile morals of the fatherland, nor to consent with foreign wickedness to the undermining and enervating of Roman virtue: and he so prevailed by authority, that the senatorial providence being moved by his words, forbade henceforth even the seats to be placed, which the city had already begun to use, gathered for the hour in the spectacle of the games. With how much zeal would he have taken away those scenic games themselves from the city of Rome, if he had dared to resist the authority of those whom he thought were gods; whom he did not understand to be noxious demons, or if he did understand, he thought himself that they were rather to be placated than contemned. For not yet had the heavenly doctrine been declared to the Gentiles, which, cleansing the heart by faith, to lay hold of celestial or supercelestial things, might change human affection by humble piety, and deliver from the dominion of proud demons.

## Chapter XXXII.

*Concerning the institution of scenic games.*

Nevertheless, know ye who know not these things; and ye who dissimulate knowing them, advert, ye who murmur against the deliverer from such lords: scenic games, spectacles of turpitudes and license of vanities, were instituted at Rome not by the vices of men, but by the orders of your gods. More tolerably would you render divine honors to that Scipio, than worship gods of that sort: for those gods were not better than their pontiff. Lo, attend, if the mind drunk with errors drunk so long permits you to consider anything sound. The gods, for the sake of sedating the pestilence of bodies, ordered scenic games to be exhibited to them; but the pontiff, for the sake of avoiding the pestilence of minds, prohibited the scene itself to be constructed. If with any light of mind you prefer the soul to the body, choose whom you should worship.

Neque enim et illa corporum pestilentia ideo conquievit, quia populo bellicoso et solis antea ludis circensibus assueto ludorum scenicorum delicata subintravit insania: sed astutia spirituum nefandorum praevidens illam pestilentiam jam fine debito cessaturam, aliam longe graviorem, qua plurimum gaudet, ex hac occasione non corporibus, sed moribus curavit immittere; quae animos miserorum tantis obcaecavit tenebris, tanta deformitate foedavit, ut etiam modo (quod incredibile forsitan erit, si a nostris posteris audietur), Romana urbe vastata, quos pestilentia ista possedit, atque inde fugientes Carthaginem pervenire potuerunt, in theatris quotidie certatim pro histrionibus insanirent.

## Caput XXXIII.

*De vitiis Romanorum, quos patriae non correxit eversio.*

O mentes amentes! quis est hic tantus, non error, sed furor, ut exitium vestrum (sicut audivimus) plangentibus orientalibus populis, et maximis civitatibus in remotissimis terris publicum luctum moeroremque ducentibus, vos theatra quaereretis, intraretis, impleretis, et multo insaniora, quam fuerant antea, faceretis? Hanc animorum labem ac pestem hanc probitatis et honestatis eversionem vobis Scipio ille metuebat, quando construi theatra prohibebat, quando rebus prosperis vos facile corrumpi atque everti posse cernebat, quando vos ab hostili terrore securos esse nolebat. Neque enim censebat ille felicem esse rempublicam stantibus moenibus, ruentibus moribus. Sed in vobis plus valuit quod daemones impii seduxerunt, quam quod homines providi praecaverunt. Hinc est quod mala quae facitis, vobis imputari non vultis; mala vero quae patimini, christianis temporibus imputatis. Neque enim in vestra securitate pacatam rempublicam, sed luxuriam quaeritis impunitam, qui depravati rebus prosperis, nec corrigi potuistis adversis. Volebat vos ille Scipio terreri ab hoste, ne in luxuriam flueretis; vos nec contriti ab hoste luxuriam repressistis: perdidistis utilitatem calamitatis, et miserrimi facti estis, et pessimi permansistis.

## Caput XXXIV.

*De clementia Dei, quae Urbis excidium temperavit.*

For neither did that pestilence of bodies for this reason rest, because into a warlike people accustomed before to circensian games alone, the delicate insanity of scenic games subentered: but the astuteness of unspeakable spirits, foreseeing that that pestilence would already cease by its due end, took care to immit on this occasion another far more grave, in which it greatly rejoices, not in bodies but in morals; which blinded the minds of the miserable with such darkness, fouled them with such deformity, that even now (which will perhaps be incredible if it is heard by our posterity), the Roman city being devastated, those whom this pestilence possessed, and who fleeing from thence were able to reach Carthage, daily raged in the theaters striving for the actors.

## Chapter XXXIII.

*Concerning the vices of the Romans, whom the overthrow of their country did not correct.*

O mindless minds! what is this so great, not error, but madness, that while the oriental peoples (as we have heard) were bewailing your destruction, and the greatest cities in the most remote lands were observing public mourning and grief, you were seeking theaters, entering, filling them, and doing things much more insane than they had been before? That Scipio feared for you this stain of minds and this plague, this overthrow of probity and honesty, when he prohibited theaters to be constructed, when he saw that in prosperous things you could easily be corrupted and overthrown, when he did not wish you to be secure from hostile terror. For neither did he judge the republic to be happy with walls standing, but morals falling. But in you that which impious demons seduced prevailed more than that which provident men precantioned. Hence it is that the evils which you do, you do not wish to be imputed to yourselves; but the evils which you suffer, you impute to the Christian times. For in your security you do not seek a pacified republic, but unpunished luxury, you who, depraved by prosperous things, could not be corrected by adverse ones. That Scipio wished you to be terrified by the enemy, lest you should flow into luxury; you, not even crushed by the enemy, repressed luxury: you have lost the utility of calamity, and have been made most miserable, and have remained most wicked.

## Chapter XXXIV.

*Concerning the clemency of God, which tempered the destruction of the City.*

Et tamen quod vivitis, Dei est; qui vobis parcendo admonet, ut corrigamini poenitendo; qui vobis etiam ingratis praestitit, ut vel sub nomine servorum ejus, vel in locis martyrum ejus hostiles manus evaderetis. [XXXIV.] Romulus et Remus asylum constituisse perhibentur, quo quisquis confugeret, ab omni noxa liber esset, augere quaerentes creandae multitudinem civitatis. Mirandum in honorem Christi praecessit exemplum. Hoc constituerunt eversores Urbis, quod constituerant antea conditores. Quid autem magnum, si hoc fecerunt illi, ut civium suorum numerus suppleretur, quod fecerunt isti, ut suorum hostium numerositas servaretur?

## Caput XXXV.

*De latentibus inter impios Ecclesiae filiis, et de falsis intra Ecclesiam christianis.*

Haec et talia, si qua uberius et commodius potuerit, respondeat inimicis suis redempta familia Domini Christi, et peregrina civitas regis Christi. [XXXV.] Meminerit sane, in ipsis inimicis latere cives futuros, ne infructuosum vel apud ipsos putet quod, donec perveniat ad confessos, portat infensos sicut ex illorum numero etiam Dei civitas habet secum, quamdiu peregrinatur in mundo, connexos communione Sacramentorum, nec secum futuros in aeterna sorte sanctorum; qui partim in occulto, partim in aperto sunt; qui etiam cum ipsis inimicis adversus Deum, cujus sacramentum gerunt, murmurare non dubitant, modo cum illis theatra, modo ecclesias nobiscum replentes. De correctione autem quorumdam etiam talium multo minus est desperandum, si apud apertissimos adversarios praedestinati amici latitant, adhuc ignoti etiam sibi. Perplexae quippe sunt istae duae civitates in hoc saeculo, invicemque permixtae, donec ultimo judicio dirimantur: de quarum exortu et procursu et debitis finibus, quod dicendum arbitror, quantum divinitus adjuvabor, expediam, propter gloriam civitatis Dei, quae alienis a contrario comparatis clarius eminebit.

## Caput XXXVI.

*De quibus causis sequenti disputatione sit disserendum.*

Sed adhuc quaedam mihi dicenda sunt adversus eos, qui Romanae reipublicae clades in religionem nostram referunt, qua diis suis sacrificare prohibentur. Commemoranda enim sunt quae et quanta occurrere potuerint, vel satis esse videbuntur, mala quae illa civitas pertulit, vel ad ejus imperium pertinentes provinciae, antequam eorum sacrificia prohibita fuissent: quae omnia procul dubio nobis tribuerent, si jam vel illis clareret nostra religio, vel ita eos a sacris sacrilegis prohiberet.

And yet that you live is of God; who, by sparing you, admonishes that you be corrected by repenting; who also granted to you, ungrateful as you are, that you might escape hostile hands either under the name of His servants, or in the places of His martyrs. [XXXIV.] Romulus and Remus are said to have established an asylum, to which whoever fled might be free from all harm, seeking to increase the multitude of the city to be created. An admirable example preceded in honor of Christ. This the overthrowers of the City established, which the founders had established before. But what great thing, if those did this that the number of their citizens might be supplied, which these did that the large number of their enemies might be preserved?

## Chapter XXXV.

*Concerning the children of the Church who lie hidden among the impious, and concerning false Christians within the Church.*

These and such things, if she should be able more abundantly and more commodiously, let the redeemed family of the Lord Christ and the pilgrim city of King Christ respond to her enemies. [XXXV.] Let her remember indeed, that among the enemies themselves future citizens lie hidden, lest she think that what she bears from the hostile until she reaches those who confess is unfruitful even among them; just as from their number the city of God also has with her, as long as she is a pilgrim in the world, those connected by the communion of the Sacraments, who will not be with her in the eternal lot of the saints; who are partly in secret, partly in the open; who also with the enemies themselves do not hesitate to murmur against God, whose sacrament they bear, now filling the theaters with them, now the churches with us. But concerning the correction of some even of such, it is much less to be despaired of, if among the most open adversaries predestined friends lie hidden, still unknown even to themselves. For these two cities are perplexed in this world, and intermingled with each other, until they are separated in the last judgment: concerning whose origin and course and due ends, what I judge ought to be said, as much as I shall be helped divinely, I will expedite, for the glory of the city of God, which will shine forth more clearly when compared with the alien ones by the contrary.

## Chapter XXXVI.

*On what subjects we must treat in the following discussion.*

But there are still certain things I must say against those who attribute the calamities of the Roman republic to our religion, by which they are prohibited from sacrificing to their gods. For we must call to mind what and how great evils that city, or the provinces belonging to its empire, endured before their sacrifices were prohibited: all of which they would undoubtedly attribute to us, if our religion were already either clear to them, or if it thus prohibited them from their sacrilegious rites.

Deinde monstrandum est, quos eorum mores, et quam ob causam verus Deus ad augendum imperium adjuvare dignatus est, in cujus potestate sunt regna omnia; quamque nihil eos adjuverint hi, quos deos putant, quin potius quantum decipiendo et fallendo nocuerint. Postremo adversus eos dicetur, qui manifestissimis documentis confutati atque convicti conantur asserere, non propter vitae praesentis utilitatem, sed propter eam, quae post mortem futura est, colendos deos. Quae, nisi fallor, quaestio multo erit operosior, et sublimiore disputatione dignior; ut et contra philosophos in ea disseratur, non quoslibet, sed qui apud illos excellentissima gloria clari sunt, et nobiscum multa sentiunt, scilicet de animae immortalitate, et quod verus Deus mundum condiderit, et de providentia ejus, qua universum, quod condidit, regit. Sed quoniam et ipsi in illis quae contra nos sentiunt, refellendi sunt; deesse huic officio non debemus: ut refutatis impiis contradictionibus pro viribus, quas Deus impertiet, asseramus civitatem Dei, veramque pietatem, et Dei cultum, in quo uno veraciter sempiterna beatitudo promittitur. Hic itaque modus sit hujus voluminis, ut deinceps disposita ab alio sumamus exordio.

Then it must be shown what were their morals, and for what reason the true God, in whose power are all kingdoms, deigned to help in increasing their empire; and how much those whom they think to be gods did not help them, but rather how much they harmed them by deceiving and tricking them. Finally, it will be said against those who, having been refuted and convicted by the most manifest proofs, attempt to assert that the gods are to be worshipped not for the utility of the present life, but for that which is to come after death. Which question, if I mistake not, will be much more laborious, and worthy of a more sublime discussion; so that we may also dispute in it against the philosophers, not just any, but those who are distinguished among them by the most excellent glory, and who feel many things with us, namely, concerning the immortality of the soul, and that the true God created the world, and concerning His providence, by which He rules the universe which He created. But since even they must be refuted in those things in which they feel against us, we ought not to be lacking in this duty: so that, having refuted the impious contradictions according to the strength which God shall impart, we may assert the city of God, and true piety, and the worship of God, in which alone eternal beatitude is truly promised. Let this, therefore, be the limit of this volume, so that we may take up the following matters arranged from another beginning.

# LIBER SECUNDUS.

In quo disputatione instituta de malis quae ante Christum, vigente deorum falsorum cultu, perpessi sunt Romam, demonstratur primum eos morum malis et animi vitiis, quae mala vel sola vel maxima deputanda sunt, cumulatos procurantibus diis falsis, nedum liberatos fuisse.

## Caput Primum.

*De modo, qui necessitati disputationis adhibendus est.*

Si rationi perspicuae veritatis infirmus humanae consuetudinis sensus non auderet obsistere, sed doctrinae salubri languorem suum tanquam medicinae subderet, donec divino adjutorio fide pietatis impetrante sanaretur; non multo sermone opus esset ad convincendum quemlibet vanae opinationis errorem, his qui recte sentiunt, et sensa verbis sufficientibus explicant. Nunc vero quoniam ille est major et tetrior insipientium morbus animorum, quo irratio nabiles motus suos, etiam post rationem plene redditam, quanta homini ab homine debetur, sive nimia caecitate, qua nec aperta cernuntur, sive obstinatissima pervicacia, qua et ea quae cernuntur, non feruntur, tanquam ipsam rationem veritatemque defendunt: fit necessitas copiosius dicendi plerumque res claras, velut eas non spectantibus intuendas, sed quodammodo tangendas palpantibus et conniventibus offeramus. Et tamen quis disceptandi finis erit et loquendi modus, si respondendum esse respondentibus semper existimemus? Nam qui vel non possunt intelligere quod dicitur, vel tam duri sunt adversitate mentis, ut, etiamsi intellexerint, non obediant; respondent, ut scriptum est, et loquuntur iniquitatem (Psal. XCIII, 4), atque infatigabiliter vani sunt. Quorum dicta contraria si toties velimus refellere, quoties obnixa fronte statuerint non curare quid dicant, dum quocumque modo nostris disputationibus contradicant; quam sit infinitum, et aerumnosum, et infructuosum, vides. Quamobrem nec te ipsum, mi fili Marcelline, nec alios, quibus hic labor noster in Christi charitate utiliter ac liberaliter servit, tales meorum scriptorum velim judices, qui responsionem semper desiderent, cum his quae leguntur, audierint aliquid contradici; ne fiant similes earum muliercularum, quas commemorat Apostolus, semper discentes, et ad veritatis scientiam nunquam pervenientes (II Tim. III, 7).

# BOOK SECOND.

In which, a discussion having been instituted concerning the evils which they endured at Rome before Christ, while the worship of false gods was flourishing, it is demonstrated first that they were overwhelmed by moral evils and vices of the soul —which evils are to be considered either the only or the greatest—under the procurement of false gods, far from having been liberated from them.

## Chapter I.

*Of the limit which must be applied to the necessity of discussion.*

If the weak sense of human custom did not dare to resist the reason of clear truth, but submitted its own languor to wholesome doctrine as to a medicine, until it was healed by divine aid through the faith of piety, there would not be need of much speech to convince any error of vain opinion for those who think rightly and explain their thoughts in sufficient words. But now, since that is a greater and more foul disease of unwise minds, by which they defend their irrational movements as if they were reason and truth itself—even after a full account of reason has been given, as much as man owes to man—whether by excessive blindness, by which they do not see even the obvious, or by most obstinate perversity, by which they do not bear even those things which are seen; it becomes necessary to speak more copiously of things which are mostly clear, as if we were offering them to be looked at by those who do not see, but in a way to be touched by those who are groping and blinking. And yet, what limit will there be to debating, and what measure of speaking, if we think we must always respond to those who respond? For those who either cannot understand what is said, or are so hardened by adversity of mind that, even if they understand, they do not obey, respond—as it is written—and speak iniquity (Psalm 93:4), and are indefatigably vain. If we should wish to refute their contrary sayings as often as they have determined with a stubborn brow not to care what they say, provided that they in any way contradict our discussions, you see how infinite, and burdensome, and fruitless it would be. Wherefore, neither would I wish you yourself, my son Marcellinus, nor others, whom this labor of ours serves usefully and liberally in the charity of Christ, to be such judges of my writings as to always desire a response when they have heard something contradicted in what is read; lest they become like those silly women whom the Apostle mentions, always learning, and never coming to the knowledge of the truth (2 Tim. 3:7).

## Caput II.

*De his quae primo volumine expedita sunt.*

Superiore itaque libro, cum de civitate Dei dicere instituissem, unde hoc universum opus, illo adjuvante, in manus sumptum est; occurrit mihi respondendum esse primitus eis qui haec bella, quibus mundus iste conteritur, maximeque Romanae urbis recentem a Barbaris vastationem christianae religioni tribuunt, qua prohibentur nefandis sacrificiis servire daemonibus: cum potius hoc deberent tribuere Christo, quod propter ejus nomen, contra institutum moremque bellorum, eis, quo confugerent, religiosa et amplissima loca Barbari libera praebuerunt; atque in multis famulatum deditum Christo non solum verum, sed etiam timore confictum sic honoraverunt, ut quod in eos belli jure fieri licuisset, illicitum sibi esse judicarent. Inde incidit quaestio, cur haec divina beneficia etiam ad impios ingratosque pervenerint; et cur illa itidem dura, quae hostiliter facta sunt, pios cum impiis pariter afflixerint. Quam quaestionem per multa diffusam (in omnibus enim quotidianis vel Dei muneribus vel hominum cladibus, quorum utraque bene ac male viventibus permixte atque indiscrete saepe accidunt, solet multos movere) ut pro suscepti operis necessitate dissolverem, aliquantum immoratus sum; maxime ad consolandas sanctas feminas et pie castas, in quibus ab hoste aliquid perpetratum est, quod intulit verecundiae dolorem, etsi non abstulit pudicitiae firmitatem; ne poeniteat eas vitae, quas non est unde possit poenitere nequitiae. Deinde pauca dixi in eos qui Christianos adversis illis rebus affectos, et praecipue pudorem humiliatarum feminarum, quamvis castarum atque sanctarum, protervitate impudentissima exagitant, cum sint nequissimi et irreverentissimi, longe ab eis ipsis Romanis degeneres, quorum praeclara multa laudantur et litterarum memoria celebrantur, imo illorum gloriae vehementer adversi. Romam quippe partam veterum auctamque laboribus, foediorem stantem fecerant quam ruentem: quandoquidem in ruina ejus lapides et ligna, in istorum autem vita omnia, non murorum, sed morum munimenta atque ornamenta ceciderunt; cum funestioribus eorum corda cupiditatibus, quam ignibus tecta illius urbis arderent. Quibus dictis, primum terminavi librum. Deinceps itaque dicere institui, quae mala civitas illa perpessa sit ab origine sua, sive apud se ipsam, sive in provinciis sibi jam subditis: quae omnia christianae religioni tribuerent, si jam tunc evangeli ea doctrina adversus falsos et fallaces eorum deos testificatione liberrima personaret.

## Chapter II.

*Of those things which were dispatched in the first volume.*

In the previous book, therefore, when I had begun to speak of the city of God—whence this whole work, with His help, was taken in hand—it occurred to me that I must respond first to those who attribute these wars, by which this world is worn away, and especially the recent devastation of the city of Rome by the Barbarians, to the Christian religion, by which they are prohibited from serving demons with nefarious sacrifices: whereas they ought rather to attribute this to Christ, that for the sake of His name, contrary to the established custom and manner of wars, the Barbarians provided religious and very spacious places for them to flee to; and in many cases they so honored the service dedicated to Christ, not only true but even feigned through fear, that they judged what would have been permitted to be done to them by the law of war to be illicit for themselves. Thence the question arose, why these divine benefits reached even the impious and ungrateful; and why, likewise, those hard things which were done hostily afflicted the pious along with the impious. Which question, diffused through many things (for in all daily events, whether the gifts of God or the calamities of men, both of which often happen mixedly and indiscriminately to those living well and badly, it is accustomed to move many), I lingered somewhat to dissolve for the necessity of the undertaken work; especially to console the holy and piously chaste women, in whom something was perpetrated by the enemy which brought the pain of shame, even if it did not take away the firmness of chastity; lest they be ashamed of a life for which there is no reason to repent of wickedness. Then I said a few things against those who, with most impudent insolence, harass the Christians afflicted by those adverse things, and especially the shame of the humiliated women, although chaste and holy, since they are most wicked and irreverent, degenerate far from those very Romans whose many illustrious deeds are praised and celebrated by the memory of literature—nay, rather, vehemently opposed to their glory. For they had made Rome, produced by the labors of the ancients and increased by them, more foul while standing than while falling: since in its ruin stones and wood fell, but in their life all the fortifications and ornaments, not of walls, but of morals, fell; when their hearts burned with more deadly lusts than the roofs of that city burned with fires. With which things said, I finished the first book. Next, therefore, I have determined to say what evils that city endured from its origin, whether within itself or in the provinces already subject to it: all of which they would attribute to the Christian religion, if already then the doctrine of the Gospel were sounding forth with most free testimony against their false and deceptive gods.

## Caput III.

*De assumenda historia, qua ostendatur quae mala acciderint Romanis, cum deos colerent, antequam religio christiana obcresceret.*

Memento autem, me ista commemorantem, adhuc contra imperitos agere, ex quorum imperitia illud quoque ortum est vulgare proverbium: Pluvia defit , causa Christiani . Sunt namque qui eorum studiis liberalibus instituti amant historiam, qua facillime ista noverunt: sed ut nobis ineruditorum turbas infestissimas reddant, se nosse dissimulant; atque hoc apud vulgus confirmare nituntur, clades quibus per certa intervalla locorum et temporum genus humanum oportet affligi, causa accidere nominis christiani, quod contra deos suos ingenti fama et praeclarissima celebritate per cuncta diffunditur . Recolant ergo nobiscum, antequam Christus venisset in carne, antequam ejus nomen ea, cui frustra invident, gloria populis innotesceret, quibus calamitatibus res Romanae multipliciter varieque contritae sint; et in his defendant, si possunt, deos suos, si propterea coluntur, ne ista mala patiantur cultores eorum, quorum si quid nunc passi fuerint, nobis imputandum esse contendunt. Cur enim ea quae dicturus sum, permiserunt accidere cultoribus suis, antequam eos declaratum Christi nomen offenderet, eorumque sacrificia prohiberet?

## Caput IV.

*Quod cultores deorum nulla unquam a diis suis praecepta probitatis acceperint, et in sacris eorum turpia quaeque celebraverint.*

Primo ipsos mores ne pessimos haberent, quare dii eorum curare noluerunt? Deus enim verus eos, a quibus non colebatur, merito neglexit; dii autem illi, a quorum cultu se prohiberi homines ingratissimi conqueruntur, cultores suos ad bene vivendum quare nullis legibus adjuverunt? Utique dignum erat ut quomodo isti illorum sacra, ita illi istorum facta curarent. Sed respondetur, quod voluntate propria quisque malus est. Quis hoc negaverit? Verumtamen pertinebat ad consultores deos, vitae bonae praecepta non occultare populis cultoribus suis, sed clara praedicatione praebere; per vates etiam convenire, atque arguere peccantes; palam minari poenas male agentibus, praemia recte viventibus polliceri. Quid unquam tale in deorum illorum templis prompta et eminenti voce concrepuit?

## Chapter III.

*Of the history to be taken up, by which it may be shown what evils happened to the Romans when they worshipped the gods, before the Christian religion grew up.*

But remember, while I am calling these things to mind, that I am still acting against the unskilled, from whose lack of skill that common proverb also arose: "No rain, because of the Christian." For there are some of them, instructed in liberal studies, who love history, by which they have very easily known these things: but so that they may make the crowds of the unlearned most hostile to us, they pretend not to know; and they strive to confirm this among the common people, that the calamities with which the human race must be afflicted through certain intervals of places and times happen because of the Christian name, which is spread through all things against their gods with great fame and most illustrious celebrity. Let them therefore recount with us, before Christ had come in the flesh, before His name had become known to the peoples with that glory which they envy in vain, by what calamities Roman affairs were multiplied and variously worn away; and in these let them defend, if they can, their gods, if they are worshipped for this reason, lest their worshippers suffer those evils, which, if they have suffered anything now, they contend must be imputed to us. For why did they permit those things which I am about to say to happen to their worshippers before the declared name of Christ offended them and prohibited their sacrifices?

## Chapter IV.

*That the worshippers of the gods never received any precepts of probity from their gods, and celebrated all kinds of foul things in their rites.*

First, why did their gods not care that their very morals might not be the worst? For the true God deservedly neglected those by whom He was not worshipped; but why did those gods, of whose worship being prohibited the most ungrateful men complain, not help their worshippers with any laws for living well? Certainly it was fitting that as these cared for their rites, so they should care for their deeds. But it is responded that each one is evil by his own will. Who would deny this? Nevertheless, it pertained to the consulting gods not to hide the precepts of a good life from their worshipping peoples, but to provide them by clear preaching; also to meet and argue through prophets with those who were sinning; to openly threaten punishments for those doing evil, and to promise rewards to those living rightly. What such thing ever resounded with a prompt and eminent voice in the temples of those gods?

Veniebamus etiam nos aliquando adolescentes ad spectacula ludibriaque sacrilegiorum ; spectabamus arreptitios, audiebamus symphoniacos; ludis turpissimis, qui diis deabusque exhibebantur, oblectabamur, Coelesti virgini , et Berecynthiae matri omnium: ante cujus lecticam die solemni lavationis ejus , talia per publicum cantitabantur a nequissimis scenicis, qualia, non dico matrem deorum, sed matrem qualiumcumque senatorum vel quorumlibet honestorum virorum, imo vero qualia nec matrem ipsorum scenicorum deceret audire. Habet enim quiddam erga parentes humana verecundia, quod nec ipsa nequitia possit auferre. Illam proinde turpitudinem obscenorum dictorum atque factorum, scenicos ipsos domi suae proludendi causa coram matribus suis agere puderet, quam per publicum agebant, coram deûm matre, spectante et audiente utriusque sexus frequentissima multitudine. Quae si illecta curiositate adesse potuit circumfusa, saltem offensa castitate debuit abire confusa. Quae sunt sacrilegia, si illa sunt sacra? aut quae inquinatio, si illa lavatio? Et haec Fercula appellabantur, quasi celebraretur convivium, quo velut suis epulis immunda daemonia pascerentur. Quis enim non sentiat cujusmodi spiritus talibus obscenitatibus delectentur, nisi vel nesciens utrum omnino sint ulli immundi spiritus deorum nomine decipientes, vel talem agens vitam, in qua istos potius quam Deum verum et optet propitios, et formidet iratos?

## Caput V.

*De obscenitalibus, quibus Mater deûm a cultoribus suis honorabatur.*

Nequaquam istos, qui flagitiosissimae consuetudinis vitiis oblectari magis quam obluctari student, sed illum ipsum Nasicam Scipionem, qui vir optimus a senatu electus est, cujus manibus ejusdem daemonis simulacrum susceptum est, in Urbemque pervectum, habere de hac re judicem vellem. Diceret nobis, utrum matrem suam tam optime de republica vellet mereri, ut ei divini honores decernerentur: sicut et Graecos et Romanos aliasque gentes constat quibusdam decrevisse mortalibus, quorum erga se beneficia magnipenderant, eosque immortales factos, atque in deorum numerum receptos esse crediderant.

We also used to come sometimes as youths to the spectacles and mockeries of sacrileges; we watched the possessed, we heard the symphonists; we were delighted by the most foul games which were exhibited to the gods and goddesses, to the Celestial Virgin, and to Berecynthia the mother of all: before whose litter on the solemn day of her washing, such things were repeatedly sung through the public by the most wicked actors, as I would not say the mother of the gods, but the mother of any kind of senators or any honest men—nay, indeed, such as it would not befit even the mother of those actors themselves to hear. For human shame has something toward parents that not even wickedness itself can take away. Therefore, the actors themselves would be ashamed to perform at home for the sake of rehearsing before their own mothers that foulness of obscene words and deeds which they performed in public before the mother of the gods, while a most frequent multitude of both sexes watched and listened. Which if it could be present, surrounded by enticed curiosity, at least it ought to have departed confused by offended chastity. What are sacrileges, if those are sacred? or what is pollution, if that is washing? And these were called Fercula (dishes), as if a banquet were being celebrated in which, as if by their own feasts, the unclean demons were being fed. For who does not sense what kind of spirits are delighted by such obscenities, unless he is either ignorant whether there are altogether any unclean spirits deceiving under the name of gods, or leads such a life in which he rather desires them as propitious than the true God, and fears them as angry?

## Chapter V.

*Of the obscenities by which the Mother of the gods was honored by her worshippers.*

By no means would I wish to have as a judge in this matter those who strive to be delighted by the vices of most flagitious custom rather than to struggle against them, but that very Scipio Nasica himself, who was elected as the best man by the senate, by whose hands the image of that same demon was received and carried into the City. He would tell us whether he would wish his mother to have deserved so excellently of the republic that divine honors should be decreed to her: just as it is certain that both the Greeks and the Romans and other nations have decreed to certain mortals, whose benefits toward them they had highly valued, and had believed that they were made immortal and received into the number of the gods.

Profecto ille tantam felicitatem suae matri, si fieri posset, optaret. Porro si ab illo dende quaereremus, utrum inter ejus divinos honores vellet illa turpia celebrari; nonne se malle clamaret, ut sua mater sine ullo sensu mortua jaceret, quam ad hoc dea viveret, ut illa libenter audiret? Absit ut senator populi Romani ea mente praeditus, qua theatrum aedificari in urbe fortium virorum prohibuit, sic vellet coli matrem suam, ut talibus dea sacris propitiaretur, qualibus matrona verbis offenderetur. Nec ullo modo crederet verecundiam laudabilis feminae ita in contrarium divinitate mutari, ut honoribus eam talibus advocarent cultores sui, qualibus conviciis in quempiam jaculatis, cum inter homines viveret, nisi aures clauderet seseque subtraheret, erubescerent pro illa et propinqui, et maritus, et liberi. Proinde talis mater deûm, qualem habere matrem puderet quemlibet etiam pessimum virum, Romanas occupatura mentes quaesivit optimum virum, non quem monendo et adjuvando faceret, sed quem fallendo deciperet, ei similis de qua scriptum est, Mulier autem virorum pretiosas animas captat (Prov. VI, 26): ut ille magnae indolis animus hoc velut divino testimonio sublimatus, et vere se optimum existimans, veram pietatem religionemque non quaereret, sine qua omne quamvis laudabile ingenium superbia vanescit et decidit. Quomodo igitur nisi insidiose quaereret dea illa optimum virum, cum talia quaerat in suis sacris, qualia viri optimi abhorrent suis adhiberi conviviis?

## Caput VI.

*Deos Paganorum nunquam bene vivendi sanxisse doctrinam.*

Hinc est quod de vita et moribus civitatum atque populorum, a quibus colebantur illa numina, non curarunt, ut tam horrendis et detestabilibus malis, non in agro et vitibus, non in domo atque pecunia, non denique in ipso corpore, quod menti subditur, sed in ipsa mente, in ipso rectore carnis animo, eos impleri ac pessimos fieri sine ulla sua terribili prohibitione permitterent. Aut si prohibebant, hoc ostendatur potius, hoc probetur. Nec nobis nescio quos susurros paucissimorum auribus anhelatos et arcana velut religione traditos jactent, quibus vitae probitas castitasque discatur: sed demonstrentur vel commemorentur loca talibus aliquando conventiculis consecrata; non ubi ludi agerentur obscenis vocibus et motibus histrionum, nec ubi Fugalia celebrarentur effusa omni licentia turpitudinum (et vere Fugalia, sed pudoris et honestatis);

Surely he would desire such great happiness for his mother, if it were possible. Furthermore, if we then asked him whether he would wish those foul things to be celebrated among her divine honors, would he not cry out that he would rather his mother should lie dead without any sense, than live as a goddess for this, that she might willingly hear those things? Far be it from a senator of the Roman people, endowed with such a mind that he prohibited a theater from being built in a city of brave men, to wish his mother to be worshipped in such a way that the goddess might be propitiated with such rites as the matron would be offended by in words. Nor would he in any way believe that the shame of a praiseworthy woman is so changed into its contrary by divinity, that her worshippers should invoke her with such honors as would make her relatives, and husband, and children blush for her if they were hurled as insults at anyone while she lived among men, unless she closed her ears and withdrew herself. Accordingly, such a mother of the gods, such as any man, even the worst, would be ashamed to have as a mother, being about to occupy Roman minds, sought out the best man—not one whom she might make such by admonishing and helping, but one whom she might deceive by tricking—similar to her of whom it is written, "But the woman hunts for the precious souls of men" (Prov. 6:26): so that that mind of great character, sublimated by this as if by divine testimony, and truly thinking himself the best, might not seek true piety and religion, without which every talent, however praiseworthy, vanishes and falls away through pride. How then, except insidiously, would that goddess seek the best man, when she seeks such things in her rites as best men abhor to have applied at their banquets?

## Chapter VI.

*That the gods of the Pagans never sanctioned a doctrine of living well.*

Hence it is that they did not care about the life and morals of the cities and peoples by whom those divinities were worshipped, so that they permitted them to be filled with such horrendous and detestable evils—not in the field and the vines, not in the house and money, nor finally in the very body which is subject to the mind, but in the mind itself, in the very soul which is the ruler of the flesh—and to become the worst, without any terrible prohibition of their own. Or if they did prohibit it, let this rather be shown, let this be proven. Nor let them boast to us of I know not what whispers breathed into the ears of a very few and handed down as if by a secret religion, by which probity of life and chastity might be learned: but let there be shown or called to mind places consecrated at some time for such small assemblies; not where games were performed with the obscene voices and movements of actors, nor where the Fugalia were celebrated with every license of foulness poured out (and truly Fugalia, but of shame and honesty);

sed ubi populi audirent quid dii praeciperent de cohibenda avaritia, ambitione frangenda, luxuria refrenanda; ubi discerent miseri, quod discendum Persius increpavit, dicens: Disciteque, o miseri, et causas agnoscite rerum, Quid sumus, aut quidnam victuri gignimur; ordo Quis datus, aut metae qua mollis flexus, et unde; Quis modus argenti, quid fas optare, quid asper Utile nummus habet; patriae charisque propinquis Quantum elargiri deceat; quem te Deus esse Jussit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re. (Satira 3, vers. 66-72.) (Satira 3, vers. 66-72.) Dicatur in quibus locis haec docentium deorum solebant praecepta recitari, et a cultoribus eorum populis frequenter audiri, sicut nos ostendimus ad hoc ecclesias institutas, quaquaversum religio christiana diffunditur.

## Caput VII.

*Inutilia esse inventa philosophica sine auctoritate divina, ubi quemquam ad vitia pronam magis movet quod dii fecerint, quam quod homines disputarint.*

An forte nobis philosophorum scholas disputationesque memorabunt? Primo haec non Romana, sed Graeca sunt; aut si propterea jam Romana, quia et Graecia facta est Romana provincia; non deorum praecepta sunt, sed hominum inventa, qui utcumque conati sunt ingeniis acutissimis praediti ratiocinando vestigare, quid in rerum natura latitaret, quid in moribus appetendum esset atque fugiendum, quid in ipsis ratiocinandi regulis certa connexione traheretur, aut quid non esset consequens, vel etiam repugnaret. Et quidam eorum quaedam magna, quantum divinitus adjuti sunt, invenerunt; quantum autem humanitus impediti sunt, erraverunt: maxime cum eorum superbiae juste providentia divina resisteret, ut viam pietatis ab humilitate in superna surgentem, etiam istorum comparatione monstraret: unde postea nobis erit in Dei veri Domini voluntate disquirendi ac disserendi locus. Verumtamen si philosophi aliquid invenerunt, quod agendae bonae vitae beataeque adipiscendae satis esse possit; quanto justius talibus divini honores decernerentur? Quanto melius et honestius in Platonis templo libri ejus legerentur, quam in templis daemonum Galli absciderentur, molles consecrarentur, insani secarentur, et quidquid aliud vel crudele, vel turpe, vel turpiter crudele, vel crudeliter turpe in sacris talium deorum celebrari solet? Quanto satius erat, ad erudiendum justitiam juventutem, publice recitari leges deorum, quam laudari inaniter leges atque instituta majorum?

but where the peoples might hear what the gods commanded concerning the restraining of avarice, the breaking of ambition, the refraining of luxury; where the miserable might learn what Persius rebuked to be learned, saying: "Learn, O miserable ones, and know the causes of things, what we are, or for what life we are born; what order is given, or where the turn of the goal is soft, and whence; what measure of money, what it is right to wish for, what utility the harsh coin has; how much it is becoming to bestow on the country and dear relatives; what God has commanded you to be, and in what part of human affairs you are placed." (Satire 3, v. 66-72.) Let it be said in what places these precepts of the teaching gods were accustomed to be recited, and frequently heard by the peoples who worshipped them, just as we show that churches have been instituted for this purpose, wherever the Christian religion is spread.

## Chapter VII.

*That philosophical inventions are useless without divine authority, where one prone to vices is more moved by what the gods have done than by what men have disputed.*

Or perhaps they will remind us of the schools and discussions of the philosophers? First, these are not Roman, but Greek; or if they are now Roman because Greece has become a Roman province, they are not the precepts of the gods, but the inventions of men, who, endowed with the sharpest talents, have attempted in whatever way to investigate by reasoning what lay hidden in the nature of things, what ought to be sought and what avoided in morals, what was drawn by a certain connection in the rules of reasoning themselves, or what was not consequent, or even repugnant. And some of them found certain great things, as much as they were helped divinely; but as much as they were hindered humanly, they erred: especially since divine providence justly resisted their pride, so that it might show the way of piety rising from humility to the heights, even by comparison with them: whence there will later be for us a place for inquiring and discussing in the will of the true Lord God. Nevertheless, if the philosophers found anything that could be sufficient for leading a good life and attaining happiness, how much more justly would divine honors be decreed to such as these? How much better and more honest would it be for the books of Plato to be read in his temple, than for the Galli (priests of Cybele) to be castrated in the temples of demons, the effeminate to be consecrated, the insane to be cut, and whatever else either cruel, or foul, or foully cruel, or cruelly foul is accustomed to be celebrated in the rites of such gods? How much more sufficient it would be, for the sake of instructing youth in justice, for the laws of the gods to be publicly recited, than for the laws and institutes of the ancestors to be praised in vain?

Omnes enim cultores talium deorum, mox ut eos libido perpulerit, «ferventi» ut ait Persius, «tincta veneno,» (Satira 3, vers. 37) magis intuentur quid Jupiter fecerit, quam quid docuerit Plato, vel censuerit Cato. Hinc apud Terentium flagitiosus adolescens spectat Tabulam quamdam pictam in pariete, ubi inerat pictura haec, Jovem Quo pacto Danaae misisse aiunt in gremium quondam imbrem aurem: atque ab hac tanta auctoritate adhibet patrocinum turpitudini suae, cum in ea se jactat imitari deum.

At quem deum? (inquit) Qui templa coeli summo sonitu concutit. Ego homuncio hoc non facerem? Ego vero illud feci, ac libens. (Terent. Eunuch. act. 3, sc. 5, vers. 36, 37, et 42, 43.)

## Caput VIII.

*De ludis scenicis, in quibus dii non offenduntur editione suarum turpitudinum, sed placantur.*

At enim non traduntur ista sacris deorum, sed fabulis poetarum. Nolo dicere illa mystica quam ista theatrica esse turpiora: hoc dico, quod negantes convincit historia, eosdem illos ludos, in quibus regnant figmenta poetarum, non per imperitum obsequium sacris deorum suorum intulisse Romanos; sed ipsos deos, ut sibi solemniter, ederentur et honori suo consecrarentur, acerbe imperando, et quodammodo extorquendo fecisse: quod in primo libro (Cap. 32) brevi commemoratione perstrinxi. Nam ingravescente pestilentia, ludi scenici auctoritate pontificum Romae primitus instituti sunt. Quis igitur in agenda vita non ea sibi potius sectanda arbitretur, quae actitantur ludis auctoritate divina institutis, quam ea quae scriptitantur legibus humano consilio promulgatis? Adulterum Jovem si poetae fallaciter prodiderunt, dii utique casti, quia tantum nefas per humanos ludos confictum est, non quia neglectum, irasci ac vindicare debuerunt. Et haec sunt scenicorum tolerabiliora ludorum, comoediae scilicet et tragoediae, hoc est fabulae poetarum agendae in spectaculis, multa rerum turpitudine, sed nulla saltem, sicut alia multa, verborum obscenitate compositae: quas etiam inter studia, quae honesta ac liberalia vocantur, pueri legere et discere coguntur a senibus.

## Caput IX.

*Quid Romani veteres de cohibenda poetica licentia senserint, quam Graeci deorum secuti judicium, liberam esse voluerunt.*

For all the worshippers of such gods, as soon as lust has impelled them, "tinctured with fervent poison," as Persius says (Satire 3, v. 37), look more at what Jupiter did than what Plato taught or Cato judged. Hence in Terence, a flagitious youth looks at a certain table painted on a wall, where this picture was: how they say Jupiter once sent a golden shower into the lap of Danae: and from this so great authority he takes patronage for his own foulness, when in it he boasts that he imitates a god.

"But what god?" (he says) "He who shakes the temples of heaven with the greatest sound. Should I, a little man, not do this? I indeed have done it, and willingly." (Terence, Eunuch, act 3, sc. 5, v. 36-37, and 42-43.)

## Chapter VIII.

*Of the scenic games, in which the gods are not offended by the exhibition of their own foulness, but are placated.*

But indeed those things are not handed down by the rites of the gods, but by the fables of the poets. I do not wish to say that those mystic things are more foul than these theatrical ones: this I say—which history convinces those denying—that the Romans did not bring those same games, in which the fictions of the poets reign, into the rites of their gods through unskilled obedience; but the gods themselves, so that they might be solemnly exhibited for them and consecrated to their honor, by bitterly commanding, and in a way extorting, brought it about: which I touched upon by a brief commemoration in the first book (Chapter 32). For as a pestilence was growing worse, scenic games were first instituted at Rome by the authority of the pontiffs. Who therefore, in leading his life, would not think that those things are rather to be followed which are acted in games instituted by divine authority, than those which are written in laws promulgated by human counsel? If the poets falsely betrayed an adulterous Jupiter, the chaste gods surely ought to have been angry and to have avenged it, because such great wickedness was feigned through human games, not because it was neglected. And these are the more tolerable things of the scenic games, namely comedies and tragedies, that is, the fables of poets to be acted in spectacles, composed with much foulness of things, but at least with no obscenity of words, like many other things: which even among the studies called honest and liberal, boys are compelled by elders to read and learn.

## Chapter IX.

*What the ancient Romans thought concerning the restraining of poetic license, which the Greeks, following the judgment of the gods, wished to be free.*

Quid autem hinc senserint Romani veteres, Cicero testatur in libris quos de Republica scripsit, ubi Scipio disputans ait: «Nunquam comoediae, nisi consuetudo vitae pateretur, probare sua theatris flagitia potuissent.» Et Graeci quidem antiquiores vitiosae suae opinionis quamdam convenientiam servaverunt, apud quos fuit etiam lege concessum, ut quod vellet comoedia, de quo vellet, nominatim diceret. Itaque, sicut in eisdem libris loquitur Africanus, «Quem illa non attigit? vel potius quem non vexavit? cui pepercit? Esto, populares homines improbos, in republica seditiosos, Cleonem, Cleophontem, Hyperbolum laesit. Patiamur, inquit, etsi ejusmodi cives a censore melius est quam a poeta notari: sed Periclem, cum jam suae civitati maxima auctoritate plurimos annos domi et belli praefuisset, violari versibus; et eos agi in scena, non plus decuit, quam si Plautus, inquit, noster voluisset, aut Naevius Publio et Cneo Scipioni aut Caecilius Marco Catoni malediceret.» Deinde paulo post: «Nostrae,» inquit, «contra duodecim Tabulae cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque sanciendam putaverunt, si quis occentavisset, sive carmen condidisset, quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri. Praeclare. Judiciis enim magistratuum, disceptationibus legitimis propositam vitam, non poetarum ingeniis habere debemus; nec probrum audire, nisi ea lege ut respondere liceat, et judicio defendere.» Haec ex Ciceronis quarto de Republica libro ad verbum excerpenda arbitratus sum, nonnullis, propter faciliorem intellectum, vel praetermissis, vel paululum commutatis. Multum enim ad rem pertinent, quam molior explicare, si potero. Dicit deinde alia, et sic concludit hunc locum, ut ostendat veteribus displicuisse Romanis, vel laudari quemquam in scena vivum hominem, vel vituperari. Sed, ut dixi, hoc Graeci quanquam inverecundius, tamen convenientius licere voluerunt, cum viderent diis suis accepta et grata esse opprobria, non tantum hominum, verum et ipsorum deorum in scenicis fabulis; sive a poetis essent illa conficta, sive flagitia eorum vera commemorarentur et agerentur in theatris, atque ab eorum cultoribus utinam solo risu, ac non etiam imitatione digna viderentur. Nimis enim superbum fuit, famae parcere principum civitatis et civium, ubi suae famae parci numina noluerunt.

## Caput X.

*Qua nocendi arte daemones velint vel falsa de se crimina, vel vera narrari.*

But what the ancient Romans thought on this matter, Cicero testifies in the books which he wrote On the Republic, where Scipio, disputing, says: "Never could comedies, unless the custom of life allowed it, have approved their own foulnesses in the theaters." And indeed the more ancient Greeks preserved a certain consistency of their own vicious opinion, among whom it was even permitted by law, that comedy might say what it wished, about whom it wished, by name. And so, as Africanus speaks in the same books, "Whom did she not touch? or rather whom did she not vex? whom did she spare? Granted, she wounded wicked, popular men, seditious in the republic, Cleon, Cleophon, Hyperbolus. Let us allow it," he says, "although it is better for citizens of that kind to be marked by a censor than by a poet: but that Pericles, when he had already presided over his own city with the greatest authority for very many years at home and in war, should be violated by verses; and that they should be acted on the stage, was no more becoming than if our Plautus," he says, "or Naevius had wished to speak evil of Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, or Caecilius of Marcus Cato." Then a little after: "Our Twelve Tables, on the contrary," he says, "since they had sanctioned very few things by a capital penalty, thought that in these this also should be sanctioned, if anyone should have sung against another, or should have composed a song, which brought infamy or disgrace to another. Excellently. For we ought to have our life proposed to the judgments of magistrates and to lawful discussions, not to the wits of poets; nor to hear a reproach, except on the condition that it be allowed to answer, and to defend by judgment." These things I thought should be excerpted word for word from Cicero's fourth book On the Republic, some things, for the sake of easier understanding, having been either omitted or slightly changed. For they pertain much to the matter which I am striving to explain, if I can. He then says other things, and so concludes this passage, as to show that it displeased the ancient Romans that any living man should be either praised or vituperated on the stage. But, as I said, the Greeks, although more immodestly, yet more consistently willed this to be permitted, since they saw that reproaches were acceptable and pleasing to their gods, not only of men, but even of the gods themselves in scenic fables; whether those things were feigned by poets, or whether their true foulnesses were commemorated and acted in theaters, and would that they seemed worthy to their worshippers of laughter alone, and not also of imitation. For it was too proud to spare the fame of the princes of the city and of the citizens, where the deities did not wish their own fame to be spared.

## Chapter X.

*By what art of harming the demons wish either false crimes concerning themselves, or true ones, to be narrated.*

Nam quod affertur pro defensione, non illa vera in deos dici, sed falsa atque conficta, idipsum est scelestius, si pietatem consulas religionis; si autem malitiam daemonum cogites, quid astutius ad decipiendum atque callidius? Cum enim probrum jacitur in principem patriae bonum atque utilem, nonne tanto est indignius, quanto a veritate remotius, et a vita illius alienius? Quae igitur supplicia sufficiunt, cum Deo fit ista tam nefaria, tam insignis injuria? [X.] Sed maligni spiritus, quos isti deos putant, etiam flagitia quae non admiserunt, de se dici volunt, dum tamen humanas mentes his opinionibus velut retibus inducant, et ad praedestinatum supplicium secum trahant: sive homines ista commiserint, quos deos haberi gaudent qui humanis erroribus gaudent, pro quibus se etiam colendos mille nocendi fallendique artibus interponunt; sive etiam non ullorum hominum illa crimina vera sint, quae tamen de numinibus fingi libenter accipiunt fallacissimi spiritus, ut ad scelesta ac turpia perpetranda, velut ab ipso coelo traduci in terras satis idonea videatur auctoritas. Cum igitur Graeci talium numinum servos se esse sentirent, inter tot et tanta eorum theatrica opprobria parcendum sibi a poetis nullo modo putaverunt, vel diis suis etiam sic consimilari appetentes, vel metuentes ne honestiorem famam ipsi requirendo, et eis se hoc modo praeferendo, illos ad iracundiam provocarent.

## Caput XI.

*De scenicis apud Graecos in reipublicae administrationem receptis, eo quod placatores deorum injuste ab hominibus spernerentur.*

Ad hanc convenientiam pertinet, quod etiam scenicos actores earumdem fabularum non parvo civitatis honore dignos existimarunt. Siquidem, quod in eo quoque de Republica libro commemoratur, et Aeschines Atheniensis, vir eloquentissimus, cum adolescens tragoedias actitavisset, rempublicam capessivit; et Aristodemum, tragicum item actorem, maximis de rebus pacis ac belli legatum ad Philippum Athenienses saepe miserunt. Non enim consentaneum putabatur, cum easdem artes eosdemque scenicos ludos etiam diis suis acceptos viderent, illos, per quos agerentur, infamium loco ac numero deputare.

For as to what is brought forward for defense, that those things said against the gods are not true, but false and feigned, that itself is more wicked, if you consider the piety of religion; but if you think of the malice of demons, what is more astute for deceiving and more crafty? For when a reproach is cast against a prince of the fatherland, good and useful, is it not the more unworthy, the more remote it is from the truth, and more alien from his life? What punishments therefore suffice, when such a nefarious, such a signal injury is done to God? [X.] But the malignant spirits, whom those people think are gods, even wish foulnesses which they have not committed to be said of them, provided only they may lead human minds into these opinions as into nets, and draw them with themselves to the predestined punishment: whether men have committed those things, whom those who rejoice in human errors rejoice to have held as gods, for whom they also interpose themselves to be worshipped by a thousand arts of harming and deceiving; or even if those crimes are not true of any men, which nevertheless the most fallacious spirits willingly accept to be feigned of the deities, so that for the perpetration of wicked and base deeds, an authority might seem fit enough to be brought down, as it were, from heaven itself into the lands. When therefore the Greeks felt themselves to be the servants of such deities, among so many and such great theatrical reproaches of theirs, they thought that in no way should they be spared by the poets, either desiring to be thus assimilated to their gods, or fearing lest by seeking a more honest fame themselves, and by preferring themselves to them in this way, they might provoke them to anger.

## Chapter XI.

*Concerning the scenic actors among the Greeks received into the administration of the republic, because the placators of the gods were unjustly spurned by men.*

To this consistency belongs the fact that they even thought scenic actors of those same fables worthy of no small honor of the city. Since, as is commemorated in that same book On the Republic, both Aeschines the Athenian, a most eloquent man, when as a youth he had acted tragedies, took up the republic; and the Athenians often sent Aristodemus, likewise a tragic actor, as an ambassador to Philip concerning the greatest matters of peace and war. For it was not thought consistent, since they saw those same arts and those same scenic games also accepted by their gods, to depute those through whom they were acted into the place and number of the infamous.

[XI.] Haec Graeci turpiter quidem, sed sane diis suis omnino congruenter, qui nec vitam civium lacerandam linguis poetarum et histrionum subtrahere ausi sunt, a quibus cernebant deorum vitam eisdem ipsis diis volentibus et libentibus carpi; et ipsos homines, per quos ista in theatris agebantur, quae numinibus, quibus subditi erant, grata esse cognoverant, non solum minime spernendos in civitate, verum etiam maxime honorandos putarunt. Quid enim causae reperire possent, cur sacerdotes honorarent, quia per eos victimas diis acceptabiles offerebant; et scenicos probrosos haberent, per quos illam voluptatem sive honorem diis exhiberi, petentibus, et, nisi fieret, irascentibus, eorum admonitione didicerant? Cum praesertim Labeo, quem hujuscemodi rerum peritissimum praedicant, numina bona a numinibus malis ista etiam cultus diversitate distinguat, ut malos deos propitiari caedibus et tristibus supplicationibus asserat; bonos autem obsequiis laetis atque jucundis: qualia sunt, ut ipse ait, ludi, convivia, lectisternia. Quod totum quale sit, postea, si Deus juverit, diligentius disseremus. Nunc ad rem praesentem quod attinet, sive omnibus omnia tanquam bonis permixte tribuantur (neque enim esse decet deos malos, cum potius isti, quia immundi sunt spiritus, omnes sint mali), sive certa discretione, sicut Labeoni visum est, illis illa, istis ista distribuantur obsequia: competentissime Graeci utrosque honore dignos ducunt, et sacerdotes, per quos victimae ministrantur, et scenicos, per quos ludi exhibentur; ne vel omnibus diis suis, si et ludi omnibus grati sunt, vel, quod est indignius, his quos bonos putant, si ludi ab eis solis amantur, facere convincantur injuriam.

## Caput XII.

*Quod Romani auferendo libertatem poetis in homines, quam dederunt in deos, melius de se, quam de diis suis senserint.*

At Romani, sicut in illa de republica disputatione Scipio gloriatur, probris et injuriis poetarum subjectam vitam famamque habere noluerunt, capite etiam plectendum sancientes, tale carmen condere si quis auderet. Quod erga se quidem satis honeste constituerunt, sed erga deos suos superbe et irreligiose: quos cum scirent non solum patienter, verum etiam libenter poetarum probris maledictisque lacerari; se potius quam illos hujuscemodi injuriis indignos esse duxerunt, seque ab eis etiam lege munierunt, illorum autem ista etiam sacris solemnitatibus miscuerunt.

[XI.] These things the Greeks did basely indeed, but certainly altogether congruently with their gods, who did not dare to withdraw the life of the citizens from being torn by the tongues of poets and actors, by whom they saw the life of the gods being plucked, the same gods willing and being pleased; and they thought that the men themselves, through whom those things were acted in theaters, which they had known were pleasing to the deities to whom they were subject, should not only not be spurned in the city, but even should be greatly honored. For what cause could they find why they should honor priests, because through them they offered acceptable victims to the gods; and should hold scenic actors as shameful, through whom they had learned by their admonition that that pleasure or honor was exhibited to the gods, they asking for it, and, unless it were done, being angry? Especially since Labeo, whom they proclaim most skilled in matters of this kind, distinguishes good deities from evil deities even by this diversity of worship, that he asserts that evil gods are to be propitiated by slaughters and sad supplications; but good ones by joyful and pleasant obsequies: such as are, as he himself says, games, banquets, lectisternia. Of what kind all this is, we shall later, if God helps, discuss more diligently. Now, as pertains to the present matter, whether all things are attributed mixedly to all as to good (for it is not becoming that there be evil gods, since rather those, because they are unclean spirits, are all evil), or by a certain discretion, as it seemed to Labeo, those obsequies are distributed to those, and these to these: most competently the Greeks lead both to be worthy of honor, both the priests, through whom victims are ministered, and the scenic actors, through whom games are exhibited; lest they be convicted of doing injury either to all their gods, if games also are pleasing to all, or, what is more unworthy, to those whom they think good, if games are loved by them alone.

## Chapter XII.

*That the Romans, by taking away the liberty from poets against men, which they gave against the gods, thought better of themselves than of their gods.*

But the Romans, as Scipio glories in that discussion On the Republic, did not wish to have their life and fame subject to the reproaches and injuries of poets, sanctioning that he who dared to compose such a song should even be punished by a capital penalty. Which indeed they established honorably enough towards themselves, but proudly and irreligiously towards their gods: whom since they knew were not only patiently, but even willingly torn by the reproaches and maledictions of poets, they thought themselves rather than those gods to be unworthy of injuries of this kind, and they protected themselves from them even by law, but they mixed those very things of theirs even into sacred solemnities.

Itane tandem, Scipio, laudas hanc poetis Romanis negatam esse licentiam, ut cuiquam opprobrium infligerent Romanorum, cum videas eos nulli deorum pepercisse vestrorum? Itane pluris tibi habenda visa est existimatio curiae vestrae quam Capitolii, imo Romae unius quam coeli totius; ut linguam maledicam in cives tuos exercere poetae etiam lege prohiberentur, et in deos tuos securi tanta convicia, nullo senatore, nullo censore, nullo principe, nullo pontifice prohibente, jacularentur? Indignum videlicet fuit, ut Plautus, aut Naevius Publio et Cneo Scipioni, aut Caecilius M. Catoni malediceret; et dignum fuit, ut Terentius vester flagitio Jovis optimi maximi adolescentium nequitiam concitaret?

## Caput XIII.

*Debuisse intelligere Romanos, quod dii eorum, qui se turpibus ludis coli expetebant, indigni essent honore divino.*

Sed responderet mihi fortasse, si viveret: Quomodo nos ista impunita esse nollemus, quae ipsi dii sacra esse voluerunt, cum ludos scenicos, ubi talia celebrantur, dictitantur, actitantur, et Romanis moribus invexerunt, et suis honoribus dicari exhiberique jusserunt? Cur ergo non hinc magis ipsi intellecti sunt non esse dii veri, nec omnino digni quibus divinos honores deferret illa respublica? Quos enim coli minime deceret, minimeque oporteret, si ludos expeterent agendos conviciis Romanorum; quomodo, quaeso, colendi putati sunt, quomodo non detestandi spiritus intellecti, qui cupiditate fallendi inter suos honores sua celebrari crimina poposcerunt? Itemque Romani, quamvis jam superstitione noxia premerentur, ut illos deos colerent, quos videbant sibi voluisse scenicas turpitudines consecrari, suae tamen dignitatis memores ac pudoris, actores talium fabularum nequaquam honoraverunt more Graecorum, sed sicut apud Ciceronem idem Scipio loquitur, Cum artem ludicram scenamque totam probro ducerent, genus id hominum non modo honore civium reliquorum carere, sed etiam tribu moveri notatione censoria voluerunt. Praeclara sane, et Romanis laudibus annumeranda prudentia: sed vellem se ipsa sequeretur, se imitaretur. Ecce enim recte, quisquis civium Romanorum esse scenicus elegisset, non solum ei nullus ad honorem dabatur locus, verum etiam censoris nota tribum tenere propriam minime sinebatur. O animum civitatis laudis avidum, germaneque Romanum! Sed respondeatur mihi, qua consentanea ratione homines scenici ab omni honore repelluntur, et ludi scenici deorum honoribus admiscentur? Illas theatricas artes diu virtus Romana non noverat: quae si ad oblectamentum voluptatis humanae quaererentur, vitio morum irreperent humanorum.

Is it so at last, Scipio, that you praise this license denied to Roman poets, that they should inflict reproach upon any of the Romans, when you see that they spared none of your gods? Thus did the reputation of your senate-house seem to you to be held of more value than that of the Capitol, or rather of one Rome than of the whole heaven; so that poets were prohibited even by law from exercising a maledict tongue against your citizens, and against your gods they securely hurled such great insults, with no senator, no censor, no prince, no pontiff prohibiting? It was unworthy, forsooth, that Plautus or Naevius should speak evil to Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, or Caecilius to M. Cato; and was it worthy that your Terence should excite the wickedness of youths by the foulness of Jupiter Optimus Maximus?

## Chapter XIII.

*That the Romans ought to have understood that their gods, who sought to be worshipped with shameful games, were unworthy of divine honor.*

But perhaps he would answer me, if he were alive: How could we be unwilling that those things should be unpunished, which the gods themselves willed to be sacred, since they both introduced scenic games, where such things are celebrated, dictated, and acted, into Roman customs, and commanded them to be dedicated and exhibited to their honors? Why therefore from this were they not rather understood themselves not to be true gods, nor at all worthy to whom that republic should defer divine honors? For whom it would least become and least befit to be worshipped, if they sought games to be acted with reproaches of the Romans; how, I ask, were they thought to be worshipped, how were they not understood to be spirits to be detested, who by a desire of deceiving demanded that their own crimes be celebrated among their honors? And likewise the Romans, although they were now pressed by a noxious superstition, so that they worshipped those gods, whom they saw willed scenic foulnesses to be consecrated to themselves, yet mindful of their own dignity and modesty, by no means honored the actors of such fables in the manner of the Greeks, but as the same Scipio speaks in Cicero, since they held the whole ludic art and the whole stage as a disgrace, they willed that that kind of men should not only lack the honor of the rest of the citizens, but even be removed from their tribe by the censor's mark. Truly excellent prudence, and to be numbered among Roman praises: but I would wish that it followed itself, that it imitated itself. For behold, rightly, whoever of the Roman citizens had chosen to be a scenic actor, not only was no place given to him for honor, but even he was by no means allowed to keep his own tribe by the mark of the censor. O mind of a city greedy of praise, and genuinely Roman! But let it be answered to me, by what consistent reason are scenic men repelled from all honor, and scenic games mixed with the honors of the gods? For a long time Roman virtue did not know those theatrical arts: which if they were sought for the delight of human pleasure, they would creep in by a vice of human morals.

Dii eas sibi exhiberi petiverunt: quomodo ergo abjicitur scenicus, per quem colitur Deus? et theatricae illius turpitudinis qua fronte notatur actor, si adoratur exactor? In hac controversia Graeci Romanique concertant. Graeci putant recte se honorare homines scenicos, quia colunt ludorum scenicorum flagitatores deos: Romani vero hominibus scenicis nec plebeiam tribum, quanto minus senatoriam curiam dehonestari sinunt? In hac disceptatione hujuscemodi ratiocinatio summam quaestionis absolvit. Proponunt Graeci: Si dii tales colendi sunt, profecto etiam tales homines honorandi. Assumunt Romani: Sed nullo modo tales homines honorandi sunt. Concludunt Christiani: Nullo modo igitur dii tales colendi sunt.

## Caput XIV.

*Meliorem fuisse Platonem, qui poetis locum in bene morata urbe non dederit, quam hos deos, qui se ludis scenicis voluerint honorari.*

1. Deinde quaerimus, ipsi poetae, talium fabularum compositores, qui duodecim Tabularum lege prohibentur famam laedere civium, tam probrosa in deos convicia jaculantes, cur non ut scenici habeantur inhonesti. Qua ratione rectum est, ut poeticorum figmentorum et ignominiosorum deorum infamentur actores, honorentur auctores? an forte Graeco Platoni potius palma danda est, qui cum ratione formaret, qualis esse civitas debeat, tanquam adversarios veritatis, poetas censuit urbe pellendos? Iste vero et deorum injurias indigne tulit, et fucari corrumpique figmentis animos civium noluit. Confer nunc Platonis humanitatem a civibus decipiendis poetas urbe pellentem, cum deorum divinitate honori suo ludos scenicos expetente. Ille, ne talia vel scriberentur, etsi non persuasit disputando, tamen suasit levitati lasciviaeque Graecorum: isti, ut talia etiam agerentur, jubendo extorserunt gravitati et modestiae Romanorum. Nec tantum haec agi voluerunt, sed sibi dicari, sibi sacrari, sibi solemniter exhiberi. Cui tandem honestius divinos honores decerneret civitas? utrum Platoni haec turpia et nefanda prohibenti; an daemonibus hac hominum deceptione gaudentibus, quibus ille vera persuadere non potuit?

2. Hunc Platonem Labeo inter semideos commemorandum putavit, sicut Herculem, sicut Romulum: semideos autem heroibus anteponit, sed utrosque inter numina collocat. Verumtamen istum, quem appellat semideum, non heroibus tantum, sed etiam diis ipsis praeferendum esse non dubito.

The gods petitioned that they be exhibited to themselves: how therefore is the scenic actor rejected, through whom a god is worshipped? and with what face is the actor of that theatrical foulness marked, if the exacter is adored? In this controversy the Greeks and Romans contend. The Greeks think they rightly honor scenic men, because they worship the gods who are the demanders of scenic games: but the Romans by no means allow either the plebeian tribe, how much less the senatorial court, to be dishonored by scenic men. In this discussion a reasoning of this kind absolves the sum of the question. The Greeks propose: If such gods are to be worshipped, surely also such men are to be honored. The Romans assume: But in no way are such men to be honored. The Christians conclude: In no way therefore are such gods to be worshipped.

## Chapter XIV.

*That Plato, who did not give a place to poets in a well-mannered city, was better than these gods, who willed themselves to be honored with scenic games.*

1. Then we ask, why the poets themselves, the composers of such fables, who are prohibited by the law of the Twelve Tables from harming the fame of citizens, hurling such shameful insults against the gods, are not held as dishonest like the scenic actors. By what reason is it right, that the actors of poetic fictions and of ignominious gods should be infamed, while the authors are honored? Or perhaps the palm is rather to be given to the Greek Plato, who, when he was forming by reason what kind of city it ought to be, judged that poets should be expelled from the city as adversaries of the truth? He truly both bore the injuries of the gods with indignation, and did not wish the minds of the citizens to be colored and corrupted by fictions. Compare now the humanity of Plato expelling poets from the city to prevent citizens from being deceived, with the divinity of the gods seeking scenic games for their own honor. He, that such things should not even be written, although he did not persuade by disputing, yet he urged it upon the levity and lasciviousness of the Greeks: they, that such things should even be acted, by commanding extorted it from the gravity and modesty of the Romans. Nor only did they wish these to be acted, but to be dedicated to themselves, to be consecrated to themselves, to be solemnly exhibited to themselves. To whom, at last, would the city more honestly decree divine honors? To Plato prohibiting these shameful and nefarious things; or to the demons rejoicing in this deception of men, whom he could not persuade of the truth?

2. Labeo thought that this Plato should be commemorated among the semi-gods, like Hercules, like Romulus: but he places semi-gods before heroes, yet he locates both among the deities. Nevertheless, I do not doubt that he whom he calls a semi-god is to be preferred not only to heroes, but even to the gods themselves.

Propinquant autem Romanorum leges disputationibus Platonis, quando ille cuncta poetica figmenta condemnat, isti autem poetis adimunt saltem in homines maledicendi licentiam; ille poetas ab urbis ipsius habitatione, isti saltem actores poeticarum fabularum removent a societate civitatis, et, si contra deos ludorum scenicorum expetitores aliquid auderent, forte undique removerent. Nequaquam igitur leges ad instituendos bonos aut corrigendos malos mores, a diis suis possent accipere seu sperare Romani, quos legibus suis vincunt atque convincunt. Illi enim honori suo deposcunt ludos scenicos, isti ab honoribus omnibus repellunt homines scenicos: illi celebrari sibi jubent figmentis poeticis opprobria deorum, isti ab opprobriis hominum deterrent impudentiam poetarum. Semideus autem ille Plato et talium deorum libidini restitit, et ab indole Romanorum quid perficiendum esset, ostendit; qui poetas ipsos vel pro arbitrio mentientes, vel hominibus miseris quasi deorum facta pessima imitanda proponentes, omnino in civitate bene instituta vivere noluit. Nos quidem Platonem nec deum, nec semideum perhibemus; nec ulli sancto angelo summi Dei, nec veridico prophetae, nec apostolo alicui, nec cuilibet Christi martyri, nec cuiquam christiano homini comparamus; cujus nostrae sententiae ratio, Deo prosperante, suo loco explicabitur: sed eum tamen, quandoquidem ipsi volunt fuisse semideum, praeferendum esse censemus, si non Romulo et Herculi (quamvis istum nec fratrem occidisse, nec aliquod perpetrasse flagitium quisquam historicorum vel poetarum dixit aut finxit), certe vel Priapo, vel alicui Cynocephalo, postremo vel Febri, quae Romani numina partim peregrina receperunt, partim sua propria sacraverunt. Quomodo igitur tanta animi et morum mala bonis praeceptis et legibus vel imminentia prohiberent, vel insita exstirpanda curarent dii tales, qui etiam seminanda et augenda flagitia curaverunt, talia vel sua vel quasi sua facta per theatricas celebritates populis innotescere cupientes, ut tanquam auctoritate divina, sua sponte nequissima libido accenderetur humana: frustra hoc exclamante Cicerone, qui cum de poetis ageret, Ad quos cum accessit, inquit, clamor et approbatio populi, quasi magni cujusdam et sapientis magistri, quas illi obducunt tenebras! quos invehunt metus! quas inflammant cupiditates!

## Caput XV.

*Quod Romani quosdam sibi deos non ratione, sed adulatione instituerint.*

But the Roman laws approach the discussions of Plato, since he condemns all poetic fictions, and they take away from poets at least the license of malediction against men; he expels poets from the habitation of the city itself, they at least remove the actors of poetic fables from the society of the city, and, if they dared anything against the gods who are seekers of scenic games, perhaps they would remove them from every place. By no means therefore could the Romans receive or hope for laws for instituting good morals or correcting evil ones from their gods, whom they surpass and convict by their own laws. For they demand scenic games for their honor, these repel scenic men from all honors: they command their own reproaches to be celebrated to them by poetic fictions, these deter the impudence of poets from the reproaches of men. But that semi-god Plato both resisted the lust of such gods, and showed what ought to be perfected from the disposition of the Romans; who by no means willed poets themselves, either lying according to their will, or proposing the worst deeds of the gods to be imitated by miserable men, to live in a well-instituted city. We indeed do not hold Plato either as a god or a semi-god; nor do we compare him to any holy angel of the most high God, nor to a veracious prophet, nor to any apostle, nor to any martyr of Christ, nor to any Christian man; the reason for which opinion of ours, God prospering us, will be explained in its place: but nevertheless we judge that he, since they themselves wish him to have been a semi-god, is to be preferred—if not to Romulus and Hercules (although no one of the historians or poets said or feigned that he killed his brother, or perpetrated any foulness), certainly at least to Priapus, or to some Cynocephalus, finally even to Febris, which deities the Romans partly received as foreign, partly consecrated as their own. How therefore would such gods prohibit such great evils of mind and morals, either imminent or inherent, from being extirpated by good precepts and laws, who even took care that foulnesses be sown and increased, desiring that such deeds of theirs, or as if their own, become known to the peoples through theatrical celebrities, so that, as if by divine authority, human lust, very wicked of its own accord, might be kindled: Cicero exclaiming this in vain, who when he was dealing with poets, said: "To whom when the clamor and approval of the people has accessed, as if of some great and wise master, what darknesses do they bring on! what fears do they bring in! what cupidities do they inflame!"

## Chapter XV.

*That the Romans instituted some gods for themselves not by reason, but by adulation.*

Quae autem illic eligendorum deorum etiam ipsorum falsorum ratio, ac non potius adulatio est? quando istum Platonem, quem semideum volunt, tantis disputationibus laborantem ne animi malis, quae praecipue cavenda sunt, mores corrumperentur humani, nulla sacra aedicula dignum putarunt; et Romulum suum diis multis praetulerunt, quamvis et ipsum semideum potius quam deum velut secretior eorum doctrina commendet. Nam etiam flaminem illi instituerunt, quod sacerdotii genus adeo in Romanis sacris testante apice excelluit, ut tres solos flamines haberent tribus numinibus institutos. Dialem Jovi, Martialem Marti, Quirinalem Romulo. Nam benevolentia civium velut receptus in coelum, Quirinus est postea nominatus. Ac per hoc et Neptuno et Plutoni, fratribus Jovis, et ipsi Saturno, patri eorum, isto Romulus honore praelatus est, ut pro magno sacerdotium, quod Jovi tribuerunt, hoc etiam huic tribuerent, et Marti tanquam patri ejus, fortisan propter ipsum.

## Caput XVI.

*Quod si diis ulla esset cura justitiae, ab eis Romani accipere debuerint praecepta vivendi potius, quam leges ab aliis hominibus mutuari.*

Si autem a diis suis Romani vivendi leges accipere potuissent, non aliquot annos post Romam conditam ab Atheniensibus mutuarentur leges Solonis: quas tamen non ut acceperunt tenuerunt , sed meliores et emendatiores facere conati sunt. Quamvis Lycurgus Lacedaemoniis leges ex Apollinis auctoritate se instituisse confinxerit: quod prudenter Romani credere noluerunt, propterea non inde acceperunt. Numa Pompilius, qui Romulo successit in regnum, quasdam leges, quae quidem regendae civitati nequaquam sufficerent, condidisse fertur; qui eis multa etiam sacra constituit: non tamen perhibetur easdem leges a numinibus accepisse. Mala igitur animi, mala vitae, mala morum, quae ita magna sunt, ut his doctissimi eorum viri etiam stantibus urbibus respublicas perire confirment , dii eorum, ne suis cultoribus acciderent, minime curarunt; imo vero ut augerentur, sicut supra disputatum est, omni modo curaverunt.

## Caput XVII.

*De raptu Sabinarum, aliisque iniquitatibus, quae in civitate Romana etiam laudatis viguere temporibus.*

But what reason is there in the selection of even those false gods, and not rather adulation? When they thought that Plato, whom they wish to be a semi-god, laboring in such great discussions lest human morals be corrupted by evils of the mind, which are especially to be avoided, was worthy of no sacred chapel; and they preferred their own Romulus to many gods, although their more secret doctrine commends him also rather as a semi-god than a god. For they even instituted a flamen for him, which kind of priesthood so excelled in Roman rites (witness the apex) that they had only three flamens instituted for three deities. The Dial for Jupiter, the Martial for Mars, the Quirinal for Romulus. For because of the benevolence of the citizens, as if received into heaven, he was afterwards named Quirinus. And by this Romulus was preferred with that honor even to Neptune and Pluto, the brothers of Jupiter, and to Saturn himself, their father, so that for a great thing they gave to him also this priesthood which they gave to Jupiter, and to Mars as if to his father, perhaps on account of himself.

## Chapter XVI.

*That if the gods had any care for justice, the Romans should have received from them precepts of living rather than borrowing laws from other men.*

But if the Romans had been able to receive laws for living from their own gods, they would not have borrowed the laws of Solon from the Athenians some years after the founding of Rome; which laws, however, they did not keep as they received them, but endeavored to make them better and more improved. Although Lycurgus feigned that he had instituted laws for the Lacedaemonians by the authority of Apollo: which the Romans prudently refused to believe, and therefore did not receive them from there. Numa Pompilius, who succeeded Romulus in the kingdom, is said to have established certain laws, which indeed were by no means sufficient for governing the city; he also instituted many sacred rites for them: yet he is not said to have received those same laws from the deities. Therefore, the gods took no care that the evils of the mind, the evils of life, and the evils of morals—which are so great that their most learned men confirm that republics perish because of them even while the cities are standing—should not happen to their worshippers; on the contrary, as was discussed above, they took care in every way that they should increase.

## Chapter XVII.

*Of the rape of the Sabine women, and other iniquities, which flourished in the Roman city even in the praised times.*

An forte populo Romano propterea leges non sunt a numinibus constitutae, quia, sicut Sallustius ait, «jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat» (Sallust. de conjurat Catilinae, cap. 9)? Ex hoc jure ac bono credo raptas esse Sabinas. Quid enim justius et melius, quam filias alienas fraude spectaculi inductas, non a parentibus accipi, sed vi, ut quisque poterat, auferri? Nam si inique facerent Sabini negare postulatas, quanto fuit iniquius rapere non datas? Justius autem bellum cum ea gente geri potuit, quae filias suas ad matrimonium conregionalibus et confinalibus suis negasset petitas, quam cum ea quae repetebat ablatas. Illud ergo potius fieret: ibi Mars filium suum pugnantem juvaret, ut conjugiorum negatorum armis ulcisceretur injuriam, et eo modo ad feminas quas voluerat, perveniret. Aliquo enim fortasse jure belli, injuste negatas, juste victor auferret; nullo autem jure pacis non datas rapuit, et injustum bellum cum earum parentibus juste succensentibus gessit. Hoc sane utilius feliciusque successit, quod etsi ad memoriam fraudis illius circensium spectaculum mansit , facinoris tamen in illa civitate et imperio non placuit exemplum: faciliusque Romani in hoc erraverunt, ut post illam iniquitatem deum sibi Romulum consecrarent, quam ut in feminis rapiendis factum ejus imitandum lege ulla vel more permitterent. Ex hoc jure ac bono post expulsum cum liberis suis regem Tarquinium, cujus filius Lucretiam stupro violenter oppresserat, Junius Brutus consul Lucium Tarquinium Collatinum , maritum ejusdem Lucretiae, collegam suum, bonum atque innocentem virum, propter nomen et propinquitatem Tarquiniorum coegit magistratu se abdicare, nec vivere in civitate permisit. Quod scelus favente vel patiente populo fecit, a quo populo consulatum idem Collatinus, sicut etiam ipse Brutus, acceperat. Ex hoc jure ac bono Marcus Camillus, illius temporis vir egregius, qui veientes, gravissimos hostes populi romani, post decennale bellum, quo Romanus exercitus toties male pugnando graviter afflictus est, jam ipsa Roma de salute dubitante atque trepidante, facillime superavit, eorumque urbem opulentissimam cepit;

Or was it perhaps for this reason that laws were not established for the Roman people by the deities, because, as Sallust says, "justice and goodness prevailed among them not more by laws than by nature" (Sallust, *The Conspiracy of Catiline*, chap. 9)? From this justice and goodness, I believe, the Sabine women were snatched. For what is more just and better than that the daughters of others, led in by the deception of a spectacle, should not be received from their parents, but be carried off by force, as each man was able? For if the Sabines acted unjustly in refusing those who were requested, how much more unjust was it to seize those who were not given? But a war could have been waged more justly with that nation which had denied its daughters in marriage to its neighbors and borderers when requested, than with that nation which was demanding back those who had been taken away. Therefore, let this rather be done: let Mars there help his son in fighting, so that he might avenge the injury of the denied marriages with arms, and in that way reach the women whom he had wanted. For perhaps by some right of war, the victor might justly carry off those unjustly denied; but by no right of peace did he snatch those not given, and he waged an unjust war with their parents who were justly angry. This indeed succeeded more usefully and happily, that although the spectacle of the Circensian games remained in memory of that fraud, yet the example of the crime did not find favor in that city and empire: and the Romans erred more easily in this, that after that iniquity they consecrated Romulus to themselves as a god, than that they should permit his deed to be imitated in the snatching of women by any law or custom. From this justice and goodness, after King Tarquin had been expelled with his children, whose son had violently oppressed Lucretia in rape, the consul Junius Brutus compelled Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of the same Lucretia, his colleague, a good and innocent man, to abdicate his office on account of the name and relationship of the Tarquins, nor did he permit him to live in the city. He committed this crime with the favor or patience of the people, from which people Collatinus, just like Brutus himself, had received the consulship. From this justice and goodness, Marcus Camillus, an excellent man of that time—who very easily overcame the Veientes, the most serious enemies of the Roman people, after a ten-year war in which the Roman army was often severely afflicted by fighting poorly, while Rome herself was already doubting and trembling for her safety, and who captured their most opulent city;

invidia obtrectatorum virtutis suae et insolentia tribunorum plebis reus factus est, tamque ingratam sensit quam liberaverat civitatem, ut de sua damnatione certissimus in exsilium sponte discederet, et decem millibus aeris absens etiam damnaretur; mox iterum a Gallis vindex patriae futurus ingratae . Multa commemorare jam piget foeda et injusta, quibus agitabatur illa civitas, cum potentes plebem sibi subdere conarentur, plebsque illis subdi recusaret; et utriusque partis defensores magis studiis agerent amore vincendi, quam aequam et bonum quidquam cogitarent.

## Caput XVIII.

*Quae de moribus Romanorum, aut metu compressis, aut securitate resolutis, Sallustii prodat historia.*

1. Itaque habebo modum, et ipsum Sallustium testem potius adhibebo, qui cum in laude Romanorum dixisset, unde nobis iste sermo ortus est, «Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat;» praedicans illud tempus, quo expulsis regibus incredibiliter civitas brevi aetatis spatio plurimum crevit: idem tamen in primo Historiae suae libro atque ipso ejus exordio fatetur, etiam tunc, cum ad consules a regibus esset translata respublica, post parvum intervallum , injurias validiorum, et ob eas discessionem plebis a patribus, aliasque in Urbe dissensiones fuisse. Nam cum optimis moribus et maxima concordia populum Romanum inter secundum et postremum bellum Carthaginense commemorasset egisse, causamque hujus boni, non amorem justitiae, sed stante Carthagine metum pacis infidae fuisse dixisset; unde et Nasica ille ad reprimendam nequitiam, servandosque istos mores optimos, ut metu vitia cohiberentur, Carthaginem nolebat everti: continuo subjecit idem Sallustius, et ait: «At discordia, et avaritia, atque ambitio, et caetera secundis rebus oriri sueta mala, post Carthaginis excidium maxime aucta sunt.» Ut intelligeremus etiam antea et oriri solere, et augeri. Unde subnectens cur hoc dixerit, «Nam injuriae,» inquit, «validiorum, et ob eas discessio plebis a patribus, aliaeque dissensiones domi fuere jam inde a principio, neque amplius quam regibus exactis, dum metus a Tarquinio et bellum grave cum Etruria positum est, aequo et modesto jure agitatum.»

was made a defendant by the envy of those who detracted from his virtue and the insolence of the tribunes of the plebs, and he felt the city he had liberated to be so ungrateful that, most certain of his own condemnation, he went into exile of his own accord, and while absent was even condemned to ten thousand pieces of copper; though he was soon to be again the avenger of his ungrateful country against the Gauls. It is now irksome to commemorate many foul and unjust things by which that city was agitated, when the powerful endeavored to subject the plebs to themselves, and the plebs refused to be subjected to them; and the defenders of both parties acted more from zeal for the love of winning than they thought of anything fair and good.

## Chapter XVIII.

*What the history of Sallust reveals concerning the morals of the Romans, either compressed by fear or relaxed by security.*

Therefore, I will observe a limit, and I will rather employ Sallust himself as a witness, who, although he had said in praise of the Romans (from which this discourse of ours arose), "justice and goodness prevailed among them not more by laws than by nature," preaching that time in which, after the kings were expelled, the city grew incredibly much in a brief space of time: yet the same man confesses in the first book of his History, and in its very beginning, that even then, when the republic had been transferred from kings to consuls, after a small interval, there were injuries from the more powerful, and because of them the secession of the plebs from the fathers, and other dissensions in the City. For although he had commemorated that the Roman people acted with the best morals and the greatest harmony between the second and the last Carthaginian war, and had said that the cause of this good was not love of justice, but the fear of an unfaithful peace while Carthage stood; whence even that Nasica, for the sake of repressing wickedness and preserving those best morals, so that vices might be restrained by fear, did not want Carthage to be overturned: immediately the same Sallust added, and said: "But discord, and avarice, and ambition, and other evils accustomed to arise in prosperous circumstances, were greatly increased after the destruction of Carthage." So that we might understand that even before they were accustomed both to arise and to be increased. Whence subjoining why he said this, he says: "For the injuries of the more powerful, and because of them the secession of the plebs from the fathers, and other dissensions at home were there from the very beginning; nor was it conducted with equitable and modest law any longer than when the kings were driven out, while fear of Tarquin and the grave war with Etruria remained."

Vides quemadmodum illo etiam brevi tempore, ut regibus exactis, id est ejectis, aliquantum aequo et modesto jure ageretur, metum dixit fuisse causam; quoniam metuebatur bellum, quod rex Tarquinius regno atque Urbe pulsus, Etruscis sociatus, contra Romanos gerebat. Attende itaque quid deinde contexat: «Dein,» inquit, «servili imperio patres plebem exercere, de vita atque tergo regio more consulere, agro pellere, et caeteris expertibus soli in imperio agere. Quibus saevitiis et maxime fenore oppressa plebs cum assiduis bellis tributum et simul militiam toleraret, armata montem Sacrum atque Aventinum insedit : tumque tribunos plebis et alia sibi jura paravit. Discordiarum et certaminis utrimque finis fuit secundum bellum Punicum.» Cernis ex quo tempore, id est parvo intervallo post reges exactos, quales Romani fuerint, de quibus ait, «Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat.»

2. Porro si illa tempora talia reperiuntur, quibus pulcherrima atque optima fuisse praedicatur Romana respublica; quid jam de consequenti aetate dicendum aut cogitandum arbitramur, «cum paulatim mutata» ut ejusdem historici verbis utar, «ex pulcherrima atque optima, pessima ac flagitiosissima facta est» (Sallust. de Conjuratione Catilinae, cap. 5); post Carthaginis videlicet, ut commemoravit, excidium? Quae tempora ipse Sallustius quemadmodum breviter recolat et describat, in ejus Historia legi potest, quantis malis morum, quae secundis rebus exorta sunt, usque ad bella civilia demonstret esse perventum . «Ex quo tempore,» ut ait, «majorum mores non paulatim, ut antea, sed torrentis modo praecipitati; adeo juventus luxu atque avaritia corrupta, ut merito dicatur genitos esse qui neque ipsi habere possent res familiares, neque alios pati» . Dicit deinde plura Sallustius de Syllae vitiis caeteraque foeditate reipublicae: et alii scriptores in haec consentiunt, quamvis eloquio multum impari.

3. Cernis tamen, ut opinor, et quisquis adverterit facillime perspicit colluvie morum pessimorum quo illa civitas prolapsa fuerit, ante nostri superni Regis adventum. Haec enim gesta sunt non solum antequam Christus in carne praesens docere coepisset, verum etiam antequam de Virgine natus esset. Cum igitur tot et tanta mala temporum illorum vel tolerabiliora superius, vel post eversam Carthaginem intoleranda et horrenda diis suis imputare non audeant, opiniones humanis mentibus, unde talia vitia silvescerent, maligna astutia inserentibus;

You see how even in that brief time, when the kings were driven out, that is, ejected, he said that fear was the cause why it was conducted somewhat with equitable and modest law; since the war was feared which King Tarquin, driven from the kingdom and the City, and joined with the Etruscans, was waging against the Romans. Attend therefore to what he weaves together next: "Then," he says, "the fathers exercised a servile command over the plebs, consulted concerning life and limb in the royal manner, drove them from the land, and acted alone in command, with the others excluded from the soil. Oppressed by these cruelties and especially by usury, while the plebs tolerated tribute and simultaneously military service in constant wars, they occupied the Sacred Mount and the Aventine in arms: and then they prepared for themselves the tribunes of the plebs and other rights for themselves. The end of the discords and the contest on both sides was the second Punic War." You see from what time, that is, a small interval after the kings were driven out, what kind of people the Romans were, of whom he says: "Justice and goodness prevailed among them not more by laws than by nature."

Furthermore, if those times are found to be such, in which the Roman republic is preached to have been most beautiful and best; what do we now think should be said or thought concerning the subsequent age, "when having been gradually changed," to use the words of the same historian, "from the most beautiful and best, it became the worst and most flagitious" (Sallust, *The Conspiracy of Catiline*, chap. 5); namely, after the destruction of Carthage, as he commemorated? Which times may be read in the History of Sallust himself, how he briefly recounts and describes them, where he demonstrates that it was reached by so many evils of morals, which arose in prosperous circumstances, all the way to the civil wars. "From which time," as he says, "the morals of the ancestors were precipitated, not gradually as before, but in the manner of a torrent; so much was the youth corrupted by luxury and avarice, that it is deservedly said that those were born who could neither themselves have private property nor suffer others to have it." Sallust then says more concerning the vices of Sulla and the rest of the foulness of the republic: and other writers agree in these things, although with much unequal eloquence.

3. Yet you see, I think, and whoever attends will very easily perceive into what a sink of the worst morals that city had fallen before the advent of our heavenly King. For these things were done not only before Christ began to teach in his presence in the flesh, but even before he was born of the Virgin. Since, therefore, they do not dare to impute so many and such great evils of those times—either the more tolerable ones earlier, or the intolerable and horrendous ones after the overthrow of Carthage—to their own gods, who by malignant craft inserted opinions into human minds from which such vices would grow wild;

cur mala praesentia Christo imputant, qui doctrina saluberrima et falsos ac fallaces deos coli vetat, et istas hominum noxias flagitiosasque cupiditates divina auctoritate detestans atque condemnans, his malis tabescenti ac labenti mundo ubique familiam suam sensim subtrahit, qua condat aeternam, et non plausu vanitatis, sed judicio veritatis gloriosissimam civitatem?

## Caput XIX.

*De corruptione Romanae reipublicae, priusquam cultum deorum Christus auferret.*

Ecce Romana respublica (quod non ego primus dico, sed auctores eorum, unde haec mercede didicimus, tanto ante dixerunt ante Christi adventum) «paulatim mutata, ex pulcherrima atque optima, pessima ac flagitiosissima facta est.» Ecce ante Christi adventum, post deletam Carthaginem, «majorum mores, non paulatim, ut antea, sed torrentis modo praecipitati; adeo juventus luxu atque avaritia corrupta est.» Legant nobis contra luxum et avaritiam praecepta deorum suorum populo Romano data. Cui utinam tantum casta et modesta reticerent, ac non etiam ab illo probrosa et ignominiosa deposcerent, quibus per falsam divinitatem perniciosam conciliarent auctoritatem. Legant nostra, et per Prophetas, et per sanctum Evangelium, et per apostolicos Actus, et per Epistolas, tam multa contra avaritiam atque luxuriam, ubique populis ad hoc congregatis, quam excellenter, quam divine, non tanquam ex philosophorum concertationibus strepere, sed tanquam ex oraculis et Dei nubibus intonare. Et tamen luxu atque avaritia saevisque ac turpibus moribus ante adventum Christi rempublicam pessimam ac flagitiosissimam factam, non imputant diis suis: afflictionem vero ejus, quamcumque isto tempore superbia deliciaeque eorum perpessae fuerint, religioni increpitant christianae. Cujus praecepta de justis probisque moribus, si simul audirent atque curarent reges terrae et omnes populi, principes et omnes judices terrae, juvenes et virgines, seniores cum junioribus (Psal. CXLVIII, 11, 12), aetas omnis capax et uterque sexus, et quos Baptista Joannes alloquitur, exactores ipsi atque milites (Luc. III, 12-14); et terras vitae praesentis ornaret sua felicitate respublica, et vitae aeternae culmen beatissime regnatura conscenderet.

why do they impute present evils to Christ, who by most wholesome doctrine forbids false and fallacious gods to be worshipped, and detesting and condemning those harmful and flagitious lusts of men with divine authority, gradually withdraws his family from everywhere in this world wasting away and falling through these evils, so that he may found an eternal and most glorious city, not by the applause of vanity, but by the judgment of truth?

## Chapter XIX.

*Of the corruption of the Roman republic, before Christ removed the worship of the gods.*

Behold the Roman republic (which I am not the first to say, but their own authors, from whom we learned these things for a fee, said so long ago before the advent of Christ) "having been gradually changed, from the most beautiful and best, it became the worst and most flagitious." Behold, before the advent of Christ, after Carthage was destroyed, "the morals of the ancestors were precipitated, not gradually as before, but in the manner of a torrent; to such an extent was the youth corrupted by luxury and avarice." Let them read to us the precepts of their gods given to the Roman people against luxury and avarice. If only they had merely been silent about chaste and modest things, and had not even demanded shameful and ignominious things from them, for which they would procure a pernicious authority through a false divinity. Let them read our things, both through the Prophets, and through the holy Gospel, and through the Apostolic Acts, and through the Epistles—so many things against avarice and luxury, everywhere to the peoples gathered for this purpose, how excellently, how divinely, not sounding like the disputes of philosophers, but thundering as if from oracles and the clouds of God. And yet they do not impute to their gods that the republic was made the worst and most flagitious by luxury and avarice and by cruel and base morals before the advent of Christ; but whatever affliction their pride and delights have suffered in this time, they blame on the Christian religion. If the kings of the earth and all peoples, the princes and all judges of the earth, young men and virgins, elders with the younger (Psal. CXLVIII, 11, 12), every capable age and both sexes, and those whom John the Baptist addresses, the tax-collectors themselves and the soldiers (Luke III, 12-14), should simultaneously hear and care for its precepts concerning just and upright morals; then the republic would adorn the lands of the present life with its happiness, and it would ascend to the summit of eternal life to reign most blessedly.

Sed quia iste audit, ille contemnit, pluresque vitiis male blandientibus quam utili virtutum asperitati sunt amiciores ; tolerare Christi famuli jubentur, sive sint reges, sive principes, sive judices, sive milites, sive provinciales, sive divites, sive pauperes, sive liberi, sive servi utriuslibet sexus, pessimam etiam, si ita necesse est, flagitiosissimamque rempublicam; et in illa Angelorum quadam sanctissima atque augustissima curia coelestique republica, ubi Dei voluntas lex est, clarissimum sibi locum etiam ista tolerantia comparare.

## Caput XX.

*Quali velint felicitate gaudere, et quibus moribus vivere, qui tempora christianae religionis incusant.*

Verum tales cultores et dilectores deorum istorum, quorum etiam imitatores in sceleribus et flagitis se esse laetantur, nullo modo curant pessimam ac flagitiosissimam non esse rempublicam. Tantum stet, inquiunt, tantum floreat copiis referta, victoriis gloriosa; vel, quod est felicius, pace secura sit. Et quid ad nos? imo id ad nos magis pertinet, si divitias quisque semper augeat, quae quotidianis effusionibus suppetant, per quas sibi etiam infirmiores subdat quisque potentior. Obsequantur divitibus pauperes causa saturitatis; atque ut eorum patrociniis quieta inertia perfruantur, divites pauperibus ad clientelas et ad ministerium sui fastus abutantur. Populi plaudant, non consultoribus utilitatum suarum, sed largitoribus voluptatum. Non jubeantur dura, non prohibeantur impura. Reges non curent quam bonis, sed quam subditis regnent. Provinciae regibus non tanquam rectoribus morum, sed tanquam rerum dominatoribus et deliciarum suarum provisoribus serviant; eosque non sinceriter honorent, sed nequiter ac serviliter timeant. Quid alienae viti potius quam quid suae vitae quisque noceat, legibus advertatur. Nullus ducatur ad judices, nisi qui alienae rei, domui, saluti, vel cuiquam invito fuerit importunus, aut noxius: caeterum de suis, vel cum suis, vel cum quibusque volentibus faciat quisque quod libet. Abundent publica scorta, vel propter omnes quibus frui placuerit, vel propter eos maxime, qui privata habere non possunt. Exstruantur amplissimae atque ornatissimae domus, opipara convivia frequententur; ubi cuique libuerit et potuerit, die noctuque ludatur, bibatur, vomatur, diffluatur.

But because this one hears, that one despises, and more are more friendly to vices that flatter poorly than to the useful harshness of virtues; the servants of Christ are commanded to tolerate, whether they be kings, or princes, or judges, or soldiers, or provincials, or rich, or poor, or free, or slaves of either sex, even the worst and most flagitious republic, if it is so necessary; and to prepare for themselves a most clear place even by that tolerance in that most holy and most august court of the Angels and in the heavenly republic, where the will of God is law.

## Chapter XX.

*With what kind of happiness they wish to rejoice, and with what morals they wish to live, who find fault with the times of the Christian religion.*

But such worshippers and lovers of those gods—of whom they also rejoice to be imitators in crimes and flagitious acts—care in no way that the republic be not the worst and most flagitious. Let it only stand, they say, let it only flourish, filled with abundance and glorious with victories; or, what is happier, let it be secure in peace. And what is that to us? Rather, it pertains more to us if each one always increases his riches, which may supply daily lavish expenditures, through which each more powerful man may also subject the weaker to himself. Let the poor obey the rich for the sake of satiety; and so that they may enjoy a quiet inertia under their patronages, let the rich abuse the poor for their clienteles and for the ministry of their own pride. Let the peoples applaud not the consultants of their utilities, but the givers of pleasures. Let no hard things be commanded, let no impure things be prohibited. Let kings not care how good the people are whom they rule, but how submissive. Let the provinces serve kings not as rectors of morals, but as lords of things and providers of their delights; and let them not honor them sincerely, but fear them wickedly and servilely. Let it be noticed by the laws what harm each one does to another's life rather than to his own. Let no one be led to the judges except him who has been troublesome or harmful to another's property, house, safety, or to anyone against his will: otherwise, let each one do what he pleases concerning his own things, or with his own people, or with anyone who is willing. Let public prostitutes abound, either for all whom it has pleased to enjoy them, or especially for those who cannot have private ones. Let most ample and most ornate houses be built, let sumptuous banquets be frequent; where it has pleased each and he has been able, let there be playing, drinking, vomiting, and dissolving into luxury day and night.

Saltationes undique concrepent, theatra inhonestae laetitiae vocibus atque omni genere sive crudelissimae sive turpissimae voluptatis exaestuent. Ille sit publicus inimicus, cui haec felicitas displicet; quisquis eam mutare vel auferre tentaverit, eum libera multitudo avertat ab auribus, evertat a sedibus, auferat a viventibus. Illi habeantur dii veri, qui hanc adipiscendam populis procuraverint, adeptamque servaverint. Colantur ut voluerint, ludos exposcant quales voluerint, quos cum suis vel de suis possint habere cultoribus: tantum efficiant ut tali felicitati nihil ab hoste, nihil a peste, nihil ab ulla clade timeatur. Quis hanc rempublicam sanus, non dicam Romano imperio, sed domui Sardanapali comparaverit? qui quondam rex ita fuit voluptatibus deditus, ut in sepulcro suo scribi fecerit, ea sola se habere mortuum, quae libido ejus etiam cum viveret, hauriendo, consumpserat . Quem regem isti si haberent sibi in talibus indulgentem, nec in eis cuiquam ulla severitate adversantem; huic libentius, quam Romani veteres Romulo, templum et flaminem consecrarent.

## Caput XXI.

*Quae sententia fuerit Ciceronis de Romana republica.*

1. Sed si contemnitur qui Romanam rempublicam pessimam ac flagitiosissimam dixit, nec curant isti quanta morum pessimorum ac flagitiosorum labe ac dedecore impleatur, sed tantummodo ut consistat et maneat; audiant eam, non, ut Sallustius narrat, pessimam ac flagitiosissimam factam, sed, sicut Cicero disputat, jam tunc prorsus perisse, et nullam omnino remansisse rempublicam. Inducit enim Scipionem, eum ipsum qui Carthaginem exstinxerat, de republica disputantem, quando praesentiebatur ea corruptione, quam describit Sallustius, jam jamque peritura. Eo quippe tempore disputatur, quo jam unus Gracchorum occisus fuit, a quo scribit seditiones graves coepisse Sallustius . Nam mortis ejus fit in eisdem libris commemoratio. Cum autem Scipio in secundi libri fine dixisset, Ut in fidibus ac tibiis atque cantu ipso ac vocibus concentus est quidam tenendus ex distinctis sonis, quem immutatum aut discrepantem aures eruditae ferre non possunt; isque concentus ex dissimillimarum vocum moderatione concors tamen efficitur et congruens: sic ex summis et infimis et mediis interjectis ordinibus, ut sonis, moderata ratione civitatem consensu dissimillimorum concinere; et quae harmonia a musicis dicitur in cantu, eam esse in civitate concordiam, arctissimum atque optimum omni in republica vinculum incolumitatis, eamque sine justitia nullo pacto esse posse:

Let dances rattle everywhere, let the theaters seethe with voices of dishonest joy and with every kind of either most cruel or most base pleasure. Let him be a public enemy to whom this happiness is displeasing; whoever has attempted to change or take it away, let the free multitude turn him away from their ears, overturn him from his seats, and take him away from the living. Let those be held as true gods who have procured the attaining of this for the peoples, and have preserved it once attained. Let them be worshipped as they have wished, let them demand what kind of games they have wished, which they may have with their worshippers or from their worshippers: let them only effect that nothing be feared for such happiness from the enemy, nothing from pestilence, nothing from any calamity. What sane man would compare this republic—I will not say to the Roman Empire, but to the house of Sardanapalus? Who was once a king so devoted to pleasures that he had it written on his tomb that he had only those things in death which his libido had consumed by drinking in even while he was alive. If these men had such a king indulging them in such things, and not opposing anyone in them with any severity, they would more willingly consecrate a temple and a flamen to him than the ancient Romans did to Romulus.

## Chapter XXI.

*What was the opinion of Cicero concerning the Roman republic.*

But if he is despised who said the Roman republic was the worst and most flagitious, and these men do not care with how great a stain and disgrace of the worst and flagitious morals it was filled, but only that it should consist and remain; let them hear that it—not as Sallust recounts, having been made the worst and most flagitious—but as Cicero disputes, had already then utterly perished, and no republic at all remained. For he introduces Scipio—the same one who had extinguished Carthage—disputing concerning the republic, when it was sensed that it would soon perish by that corruption which Sallust describes. Indeed, the dispute is held at that time when one of the Gracchi had already been killed, from whom Sallust writes that grave seditions began. For commemoration of his death is made in those same books. But when Scipio had said at the end of the second book, that as in strings and pipes and in singing itself and in voices a certain harmony must be maintained from distinct sounds, which if changed or discrepant, learned ears cannot bear; and that harmony is made harmonious and congruent from the moderation of very dissimilar voices: so the city sings together with the consent of the most dissimilar from the highest and lowest and middle orders interjected, as if from sounds, by moderated reason; and that which is called harmony by musicians in singing, that is concord in the city, the tightest and best bond of safety in every republic, and that it can in no way be without justice:

ac deinde cum aliquanto latius et uberius disseruisset, quantum prodesset justitia civitati, quantumque obesset, si abfuisset; suscepit deinde Philus , unus eorum qui disputationi aderant, et poposcit ut haec ipsa quaestio diligentius tractaretur, ac de justitia plura dicerentur, propter illud, quod jam vulgo ferebatur, rempublicam regi sine injuria non posse. Hanc proinde quaestionem discutiendam et enodandam esse, assensus est Scipio, responditque nihil esse, quod adhuc de republica dictum putaret, et quo possent longius progredi, nisi esset confirmatum, non modo falsum esse illud, sine injuria non posse; sed hoc verissimum esse, sine summa justitia rempublicam regi non posse (Libro 2, cap. 43). Cujus quaestionis explicatio cum in diem consequentem dilata esset, in tertio libro magna conflictatione res acta est. Suscepit enim Philus ipse disputationem eorum qui sentirent sine injustitia regi non posse rempublicam purgans, praecipue, ne hoc ipse sentire crederetur. Egitque sedulo pro injustitia contra justitiam, ut hanc esse utilem reipublicae, illam vero inutilem, verisimilibus rationibus et exemplis velut conaretur ostendere. Tum Laelius rogantibus omnibus, justitiam defendere aggressus est; asseruitque quantum potuit, nihil tam inimicum quam injustitiam civitati, nec omnino nisi magna justitia geri aut stare posse rempublicam .

2. Qua quaestione, quantum satis visum est, pertractata, Scipio ad intermissa revertitur, recolitque suam atque commendat brevem reipublicae definitionem, qua dixerat eam esse rem populi (Libro 1, cap. 25). Populum autem non omnem coetum multitudinis, sed coetum juris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatum esse determinat. Docet deinde quanta sit in disputando definitionis utilitas: atque ex illis suis definitionibus colligit tunc esse rempublicam, id est rem populi, cum bene ac juste geritur, sive ab uno rege, sive a paucis optimatibus, sive ab universo populo. Cum vero injustus est rex, quem tyrannum, more graeco, appellavit; aut injusti optimates, quorum consensum dixit esse factionem; aut injustus ipse populus, cui nomen usitatum non reperit, nisi ut etiam ipsum tyrannum vocaret: non jam vitiosam, sicut pridie fuerat disputatum; sed, sicut ratio ex illis definitionibus connexa docuisset, omnino nullam esse rempublicam: quoniam non esset res populi, cum tyrannus eam factiove capesseret; nec ipse populus jam populus esset, si esset injustus, quoniam non esset multitudo juris consensu et utilitatis communione sociata, sicut populus fuerat definitus.

and then when he had discussed somewhat more widely and more abundantly how much justice profited the city, and how much it harmed it if it were absent; then Philus, one of those who were present at the dispute, took it up and asked that this same question be treated more diligently, and more things be said concerning justice, on account of that which was already commonly reported, that the republic cannot be ruled without injury. Scipio accordingly agreed that this question should be discussed and unraveled, and replied that he thought nothing had yet been said concerning the republic, and that they could progress no further, unless it were confirmed not only that it is false that it cannot be without injury; but that this is most true, that the republic cannot be ruled without the highest justice (Book 2, chap. 43). Since the explanation of this question had been delayed to the following day, the matter was conducted with great conflict in the third book. For Philus himself took up the dispute of those who felt that the republic cannot be ruled without injustice, purging himself, especially lest he himself be believed to feel this. And he acted zealously for injustice against justice, as if he were endeavoring to show by plausible reasons and examples that the former is useful to the republic, but the latter useless. Then Laelius, at the request of everyone, began to defend justice; and he asserted as much as he could that nothing is so hostile to the city as injustice, nor can the republic be conducted or stand at all except with great justice.

2. When this question had been thoroughly treated, as much as seemed sufficient, Scipio returns to the interrupted things, and recalls and commends his own brief definition of the republic, in which he had said that it is the "property of the people" (rem populi) (Book 1, chap. 25). But he determines that the people is not every assembly of a multitude, but an assembly associated by the consent of law and the communion of utility. He then teaches how great is the utility of definition in disputing: and from those definitions of his he gathers that it is then a republic, that is, the property of the people, when it is conducted well and justly, whether by one king, or by a few optimates, or by the whole people. But when the king is unjust, whom he called a tyrant in the Greek manner; or the optimates are unjust, whose consent he said was a faction; or the people themselves are unjust, for whom he did not find a customary name, unless he should also call the people themselves a tyrant: then it is not already vicious, as had been disputed the day before; but, as the reason connected from those definitions would have taught, there is no republic at all: since it would not be the property of the people when a tyrant or a faction should seize it; nor would the people themselves already be a people if they were unjust, since it would not be a multitude associated by the consent of law and the communion of utility, as the people had been defined.

3. Quando ergo respublica Romana talis erat, qualem illam describit Sallustius; non jam pessima ac flagitiosissima, sicut ipse ait, sed omnino nulla erat, secundum istam rationem, quam disputatio de republica inter magnos ejus tum principes habita patefecit. Sicut etiam ipse Tullius, non Scipionis, nec cujusquam alterius, sed suo sermone loquens , in principio quinti libri, commemorato prius Ennii poetae versu, quo dixerat, Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque. Quem quidem ille versum, inquit, vel brevitate vel veritate tanquam ex oraculo mihi quodam esse effatus videtur. Nam neque viri, nisi ita morata civitas fuisset, neque mores, nisi hi viri praefuissent, aut fundare, aut tam diu tenere potuissent tantam et tam juste lateque imperantem rempublicam. Itaque ante nostram memoriam et mos ipse patrius praestantes viros adhibebat, et veterem morem ac majorum instituta retinebant excellentes viri. Nostra vero aetas cum rempublicam sicut picturam accepisset egregiam, sed evanescentem vetustate, non modo eam coloribus iisdem, quibus fuerat, renovare neglexit; sed ne id quidem curavit, ut formam saltem ejus et extrema tanquam lineamenta servaret. Quid enim manet ex antiquis moribus, quibus ille dixit rem stare Romanam, quos ita oblivione obsoletos videmus, ut non modo non colantur, sed etiam ignorentur ? Nam de viris quid dicam? Mores enim ipsi interierunt virorum penuria, cujus tanti mali non modo reddenda ratio nobis, sed etiam tanquam reis capitis quodammodo dicenda causa est. Nostris enim vitiis, non casu aliquo, rempublicam verbo retinemus; reipsa vero jam pridem amisimus.

4. Haec Cicero fatebatur longe quidem post mortem Africani quem in suis libris fecit de republica disputare, adhuc tamen ante adventum Christi : quae si diffamata et praevalescente religione christiana sentirentur atque dicerentur, quis non istorum ea Christianis imputanda esse censeret? Quamobrem cur non curarunt dii eorum, ne tunc periret atque amitteretur illa respublica, quam Cicero longe antequam Christus in carne venisset, tam lugubriter deplorat amissam? Viderint laudatores ejus, etiam illis antiquis viris et moribus qualis fuerit, utrum in ea viguerit vera justitia; an forte nec tunc fuerit viva moribus, sed picta coloribus. Quod et ipse Cicero nesciens, cum eam praeferret, expressit. Sed alias, si Deus voluerit, hoc videbimus.

3. When, therefore, the Roman republic was such as Sallust describes it, it was no longer "the worst and most flagitious," as he says, but it was nothing at all, according to that reasoning which the dispute concerning the republic held among its great leaders at that time revealed. Just as Tullius himself also, speaking in his own discourse—not Scipio's, nor anyone else's—says at the beginning of the fifth book, having first commemorated a verse of the poet Ennius, in which he had said: "On ancient morals and on men the Roman state stands." Which verse indeed, he says, seems to me to have been uttered as if from some oracle, either for its brevity or its truth. For neither could the men, unless the city had been so motived, nor the morals, unless these men had presided, have been able to either found or hold so long so great a republic and one ruling so justly and widely. And so before our memory both the paternal custom itself employed outstanding men, and excellent men retained the ancient custom and the institutes of the ancestors. But our age, when it had received the republic as if it were an excellent picture, but fading with antiquity, not only neglected to renew it with the same colors with which it had been, but did not even care for this, that it might at least preserve its form and its extreme lineaments, as it were. For what remains of the ancient morals, on which he said the Roman state stands, which we see so obsolete by oblivion that not only are they not cultivated, but they are even ignored? For what shall I say of the men? For the morals themselves have perished by the penury of men, for which great evil not only must an account be rendered by us, but even the cause must be pleaded in some way as if we were defendants on a capital charge. For by our vices, and not by some chance, we retain the republic in word; but in reality we have lost it long ago.

These things Cicero confessed long after the death of Africanus, whom he made to dispute concerning the republic in his books, yet still before the advent of Christ; which things, if they were sensed and said when the Christian religion was spread and prevailing, who of those men would not think that they should be imputed to the Christians? For which reason, why did their gods not care lest that republic should then perish and be lost, which Cicero so lugubriously deplores as lost long before Christ had come in the flesh? Let its praisers see what kind of republic it was, even with those ancient men and morals, whether true justice flourished in it; or perhaps it was not even then alive in morals, but painted in colors. Which Cicero himself also, unknowingly, expressed when he was preferring it. But elsewhere, if God will, we shall see this.

Enitar enim suo loco, ut ostendam secundum definitiones ipsius Ciceronis, quibus quid sit respublica, et quid sit populus, loquente Scipione, breviter posuit (attestantibus etiam multis, sive ipsius, sive eorum, quos loqui fecit in eadem disputatione, sententiis), nunquam illam fuisse rempublicam, quia nunquam in ea fuit vera justitia . Secundum probabiliores autem definitiones, pro suo modo quodam respublica fuit: et melius ab antiquioribus Romanis, quam a posterioribus administrata est. Vera autem justitia non est, nisi in ea republica, cujus conditor rectorque Christus est; si et ipsam rempublicam placet dicere, quoniam eam rem populi esse negare non possumus. Si autem hoc nomen, quod alibi aliterque vulgatum est, ab usu nostrae locutionis est forte remotius; in ea certe civitate est vera justitia, de qua Scriptura sancta dicit, Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas Dei (Psal. LXXXVI, 3).

## Caput XXII.

*Quod diis Romanorum nulla unquam cura fuerit, ne malis moribus respublica deperiret.*

1. Sed quod pertinet ad praesentem quaestionem, quamlibet laudabilem dicant istam fuisse vel esse rempublicam, secundum eorum auctores doctissimos jam longe ante Christi adventum pessima ac flagitiosissima facta erat: imo vero nulla erat, atque omnino perierat perditissimis moribus. Ut ergo non periret, dii custodes ejus populo cultori suo dare praecipuae vitae ac morum praecepta debuerunt, a quo tot templis, tot sacerdotibus et sacrificiorum generibus, tam multiplicibus variisque sacris, tot festis solemnitatibus, tot tantorumque ludorum celebritatibus colebantur: ubi nihil daemones nisi negotium suum egerunt, non curantes quemadmodum illi viverent, imo curantes ut etiam perdite viverent, dum tamen honori suo illa omnia metu subditi ministrarent. Aut si dederunt, proferatur, ostendatur, legatur, quas deorum leges illi civitati datas contempserint Gracchi , ut seditionibus cuncta turbarent; quas Marius , et Cinna , et Carbo , ut in bella etiam progrederentur civilia, causis iniquissimis suscepta, et crudeliter gesta crudeliusque finita; quas denique Sylla ipse , cujus vitam, mores, facta, describente Sallustio aliisque historiae scriptoribus, quis non exhorreat? Quis illam rempublicam non tunc perisse fateatur?

For I will endeavor in its proper place to show according to the definitions of Cicero himself—by which he briefly set down what a republic is and what a people is, with Scipio speaking (many opinions also attesting, whether of his own or of those whom he made to speak in the same dispute)—that that was never a republic, because true justice was never in it. According to more probable definitions, however, it was a republic in its own certain way: and it was better administered by the earlier Romans than by the later ones. But true justice is not except in that republic whose founder and rector is Christ; if it also pleases to call it a republic, since we cannot deny it to be the property of the people. But if this name, which is spread elsewhere and otherwise, is perhaps more remote from the use of our speech; certainly in that city there is true justice, of which holy Scripture says: "Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God" (Psal. LXXXVI, 3).

## Chapter XXII.

*That the gods of the Romans never had any care lest the republic should perish by bad morals.*

1. But as pertains to the present question, however laudable they may say that republic was or is, according to their most learned authors it had already become the worst and most flagitious long before the advent of Christ; nay, it was nothing, and had altogether perished by the most lost morals. Therefore, so that it might not perish, the gods who were its guardians ought to have given to their worshipping people precepts for excellent life and morals, by whom they were worshipped with so many temples, so many priests and kinds of sacrifices, so manifold and various sacred rites, so many festive solemnities, and so many celebrations of such great games: where the demons did nothing except act for their own business, not caring how those people lived, but rather caring that they should live even in a lost manner, provided that they, being subject through fear, should minister all those things to their honor. Or if they gave them, let it be brought forward, let it be shown, let it be read, what laws of the gods given to that city the Gracchi despised, so that they might disturb all things with seditions; what laws Marius, and Cinna, and Carbo despised, so that they might even proceed to civil wars, undertaken for most unjust causes, and cruelly waged and more cruelly finished; what laws, finally, Sulla himself despised, whose life, morals, and deeds, as Sallust and other writers of history describe them, who would not abhor? Who would not confess that the republic had then perished?

2. An forte propter hujuscemodi civium mores Virgilianam illam sententiam, sicut solent, pro defensione suorum deorum opponere audebunt, Discessere omnes adytis arisque relictis Dî, quibus imperium hoc steterat? (Aeneid. lib. 2, vers. 351, 352.) Primum si ita est, non habent cur querantur de religione christiana, quod hac offensi eos dii sui deseruerint: quoniam quidem majores eorum jam pridem moribus suis ab Urbis altaribus tam multos ac minutos deos, tanquam muscas abegerunt. Sed tamen haec numinum turba ubi erat, cum longe antequam mores corrumperentui antiqui, a Gallis Roma capta et incensa est? an praesentes forte dormiebant? Tunc enim tota Urbe in hostium potestatem redacta, solus collis Capitolinus remanserat; qui etiam ipse caperetur, nisi saltem anseres diis dormientibus vigilarent . Unde pene in superstitionem Aegyptiorum bestias avesque colentium Roma deciderat, cum anseri solemnia celebrabant. Verum de his adventitiis, et corporis potius quam animi malis, quae vel ab hostibus vel alia clade accidunt, nondum interim disputo: nunc ago de labe morum, quibus primum paulatim decoloratis, deinde torrentis modo praecipitatis, tanta, quamvis integris tectis moenibusque, facta est ruina reipublicae, ut magni auctores eorum eam tunc amissam non dubitent dicere. Recte autem abscesserant, ut amitteretur, omnes adytis arisque relictis dii, si eorum de bona vita atque justitia civitas praecepta contempserat. Nunc vero quales, quaeso, dii fuerunt, si noluerunt cum populo cultore suo vivere, quem male viventem non docuerant bene vivere?

## Caput XXIII.

*Varietates rerum temporalium, non ex favore aut impugnatione daemonum, sed ex veri Dei pendere judicio.*

1. Quid, quod etiam videntur eorum adfuisse cupiditatibus implendis, et ostenduntur non praefuisse refrenandis? Qui enim Marium, novum hominem et ignobilem, cruentissimum auctorem bellorum civilium atque gestorem, ut septies consul fieret adjuverunt, atque ut in septimo suo consulatu moreretur senex, nec in manus Syllae futuri mox victoris irrueret ? Si enim ad haec eum dii eorum non juverunt, non parum est quod fatentur etiam non propitiis diis suis posse accidere homini istam temporalem, quam nimis diligunt, tantam felicitatem; et posse homines, sicut fuit Marius, salute, viribus, opibus, honoribus, dignitate, longaevitate cumulari et perfrui, diis iratis: posse etiam homines, sicut fuit Regulus, captivitate, servitute, inopia, vigiliis, doloribus excruciari et emori, diis amicis. Quod si ita esse concedunt, compendio, nihil eos prodesse, et coli superfluo, confitentur.

2. Or will they perhaps dare to oppose that Virgilian sentiment—as they are accustomed to do—for the defense of their gods: "All the gods, by whom this empire had stood, departed, having left their shrines and altars" (Aeneid, book 2, vv. 351, 352)? First, if it is so, they have no reason to complain concerning the Christian religion, that their gods, offended by this, have deserted them; since indeed their ancestors long ago by their own morals drove away from the altars of the City so many and so minute gods, like flies. But yet where was this crowd of deities when, long before the ancient morals were corrupted, Rome was captured and burned by the Gauls? Were they present and perhaps sleeping? For then, with the whole City reduced into the power of the enemies, only the Capitoline hill had remained; which itself would also have been captured, if at least the geese had not been vigilant while the gods were sleeping. Whence Rome had almost fallen into the superstition of the Egyptians worshipping beasts and birds, when they celebrated solemnities for a goose. But concerning these adventitious evils, and of the body rather than of the mind, which happen either from enemies or from other calamity, I do not yet dispute in the meantime: I am now acting concerning the stain of morals, by which being first gradually discolored, then precipitated in the manner of a torrent, so great a ruin of the republic was made, even while the roofs and walls were intact, that their great authors do not doubt to say it was then lost. But they had rightly departed, so that it might be lost, "all the gods having left their shrines and altars," if the city had despised their precepts concerning a good life and justice. But now, I ask, what kind of gods were they, if they refused to live with their worshipping people, whom, living badly, they had not taught to live well?

## Chapter XXIII.

*That the varieties of temporal things depend not on the favor or opposition of demons, but on the judgment of the true God.*

1. What of the fact that they even seem to have been present for fulfilling their lusts, and are shown not to have presided for refraining them? For who helped Marius—a new and ignoble man, the most bloody author and conductor of civil wars—so that he might become consul seven times, and that he might die an old man in his seventh consulship, nor fall into the hands of Sulla, the victor soon to come? For if their gods did not help him in these things, it is no small thing that they confess that even without their gods being propitious, this temporal happiness, which they love too much, can happen to a man; and that men, such as Marius was, can be heaped with and enjoy health, strength, riches, honors, dignity, and longevity, while the gods are angry: and that men, such as Regulus was, can be tortured and die in captivity, servitude, poverty, watchings, and pains, while the gods are friends. If they grant that it is so, they confess in short that the gods profit nothing, and are worshipped superfluously.

Nam si virtutibus animi et probitati vitae, cujus praemia post mortem speranda sunt, magis contraria ut populus disceret institerunt; si nihil etiam in his transeuntibus et temporalibus bonis, vel eis quos oderunt nocent, vel eis quos diligunt prosunt: utquid coluntur? utquid tanto studio colendi requiruntur? Cur laboriosis tristibusque temporibus, tanquam offensi abscesserint, murmuratur; et propter eos christiana religio conviciis indignissimis laeditur? Si autem habent in his rebus, vel beneficii, vel maleficii potestatem; cur in eis adfuerunt pessimo viro Mario, et optimo Regulo defuerunt? An ex hoc ipsi intelliguntur injustissimi et pessimi? Quod si propterea magis timendi et colendi putantur, neque hoc putentur: neque enim minus eos invenitur Regulus coluisse, quam Marius. Nec ideo vita pessima eligenda videatur, quia magis Mario quam Regulo dii favisse existimantur. Metellus enim, Romanorum laudatissimus, qui habuit quinque filios consulares , etiam rerum temporalium felix fuit; et Catilina pessimus, oppressus inopia et in bello sui sceleris prostratus infelix: et verissima atque certissima felicitate praepollent boni Deum colentes, a quo solo conferri potest.

2. Illa igitur respublica malis moribus cum periret, nihil dii eorum pro dirigendis vel pro corrigendis egerunt moribus, ne periret, imo depravandis et corrumpendis addiderunt moribus, ut periret. Nec se bonos fingant, quod velut offensi civium iniquitate discesserint. Prorsus ibi erant; produntur, convincuntur: nec subvenire praecipiendo, nec latere tacendo potuerunt. Omitto quod Marius a miserantibus Minturnensibus Maricae deae in luco ejus commendatus est, ut ei omnia prosperaret ; et ex summa desperatione reversus incolumis, in Urbem duxit crudelem crudelis exercitum: ubi quam cruenta, quam incivilis, hostilique immanior ejus victoria fuerit; eos qui scripserunt, legant qui volunt . Sed hoc, ut dixi, omitto: nec Maricae nescio cui tribuo Marii sanguineam felicitatem, sed occultae potius providentiae Dei ad istorum ora claudenda, eosque ab errore liberandos qui non studiis agunt, sed haec prudenter advertunt. Quia et si aliquid in his rebus daemones possunt, tantum possunt, quantum secreto Omnipotentis arbitrio permittuntur; ne magnipendamus terrenam felicitatem, quae, sicut Mario, malis etiam plerumque conceditur; nec eam rursus quasi malam arbitremur, cum ea multos etiam pios et bonos unius Dei veri cultores, invitis daemonibus praepolluisse videamus; nec eosdem immundissimos spiritus vel propter haec ipsa bona malave terrena propitiandos aut timendos existimemus.

For if they insisted that the people learn things rather contrary to the virtues of the mind and the probity of life, whose rewards are to be hoped for after death; if they profit nothing even in these transitory and temporal goods, either harming those whom they hate or profiting those whom they love: for what purpose are they worshipped? Why are they sought with such great zeal for worshipping? Why is there murmuring in laborious and sad times, as if they had departed because they were offended; and why is the Christian religion wounded with most unworthy insults on their account? But if they have power in these things, either of benefit or of harm; why were they present for the worst man Marius, and failed the best man Regulus? Are they understood from this to be most unjust and worst? But if for that reason they are thought to be more to be feared and worshipped, let them not be so thought: for Regulus is not found to have worshipped them less than Marius. Nor should the worst life seem to be chosen for the reason that the gods are thought to have favored Marius more than Regulus. For Metellus, the most praised of the Romans, who had five sons who were consuls, was also happy in temporal things; and Catiline, the worst man, oppressed by poverty and prostrated in the war of his own crime, was unhappy: and those who are good and worship God excel in most true and most certain happiness, which can be conferred by Him alone.

2. Therefore, when that republic was perishing by bad morals, their gods did nothing for directing or for correcting the morals, lest it should perish; rather they added to depraving and corrupting the morals, so that it might perish. Nor let them feign that they were good, because they departed as if offended by the iniquity of the citizens. They were clearly there; they are betrayed, they are convicted: they could neither help by commanding nor lie hid by being silent. I omit that Marius was commended to the goddess Marica in her grove by the pitying people of Minturnae, so that she might prosper all things for him; and having returned safe from the greatest desperation, he led a cruel army into the City: where how bloody, how uncivil, and more monstrous than a hostile victory his victory was, let those who wish read those who have written. But this, as I said, I omit: nor do I attribute the bloody happiness of Marius to I know not what Marica, but rather to the secret providence of God for closing the mouths of these men, and for delivering those from error who do not act from zeal, but prudently attend to these things. Because even if demons can do anything in these things, they can do only as much as they are permitted by the secret judgment of the Almighty; lest we should highly value earthly happiness, which, as to Marius, is also frequently granted to the bad; nor again should we judge it as if it were evil, since we see many even pious and good worshippers of the one true God have excelled in it, despite the demons; nor should we think those same most impure spirits are to be propitiated or feared on account of these same earthly goods or evils.

Quia sicut ipsi mali homines in terra, sic etiam illi non omnia quae volunt facere possunt, nisi quantum illius ordinatione sinuntur , cujus plene judicia nemo comprehendit, juste nemo reprehendit.

## Caput XXIV.

*De Syllanis actibus, quorum se daemones ostentaverunt adjutores.*

1. Sylla certe ipse, cujus tempora talia fuerunt, ut superiora, quorum vindex esse videbatur illorum comparatione quaererentur, cum primum ad Urbem contra Marium castra movisset, adeo laeta exta immolanti fuisse scribit Livius, ut custodiri se Postumius aruspex voluerit capitis supplicium subiturus, nisi ea quae in animo Sylla haberet, diis juvantibus implevisset. Ecce non discesserant adytis arisque relictis dii, quando de rerum eventu praedicebant, nihilque de ipsius Syllae correctione curabant. Promittebant praesagiendo felicitatem magnam, nec malam cupiditatem minando frangebant. Deinde cum esset in Asia bellum Mithridaticum gerens, per Lucium Titium ei mandatum est a Jove, quod esset Mithridatem superaturus: et factum est. Ac postea molienti redire in Urbem, et suas amicorumque injurias civili sanguine ulcisci, iterum mandatum est ab eodem Jove per militem quemdam legionis sextae, prius se de Mithridate praenuntiasse victoriam, et tunc promittere daturum se potestatem, qua recuperaret ab inimicis rempublicam non sine multo sanguine. Tunc percontatus Sylla, quae forma militi visa fuerit; cum ille indicasset, eam recordatus est quam prius ab illo audierat, qui de Mithridatica victoria ab eodem mandata pertulerat. Quid hic responderi potest, quare dii curaverint velut felicia ista nuntiare, et nullus eorum curaverit Syllam monendo corrigere, mala tanta facturum scelestis armis civilibus, qualia non foedarent, sed auferrent omnino rempublicam? Nempe intelliguntur daemones, sicut saepe dixi, notumque nobis est in Litteris sacris, resque ipsae satis indicant, negotium suum agere, ut pro diis habeantur et colantur, et ea illis exhibeantur, quibus ii qui exhibent sociati, unam pessimam causam cum eis habeant in judicio Dei.

Because just as the bad men themselves on earth, so also those spirits cannot do all things which they wish, except as much as they are permitted by the ordination of Him whose judgments no one fully comprehends, and no one justly reproves.

## Chapter XXIV.

*Of the acts of Sulla, in which the demons showed themselves to be helpers.*

1. Certainly Sulla himself, whose times were such that the former times, of which he seemed to be the avenger, were sought after in comparison with them, when he had first moved his camp against the City against Marius, Livy writes that the entrails were so joyful to him while sacrificing, that Postumius the haruspex wished himself to be guarded to undergo capital punishment, unless Sulla should fulfill those things which he had in his mind, the gods helping. Behold, the gods had not departed, leaving their shrines and altars, when they predicted the event of things, and cared nothing for the correction of Sulla himself. They promised great happiness by presaging, nor did they break his bad desire by threatening. Then when he was in Asia carrying on the Mithridatic war, it was commanded to him by Jupiter through Lucius Titius, that he would overcome Mithridates: and it was done. And afterwards when he was attempting to return to the City, and to avenge his own and his friends' injuries with civil blood, it was again commanded by the same Jupiter through a certain soldier of the sixth legion, that he had previously foretold the victory over Mithridates, and then promised that he would give the power by which he might recover the republic from his enemies, not without much blood. Then Sulla, having inquired what form had appeared to the soldier; when he had indicated it, he remembered that form which he had previously heard from him who had brought the commands from the same source concerning the Mithridatic victory. What can be answered here, why the gods cared to announce these things as if happy, and none of them cared to correct Sulla by warning, who was about to do such great evils with wicked civil arms, such as would not merely defile, but altogether take away the republic? Truly the demons are understood, as I have often said, and as is known to us in the Sacred Letters, and the things themselves sufficiently indicate, to do their own business, that they may be held and worshipped as gods, and that those things may be exhibited to them, by which those who exhibit them, being associated, may have one most evil cause with them in the judgment of God.

2. Deinde cum venisset Tarentum Sylla, atque ibi sacrificasset, vidit in capite vitulini jecoris similitudinem coronae aureae. Tunc Postumius aruspex ille respondit, praeclaram ei significare victoriam, jussitque ut extis illis solus vesceretur. Postea parvo intervallo servus cujusdam Lucii Pontii vaticinando clamavit: A Bellona nuntius venio; victoria tua est, Sylla. Deinde adjecit, arsurum esse Capitolium. Hoc cum dixisset, continuo egressus e castris, postera die concitatior reversus est, et Capitolium arsisse clamavit. Arserat autem revera Capitolium. Quod quidem daemoni et praevidere facile fuit, et celerrime nuntiare. Illud sane intende, quod ad causam maxime pertinet, sub qualibus diis esse cupiant qui blasphemant Salvatorem voluntates fidelium a dominatu daemonum liberantem. Clamavit homo vaticinando, Victoria tua est, Sylla; atque ut id divino spiritu clamare crederetur, nuntiavit etiam aliquid et prope futurum et mox factum, unde longe aberat per quem ille spiritus loquebatur: non tamen clamavit, Ab sceleribus parce, Sylla; quae illic victor tam horrenda commisit, cui corona aurea ipsius victoriae illustrissimum signum in vitulino jecore apparuit. Qualia signa si dii justi dare solerent, ac non daemones impii, profecto illis extis nefaria potius atque ipsi Syllae graviter noxia mala futura monstrarent. Neque enim ejus dignitati tantum profuit illa victoria, quantum nocuit cupiditati; qua factum est ut immoderatis inhians, et secundis rebus elatus ac praecipitatus, magis ipse periret in moribus, quam inimicos in corporibus perderet. Haec illi dii vere tristia vereque lugenda, non extis, non auguriis, non cujusquam somnio vel vaticinio praenuntiabant. Magis enim timebant ne corrigeretur, quam ne vinceretur. Imo satis agebant, ut victor civium gloriosus, victus atque captivus nefandis vitiis, et per haec ipsis etiam daemonibus multo obstrictius subderetur.

## Caput XXV.

*Quantum maligni spiritus ad flagitia incitent homines, cum in committendis sceleribus quasi divinam exempli sui interponunt auctoritatem.*

1. Illinc vero quis non intelligat, quis non videat, nisi qui tales deos imitari magis elegit, quam divina gratia ab eorum societate separari, quantum moliantur maligni isti spiritus exemplo suo velut divinam auctoritatem praebere sceleribus, quod etiam in quadam Campaniae lata planitie, ubi non multo post civiles acies nefario praelio conflixerunt, ipsi inter se prius pugnare visi sunt ? Namque ibi auditi sunt primum ingentes fragores: moxque multi se vidisse nuntiarunt per aliquot dies duas acies praeliari.

2. Then when Sulla had come to Tarentum, and had sacrificed there, he saw in the head of a calf's liver the likeness of a golden crown. Then Postumius that haruspex replied, that it signified a distinguished victory for him, and ordered that he alone should eat those entrails. After a short interval, a slave of a certain Lucius Pontius cried out in prophesying: I come as a messenger from Bellona; the victory is yours, Sulla. Then he added, that the Capitol would burn. When he had said this, immediately departing from the camp, on the following day he returned more excited, and cried out that the Capitol had burned. Now the Capitol had in truth burned. This indeed was easy for a demon both to foresee and to announce most quickly. Truly attend to that which most pertains to the cause, under what kind of gods those desire to be who blaspheme the Savior delivering the wills of the faithful from the dominion of demons. The man cried out in prophesying, The victory is yours, Sulla; and that he might be believed to cry it out by a divine spirit, he announced also something both near to happen and soon done, from where he was far away through whom that spirit spoke: yet he did not cry out, Spare from crimes, Sulla; which things the victor committed there so horrendously, to whom the golden crown, the most illustrious sign of his victory, appeared in the calf's liver. If just gods were accustomed to give such signs, and not impious demons, surely they would show in those entrails the nefarious and gravely harmful future evils to Sulla himself. For that victory did not profit his dignity as much as it harmed his desire; by which it happened that, gaping for immoderate things, and being elated and precipitated by prosperous things, he himself perished more in morals than he destroyed his enemies in bodies. These truly sad and truly to be lamented things those gods did not foretell, not by entrails, not by auguries, not by anyone's dream or prophecy. For they feared more lest he should be corrected, than lest he should be conquered. Nay, they were busy enough, that the glorious victor of citizens, being conquered and captive to unspeakable vices, might through these be much more strictly subjected to the demons themselves.

## Chapter XXV.

*How much the malignant spirits incite men to crimes, when in committing wickednesses they interpose as it were the divine authority of their own example.*

1. From that indeed, who does not understand, who does not see, except him who has chosen rather to imitate such gods than to be separated from their society by divine grace, how much those malignant spirits strive by their own example to afford as it were divine authority to crimes, because even in a certain broad plain of Campania, where not long after the civil lines conflicted in a nefarious battle, they themselves were first seen to fight among themselves? For there were first heard great crashes: and soon many reported that they had seen two lines of battle for several days.

Quae pugna ubi destitit, vestigia quoque velut hominum et equorum, quanta de illa conflictatione exprimi poterant, invenerunt. Si ergo veraciter inter se numina pugnaverunt, jam bella civilia excusantur humana ; consideretur tamen quae sit talium deorum vel malitia, vel miseria: si autem se pugnasse finxerunt, quid aliud egerunt, nisi ut sibi Romani bellando civiliter, tanquam deorum exemplo nullum nefas admittere viderentur? Jam enim coeperant bella civilia, et aliquot nefandorum praeliorum strages exsecranda praecesserat: jam multos moverat quod miles quidam, dum occiso spolia detraheret, fratrem nudato cadavere agnovit, ac detestatus bella civilia, se ipsum ibi perimens fraterno corpori adjunxit . Ut ergo tanti hujus mali minime taederet, sed armorum scelestorum magis magisque ardor increscerat, noxii daemones , quos illi deos putantes colendos et venerandos arbitrabantur, inter se pugnantes hominibus apparere voluerunt; ne imitari tales pugnas civica trepidaret affectio, sed potius humanum scelus divino excusaretur exemplo. Hac astutia maligni spiritus etiam ludos, unde multa jam dixi, scenicos sibi dicari sacrarique jusserunt: ubi deorum tanta flagitia theatricis canticis atque fabularum actionibus celebrata, et quisquis eos talia fecisse crederet, et quisquis non crederet, sed tamen illos libentissime sibi talia velle exhiberi cerneret, securus imitaretur. Ne quis itaque existimaret in deos convicia potius, quam eis dignum aliquid scriptitasse, ubicumque illos inter se pugnasse poetae commemorarunt; ipsi ad decipiendos homines poetarum carmina firmaverunt, pugnas videlicet suas non solum per scenicos in theatro, verum etiam per se ipsos in campo humanis oculis exhibentes.

2. Haec dicere compulsi sumus, quoniam pessimis moribus civium Romanam rempublicam jam antea perditam fuisse, nullamque remansisse ante adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, auctores eorum dicere et scribere minime dubitarunt. Quam perditionem diis suis non imputant, qui mala transitoria, quibus boni, seu vivant, seu moriantur, perire non possunt, Christo nostro imputant: cum Christus noster tanta frequentet pro moribus optimis praecepta contra perditos mores; dii vero ipsorum nullis talibus praeceptis egerint aliquid cum suo cultore populo, pro illa republica, ne periret; imo eosdem mores velut suis exemplis auctoritate noxia corrumpendo, egerunt potius ut periret.

When that fight ceased, they also found tracks as if of men and horses, as much as could be expressed from that conflict. If therefore the deities truly fought among themselves, human civil wars are now excused; yet let it be considered what may be either the malice or the misery of such gods: but if they feigned that they fought, what else did they do but that the Romans, by fighting civilly, might seem to admit no wickedness, following as it were the example of the gods? For already the civil wars had begun, and the execrable slaughter of several nefarious battles had preceded: already it had moved many that a certain soldier, while he was stripping the spoils from one slain, recognized his brother from the naked body, and having detested the civil wars, there killing himself, he joined himself to his brother's body. That therefore there might be the least weariness of this so great evil, but rather that the ardor of wicked arms might increase more and more, the noxious demons, whom they, thinking them to be gods, judged should be worshipped and venerated, wished to appear to men fighting among themselves; lest the civic affection should tremble to imitate such fights, but rather that human crime might be excused by the divine example. By this craftiness the malignant spirits also commanded the scenic games, of which I have already said many things, to be dedicated and consecrated to themselves: where such great crimes of the gods were celebrated by theatrical songs and the actions of fables, so that whoever believed they had done such things, and whoever did not believe, but yet saw that they most willingly wished such things to be exhibited for them, might securely imitate them. Lest anyone therefore should think that he had written insults to the gods rather than something worthy of them, wherever the poets recorded that they had fought among themselves; they themselves, for the sake of deceiving men, confirmed the songs of the poets, exhibiting their own fights to human eyes, not only through scenic actors in the theater, but even by themselves in the field.

2. We have been compelled to say these things, since their own authors did not at all hesitate to say and write that the Roman republic had already before been lost by the worst morals of the citizens, and that none remained before the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Which perdition they do not impute to their gods, who impute to our Christ the transitory evils, by which the good, whether they live or die, cannot perish: since our Christ frequents so many precepts for the best morals against lost morals; but their gods by no such precepts did anything with their worshipping people for that republic, lest it should perish; nay, by corrupting those same morals by the noxious authority as if of their own examples, they rather acted so that it might perish.

Quam non ideo tunc periisse quisquam, ut arbitror, jam dicere audebit, quia Discessere omnes adytis arisque relictis Di, velut amici virtutibus, cum vitiis hominum offenderentur; quia tot signis extorum, auguriorum, vaticiniorum quibus se tanquam praescios futurorum adjutoresque praeliorum jactare et commendare gestiebant, convincuntur fuisse praesentes: qui si vere abscessissent, mitius Romani in bella civilia suis cupiditatibus quam illorum instigationibus exarsissent.

## Caput XXVI.

*De secretis daemonum monitis, quae pertinebant ad bonos mores, cum palam in sacris eorum omnis nequitia disceretur.*

1. Quae cum ita sint, cum palam aperteque turpitudines crudelitatibus mixtae, opprobria numinum et crimina, sive prodita, sive conficta, ipsis exposcentibus, et nisi fieret irascentibus, etiam certis et statis solemnitatibus consecrata illis et dedicata clarueriint, atque ad omnium oculos, ut imitanda proponerentur, spectanda processerint: quid est, quod iidem ipsi daemones, qui se hujuscemodi voluptatibus immundos spiritus esse confitentur, qui suis flagitiis et facinoribus, sive indicatis, sive simulatis, eorumque sibi celebratione petita ab impudentibus, extorta a pudentibus, auctores se vitae scelestae immundaeque testantur; perhibentur tamen in adytis suis secretisque penetralibus dare quaedam bona praecepta de moribus, quibusdam velut electis sacratis suis? Quod si ita est, hoc ipso callidior advertenda est et convincenda malitia spirituum noxiorum. Tanta enim vis est probitatis et castitatis, ut omnis vel pene omnis ejus laude moveatur humana natura, nec usque adeo sit turpitudine vitiosa, ut totum amittat sensum honestatis. Proinde malignitas daemonum, nisi alicubi se, quemadmodum scriptum in nostris Litteris novimus, transfiguret in angelos lucis (II Cor. XI, 14), non implet negotium deceptionis. Foris itaque populis celeberrimo strepitu impietas impura circumsonat, et intus paucis castitas simulata vix sonat: praebentur propatula pudendis, et secreta laudandis: decus latet, et dedecus patet: quod malum geritur, omnes convocat spectatores; quod bonum dicitur, vix aliquos invenit auditores: tanquam honesta erubescenda sint, et inhonesta glorianda. Sed ubi hoc, nisi in daemonum templis? ubi, nisi in fallaciae diversoriis ? Illud enim fit, ut honestiores, qui pauci sunt, capiantur; hoc autem, ne plures, qui sunt turpissimi, corrigantur.

Which republic no one, as I think, will now dare to say perished then because all the gods departed, leaving their shrines and altars, as if being friends to virtues when they were offended by the vices of men; because they are convicted of having been present by so many signs of entrails, auguries, and prophecies, by which they gestured and desired to boast and commend themselves as foreknowers of future things and helpers of battles: who, if they had truly departed, the Romans would have burned more mildly in civil wars from their own lusts than from their instigations.

## Chapter XXVI.

*Of the secret warnings of the demons, which pertained to good morals, while openly in their sacred rites all wickedness was learned.*

1. Since these things are so, when openly and plainly turpitudes mixed with cruelties, the reproaches and crimes of the deities, whether betrayed or feigned, at their own demanding, and they being angry unless it were done, have shone forth as consecrated and dedicated to them even in certain and stated solemnities, and have proceeded to be seen by the eyes of all, so that they might be proposed for imitation: what is it, that these same demons, who confess themselves to be impure spirits by pleasures of this kind, who by their own flagitious and criminal acts, whether indicated or simulated, and by the celebration of them sought for themselves from the impudent and extorted from the modest, testify that they are authors of a wicked and impure life; are yet reported to give certain good precepts concerning morals in their shrines and secret inner chambers, to certain of their as it were elect consecrated ones? But if it be so, by this very thing their more craftily to be observed and convicted malice of noxious spirits is to be noted. For such is the force of probity and chastity, that almost all human nature is moved by its praise, nor is it so vitious by turpitude, that it loses all sense of honesty. Accordingly the malignancy of the demons, unless in some place it transforms itself, as we know it is written in our Letters, into angels of light, does not fulfill the business of deception. Therefore, outside for the peoples, impure impiety sounds around with a most celebrated noise, and inside for a few, simulated chastity scarcely sounds: shames are provided for the public, and praises for the secret: honor lies hid, and dishonor is open: that which is done evilly convokes all spectators; that which is said well scarcely finds any auditors: as if honest things were to be blushed at, and dishonest things to be gloried in. But where is this, except in the temples of demons? where, except in the inns of fallacy? For that is done, so that the more honest, who are few, may be captured; but this, lest the more numerous, who are most base, should be corrected.

2. Ubi et quando sacrati Coelestis audiebant castitatis praecepta, nescimus: ante ipsum tamen delubrum, ubi simulacrum illud locatum conspiciebamus, universi undique confluentes, et ubi quisque poterat stantes, ludos qui agebantur intentissimi spectabamus, intuentes alternante conspectu, hinc meretriciam pompam, illinc virginem deam; illam suppliciter adorari, ante illam turpia celebrari: non ibi pudibundos mimos, nullam verecundiorem scenicam vidimus; cuncta obscenitatis implebantur officia. Sciebatur virginali numini quid placeret, et exhibebatur quod de templo domum matrona doctior reportaret. Nonnullae pudentiores avertebant faciem ab impuris motibus scenicorum, et artem flagitii furtiva intentione discebant. Hominibus namque verecundabantur, ne auderent impudicos gestus ore libero cernere; sed multo minus audebant sacra ejus, quam venerabantur, casto corde damnare. Hoc tamen palam discendum praebebatur in templo, ad quod perpetrandum saltem secretum quaerebatur in domo: mirante nimium (si ullus ibi erat) pudore mortalium, quod humana flagitia non libere homines committerent, quae apud deos etiam religiose discerent, iratos habituri, nisi etiam exhibere curarent. Quis enim alius spiritus occulto instinctu nequissimas agitans mentes, et instat faciendis adulteriis, et pascitur factis, nisi qui etiam sacris talibus oblectatur, constituens in templis simulacra daemonum, amans in ludis simulacra vitiorum; susurrans in occulto verba justitiae ad decipiendos etiam paucos bonos, frequentans in aperto invitamenta nequitiae ad possidendos innumerabiles malos?

## Caput XXVII.

*Quanta eversione publicae disciplinae Romani diis suis placandis sacraverint obscena ludorum.*

Vir gravis et philosophaster Tullius aedilis futurus, clamabat in auribus civitatis, inter caetera sui magistratus officia sibi Floram matrem ludorum celebritate placandam : qui ludi tanto devotius, quanto turpius celebrari solent. Dicit alio loco jam consul in extremis periculis civitatis, et ludos per decem dies factos, neque rem ullam quae ad placandos deos pertineret, praetermissam : quasi non satius erat tales deos irritare temperantia, quam placare luxuria; et eos honestate etiam ad inimicitias provocare, quam tanta deformitate lenire.

2. Where and when the consecrated of Caelestis heard precepts of chastity, we do not know: yet before the shrine itself, where we used to behold that idol placed, all flowing together from everywhere, and standing where each one could, we most intently watched the games which were being acted, looking with alternating sight, here at the pomp of harlots, there at the virgin goddess; that she was suppliantly adored, and before her base things were celebrated: we saw there no modest mimes, no more bashful scenic actor; all the offices of obscenity were fulfilled. It was known what would please the virginal deity, and that was exhibited which the matron, more learned, might carry back home from the temple. Some more modest ones used to turn away their face from the impure motions of the scenic actors, and yet used to learn the art of wickedness with stealthy attention. For they were bashful before men, lest they should dare to behold impudent gestures with a free countenance; but they dared much less to condemn with a chaste heart the sacred rites of her whom they venerated. Yet this was provided to be learned openly in the temple, for the perpetrating of which at least a secret was sought in the house: the modesty of mortals (if any was there) wondering too much, that men should not freely commit human crimes, which they even religiously learned among the gods, whose anger they would have, unless they also took care to exhibit them. For what other spirit, agitating most wicked minds by secret instinct, both insists on adulteries to be committed, and feeds on them when done, except he who is also delighted by such sacred rites, placing the idols of demons in temples, loving the images of vices in games; whispering words of justice in secret to deceive even a few good ones, frequenting invitations to wickedness in open to possess innumerable bad ones?

## Chapter XXVII.

*With how great a subversion of public discipline the Romans consecrated the obscenities of games for the sake of appeasing their gods.*

A grave man and as it were a philosopher, Tullius, being about to be aedile, cried out in the ears of the city, that among the other offices of his magistracy, Mother Flora was to be appeased by him with a celebration of games: which games are accustomed to be celebrated the more devoutly as they are the more basely performed. He says in another place, when he was already consul in the extreme perils of the state, both that games were performed for ten days, and that nothing was omitted which pertained to the appeasing of the gods: as if it were not better to irritate such gods with temperance than to appease them with luxury; and to provoke them even to enmities with honesty than to soothe them with such great deformity.

Neque enim gravius fuerant quamlibet crudelissima immanitate nocituri homines, propter quos placabantur, quam nocebant ipsi, cum vitiositate foedissima placarentur: quandoquidem ut averteretur quod metuebatur ab hoste in corporibus, eo modo dii conciliabantur, quo virtus debellaretur in mentibus; qui non opponerentur defensores oppugnatoribus moenium, nisi prius fierent expugnatores morum bonorum. Hanc talium numinum placationem petulantissimam, impurissimam, impudentissimam, nequissimam, immundissimam, cujus actores laudanda Romanae virtutis indoles honore privavit, tribu movit, agnovit turpes, fecit infames; hanc, inquam, pudendam, veraeque religioni aversandam et detestandam talium numinum placationem, has fabulas in deos illecebrosas atque criminosas, haec ignominiosa deorum facta vel scelerate tupiterque commissa , vel sceleratius turpiusque conficta, oculis et auribus publicis civitas tota discebat: haec commissa numinibus placere cernebat; et ideo non solum illis exhibenda, sed sibi quoque imitanda credebat: non illud nescio quid velut bonum et honestum, quod tam paucis et tam occulte dicebatur (si tamen dicebatur), ut magis ne innotesceret, quam ne non fieret, timeretur.

## Caput XXVIII.

*De Christianae religionis salubritate.*

Ab istarum immundissimarum potestatum tartareo jugo et societate poenali erui per Christi nomen homines, et in lucem saluberrimae pietatis ab illa perniciosissimae impietatis nocte transferri, queruntur et murmurant iniqui et ingrati, et illo nefario spiritu altius obstrictiusque possessi , quia populi confluunt ad ecclesias casta celebritate, honesta utriusque sexus discretione: ubi audiant quam bene hic ad tempus vivere debeant, ut post hanc vitam beate semperque vivere mereantur; ubi sancta Scriptura justitiaeque doctrina de superiore loco in conspectu omnium personante, et qui faciunt, audiant ad praemium; et qui non faciunt, audiant ad judicium. Quo etsi veniunt quidam talium praeceptorum irrisores, omnis eorum petulantia aut repentina immutatione deponitur, aut timore vel pudore comprimitur. Nihil enim eis turpe ac flagitiosum spectandum imitandumque proponitur, ubi veri Dei aut praecepta insinuantur, aut miracula narrantur, aut dona laudantur, aut beneficia postulantur.

## Caput XXIX.

*De abjiciendo cultu deorum cohortatio ad Romanos.*

For men, on account of whom they were being appeased, were not about to harm with however most cruel monstrosity more heavily than they themselves were harming, when they were being appeased with most foul vitiosity: since in that way the gods were being reconciled, that what was feared from the enemy in bodies might be averted, by which way virtue might be vanquished in minds; who would not be opposed as defenders to the attackers of the walls, unless they first became conquerors of good morals. This most petulant, most impure, most impudent, most wicked, and most foul appeasing of such deities, whose actors the laudable character of Roman virtue deprived of honor, moved from the tribe, acknowledged as base, and made infamous; this, I say, shameful appeasing of such deities, to be turned away from and detested by true religion, these alluring and criminal fables against the gods, these ignominious deeds of the gods, either wickedly and basely committed, or more wickedly and basely feigned, the whole city learned with public eyes and ears: it saw that these things, being committed, pleased the deities; and therefore believed that they were not only to be exhibited to them, but also to be imitated by itself: not that I know not what as if good and honest thing, which was said to so few and so secretly, that it was feared more lest it should become known, than lest it should not be done.

## Chapter XXVIII.

*Of the healthfulness of the Christian religion.*

That men are rescued through the name of Christ from the tartarean yoke and penal society of those most impure powers, and are transferred into the light of most healthful piety from that night of most pernicious impiety, the iniquitous and ungrateful complain and murmur, being possessed more deeply and more strictly by that nefarious spirit, because the peoples flow together to the churches with chaste celebration, and with a decent separation of each sex: where they may hear how well they ought to live here for a time, so that after this life they may deserve to live blessedly and forever; where the Holy Scripture and the doctrine of justice sound forth from a higher place in the sight of all, and those who do these things hear them for a reward; and those who do them not hear them for judgment. Whither even if some mockers of such precepts come, all their petulance is either laid aside by a sudden change, or is compressed by fear or shame. For nothing base and flagitious is proposed to them to be watched and imitated, where either the precepts of the true God are insinuated, or miracles are narrated, or gifts are praised, or benefits are petitioned.

## Chapter XXIX.

*An exhortation to the Romans to cast off the worship of the gods.*

1. Haec potius concupisce, o indoles Romana laudabilis, o progenies Regulorum, Scaevolarum, Scipionum, Fabriciorum: haec potius concupisce, haec ab illa turpissima vanitate et fallacissima daemonum malignitate discerne. Si quid in te laudabile naturaliter eminet, nonnisi vera pietate purgatur atque perficitur; impietate autem disperditur et punitur. Nunc jam elige quid sequaris, ut non in te, sed in Deo vero sine ullo errore lauderis. Tunc enim tibi gloria popularis adfuit, sed occulto judicio divinae providentiae vera religio, quam eligeres, defuit. Expergiscere, dies est; sicut experrecta es in quibusdam, de quorum virtute perfecta, et pro fide vera etiam passionibus gloriamur, qui usquequaque adversus potestates inimicissimas confligentes, easque fortiter moriendo vincentes, sanguine nobis hanc patriam peperere suo. Ad quam patriam te invitamus, et exhortamur ut ejus adjiciaris numero civium, cujus quodammodo asylum est vera remissio peccatorum. Non audias degeneres tuos Christo Christianisve detrahentes, et accusantes velut tempora mala, cum quaerant tempora quibus non sit quieta vita, sed potius secura nequitia. Haec tibi nunquam nec pro terrena patria placuerunt. Nunc jam coelestem arripe, pro qua minimum laborabis, et in ea veraciter semperque regnabis. Illic enim tibi non Vestalis focus , non lapis Capitolinus , sed Deus unus et verus Nec metas rerum, nec tempora ponet, Imperium sine fine dabit.

2. Noli deos falsos fallacesque requirere; abjice potius atque contemne, in veram emicans libertatem. Non sunt dii, maligni sunt spiritus, quibus aeterna tua felicitas poena est. Non tam Juno Trojanis, a quibus carnalem originem ducis, arces videtur invidisse Romanas, quam isti daemones, quos adhuc deos putas, omni generi hominum sedes invident sempiternas. Et tu ipsa non parva ex parte de talibus judicasti, quando ludis eos placasti, et per quos homines eosdem ludos fecisti, infames esse voluisti. Patere asseri libertatem tuam adversus immundos spiritus, qui tuis cervicibus imposuerant sacrandam sibi et celebrandam ignominiam suam. Actores criminum divinorum removisti ab honoribus tuis: supplica Deo vero, ut a te removeat illos deos, qui delectantur criminibus suis, seu veris, quod ignominiosissimum est; seu falsis, quod malitiosissimum est. Bene, quod tua sponte histrionibus et scenicis societatem civitatis patere noluisti; evigila plenius: nullo modo his artibus placatur divina majestas, quibus humana dignitas inquinatur.

1. Desire these things rather, O laudable Roman character, O offspring of the Reguli, Scaevolae, Scipiones, and Fabricii: desire these things rather, discern these from that most base vanity and most fallacious malignancy of demons. If anything laudable naturally shines in you, it is not purged and perfected except by true piety; but by impiety it is destroyed and punished. Now at length choose what you may follow, so that you may be praised not in yourself, but in the true God without any error. For then popular glory was present to you, but by the secret judgment of divine providence, true religion, which you might choose, was lacking. Awake, it is day; as you have awakened in certain ones, in whose perfect virtue, and even for the true faith in their passions, we glory; who, everywhere conflicting against the most hostile powers, and bravely overcoming them by dying, have brought forth this country for us by their own blood. To which country we invite you, and exhort you that you be added to the number of its citizens, of which the true remission of sins is as it were the asylum. Do not hear your degenerate ones detracting from Christ or Christians, and accusing as it were bad times, when they seek times in which life may not be quiet, but rather wickedness secure. These things never pleased you even for an earthly country. Now at length seize the heavenly one, for which you will labor very little, and in it you will reign truly and forever. For there not the Vestal hearth, not the Capitoline stone, will be for you, but the one and true God, who 'shall set neither bounds of things nor times, He shall give empire without end.'

2. Do not seek false and fallacious gods; rather cast them off and despise them, springing forth into true liberty. They are not gods, they are malignant spirits, to whom your eternal happiness is a punishment. Juno did not seem so much to have envied the Roman citadels to the Trojans, from whom you derive your carnal origin, as these demons, whom you still think to be gods, envy sempiternal seats to every kind of men. And you yourself have judged in no small part concerning such, when you appeased them with games, and wished those men through whom you performed those same games to be infamous. Allow your liberty to be asserted against the impure spirits, who had imposed on your necks their own ignominy to be consecrated and celebrated by you. You removed the actors of divine crimes from your honors: supplicate the true God, that He may remove from you those gods who are delighted by their own crimes, whether true, which is most ignominious; or false, which is most malicious. It is well that by your own will you would not have the society of the city open to actors and scenic performers; wake up more fully: the divine majesty is in no way appeased by those arts by which human dignity is defiled.

Quo igitur pacto deos, qui talibus delectantur obsequiis, haberi putas in numero sanctarum coelestium potestatum; cum homines per quos eadem aguntur obsequia, non putasti habendos in numero qualiumcumque civium Romanorum? Incomparabiliter superna est civitas clarior, ubi victoria, veritas; ubi dignitas, sanctitas; ubi pax, felicitas; ubi vita, aeternitas. Multo minus habet in sua societate tales deos, si tu in tua tales homines habere erubuisti. Proinde si ad beatam pervenire desideras civitatem, devita daemonum societatem. Indigne ab honestis coluntur, qui per turpes placantur. Sic isti a tua pietate removeantur purgatione christiana, quomodo illi a tua dignitate remoti sunt notatione censoria. De bonis autem carnalibus, quibus solis mali perfrui volunt, et de malis carnalibus, quae sola perpeti nolunt, quod neque in his habeant, quam putantur habere isti daemones, potestatem; quanquam si haberent, deberemus potius etiam ista contemnere, quam propter ista illos colere, et eos colendo ad illa, quae nobis invident, pervenire non posse: tamen nec in istis eos hoc valere, quod hi putant, qui propter haec eos coli oportere contendunt, deinceps videbimus, ut hic sit hujus voluminis modus.

By what pact, therefore, do you think the gods, who are delighted by such services, are to be held in the number of holy celestial powers; when you thought the men through whom those same services are performed were not to be held in the number of any kind of Roman citizens? Incomparably more illustrious is the Supernal City, where victory is truth; where dignity is sanctity; where peace is happiness; where life is eternity. Much less has it in its society such gods, if you blushed to have such men in yours. Accordingly, if you desire to arrive at the blessed city, avoid the society of demons. They are unworthily worshipped by the honest who are appeased through the base. So let these be removed from your piety by Christian purgation, as those were removed from your dignity by censorial notation. But concerning carnal goods, which alone the bad wish to enjoy, and concerning carnal evils, which alone they are unwilling to suffer, that these demons have power neither in these, as they are thought to have; although if they had it, we ought rather even to despise these things than to worship them on account of them, and by worshipping them to be unable to arrive at those things which they envy us: yet that they do not prevail even in these as those think who contend that they ought to be worshipped on account of these things, we shall see hereafter, so that this may be the limit of this volume.

# LIBER TERTIUS.

Ut in superiori libro de malis morum et animi, sic in praesenti de corporis externarumque rerum incommodis ostendit Augustinus, Romanos a condita Urbe his assidue vexatos fuisse, atque ad avertenda id genus mala deos falsos, cum ante Christi adventum libere colerentur, nihil praestitisse.

## Caput Primum.

*De adversitatibus quas soli mali metuunt, et quas semper passus est mundus, cum deos coleret.*

Jam satis dictum arbitror de morum malis et animorum, quae praecipue cavenda sunt, nihil deos falsos populo cultori suo, quominus eorum malorum aggere premeretur, subvenire curasse; sed potius, ut maxime premeretur, egisse. Nunc de illis malis video dicendum, quae sola isti perpeti nolunt, qualia sunt fames, morbus, bellum, exspoliatio, captivitas, trucidatio, et si qua similia jam in primo libro commemoravimus. Haec enim sola mali deputant mala, quae non faciunt malos, nec erubescunt inter bona quae laudant, ipsi mali esse qui laudant; magisque stomachantur, si villam malam habeant, quam si vitam: quasi hoc sit hominis maximum bonum, habere bona omnia, praeter se ipsum. Sed neque talia mala, quae isti sola formidant, dii eorum, quando ab eis libere colebantur, ne illis acciderent, obstiterunt. Cum enim variis per diversa loca temporibus ante adventum Redemptoris nostri innumerabilibus nonnullisque etiam incredibilibus cladibus genus contereretur humanum; quos alios quam istos deos mundus colebat, excepto uno populo Hebraeo, et quibusdam extra ipsum populum, ubicumque gratia divina digni occultissimo atque justissimo Dei judicio fuerunt ? Verum ne nimium longum faciam, tacebo aliarum usquequaque gentium mala gravissima: quod ad Romam pertinet Romanumque imperium, tantum loquar; id est, ad ipsam proprie civitatem, et quaecumque illi terrarum vel societate conjunctae, vel conditione subjectae sunt, quae sint perpessae ante adventum Christi, cum jam ad ejus quasi corpus reipublicae pertinerent.

# BOOK THIRD.

As in the previous book he showed concerning the evils of morals and the soul, so in the present one Augustine shows concerning the inconveniences of the body and of external things, that the Romans from the founding of the City were continually vexed by these, and that the false gods, although they were freely worshipped before the coming of Christ, provided nothing to avert that kind of evils.

## Chapter I.

*Concerning the adversities which only the bad fear, and which the world has always suffered when it worshipped the gods.*

I think enough has already been said concerning the evils of morals and of souls, which are especially to be avoided, that the false gods did not care to help their worshipping people, so that they might not be weighed down by the heap of those evils; but rather acted so that they might be especially weighed down. Now I see that I must speak of those evils which alone these are unwilling to suffer, such as famine, disease, war, plundering, captivity, slaughter, and any similar ones we have already mentioned in the first book. For only the bad consider these to be evils, which do not make men bad, nor do they blush, among the good things they praise, to be bad themselves who praise them; and they are more annoyed if they have a bad villa than a bad life: as if this were man's greatest good, to have all things good, except himself. But neither did their gods, when they were freely worshipped by them, prevent such evils, which these alone dread, from happening to them. For when at various times in different places before the coming of our Redeemer the human race was worn down by innumerable and even some incredible calamities; what other gods than these did the world worship, except for the one Hebrew people, and some outside that people, wherever they were worthy of divine grace by the most hidden and most just judgment of God? But lest I make it too long, I will pass over the most grave evils of other nations everywhere: I will speak only of what pertains to Rome and the Roman empire; that is, to the city itself properly, and whatever lands were joined to it by alliance or subject by condition, what they suffered before the coming of Christ, when they already belonged as it were to its body of the republic.

## Caput II.

*An dii, qui et a Romanis et a Graecis similiter colebantur, causas habuerint quibus Ilium paterentur exscindi.*

Primum ipsa Troja vel Ilium, unde origo est populi Romani (neque enim praetereundum aut dissimulandum est, quod et in primo libro attigi [Cap. 4], eosdem habens deos et colens, cur a Graecis victum, captum atque deletum est? Priamo, inquiunt, sunt reddita Laomedontea paterna perjuria . Ergo verum est, quod Apollo atque Neptunus eidem Laomedonti mercenariis operibus servierunt; illis quippe promisisse mercedem falsumque jurasse perhibetur. Miror, Apollinem, nominatum divinatorem, in tanto opificio laborasse, nescientem quod Laomedon fuerat promissa negaturus. Quanquam nec ipsum Neptunum patruum ejus, fratrem Jovis, regem maris, decuit ignarum esse futurorum. Nam hunc Homerus de stirpe Aeneae, a cujus posteris condita Roma est, cum ante illam urbem conditam idem poeta fuisse dicatur , inducit magnum aliquid divinantem (Iliad. Υ, vers. 302-305): quem etiam nube rapuit, ut dicit, ne ab Achille occideretur, cuperet cum vertere ab imo (Quod apud Virgilium confitetur.) Structa suis manibus perjurae moenia Trojae. (Aeneid. lib. 5, vers. 810, 811.) Nescientes igitur tanti dii, Neptunus et Apollo, Laomedontem sibi negaturum esse mercedem, structores moenium Trojanorum gratis, et ingratis fuerunt. Videant ne gravius sit tales deos credere, quam diis talibus pejerare. Hoc enim nec ipse Homerus facile credidit, qui Neptunum quidem contra Trojanos, Apollinem autem pro Trojanis pugnantem facit, cum illo perjurio ambos fabula narret offensos. Si igitur fabulis credunt, erubescant talia colere numina; si fabulis non credunt, non obtendant Trojana perjuria, aut mirentur deos perjuria punisse Trojana, amasse Romana. Unde enim conjuratio Catilinae in tanta tamque corrupta civitate habuit etiam eorum grandem copiam, quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat ? Quid enim aliud toties senatores corrupti in judiciis, toties populus in suffragiis vel in quibusque causis, quae apud eum concionibus agebantur, nisi etiam pejerando peccabant ? Namque corruptissimis moribus ad hoc mos jurandi servabatur antiquus, non ut ab sceleribus metu religionis prohiberentur, sed ut perjuria quoque sceleribus caeteris adderentur.

## Caput III.

*Non potuisse offendi deos Paridis adulteterio, quod inter ipsos traditur frequentatum.*

## Chapter II.

*Whether the gods, who were worshipped similarly both by Romans and by Greeks, had causes for which they suffered Troy to be destroyed.*

First, Troy itself or Ilium, from which is the origin of the Roman people (for it must not be passed over or concealed, what I also touched upon in the first book [Chap. 4]), having and worshipping the same gods, why was it conquered, captured, and destroyed by the Greeks? To Priam, they say, the Laomedontean paternal perjuries were repaid. Therefore it is true that Apollo and Neptune served the same Laomedon in mercenary works; for he is said to have promised them a reward and sworn falsely. I wonder that Apollo, named a diviner, worked in such a great task, not knowing that Laomedon was going to deny the promised things. Although it did not become even Neptune himself, his uncle, the brother of Jove, the king of the sea, to be ignorant of future things. For Homer introduces him divining something great concerning the lineage of Aeneas, by whose descendants Rome was founded, since the same poet is said to have lived before that city was founded: whom he even snatched away in a cloud, as he says, lest he be killed by Achilles, when he desired to overturn from the bottom (which he confesses in Virgil) the walls of perjured Troy built by his own hands. (Aeneid. lib. 5, vers. 810, 811.) Therefore so great gods, Neptune and Apollo, not knowing that Laomedon would deny them the reward, were builders of the Trojan walls for nothing, and to an ungrateful man. Let them see if it is not more grave to believe such gods than to swear falsely by such gods. For not even Homer himself easily believed this, who makes Neptune fight against the Trojans, but Apollo for the Trojans, although the fable tells that both were offended by that perjury. If therefore they believe the fables, let them blush to worship such deities; if they do not believe the fables, let them not put forward Trojan perjuries, or wonder that the gods punished Trojan perjuries but loved Roman ones. For whence did the conspiracy of Catiline in so great and so corrupt a city have even a large abundance of those whom hand and tongue nourished by perjury or civil blood? For what else did the senators so often corrupted in judgments, the people so often in votes or in whatever causes which were handled before them in assemblies, do but sin even by swearing falsely? For with most corrupt morals the ancient custom of swearing was kept for this, not that they might be prohibited from crimes by fear of religion, but that perjuries also might be added to the rest of the crimes.

## Chapter III.

*That the gods could not have been offended by the adultery of Paris, which is related to have been frequent among themselves.*

Nulla itaque causa est, quare dii, quibus, ut dicunt, steterat illud imperium (Virgil. Aeneid. lib. 2, vers. 352), cum a Graecis praevalentibus probentur victi, Trojanis pejerantibus fingantur irati. Nec adulterio paridis, ut rursus a quibusdam defenduntur, ut Trojam desererent, succensuerunt. Auctores enim doctoresque peccatorum esse assolent, non ultores. Urbem Romam, inquit Sallustius, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur (De Catilinae Conjuratione, cap. 6). Si ergo adulterium Paridis vindicandum numina censuerunt, aut magis in Romanis , aut certe etiam in Romanis puniendum fuit; quia Aeneae mater hoc fecit. Sed quomodo in illo illud flagitium oderant, qui in sua socia Venere non oderant (ut alia omittam) quod cum Anchise commiserat, ex quo Aenean pepererat? An quia illud factum est indignante Menelao, illud autem concedente Vulcano ? Dii enim, credo, non zelant conjuges suas, usque adeo ut eas etiam cum hominibus dignentur habere communes. Irridere fabulas fortassis existimor, nec graviter agere tanti ponderis causam. Non ergo credamus, si placet, Aenean esse Veneris filium: ecce concedo, si nec Romulum Martis . Si autem illud, cur non et illud? An deos fas est hominibus feminis, mares autem homines deabus misceri nefas? Dura, vel potius non credenda conditio, quod ex jure Veneris in concubitu Marti licuit, hoc in jure suo ipsi Veneri non licere. At utrumque firmatum est auctoritate Romana. Neque enim minus credidit recentior Caesar aviam Venerem , quam patrem antiquior Romulus Martem.

## Caput IV.

*De sententia Varronis, qua utile esse dixit ut se homines diis genitos mentiantur.*

Dixerit aliquis: Itane tu ista credis? Ego vero ista non credo. Nam et vir doctissimus eorum Varro falsa haec esse, quamvis non audacter, neque fidenter, pene tamen fatetur. Sed utile esse civitatibus dicit, ut se viri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, diis genitos esse credant: ut eo modo animus humanus velut divinae stirpis fiduciam gerens, res magnas aggrediendas praesumat audacius, agat vehementius, et ob hoc impleat ipsa securitate felicius. Quae Varronis sententia expressa, ut potui, meis verbis, cernis quam latum locum aperiat falsitati; ut ibi intelligamus plura jam sacra et quasi religiosa potuisse confingi, ubi putata sunt civibus etiam de ipsis diis prodesse mendacia.

There is therefore no cause why the gods, by whom, as they say, that empire had stood (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 2, v. 352), when they are proved to have been conquered by the prevailing Greeks, should be imagined to be angry with the perjuring Trojans. Nor were they enraged by the adultery of Paris, as they are defended again by some, so as to desert Troy. For they are accustomed to be the authors and teachers of sins, not the avengers. The city of Rome, says Sallust, as I have received, the Trojans founded and held at the beginning, who, as fugitives under the leadership of Aeneas, were wandering with uncertain abodes (On the Conspiracy of Catiline, chap. 6). If therefore the deities judged that the adultery of Paris was to be avenged, it ought to have been punished either more in the Romans, or certainly even in the Romans; because the mother of Aeneas did this. But how did they hate that flagitious act in him, who did not hate in their associate Venus (to omit other things) what she had committed with Anchises, from whom she had brought forth Aeneas? Or was it because that was done with Menelaus being indignant, but this with Vulcan conceding? For the gods, I believe, do not have such jealousy for their spouses, that they even deign to have them common with men. I am perhaps thought to laugh at the fables, and not to handle a cause of such weight gravely. Therefore let us not believe, if it pleases, that Aeneas is the son of Venus: behold I concede it, if neither that Romulus is the son of Mars. But if that, why not also this? Or is it lawful for gods to be mixed with human females, but for male humans to be mixed with goddesses unlawful? A hard, or rather not to be believed condition, that what was allowed to Mars in cohabitation from the right of Venus, this is not allowed to Venus herself in her own right. But both have been confirmed by Roman authority. For the more recent Caesar did not less believe his grandmother to be Venus, than the more ancient Romulus believed his father to be Mars.

## Chapter IV.

*Concerning the opinion of Varro, in which he said that it is useful for men to lie about being born of the gods.*

Someone may say: Do you really believe those things? I indeed do not believe them. For even the most learned of them, Varro, almost confesses these to be false, although not boldly nor confidently. But he says it is useful for states that brave men, even if it be false, should believe themselves born of gods: so that in that way the human mind, bearing as it were the confidence of a divine stock, may presume more boldly to undertake great things, act more vehemently, and on this account fulfill them more happily by that very security. Which opinion of Varro, expressed in my own words as I could, you see how wide a place it opens to falsehood; that there we may understand that many more sacred and as it were religious things could have been devised, where lies even concerning the gods themselves were thought to be profitable to the citizens.

## Caput V.

*Non probari quod dii adulterium Paridis punierint, quod in Romuli matre non ulti sunt.*

Sed utrum potuerit Venus ex concubitu Anchisae Aenean parere, vel Mars ex concubitu filiae Numitoris Romulum gignere, in medio relinquamus. Nam pene talis quaestio etiam de Scripturis nostris oboritur, qua quaeritur utrum praevaricatores angeli cum filiabus hominum concubuerint; unde natis gigantibus, id est nimium grandibus ac fortibus viris, tunc terra completa est (Gen. VI, 4). Proinde ad utrumque interim modo nostra disputatio referatur. Si enim vera sunt, quae apud illos de matre Aeneae et de patre Romuli lectitantur; quomodo possunt diis adulteria displicere hominum, quae in se ipsis concorditer ferunt? Si autem falsa sunt; nec sic quidem possunt irasci veris adulteriis humanis, qui etiam falsis delectantur suis. Huc accedit, quoniam si illud de Marte non creditur, ut hoc quoque de Venere non credatur, nullo divini concubitus obtentu matris Romuli causa defenditur. Fuit autem sacerdos Sylvia vestalis, et ideo dii magis in Romanos sacrilegum illud flagitium, quam in Trojanos Paridis adulterium, vindicare debuerunt. Nam et ipsi Romani antiqui in stupro detectas Vestae sacerdotes, vivas etiam defodiebant adulteras autem feminas, quamvis aliqua damnatione, nulla tamen morte plectebant : usque adeo gravius quae putabant adyta divina, quam humana cubilia vindicabant.

## Caput VI.

*De parricidio Romuli, quod dii non vindicarunt.*

Aliud adjicio, quia si eo usque peccata hominum illis numinibus displicerent, ut offensi Paridis facto desertam Trojam ferro ignibusque donarent; magis eos contra Romanos moveret Romuli frater occisus, quam contra Trojanos Graecus maritus illusus; magis irritaret parricidium nascentis, quam regnantis adulterium civitatis. Nec ad causam, quam nunc agimus, interest, utrum hoc fieri Romulus jusserit, aut Romulus fecerit, quod multi impudentia negant, multi pudore dubitant, multi dolore dissimulant.

## Chapter V.

*That it is not proved that the gods punished the adultery of Paris, which they did not avenge in the mother of Romulus.*

But whether Venus could have brought forth Aeneas from cohabitation with Anchises, or Mars could have begotten Romulus from cohabitation with the daughter of Numitor, let us leave in the middle. For almost such a question arises also from our Scriptures, in which it is asked whether the prevaricating angels cohabited with the daughters of men; whence giants being born, that is, exceedingly large and strong men, the earth was then filled (Gen. VI, 4). Therefore let our disputation be referred for now to both. For if those things are true which are commonly read among them concerning the mother of Aeneas and the father of Romulus, how can adulteries of men displease the gods, which they harmoniously bear in themselves? But if they are false, not even so can they be angry at true human adulteries, who are delighted even by their own false ones. To this is added, that if that concerning Mars is not believed, so that this also concerning Venus may not be believed, the cause of the mother of Romulus is defended by no pretext of divine cohabitation. For Sylvia was a Vestal priestess, and therefore the gods ought rather to have avenged that sacrilegious flagitious act in the Romans than the adultery of Paris in the Trojans. For even the ancient Romans themselves used to bury alive the priestesses of Vesta detected in unchastity, but adulterous women, although with some condemnation, they did not punish with any death: to such a degree more gravely did they avenge what they thought were divine shrines than human beds.

## Chapter VI.

*Concerning the parricide of Romulus, which the gods did not avenge.*

I add another thing, because if the sins of men displeased those deities to such a degree, that being offended by the act of Paris they gave over deserted Troy to the sword and fires; the slain brother of Romulus ought to move them more against the Romans than the deluded Greek husband against the Trojans; the parricide of the rising city should irritate them more than the adultery of the reigning one. Nor does it matter for the cause which we are now handling, whether Romulus ordered this to be done, or Romulus did it, which many deny by impudence, many doubt by shame, many conceal by grief.

Nec nos itaque in ea re diligentius requirenda per multorum scriptorum perpensa testimonia demoremur: Romuli fratrem palam constat occisum, non ab hostibus, non ab alienis. Si aut perpetravit aut imperavit hoc Romulus; magis ipse fuit Romanorum, quam Paris Trojanorum caput : cur igitur Trojanis iram deorum provocavit ille alienae conjugis raptor, et eorumdem deorum tutelam Romanis invitavit iste sui fratris exstinctor ? Si autem illud scelus a facto imperioque Romuli alienum est; quoniam debuit utique vindicari, tota hoc illa civitas fecit, quod tota contempsit ; et non jam fratrem, sed patrem, quod est pejus, occidit. Uterque enim fuit conditor, ubi alter scelere ablatus non permissus est esse regnator. Non est, ut arbitror, quod dicatur quid mali Troja meruerit, ut eam dii desererent, quo posset exstingui; et quid boni Roma, ut eam dii inhabitarent, quo posset augeri: nisi quod victi inde fugerunt, et se ad istos, quos pariter deciperent, contulerunt. Imo vero et illic manserunt, ad eos more suo decipiendos, qui rursus easdem terras habitarent; et hic easdem artes fallaciae suae magis etiam exercendo, majoribus honoribus gloriati sunt.

## Caput VII.

*De eversione Ilii, quod dux Marii Fimbria excidit.*

Certe enim civilibus jam bellis scatentibus, quid miserum commiserat Ilium, ut a Fimbria, Marianarum partium homine pessimo, everteretur, multo ferocius atque crudelius, quam olim a Graecis ? Nam tunc et multi inde fugerunt, et multi captivati saltem in servitute vixerunt. Porro autem Fimbria prius edictum proposuit, ne cui parceretur; atque urbem totam cunctosque in ea homines incendio concremavit. Hoc meruit Ilium, non a Graecis, quos sua irritaverat iniquitate, sed a Romanis, quos sua calamitate propagaverat; diis illis communibus ad haec repellenda nihil juvantibus, seu, quod verum est, nihil valentibus. Numquid et tunc Abscessere omnes adytis arisque relictis dii, quibus illud oppidum steterat, post antiquos Graecorum ignes ruinasques reparatum? Si autem abscesserant, causam requiro; et oppidanorum quidem quanto invenio meliorem, tanto deteriorem deorum.

Therefore let us not delay in requiring that matter more diligently through the weighed testimonies of many writers: it is clearly established that the brother of Romulus was killed, not by enemies, not by strangers. If Romulus either perpetrated or commanded this, he himself was more the head of the Romans than Paris was of the Trojans: why then did that ravisher of another's spouse provoke the anger of the gods for the Trojans, and this extinguisher of his own brother invite the protection of the same gods for the Romans? But if that crime is foreign to the act and command of Romulus; since it ought certainly to have been avenged, the whole of that city did this, because the whole despised it; and it killed not now a brother, but a father, which is worse. For both were founders, where the one, taken away by crime, was not permitted to be a ruler. There is not, as I think, what may be said, what evil Troy deserved, that the gods should desert it, so that it might be extinguished; and what good Rome deserved, that the gods should inhabit it, so that it might be increased: except that being conquered they fled from there, and betook themselves to these, whom they might equally deceive. Nay indeed, they both remained there, to deceive after their custom those who should again inhabit the same lands; and here, by exercising the same arts of their fallacy even more, they gloried in greater honors.

## Chapter VII.

*Concerning the destruction of Ilium, which the leader of Marius, Fimbria, destroyed.*

For certainly, with civil wars already gushing out, what had wretched Ilium committed, that it should be overturned by Fimbria, the worst man of the Marian party, much more fiercely and cruelly than formerly by the Greeks? For then both many fled from there, and many captured lived at least in servitude. But furthermore, Fimbria first proposed an edict, that no one should be spared; and he burned with fire the whole city and all the men in it. This Ilium deserved, not from the Greeks, whom it had irritated by its iniquity, but from the Romans, whom it had propagated by its calamity; those common gods helping nothing to repel these things, or, what is true, being able to do nothing. Did then also all the gods, by whom that town had stood, depart, leaving the shrines and altars, after it was repaired after the ancient fires and ruins of the Greeks? But if they had departed, I require the cause; and as much as I find the cause of the townsmen better, so much I find that of the gods worse.

Illi enim contra Fimbriam portas clauserant, ut Syllae servarent integram civitatem: hinc eos iratus incendit, vel potius penitus exstinxit. Adhuc autem meliorum partium civilium Sylla dux fuit , adhuc armis rempublicam recuperare moliebatur: horum bonorum initiorum nondum malos eventus habuit. Quid ergo melius cives illius urbis facere potuerunt? quid honestius? quid fidelius? quid Romana parentela dignius, quam meliori causae Romanorum civitatem servare, et contra parricidam Romanae reipublicae portas claudere? At hoc eis in quantum exitium verterit, attendant defensores deorum. Deseruerint dii adulteros, Iliumque flammis Graecorum reliquerint, ut ex ejus cineribus Roma castior nasceretur: cur et postea deseruerunt eamdem civitatem Romanis cognatam, non rebellantem adversus Romam nobilem filiam, sed justioribus ejus partibus fidem constantissimam piissimamque servantem; eamque delendam reliquerunt, non Graecorum viris fortibus, sed viro spurcissimo Romanorum? Aut si displicebat diis causa partium Syllanarum, cui servantes urbem miseri portas clauserant; cur eidem Syllae tanta bona promittebant et praenuntiabant? An et hinc agnoscuntur adulatores felicium potius quam infelicium defensores? Non ergo Ilium etiam tunc, ab eis cum desereretur, eversum est. Nam daemones ad decipiendum semper vigilantissimi, quod potuerunt, fecerunt. Eversis quippe et incensis omnibus cum oppido simulacris, solum Minervae sub tanta ruina templi illius, ut scribit Livius, integrum stetisse perhibetur : non ut diceretur, Dî patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troja est, (Virgil. Aeneid. lib. 1, vers. 702, 703.) ad eorum laudem; sed ne diceretur, Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis dii, ad eorum defensionem. Illud enim posse permissi sunt, non unde probarentur potentes, sed unde praesentes convincerentur.

## Caput VIII.

*An debuerit diis Iliacis Roma committi.*

Diis itaque Iliacis, post Trojae ipsius documentum, qua tandem prudentia Roma custodienda commissa est? Dixerit quispiam, jam eos Romae habitare solitos, quando expugnante Fimbria cecidit Ilium. Unde ergo stetit Minervae simulacrum? Deinde, si apud Romam erant, quando Fimbria delevit Ilium - fortasse apud Ilium erant, quando a Gallis ipsa Roma capta et incensa est: sed ut sunt auditu acutissimi motuque celerrimi, ad vocem anseris cito redierunt, ut saltem Capitolinum collem, qui remanserat, tuerentur: caeterum ad alia defendenda serius sunt redire commoniti.

For they had closed the gates against Fimbria, so that they might preserve the city intact for Sylla: hence he, being angry, burned them, or rather utterly extinguished them. But as yet Sylla was the leader of the better civil parties, as yet he was endeavoring to recover the republic by arms: he had not yet had bad events from these good beginnings. What therefore could the citizens of that city have done better? what more honest? what more faithful? what more worthy of Roman kinship, than to preserve the city for the better cause of the Romans, and to close the gates against the parricide of the Roman republic? But in how much destruction this turned for them, let the defenders of the gods attend. Let the gods have deserted the adulterers, and left Ilium to the flames of the Greeks, so that from its ashes a chaster Rome might be born: why also afterwards did they desert the same city kindred to the Romans, not rebelling against Rome, its noble daughter, but keeping the most constant and most pious faith to its more just parties; and left it to be destroyed, not by the brave men of the Greeks, but by the most filthy man of the Romans? Or if the cause of the Syllan parties displeased the gods, for which the wretched ones had closed the gates while preserving the city; why did they promise and foretell so many good things to the same Sylla? Or are they recognized from this also as flatterers of the successful rather than defenders of the unhappy? Therefore Ilium was not overturned even then when it was deserted by them. For the demons, always most vigilant to deceive, did what they could. For all the images being overturned and burned along with the town, the statue of Minerva alone is said to have stood intact under so great a ruin of that temple, as Livy writes: not that it might be said, 'Native gods, under whose deity Troy always is,' (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 1, v. 702, 703) to their praise; but lest it be said, 'All the gods departed, leaving the shrines and altars,' to their defense. For they were permitted to be able to do that, not whence they might be proved powerful, but whence they might be convinced to be present.

## Chapter VIII.

*Whether Rome ought to have been committed to the Trojan gods.*

With the Trojan gods, therefore, after the proof of Troy itself, with what prudence at last was Rome committed to be guarded? Someone may say that they were already accustomed to dwell at Rome when Ilium fell by the assault of Fimbria. Whence then did the statue of Minerva stand? Then, if they were at Rome when Fimbria destroyed Ilium—perhaps they were at Ilium when Rome itself was captured and burned by the Gauls: but as they are most acute in hearing and most swift in motion, at the voice of a goose they quickly returned, that they might at least protect the Capitoline hill, which had remained: but they were warned too late to return to defend other things.

## Caput IX.

*An illam pacem, quae sub Numae regno fuit, deos praestitisse credendum sit.*

Hi etiam Numam Pompilium, successorem Romuli, adjuvisse creduntur, ut toto regni sui tempore pacem haberet, et Jani portas, quae bellis patere assolent, clauderet : eo merito scilicet, quia Romanis multa sacra constituit. Illi vero homini pro tanto otio gratulandum fuit, si modo id rebus salubribus scisset impendere, et perniciosissima curiositate neglecta, Deum verum vera pietate perquirere. Nunc autem non ei dii contulerunt illud otium; sed eum minus fortasse decepissent, si otiosum minime reperissent. Quanto enim minus eum occupatum invenerunt, tanto magis ipsi occupaverunt. Nam quid ille molitus sit, et quibus artibus deos tales sibi, vel illi civitati consociare potuerit, Varro prodit: quod si Domino placuerit, suo diligentius disseretur loco. Modo autem quia de beneficiis eorum quaestio est, magnum beneficium est pax: sed Dei veri beneficium est, plerumque etiam sicut sol, sicut pluvia vitaeque alia subsidia, super ingratos et nequam. Sed si hoc tam magnum bonum dii illi Romae vel Pompilio contulerunt, cur imperio Romano per ipsa tempora laudabiliora id nunquam postea praestiterunt? an utiliora erant sacra, cum instituerentur, quam cum instituta celebrarentur? Atqui tunc nondum erant, sed ut essent addebantur; postea vero jam erant, quae ut prodessent custodiebantur. Quid ergo est quod illi quadraginta tres, vel, ut alii volunt, triginta et novem anni in tam longa pace transacti sunt regnante Numa , et postea sacris institutis, diisque ipsis, qui eisdem sacris fuerant invitati, jam praesidibus atque tutoribus, vix post tam multos annos ab Urbe condita usque ad Augustum, unus pro magno miraculo commemoratur annus post primum bellum Punicum, quo belli portas Romani claudere potuerunt?

## Caput X.

*An optandum fuerit quod tanta bellorum rabie Romanorum augeretur imperium, cum eo studio, quo sub Numa auctum est, et quietum esse potuisset et tutum.*

## Chapter IX.

*Whether it is to be believed that the gods provided that peace which was under the reign of Numa.*

These are also believed to have helped Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus, so that he might have peace during the whole time of his reign, and close the gates of Janus, which are accustomed to be open in wars: for that merit, namely, because he established many sacred rites for the Romans. That man was indeed to be congratulated for so great leisure, if only he had known how to spend it on wholesome things, and, neglecting the most pernicious curiosity, to seek the true God with true piety. But now the gods did not confer that leisure upon him; but they would perhaps have deceived him less if they had found him not at all at leisure. For the less they found him occupied, the more they occupied him themselves. For what he attempted, and by what arts he was able to associate such gods with himself or with that city, Varro reveals: which, if it please the Lord, shall be discussed more diligently in its own place. But now, since the question is concerning their benefits, peace is a great benefit: but it is a benefit of the true God, mostly even like the sun, like rain and other supports of life, upon the ungrateful and wicked. But if those gods conferred this so great good upon Rome or upon Pompilius, why did they never afterwards provide it for the Roman empire through those more laudable times? Or were the sacred rites more useful when they were being established than when they were celebrated after being established? And yet then they were not yet, but were being added so that they might be; but afterwards they already were, and were being guarded so that they might be profitable. What therefore is the reason that those forty-three, or, as others wish, thirty-nine years were passed in such long peace while Numa was reigning, and afterwards, with the sacred rites established, and the gods themselves, who had been invited by the same sacred rites, being already presidents and guardians, scarcely after so many years from the founding of the City until Augustus, one year is mentioned as a great miracle after the first Punic war, in which the Romans were able to close the gates of war?

## Chapter X.

*Whether it was to be desired that the Roman empire should be increased by such great rage of wars, when with that pursuit with which it was increased under Numa, it could also have been quiet and safe.*

An respondent quod nisi assiduis sibique continuo succedentibus bellis Romanum imperium tam longe lateque non posset augeri, et tam grandi gloria diffamari? Idonea vero causa: ut magnum esset imperium, cur esse deberet inquietum? Nonne in corporibus hominum satius est modicum staturam cum sanitate habere, quam ad molem aliquam giganteam perpetuis afflictionibus pervenire, nec cum perveneris, requiescere, sed quanto grandioribus membris, tanto majoribus agitari malis? Quid autem mali esset, ac non potius plurimum boni, si ea tempora perdurarent, quae perstrinxit Sallustius, ubi ait, «Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit) diversi; pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, sua cuique satis placebant» (Sallust. in Conjuratione Catilinae, cap. 2)? An ut tam multum augeretur imperium, debuit fieri quod Virgilius detestatur, dicens: Deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas, Et belli rabies, et amor successit habendi? (Aeneid. lib. 8, vers. 326, 327). Sed plane pro tantis bellis susceptis et gestis justa defensio Romanorum est, quod irruentibus sibi importune inimicis resistere cogebat, non aviditas adipiscendae laudis humanae, sed necessitas tuendae salutis et libertatis. Ita sit plane. Nam postquam res eorum, sicut scribit ipse Sallustius, legibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera, satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello tentare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse: nam caeteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire; libertatem, patriam, parentesque armis tegere. Post ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dandis quam accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant (Sallust. in Conjuratione Catilinae, cap. 6). Decenter his artibus Roma crevit. Sed regnante Numa, ut tam longa pax esset, utrum irruebant improbi belloque tentabant; an nihil eorum fiebat, ut posset pax illa persistere? Si enim bellis etiam tum Roma lacessebatur, nec armis arma obvia ferebantur: quibus modis agebatur, ut nulla pugna superati, nullo martio impetu territi sedarentur inimici; his modis semper ageretur, et semper Roma clausis Jani portis pacata regnaret. Quod si in potestate non fuit, non ergo Roma pacem habuit quamdiu dii eorum, sed quamdiu homines finitimi circumquaque voluerunt, qui eam nullo bello provocaverunt: nisi forte dii tales etiam id homini vendere audebunt, quod alius homo voluit sive noluit.

Or do they answer that unless by assiduous and continuously succeeding wars the Roman empire could not be increased so far and wide, and be spread abroad with such great glory? A suitable cause indeed: why should the empire be restless in order to be great? Is it not better in the bodies of men to have a moderate stature with health, than to reach some giant bulk through perpetual afflictions, and not to rest when you have reached it, but to be agitated by as much greater evils as the limbs are larger? But what evil would there be, or rather what great good, if those times continued which Sallust touched upon, where he says: "Therefore in the beginning kings (for that was the first name of empire on earth) were diverse; some exercised the mind, others the body: even then the life of men was agitated without cupidity, each one's own things pleased him enough" (Sallust, In Catiline's Conspiracy, ch. 2)? Or in order that the empire might be increased so much, ought that to have been done which Virgil detests, saying: "Until gradually a worse and discolored age, and the rage of war, and the love of possessing succeeded" (Aeneid, book 8, lines 326, 327)? But plainly for so many wars undertaken and waged, the just defense of the Romans is that they were compelled to resist enemies rushing upon them importunately, not by greed for acquiring human praise, but by the necessity of protecting safety and liberty. Let it be so plainly. For after their affairs, as Sallust himself writes, increased by laws, manners, and lands, seemed prosperous enough and powerful enough, as most mortal things are held, envy arose from opulence. Therefore neighboring kings and peoples tried them in war, a few of their friends were of help: for the rest, struck with fear, stayed away from the dangers. But the Romans, intent at home and in military service, hurried, prepared, exhorted one another, went to meet the enemies; they protected liberty, fatherland, and parents with arms. Afterwards, when they had repelled the dangers by valor, they brought help to allies and friends, and prepared friendships more by giving than by receiving benefits (Sallust, In Catiline's Conspiracy, ch. 6). Decently by these arts Rome grew. But while Numa was reigning, so that there might be such long peace, did the wicked rush in and try them in war; or was none of these things done, so that that peace could persist? For if Rome was even then provoked by wars, and arms were not brought to meet arms: by what means was it done, that the enemies were settled, overcome by no battle, terrified by no martial onset; by these means let it always be done, and let Rome always reign in peace with the gates of Janus closed. But if this was not in their power, then Rome had peace not as long as their gods willed, but as long as the neighboring men round about willed, who provoked her with no war: unless perchance such gods will dare even to sell that to a man, which another man willed or did not will.

Interest quidem jam vitio proprio, malas mentes quatenus sinantur isti daemones vel terrere vel excitare: sed si semper hoc possent, nec aliud secretiore ac superiore potestate contra eorum conatum saepe aliter ageretur, semper in potestate haberent paces bellicasque victorias, quae semper fere per humanorum animorum motus accidunt: quas tamen plerumque contra eorum fieri voluntatem, non solum fabulae multa mentientes, et vix veri aliquid vel indicantes vel significantes, sed etiam ipsa Romana confitetur historia.

## Caput XI.

*De simulacro Cumani Apollinis, cujus fletus creditus est cladem Graecorum, quibus opitulari non poterat, indicare.*

Neque enim aliunde Apollo ille Cumanus, cum adversus Achaeos regemque Aristonicum bellaretur, quatriduo flevisse nuntiatus est : quo prodigio aruspices territi, cum id simulacrum in mare putavissent esse projiciendum, Cumani senes intercesserunt, atque retulerunt tale prodigium et Antiochi et Persae bello in eodem apparuisse figmento: et quia Romanis feliciter provenisset, ex senatusconsulto eidem Apollini suo dona esse missa testati sunt. Tunc velut peritiores acciti aruspices responderunt, simulacri Apollinis fletum ideo prosperum esse Romanis, quoniam Cumana colonia Graeca esset , suisque terris, unde accitus esset, id est ipsi Graeciae, luctum et cladem Apollinem significasse plorantem. Deinde mox regem Aristonicum victum et captum esse, nuntiatum est; quem vinci utique Apollo nolebat et dolebat, et hoc sui lapidis etiam lacrymis indicabat. Unde non usquequaque incongrue, quamvis fabulosis, tamen veritati similibus, mores daemonum describuntur carminibus poetarum. Nam Camillam Diana doluit apud Virgilium, et Pallantem moriturum Hercules flevit . Hinc fortassis et Numa Pompilius pace abundans, sed quo donante nesciens, nec requirens; cum cogitaret otiosus, quibusnam diis tuendam Romanam salutem regnumque committeret, nec verum illum atque omnipotentem summum Deum curare opinaretur ista terrena, atque recoleret Trojanos deos, quos Aeneas advexerat, neque Trojanum, neque Laviniense ab ipso Aenea conditum regnum diu conservare potuisse, alios providendos existimavit, quos illis prioribus (sive qui cum Romulo jam Romam transierant, sive quandoque Alba eversa fuerant transituri) vel tanquam fugitivis custodes adhiberet, vel tanquam invalidis adjutores.

It does indeed concern their own vice, how far those demons are allowed either to terrify or excite evil minds: but if they could always do this, and nothing were often done otherwise by a more secret and superior power against their endeavor, they would always have in their power peace and warlike victories, which almost always happen through the movements of human minds: which nevertheless history itself confesses were often done against their will, not only the fables lying many things, and scarcely indicating or signifying anything true.

## Chapter XI.

*Concerning the statue of the Cuman Apollo, whose weeping was believed to indicate the slaughter of the Greeks, whom he was not able to help.*

For not from elsewhere was that Cuman Apollo reported to have wept for four days, when war was being waged against the Achaeans and king Aristonicus: by which prodigy the haruspices (aruspices) being terrified, when they had thought that that statue was to be cast into the sea, the Cuman elders interceded, and reported that such a prodigy had appeared in the same image both in the war of Antiochus and of the Persian: and because it had turned out fortunately for the Romans, they testified that by a decree of the senate gifts had been sent to the same Apollo of theirs. Then the haruspices, called in as if more skilled, answered that the weeping of the statue of Apollo was therefore prosperous for the Romans, because the Cuman colony was Greek, and that Apollo by weeping had signified mourning and slaughter to his own lands from which he had been called, that is to Greece itself. Then soon it was announced that king Aristonicus had been conquered and captured; whom Apollo certainly did not want to be conquered and was grieving, and was indicating this even by the tears of his stone. Whence not altogether incongruously, although fabulous, yet similar to the truth, the manners of the demons are described in the songs of the poets. For Diana grieved for Camilla in Virgil, and Hercules wept for Pallas who was about to die. Hence perhaps also Numa Pompilius, abounding in peace, but not knowing by whose gift, nor seeking; when being at leisure he was thinking to which gods he should commit the protection of Roman safety and the kingdom, and did not think that that true and almighty highest God cared for these earthly things, and was recollecting the Trojan gods, whom Aeneas had brought, that they had been able to preserve neither the Trojan nor the Lavinian kingdom founded by Aeneas himself for long, he thought that others were to be provided, whom he might employ either as guardians to those former ones (either those who had already passed over to Rome with Romulus, or were to pass over whenever Alba was overturned) as if to fugitives, or as helpers as if to the weak.

## Caput XII.

*Quantos sibi deos Romani praeter constitutionem Numae adjecerint, quorum eos numerositas nihil juverit.*

Nec his sacris tamen Roma dignata est esse contenta, quae tam multa illic Pompilius constituerat: nam ipsius summum templum nondum habebat Jovis. Rex quippe Tarquinius ibi Capitolium fabricavit. Aesculapius autem ab Epidauro ambivit Romam , ut peritissimus medicus in urbe nobilissima artem gloriosius exerceret . Mater etiam deûm nescio unde, a Pessinunte . Indignum enim erat, ut cum ejus filius jam colli Capitolino praesideret, adhuc ipsa in loco ignobili latitaret. Quae tamen si omnium deorum mater est, non solum secuta est Romam quosdam filios suos, verum et alios praecessit etiam secuturos. Miror sane, si ipsa peperit Cynocephalum, qui longe postea venit ex Aegypto. Utrum etiam dea Febris ex illa nata sit, viderit Aesculapius pronepos ejus. sed undecumque nata sit, non (opinor) audebunt eam ignobilem dicere dii peregrini deam civem Romanam. Sub hoc tot deorum praesidio, quos numerare quis potest, indigenas et alienigenas, coelites, terrestres, infernos, marinos, fontanos, fluviales ; et, ut Varro dicit, certos atque incertos, in omnibusque generibus deorum, sicut in animalibus, mares et feminas? sub hoc ergo tot deorum praesidio constituta Roma, non tam magnis et horrendis cladibus, quales ex multis paucas commemorabo, agitari affligique debuit. Nimis enim multos deos grandi fumo suo , tanquam signo dato, ad tuitionem congregaverat; quibus templa, altaria, sacrificia, sacerdotes instituendo atque praebendo, summum verum Deum, cui uni haec rite gesta debentur, offenderet. Et felicior quidem cum paucioribus vixit: sed quanto major facta est, sicut navis nautas, tanto plures adhibendos putavit; credo, desperans pauciores illos, sub quibus in comparatione pejoris vitae melius vixerat, non sufficere ad opitulandum granditati suae. Primo enim sub ipsis regibus, excepto Numa Pompilio, de quo jam supra locutus sum, quantum malum discordiosi certaminis fuit, quod fratrem Romuli coegit occidi?

## Caput XIII.

*Quo Jure, quo foedere Romani obtinuerint prima conjugia.*

## Chapter XII.

*How many gods the Romans added to themselves beyond the constitution of Numa, whose multitude did not help them at all.*

Nor was Rome deigned to be content with these sacred rites, however many Pompilius had established there: for it did not yet have the highest temple of Jupiter himself. For King Tarquin built the Capitol there. But Aesculapius (Aesculapius) traveled from Epidaurus to Rome, so that as a most skilled physician he might exercise his art more gloriously in the most noble city. Also the Mother of the gods (Mater deûm), I know not from where, from Pessinus. For it was unworthy that when her son already presided over the Capitoline hill, she herself should still lie hid in an ignoble place. Who nevertheless, if she is the mother of all the gods, not only followed some of her sons to Rome, but also preceded others who were to follow. I wonder indeed if she herself gave birth to Cynocephalus (Cynocephalum), who came from Egypt much later. Whether also the goddess Fever (dea Febris) was born from her, let Aesculapius his great-grandson see. But from wherever she was born, I do not (I suppose) think the foreign gods will dare to call her, a Roman citizen goddess, ignoble. Under this protection of so many gods, whom can anyone number, indigenous and foreign, celestial, terrestrial, infernal, marine, of fountains, of rivers; and, as Varro says, certain and uncertain, and in all kinds of gods, just as in animals, males and females? Rome, therefore, being established under the protection of so many gods, ought not to have been agitated and afflicted by such great and horrendous slaughters, of which I will mention a few out of many. For she had gathered too many gods with her great smoke, as if by a given signal, for her protection; by establishing and providing temples, altars, sacrifices, and priests for whom, she would offend the highest true God, to whom alone these things rightly done are due. And she lived indeed more happily with fewer: but the greater she became, like a ship with sailors, so she thought more were to be employed; believing, I suppose, that those fewer, under whom in comparison with a worse life she had lived better, were not sufficient to help her greatness. For first under the kings themselves, except Numa Pompilius, of whom I have already spoken above, how great an evil of discordant strife was it, which compelled the brother of Romulus to be slain?

## Chapter XIII.

*By what right, by what treaty the Romans obtained their first marriages.*

Quomodo nec Juno, quae cum Jove suo jam fovebat Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam, (Aeneid. lib. 1, vers. 281, 282.) nec Venus ipsa Aeneidas suos potuit adjuvare, ut bono et aequo more conjugia mererentur, cladesque tanta irruit hujus inopiae, ut ea dolo raperent, moxque compellerentur pugnare cum soceris; ut miserae feminae nondum ex injuria maritis conciliatae, jam parentum sanguine dotarentur? At enim vicerunt in hac conflictione Romani vicinos suos. Quantis et quam multis utrimque vulneribus et funeribus tam propinquorum et confinium istae victoriae constiterunt? Propter unum Caesarem socerum et unum generum ejus Pompeium, jam mortua Caesaris filia, uxore Pompeii, quanto et quam justo doloris instinctu Lucanus exclamat, Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos, Jusque datum sceleri canimus! (Lucan. lib. 1, vers. 1, 2.) Vicerunt ergo Romani, ut strage socerorum manibus cruentis ab eorum filiabus amplexus miserabiles extorquerent; nec illae auderent flere patres occisos, ne offenderent victores maritos; quae adhuc illis pugnantibus, pro quibus facerent vota nesciebant . Talibus nuptiis populum Romanum non Venus, sed Bellona donavit : aut fortassis Alecto illa infernalis furia , jam eis favente Junone, plus in illos habuit licentiae, quam cum ejus precibus contra Aenean fuerat excitata . Andromacha felicius captivata est, quam illa conjugia Romana nupserunt : licet serviles, tamen post ejus amplexus nullum Trojanorum Pyrrhus occidit. Romani autem soceros interficiebant in praeliis, quorum jam filias amplexabantur in thalamis. Illa victori subdita, dolere tantum suorum mortem potuit, non timere: illae sociatae bellantibus, parentum suorum mortes procedentibus viris timebant, redeuntibus dolebant, nec timorem habentes liberum, nec dolorem. Nam propter interitum civium, propinquorum, fratrum, parentum, aut pie cruciabantur, aut crudeliter laetabantur victoriis maritorum. Huc accedebat quod, ut sunt alterna bellorum, aliquae parentum ferro amiserunt viros, aliquae utrorumque ferro et parentes et viros: neque enim et apud Romanos parva fuerunt illa discrimina. Siquidem ad obsidionem quoque perventum est civitatis, clausisque portis se tuebantur: quibus dolo apertis, admissisque hostibus intra moenia, in ipso foro scelerata et nimis atrox inter generos socerosque pugna commissa est . Et raptores illi etiam superabantur; et crebro fugientes intra domos suas, gravius foedabant pristinas, quamvis et ipsas pudendas lugendasque victorias . Hic tamen Romulus de suorum jam virtute desperans, Jovem rogavit ut starent: atque ille hac occasione nomen Statoris invenit.

How could neither Juno, who with her Jupiter was already fostering the Romans, the lords of things and the toga-wearing race (Aeneid, book 1, lines 281, 282), nor Venus herself help her Aeneadae, so that they might merit marriages by a good and equitable custom, and such great slaughter rushed in from this list, that they seized them by deceit, and soon were compelled to fight with their fathers-in-law; so that miserable women not yet reconciled to their husbands from the injury, were already endowed with the blood of their parents? But forsooth the Romans conquered their neighbors in this conflict. With how great and how many wounds and deaths of those so near and bordering did those victories consist? On account of one father-in-law Caesar and one son-in-law of his Pompey, Caesar's daughter already being dead, the wife of Pompey, with how great and how just an instinct of grief does Lucan exclaim: "Wars more than civil through the Emathian fields, and right given to crime we sing!" (Lucan, book 1, lines 1, 2.) The Romans therefore conquered, so that with bloody hands they might extort miserable embraces from the daughters of the fathers-in-law they had slaughtered; nor did those women dare to weep for their slain fathers, lest they should offend their victorious husbands; who while they were still fighting, did not know for whom they should make vows. With such nuptials not Venus, but Bellona (Bellona) endowed the Roman people: or perhaps that infernal fury Alecto (Alecto), Juno now favoring them, had more license against them than when she had been excited by her prayers against Aeneas. Andromache (Andromacha) was more happily captivated than those Roman marriages wedded: although servile, yet after her embraces Pyrrhus slew none of the Trojans. But the Romans were killing fathers-in-law in battles, whose daughters they were already embracing in bedchambers. She, subjected to a victor, could only grieve for the death of her own, not fear it: they, associated with those warring, feared the deaths of their parents as their husbands went forth, and grieved as they returned, having neither free fear nor grief. For on account of the destruction of citizens, kinsmen, brothers, parents, they were either piously tortured, or cruelly rejoiced in the victories of their husbands. To this was added that, as are the alternations of wars, some lost husbands by the sword of their parents, some by the sword of both lost both parents and husbands: for neither among the Romans were those dangers small. Since indeed they even came to the siege of the city, and protected themselves with closed gates: which being opened by deceit, and the enemies admitted within the walls, in the forum itself a wicked and too atrocious fight was committed between sons-in-law and fathers-in-law. And those ravishers were even being overcome; and frequently fleeing within their houses, they fouled their former victories more heavily, although they too were shameful and lamentable. Here nevertheless Romulus, already despairing of the valor of his own, asked Jupiter that they might stand: and he on this occasion found the name of Stator (Stator).

Nec finis esset tanti mali, nisi raptae illae laceratis crinibus emicarent, et provolutae parentibus, iram eorum justissimam, non armis victricibus, sed supplici pietate sedarent . Deinde Titum Tatium, regem Sabinorum, socium regni Romulus ferre compulsus est, Germani consortis impatiens: sed quando et istum diu toleraret, qui fratrem geminumque non pertulit? Unde et ipso interfecto, ut major deus esset, regnum solus obtinuit . Quae sunt ista jura nuptiarum, quae irritamenta bellorum, quae foedera germanitatis, affinitatis, societatis, divinitatis? quae postremo sub tot diis tutoribus vita civitatis? Vides quanta hinc dici et quam multa possent, nisi quae supersunt nostra curaret intentio, et sermo in alia festinaret.

## Caput XIV.

*De impietate belli quod Albanis Romani intulerunt, et de victoria dominandi libidine adepta.*

1. Quid deinde post Numam sub aliis regibus? Quanto malo, non solum suo, sed etiam Romanorum, in bellum Albani provocati sunt! quia videlicet pax Numae tam longa viluerat. Quam crebrae strages Romani Albanique exercitus fuerunt, et utriusque comminutio civitatis! Alba namque illa, quam filius Aeneae creavit Ascanius, Romae mater propior ipsa quam Troja, a Tullo Hostilio rege provocata conflixit: confligens autem et afflicta est, et afflixit, donec multorum taederet pari defectione certaminum. Tunc eventum belli de tergeminis hinc atque inde fratribus placuit experiri: a Romanis tres Horatii, ab Albanis autem tres Curiatii processerunt; a Curiatiis tribus Horatii duo, ab uno autem Horatio tres Curiatii superati et exstincti sunt . Ita Roma exstitit victrix, ea clade etiam in certamine extremo, ut de sex vivis unus rediret domum. Cui damnum in utrisque? cui luctus, nisi Aeneae stirpi, nisi Ascanii posteris, nisi proli Veneris, nisi nepotibus Jovis ? nam et hoc plus quam civile bellum fuit, quando filia civitas cum civitate matre pugnavit. Accessit aliud huic tergeminorum pugnae ultimae atrox atque horrendum malum. Nam ut erant ambo populi prius amici (vicini quippe atque cognati), uni Curiatiorum desponsata fuerat Horatiorum soror: haec posteaquam sponsi spolia in victore fratre conspexit, ab eodem fratre, quoniam flevit, occisa est. Humanior hujus unius feminae, quam universi populi Romani, mihi fuisse videtur affectus. Illa quem virum jam fide media retinebat, aut forte etiam ipsum fratrem dolens qui eum occiderat cui sororem promiserat, puto quod non culpabiliter fleverit.

Nor would there be an end of so great evil, unless those seized women should flash forth with torn hair, and being prostrated before their parents, should settle their most just anger, not with victorious arms, but with suppliant piety. Then Romulus was compelled to bear Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, as a partner of the kingdom, impatient of a brother as a consort: but when would he tolerate him for long, who did not endure a brother and a twin? Whence he also being killed, so that he might be a greater god, he alone obtained the kingdom. What are those rights of nuptials, what incitements of wars, what treaties of brotherhood, affinity, society, divinity? what life of a city, finally, under so many guardian gods? You see how many and how great things could be said from here, unless our intention cared for what remains, and our speech hurried to other things.

## Chapter XIV.

*Concerning the impiety of the war which the Romans brought upon the Albans, and concerning the victory obtained by the lust of dominating.*

1. What then after Numa under the other kings? With how great evil, not only their own, but also of the Romans, were the Albans provoked into war! because forsooth the so long peace of Numa had become cheap. How frequent were the slaughters of the Roman and Alban army, and the breaking of both cities! For that Alba, which Ascanius the son of Aeneas created, a mother to Rome closer herself than Troy, being provoked by king Tullus Hostilius, fought: and fighting she both was afflicted, and afflicted, until it might weary many of contests of equal defection. Then it pleased to try the outcome of the war by three brothers from here and there: three Horatii (Horatii) went forth from the Romans, and three Curiatii (Curiatii) from the Albans; two Horatii were overcome and extinguished by the three Curiatii, but by one Horatius the three Curiatii were overcome and extinguished. Thus Rome stood forth as victrix, even with that slaughter in the extreme contest, that of six living one might return home. To whom was the loss in both? to whom the mourning, except to the race of Aeneas, except to the posterity of Ascanius, except to the progeny of Venus, except to the grandsons of Jupiter? For even this was more than a civil war, when a daughter city fought with a mother city. Another atrocious and horrendous evil was added to this last fight of the three brothers. For as both peoples were before friends (being neighbors forsooth and kinsmen), the sister of the Horatii had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii: this woman, after she saw the spoils of the bridegroom on her victorious brother, was killed by the same brother, because she wept. The affection of this one woman seems to me to have been more humane than that of the whole Roman people. I think that she did not culpably weep for that man whom she was already holding by a mediated faith, or perhaps also grieving for the brother himself who had killed him to whom he had promised his sister.

Unde enim apud Virgilium pius Aeneas laudabiliter dolet hostem etiam sua peremptum manu ? unde Marcellus Syracusanam civitatem, recolens ejus paulo ante culmen et gloriam sub manus suas subito concidisse, communem cogitans conditionem flendo miseratus est ? Quaeso ab humano impetremus affectu, ut femina sponsum suum a fratre suo peremptum sine crimine fleverit, si viri hostes a se victos etiam cum laude fleverunt. Ergo sponso a fratre illatam mortem quando femina illa flebat, tunc se contra matrem civitatem tanta strage bellasse, et tanta hinc et inde cognati cruoris effusione vicisse, Roma gaudebat.

2. Quid mihi obtenditur nomen laudis, nomenque victoriae? Remotis obstaculis insanae opinionis facinora nuda cernantur, nuda pensentur, nuda judicentur. Causa dicatur Albae, sicut Trojae adulterium dicebatur. Nulla talis, nulla similis invenitur: tantum ut resides moveret Tullus in arma viros, et jam desueta triumphis Agmina (Aeneid. lib. 6, vers. 814, 815.) Illo itaque vitio tantum scelus perpetratum est socialis belli atque cognati. Quod vitium Sallustius magnum transeunter attingit. Cum enim laudans breviter antiquiora commemorasset tempora, quando vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, et sua cuique satis placebant: «Postea vero,» inquit, «quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacaedemonii atque Athenienses coepere urbes atque nationes subigere, libidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putare» (Sallust. in Catil. cap. 2): et caetera quae ipse instituerat dicere. Mihi hucusque satis sit ejus verba posuisse. Libido ista dominandi magnis malis agitat et conterit humanum genus. Hac libidine Roma tunc victa Albam se vicisse triumphabat, et sui sceleris laudem gloriam nominabat. Quoniam laudatur, inquit Scriptura nostra, peccator in desideriis animae suae; et qui iniqua gerit, benedicitur (Psal. X, 3). Fallacia igitur tegmina, et deceptoriae dealbationes auferantur a rebus, ut sincero inspiciantur examine. Nemo mihi dicat, Magnus ille atque ille, quia cum illo et illo pugnavit, et vicit. Pugnant etiam gladiatores, vincunt et ipsi: habet praemia laudis et illa crudelitas. Sed puto esse satius cujuslibet inertiae poenas luere, quam illorum armorum gloriam quaerere.

For whence in Virgil does pious Aeneas laudably grieve for an enemy slain even by his own hand? Whence did Marcellus, recollecting that the Syracusan city, her height and glory a little before, had suddenly fallen under his hands, commiserating by weeping, think upon the common condition? I ask that we may obtain from human affection, that a woman might have wept for her bridegroom slain by her brother without crime, if men wept for enemies conquered by themselves even with praise. Therefore when that woman was weeping for the death brought upon her bridegroom by her brother, Rome was rejoicing that she had warred with such great slaughter against a mother city, and had conquered with such great effusion of kindred blood on this side and on that.

2. Why is the name of praise and the name of victory held out to me? Let the crimes, with the obstacles of insane opinion removed, be seen naked, be weighed naked, be judged naked. Let the cause of Alba be stated, as the adultery of Troy was stated. No such cause, no similar cause is found: only so that Tullus might move "residing men to arms, and ranks unaccustomed to triumphs" (Aeneid, book 6, lines 814, 815). By that vice, therefore, so great a crime of social and kindred war was perpetrated. Which vice Sallust touches upon in passing as a great one. For when, praising, he had briefly commemorated the more ancient times, when the life of men was agitated without cupidity, and his own things pleased each one enough: "Afterwards truly," he says, "after Cyrus in Asia, and in Greece the Lacedaemonians and Athenians began to subdue cities and nations, to have the lust of dominating (libido dominandi) as a cause of war, to think the greatest glory to be in the greatest empire" (Sallust, In Catiline, ch. 2): and the rest which he himself had intended to say. Let it be enough for me to have placed his words thus far. That lust of dominating agitates and wears out the human race with great evils. By this lust Rome, then conquered, was triumphing that she had conquered Alba, and called the praise of her own crime glory. "Since the sinner is praised," says our Scripture, "in the desires of his soul; and he who does iniquitous things is blessed" (Psalm X, 3). Therefore let fallacious coverings and deceptive whitewashings be removed from things, so that they may be inspected by a sincere examination. Let no one say to me: That man and that man is great, because he fought with that one and that one, and conquered. Gladiators also fight, and they themselves conquer: even that cruelty has the rewards of praise. But I think it is better to pay the penalties of any inertia than to seek the glory of those arms.

Et tamen si in arenam procederent pugnaturi inter se gladiatores, quorum alter filius, alter pater esset, tale spectaculum quis ferret? quis non auferret? Quomodo ergo gloriosum alterius matris, alterius filiae civitatis, inter se armorum potuit esse certamen? An ideo diversum fuit, quod arena illa non fuit, et latiores campi non duorum gladiatorum, sed in duobus populis multorum funeribus implebantur; nec amphitheatro cingebantur illa certamina, sed universo orbe, et tunc vivis, et posteris, quousque ista fama porrigitur, impium spectaculum praebebatur?

3. Vim tamen patiebantur studii sui dii illi praesides imperii Romani, et talium certaminum tanquam theatrici spectatores, donec Horatiorum soror propter Curiatios tres peremptos etiam ipsa tertia ex altera parte fraterno ferro duobus fratribus adderetur, ne minus haberet mortium etiam Roma quae vicerat. Deinde ad fructum victoriae Alba subversa est: ubi post Ilium, quod Graeci everterunt, et post Lavinium, ubi Aeneas regnum peregrinum atque fugitivum constituerat , tertio loco habitaverant numina illa Trojana. Sed more suo etiam inde jam fortasse migraverant; ideo deleta est. Discesserant videlicet «omnes adytis arisque relictis dii, quibus imperium illud steterat.» Discesserant sane ecce jam tertio, ut eis quarta Roma providentissime crederetur. Displicuerat enim et Alba, ubi Amulius expulso fratre , et Roma placuerat, ubi Romulus occiso fratre regnaverat. Sed antequam Alba dirueretur, transfusus est, inquiunt, populus ejus in Romam, ut ex utraque una civitas fieret. Esto, ita factum sit: urbs tamen illa, Ascanii regnum et tertium domicilium Trojanorum deorum, ab urbe filia mater eversa est. Ut autem belli reliquiae e duobus populis unum facerent miserabile coagulum, multus ante fusus utriusque sanguis fuit. Quid jam singillatim dicam sub caeteris regibus toties eadem bella renovata, quae victoriis finita videbantur, et tantis stragibus iterum iterumque confecta, iterum iterumque post foedus et pacem inter generos et soceros et eorum stirpem posterosque repetita? Non parvum indicium calamitatis hujus fuit, quod portas belli nullus clausit illorum. Nullus ergo illorum sub tot diis praesidibus in pace regnavit.

## Caput XV.

*Qualis Romanorum regum vita atque exitus fuerit.*

And yet if gladiators were to proceed into the arena to fight among themselves, of whom one was the son, the other the father, who would bear such a spectacle? who would not take it away? How then could the contest of arms between one city the mother and the other the daughter be glorious? Or was it therefore different, because that was not an arena, and broader fields were filled with the deaths not of two gladiators, but of many in two peoples; nor were those contests girt by an amphitheater, but by the whole world, and then an impious spectacle was provided to those living and to posterity, as far as that fame is extended?

3. Yet those gods, the guardians of the Roman empire, were suffering the force of their own zeal, and were like theatrical spectators of such contests, until the sister of the Horatii, on account of the three Curiatii slain, was also herself added as a third on the other side by her brother's sword to her two brothers, lest even Rome which had conquered should have fewer deaths. Then for the fruit of victory Alba was overturned: where after Ilium, which the Greeks destroyed, and after Lavinium, where Aeneas had established a foreign and fugitive kingdom, those Trojan deities had inhabited in the third place. But after their manner they had perhaps already migrated from there; therefore it was deleted. Forsooth "all the gods, by whom that empire had stood, had departed, their shrines and altars being left." They had indeed departed, behold now for the third time, so that the fourth Rome might be most providently committed to them. For Alba had also displeased them, where Amulius reigned with his brother expelled, and Rome had pleased them, where Romulus reigned with his brother slain. But before Alba was demolished, its people, they say, was transferred to Rome, so that from both one city might be made. Be it so, let it have been so done: nevertheless that city, the kingdom of Ascanius and the third domicile of the Trojan gods, was overturned as a mother by a daughter city. But in order that the remains of the war might make one miserable mass out of two peoples, much blood of both was shed before. Why should I now speak individually of the same wars so often renewed under the other kings, which seemed finished by victories, and were again and again completed with such slaughters, and again and again after treaty and peace repeated between sons-in-law and fathers-in-law and their stock and posterity? It was no small indication of this calamity, that none of them closed the gates of war. None of them, therefore, reigned in peace under so many guardian gods.

## Chapter XV.

*What kind of life and end the Roman kings had.*

1. Ipsorum autem regum qui exitus fuerunt? De Romulo viderit adulatio fabulosa, qua perhibetur receptus in coelum: viderint quidam scriptores eorum, qui eum propter ferocitatem a senatu discerptum esse dixerunt, subornatumque nescio quem Julium Proculum, qui eum sibi apparuisse diceret, eumque per se populo mandasse Romano, ut inter numina coleretur; eoque modo populum, qui contra senatum intumescere coeperat, repressum atque sedatum . Acciderat enim et solis defectio, quam certa ratione sui cursus effectam imperita nesciens multitudo meritis Romuli tribuebat. Quasi vero si luctus ille solis fuisset, non magis ideo credi deberet occisus, ipsumque scelus aversione etiam diurni luminis indicatum: sicut revera factum est, cum Dominus crucifixus est crudelitate atque impietate Judaeorum (Luc. XXIII, 45). Quam solis obscurationem non ex canonico siderum cursu accidisse, satis ostendit, quod tunc erat pascha Judaeorum; nam plena luna solemniter agitur: regularis autem solis defectio non nisi lunae fine contingit. Satis et Cicero illam inter deos Romuli receptionem putatam magis significat esse, quam factam, quando et laudans eum in libris de Republica (L. 2, c. 10), Scipionisque sermone: «Tantum est,» inquit, «consecutus, ut cum subito sole obscurato non comparuisset, deorum in numero collocatus putaretur: quam opinionem nemo unquam mortalis assequi potuit sine eximia virtutis gloria.» Quod autem dicit, eum subito non comparuisset, profecto ibi intelligitur aut violentia tempestatis, aut caedis facinorisque secretum. Nam et alii scriptores eorum defectioni solis addunt etiam subitam tempestatem, quae profecto aut occasionem sceleri praebuit, aut Romulum ipsa consumpsit. De Tullo quippe etiam Hostilio, qui tertius a Romulo rex fuit, qui et ipse fulmine absumptus est, dicit in eisdem libris idem Cicero, propterea et istum non creditum in deos receptum tali morte, quia fortasse quod erat in Romulo probatum (id est persuasum) Romani vulgare noluerunt, id est vile facere, si hoc et alteri facile tribueretur . Dicit etiam aperte in Invectivis, «Illum qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulum ad deos immortales benevolentia famaque sustulimus» (Orat. 3 in Catilinam, cap. 1): ut non vere factum sed propter merita virtutis ejus benevolentia jactatum diffamatumque monstraret. In Hortensio vero dialogo cum de solis canonicis defectionibus loqueretur, «Ut easdem,» inquit, «tenebras efficiat, quas effecit in interitu Romuli, qui obscuratione solis est factus.» Certe hic minime timuit hominis interitum dicere, quia disputator magis quam laudator fuit.

1. But what were the ends of the kings themselves? As for Romulus, let fabulous adulation see to it, by which he is held to have been received into heaven: let certain of their writers see to it, who said that he was torn to pieces by the senate on account of his ferocity, and that some Julius Proculus (Julius Proculus) was suborned, who should say that he had appeared to him, and through him had commanded the Roman people that he should be worshiped among the deities; and in that way the people, who had begun to swell against the senate, was repressed and settled. For there had also happened an eclipse of the sun, which the unskillful and ignorant multitude, not knowing it was effected by a certain reason of its course, attributed to the merits of Romulus. As if truly if that had been the mourning of the sun, it ought not rather therefore to be believed that he was slain, and the crime itself indicated by the aversion even of the daylight: just as was truly done when the Lord was crucified by the cruelty and impiety of the Jews (Luke XXIII, 45). Which obscuration of the sun did not happen from the canonical course of the stars, it sufficiently shows, because it was then the passover of the Jews; for it is solemnly celebrated at the full moon: but a regular eclipse of the sun does not happen except at the end of the moon. Cicero also sufficiently signifies that reception of Romulus among the gods to have been thought rather than done, when also praising him in the books On the Republic (book 2, ch. 10), and in the speech of Scipio: "He attained so much," he says, "that when he had not appeared, the sun being suddenly obscured, he was thought to be placed in the number of the gods: which opinion no mortal could ever attain without exceptional glory of virtue." But what he says, that he did not suddenly appear, is certainly understood there either as the violence of a tempest, or the secret of a slaughter and a crime. For other of their writers also add a sudden tempest to the eclipse of the sun, which certainly either provided an occasion for the crime, or the tempest itself consumed Romulus. Concerning Tullus Hostilius, indeed, who was the third king from Romulus, who also himself was consumed by lightning, the same Cicero says in the same books, that therefore he was not believed to have been received among the gods by such a death, because perhaps the Romans did not want to make common (that is, to make cheap) what had been approved (that is, persuaded) in Romulus, if this were easily attributed to another also. He also says openly in the Invectives: "Him who founded this city, Romulus, we have raised to the immortal gods by benevolence and fame" (Orat. 3 In Catilinam, ch. 1): so that he might show it not truly done, but on account of the merits of his virtue tossed and spread abroad by benevolence. But in the dialogue Hortensius, when he was speaking of the canonical eclipses of the sun, "So that it may effect the same darkness," he says, "which it effected in the death of Romulus, who was made by the obscuration of the sun." Certainly here he feared not at all to say the death of the man, because he was a disputant more than a praiser.

2. Caeteri autem reges populi Romani, excepto Numa Pompilio et Anco Martio, qui morbo interierunt, quam horrendos exitus habuerunt? Tullus, ut dixi, Hostilius, victor et eversor Albae, cum tota domo sua fulmine concrematus est. Priscus Tarquinius per sui decessoris filios interemptus est. Servius Tullius generi sui Tarquinii Superbi, qui ei successit in regnum, nefario scelere occisus est. Nec «discessere adytis arisque relictis dii,» tanto in optimum illius populi regem parricidio perpetrato, quos dicunt, ut hoc miserae Trojae facerent, eamque Graecis diruendam exurendamque relinquerent, adulterio Paridis fuisse commotos. Sed insuper interfecto a se socero Tarquinius ipse successit. Hunc illi dii nefarium parricidam soceri interfectione regnantem, insuper multis bellis victoriisque gloriantem, et de manubiis Capitolium fabricantem, non abscedentes, sed praesentes manentesque viderunt, et regem suum Jovem in illo altissimo templo, hoc est in opere parricidae, sibi praesidere atque regnare perpessi sunt. Neque enim adhuc innocens Capitolium struxit, et postea malis meritis Urbe pulsus est: sed ad ipsum regnum, in quo Capitolium fabricaret, immanissimi sceleris perpetratione pervenit. Quod vero eum Romani regno postea depulerunt, ac secluserunt moenibus civitatis, non ipsius de Lucretiae stupro, sed filii peccatum fuit, illo non solum nesciente, sed etiam absente commissum. Ardeam civitatem tunc oppugnabat, et pro populo Romano bellum gerebat: nescimus quid faceret, si ad ejus notitiam flagitium filii deferretur. Et tamen inexplorato ejus judicio et inexperto, ei populus ademit imperium; et recepto exercitu, a quo deseri jussus est, clausis deinde portis non sivit intrare redeuntem. At ille post bella gravissima, quibus eosdem Romanos concitatis finitimis attrivit, posteaquam desertus ab eis quorum fidebat auxilio, regnum recipere non evaluit, in oppido Tusculo Romae vicino quatuordecim, ut fertur, annos privatam vitam quietus habuit, et cum uxore consenuit, optabiliore fortassis exitu, quam socer ejus generi sui facinore, nec ignorante filia, sicut perhibetur, exstinctus. Nec tamen istum Tarquinium Romani crudelem aut sceleratum, sed superbum appellaverunt, fortassis regios ejus fastus alia superbia non ferentes. Nam scelus occisi ab eo soceri optimi regis sui usque adeo contempserunt, ut eum regem suum facerent: ubi miror si non scelere graviore mercedem tantam tanto sceleri reddiderunt. Nec «discessere adytis arisque relictis dii.» Nisi forte quispiam sic defendat istos deos, ut dicat eos ideo mansisse Romae, quo possent Romanos magis punire suppliciis, quam beneficiis adjuvare, seducentes eos vanis victoriis et bellis gravissimis conterentes.

2. But as for the other kings of the Roman people, except for Numa Pompilius and Ancus Martius, who died of disease, what horrendous ends did they have? Tullus Hostilius, as I said, the victor and destroyer of Alba, was burned up with his whole house by lightning. Priscus Tarquinius was slain by the sons of his predecessor. Servius Tullius was killed by the nefarious crime of his son-in-law Tarquinius Superbus, who succeeded him in the kingdom. Nor did "the gods depart, their shrines and altars left behind," though so great a parricide was perpetrated against the best king of that people—those gods who they say, that they might do this to wretched Troy and leave it to be destroyed and burned by the Greeks, were moved by the adultery of Paris. But on top of that, having killed his father-in-law, Tarquinius himself succeeded. This man, a nefarious parricide reigning by the killing of his father-in-law, moreover glorying in many wars and victories, and building the Capitol from the spoils of war—those gods, not departing but present and remaining, saw him, and they endured that their king Jupiter should preside and reign over them in that highest temple, that is, in the work of a parricide. For he did not build the Capitol while still innocent and was afterwards driven from the City for bad merits: but he arrived at the kingdom itself, in which he was to build the Capitol, by the perpetration of a most monstrous crime. But that the Romans afterwards drove him from the kingdom and shut him out from the walls of the city, was not his own sin concerning the rape of Lucretia, but the sin of his son, committed while he was not only ignorant of it, but also absent. He was then besieging the city of Ardea and was waging war for the Roman people: we do not know what he would have done if the disgrace of his son had been brought to his notice. And yet, his judgment being unsearched and untried, the people took away his power; and having received the army, by which he was ordered to be deserted, and the gates then being closed, they did not allow him to enter as he returned. But he, after most grave wars, by which he wore down those same Romans having stirred up the neighbors, after he was unable to recover the kingdom, being deserted by those in whose help he trusted, had for fourteen years, as it is said, a quiet private life in the town of Tusculum near Rome, and grew old with his wife, with a perhaps more desirable end than his father-in-law, who was extinguished by the crime of his son-in-law, his daughter not being ignorant of it, as it is related. Nor yet did the Romans call this Tarquinius cruel or wicked, but proud, perhaps not enduring his royal haughtiness because of another pride of their own. For they so far despised the crime of the killing of his father-in-law, their best king, that they made him their king: wherein I wonder if they did not return so great a reward for so great a crime by an even graver crime. Nor did "the gods depart, their shrines and altars left behind." Unless perchance someone should so defend those gods as to say that they remained at Rome for this reason, that they might rather punish the Romans with punishments than help them with benefits, seducing them with vain victories and wearing them down with most grave wars.

Haec fuit Romanorum vita sub regibus laudabili tempore illius reipublicae usque ad expulsionem Tarquinii Superbi per ducentos ferme et quadraginta et tres annos, cum illae omnes victoriae tam multo sanguine et tantis emptae calamitatibus, vix illud imperium intra viginti ab Urbe millia dilataverint: quantum spatium absit ut saltem alicujus Getulae civitatis nunc territorio comparetur!

## Caput XVI.

*De primis apud Romanos consulibus, quorum alter alterum patria pepulit, moxque Romae post atrocissima parricidia a vulnerato hoste vulneratus interiit.*

Huic tempori adjiciamus etiam tempus illud, quousque dicit Sallustius (Vide supra, lib. 2, cap. 18) aequo et modesto jure agitatum, dum metus a Tarquinio et grave bellum cum Etruria positum est. Quamdiu enim Etrusci Tarquinio redire in regnum conanti opitulati sunt, gravi bello Roma concussa est. Ideo dicit aequo et modesto jure gestam rempublicam metu premente, non persuadente justitia. In quo brevissimo tempore quam funestus ille annus fuit, quo primi consules creati sunt, expulsa regia potestate? Annum quippe suum non compleverunt. Nam Junius Brutus exhonoratum ejecit Urbe collegam Lucium Tarquinium Collatinum; deinde mox ipse in bello cecidit mutuis cum hoste vulneribus, occisis a se ipso primitus filiis suis et uxoris suae fratribus, quod eos pro restituendo Tarquinio conjurasse cognoverat. Quod factum Virgilius posteaquam laudabiliter commemoravit, continuo clementer exhorruit. Cum enim dixisset, Natosque pater nova bella moventes Ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit; mox deinde exclamavit, et ait Infelix! utcumque ferent ea facta minores. Quomodolibet, inquit, ea facta posteri ferant, id est praeferant et extollant; qui filios occidit, infelix est. Et tanquam ad consolandum infelicem, subjunxit: Vicit amor patriae, laudumque immensa cupido. (Aeneid. lib. 6, vers. 820-823.) Nonne in hoc Bruto, qui et filios occidit, et a se percusso hosti filio Tarquinii mutuo percussus supervivere non potuit, eique potius ipse Tarquinius supervixit, Collatini collegae videtur innocentia vindicata, qui bonus civis hoc Tarquinio pulso passus est quod tyrannus ipse Tarquinius? Nam et idem Brutus consanguineus Tarquinii fuisse perhibetur.

This was the life of the Romans under the kings in that laudable time of the republic even until the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus for nearly two hundred and forty-three years, when all those victories, bought with so much blood and such great calamities, hardly extended that empire within twenty miles from the City: how far is it that such a space should now be compared at least to the territory of some Gaetulian city!

## Chapter XVI.

*Concerning the first consuls among the Romans, of whom the one drove the other from his country, and soon after at Rome, after most atrocious parricides, died wounded by a wounded enemy.*

To this time let us add also that time which Sallust says (See above, book 2, ch. 18) was conducted with equal and modest law, as long as there was fear of Tarquinius and the grave war with Etruria was in place. For as long as the Etruscans helped Tarquinius as he tried to return to his kingdom, Rome was shaken by a grave war. Therefore he says that the republic was managed with equal and modest law because fear was pressing, not because justice was persuading. In which very short time, how calamitous was that year in which the first consuls were created, after the royal power had been expelled? For they did not complete their year. For Junius Brutus drove his colleague Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus from the City, having stripped him of his honor; then soon he himself fell in war from mutual wounds with the enemy, having first killed his own sons and the brothers of his wife, because he had learned that they had conspired for the restoration of Tarquinius. Which deed Virgil, after he had commemorated it laudably, immediately shrunk from with clemency. For when he had said, "And the father shall call his sons, who were stirring up new wars, to punishment for the sake of beautiful liberty;" soon after he exclaimed, and says, "Unhappy man! however posterity shall bear those deeds." In whatever way, he says, posterity may bear those deeds, that is, prefer and extol them; he who kills his sons is unhappy. And as if to console the unhappy man, he added: "The love of country conquered, and the immense desire of praise." (Aeneid, book 6, verses 820-823.) Is not in this Brutus, who both killed his sons, and being struck by an enemy, the son of Tarquinius, could not survive the enemy he had struck, and Tarquinius himself rather survived him—does not the innocence of his colleague Collatinus seem to be vindicated, who, though a good citizen, suffered this after the expulsion of Tarquinius which the tyrant Tarquinius himself suffered? For the same Brutus is also related to have been a kinsman of Tarquinius.

Sed Collatinum videlicet similitudo nominis pressit, quia etiam Tarquinius vocabatur. Mutare ergo nomen, non patriam cogeretur: postremo in ejus nomine hoc vocabulum minus esset, L. Collatinus tantummodo vocaretur. Sed ideo non amisit quod sine ullo detrimento posset amittere, ut et honore primus consul et civitate bonus civis carere juberetur. Etiamne ista est gloria Junii Bruti detestanda iniquitas et nihilo utilis reipublicae? Etiamne ad hanc perpetrandam, Vincit amor patriae, laudumque immensa cupido? Jam expulso utique Tarquinio tyranno, consul cum Bruto creatus est maritus Lucretiae L. Tarquinius Collatinus. Quam juste populus mores in cive, non nomen attendit! quam injuste Brutus collegam primae ac novae illius potestatis, quem posset, si hoc offendebatur, nomine tantum privare, et patria privavit et honore? Haec mala facta sunt, haec adversa acciderunt, quando in illa republica aequo et modesto jure agitatum est. Lucretius quoque, qui in locum Bruti fuerat subrogatus, morbo, antequam idem annus terminaretur, absumptus est. Ita P. Valerius, qui successerat Collatino, et M. Horatius, qui pro defuncto Lucretio suffectus fuerat, annum illum funereum atque tartareum, qui consules quinque habuit, compleverunt: quo anno consulatus ipsius novum honorem ac potestatem auspicata est Romana respublica.

## Caput XVII.

*Post initia consularis imperii, quibus malis vexata fuerit Romana respublica, diis non opitulantibus quos colebat.*

1. Tunc jam diminuto paululum metu, non quia bella conquieverant, sed quia non tam gravi pondere urgebant, finito scilicet tempore quo aequo et modesto jure agitatum est, secuta sunt quae idem Sallustius (Histor. lib. 1) breviter explicat: Dein servili imperio patres plebem exercere, de vita atque tergo regio more consulere, agro pellere, et caeteris expertibus soli in imperio agere. Quibus saevitiis, et maxime fenore oppressa plebes, cum assiduis bellis tributum et militiam simul toleraret, armata montem Sacrum atque Aventinum insedit: tumque tribunos plebis et alia sibi jura paravit.

But clearly the similarity of the name oppressed Collatinus, because he also was called Tarquinius. He should have been compelled to change his name, then, and not his country: finally, in his name this word would be missing, he would be called only L. Collatinus. But he did not lose what he could have lost without any detriment, so that he was ordered to be deprived of both the honor of the first consul and the citizenship of a good citizen. Is that glory of Junius Brutus also a detestable iniquity and useful in nothing to the republic? To perpetrate this also, "did the love of country conquer, and the immense desire of praise?" When Tarquinius the tyrant was already expelled, Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was created consul with Brutus. How justly the people looked to the character in a citizen, not the name! How unjustly Brutus deprived his colleague of that first and new power, whom he could have deprived only of his name if he was offended by this, of both country and honor? These evil things were done, these adverse things happened, when in that republic it was conducted with equal and modest law. Lucretius also, who had been substituted in the place of Brutus, was consumed by disease before the same year was finished. Thus P. Valerius, who had succeeded Collatinus, and M. Horatius, who had been substituted for the deceased Lucretius, completed that funeral and Tartarean year, which had five consuls: in which year the Roman republic inaugurated the new honor and power of the consulate itself.

## Chapter XVII.

*After the beginnings of the consular empire, by what evils the Roman republic was vexed, the gods whom it worshiped not helping.*

1. Then already, the fear being a little diminished, not because the wars had ceased, but because they did not press with so heavy a weight—the time in which it was conducted with equal and modest law being finished—there followed those things which the same Sallust (Histories, book 1) briefly explains: "Then the fathers began to exercise a servile command over the plebs, to consult concerning life and back in the royal manner, to drive them from the land, and, others being excluded, to act alone in the empire." By which cruelties, and especially by usury, the plebs being oppressed, when they were tolerating tribute and military service at the same time with constant wars, being armed they occupied the Sacred Mountain and the Aventine: and then they obtained for themselves tribunes of the plebs and other laws.

Discordiarum et certaminis utrimque finis fuit secundum bellum Punicum. [XVII.] Quid itaque ego tantas moras vel scribens patiar, vel lecturis afferam? Quam misera fuerit illa respublica tam longa aetate per tot annos usque ad secundum bellum Punicum, bellis forinsecus inquietare non desistentibus et intus discordiis seditionibusque civilibus, a Sallustio breviter intimatum est. Proinde victoriae illae non solida beatorum gaudia fuerunt, sed inania solatia miserorum, et ad alia atque alia sterilia mala subeunda illecebrosa incitamenta minime quietorum. Nec nobis, quia haec dicimus, boni Romani prudentesque succenseant: quanquam de hac re nec petendi sint, nec monendi, quando eos minime succensuros esse certissimum est. Neque enim gravius vel graviora dicimus auctoribus eorum, et stilo et otio multum impares: quibus tamen ediscendis et ipsi elaboraverunt, et filios suos elaborare compellunt. Qui autem succensent, quando me ferrent, si ego dicerem, quod Sallustius (Ibid.) ait? Plurimae turbae, seditiones, et ad postremum bella civilia orta sunt, dum pauci potentes, quorum in gratiam plerique concesserant, sub honesto patrum aut plebis nomine dominationes affectabant; bonique et mali cives appellati, non ob merita in rempublicam, omnibus pariter corruptis, sed uti quisque locupletissimus et injuria validior, quia praesentia defendebat, pro bono ducebatur Porro si illi scriptores historiae ad honestam libertatem pertinere arbitrati sunt, mala civitatis propriae non tacere, quam multis locis magno praeconio laudare compulsi sunt, cum aliam veriorem, quo cives aeterni legendi sunt, non haberent: quid nos facere convenit, quorum spes quanto in Deo melior et certior, tanto major debet esse libertas, cum mala praesentia Christo nostro imputant, ut infirmiores imperitioresque mentes alienentur ab ea civitate, in qua sola jugiter feliciterque vivendum est? Nec in deos eorum horribilora nos dicimus, quam eorum identidem auctores, quos legunt et praedicant: quandoquidem et ex ipsis quae diceremus accepimus, et nullo modo dicere vel talia, vel cuncta sufficimus.

## Caput XVII.

*Post initia consularis imperii, quibus malis vexata fuerit Romana respublica, diis non opitulantibus quos colebat.*

The end of the discords and the contest on both sides was the second Punic war. [XVII.] Why therefore should I endure such delays either in writing, or bring them to those who will read? How wretched that republic was for so long an age through so many years even to the second Punic war, the wars without ceasing to disquiet from outside and the discords and civil seditions within, has been briefly intimated by Sallust. Accordingly those victories were not solid joys of the blessed, but empty consolations of the wretched, and alluring incitements for those who were by no means quiet to undergo other and still other sterile evils. Nor let good and prudent Romans be angry with us because we say these things: although concerning this matter they are neither to be asked nor warned, since it is most certain that they will not be angry at all. For we do not say more grave things or more gravely than their own authors, and we are much unequal to them in style and leisure: for the learning of which things they themselves also labored, and they compel their sons to labor. But those who are angry, when would they bear me if I should say what Sallust (Ibid.) says? "Very many disturbances, seditions, and at last civil wars arose, while a few powerful men, into whose favor most had yielded, were affecting dominations under the honest name of the fathers or the plebs; and good and bad citizens were so called, not for their merits toward the republic—all being equally corrupt—but as each one was most wealthy and more powerful in injury, because he defended present things, he was considered as a good man." Furthermore, if those writers of history thought it to pertain to honest liberty not to be silent about the evils of their own city, which in many places they were compelled to praise with great commendation, since they had no other truer city in which eternal citizens are to be read: what does it become us to do, whose hope is so much better and more certain in God, that our liberty ought to be so much greater, when they impute present evils to our Christ, so that weaker and more ignorant minds may be alienated from that city in which alone one is to live continually and happily? Nor do we say more horrible things against their gods than their own authors likewise, whom they read and preach: since indeed we have received from them the things which we should say, and in no way are we sufficient to say either such things or all of them.

## Chapter XVII.

*After the beginnings of the consular empire, by what evils the Roman republic was vexed, the gods whom it worshiped not helping.*

2. Ubi erant ergo illi dii, qui propter exiguam fallacemque hujus mundi felicitatem colendi existimantur; cum Romani, quibus se colendos mendacissima astutia venditabant, tantis calamitatibus vexarentur? Ubi erant, quando Valerius consul ab exsulibus et servis incensum Capitolium cum defensaret, occisus est? Faciliusque ipse prodesse potuit aedi Jovis, quam illi turba tot numinum cum suo maximo atque optimo rege, cujus templum liberaverat, subvenire Ubi erant, quando densissimis fatigata civitas seditionum malis, cum legatos Athenas missos ad leges mutuandas paululum quieta opperiretur, gravi fame pestilentiaque vastata est? Ubi erant, quando rursus populus, cum fame laboraret, praefectum annonae primum creavit; atque illa fame invalescente, Spurius Melius, qui esurienti multitudini frumenta largitus est, regni affectati crimen incurrit, et ejusdem praefecti instantia per dictatorem L. Quintium aetate decrepitum, a Quinto Servilio magistro equitum cum maximo et periculosissimo tumultu civitatis occisus est? Ubi erant, quando pestilentia maxima exorta, diis inutilibus sine remedio populus diu multumque fatigatus nova lectisternia, quod nunquam antea fecerat, exhibenda arbitratus est? Lecti autem sternebantur in honorem deorum, unde hoc sacrum vel potius sacrilegium nomen accepit. Ubi erant, quando per decem continuos annos male pugnando crebras et magnas clades apud Veios exercitus Romanus acceperat, nisi per Furium Camillum tandem subveniretur, quem postea civitas ingrata damnavit? Ubi erant, quando Galli Romam ceperunt, spoliaverunt, incenderunt, caedibus impleverunt? Ubi erant, cum illa insignis pestilentia tam ingentem stragem dedit, qua et ille Furius Camillus exstinctus est, qui rempublicam ingratam et a Veientibus ante defendit, et de Gallis postea vindicavit? In hac pestilentia scenicos ludos, aliam novam pestem, non corporibus Romanorum, sed, quod est multo perniciosius, moribus intulerunt. Ubi erant, quando alia pestilentia gravis de venenis matronarum exorta credita est, quarum supra fidem multarum atque nobilium mores deprehensi sunt omni pestilentia graviores? Vel quando in Caudinas furculas a Samnitibus obsessi ambo cum exercitu consules foedus cum eis foedum facere coacti sunt; ita ut equitibus Romanis sexcentis obsidibus datis, caeteri amissis armis aliisque spoliati privatique tegminibus, sub jugum hostium cum vestimentis singulis mitterentur? Vel quando gravi pestilentia caeteris laborantibus multi etiam in exercitu icti fulmine perierunt? Vel quando item alia intolerabili pestilentia Aesculapium ab Epidauro quasi medicum deum Roma advocare atque adhibere compulsa est?

2. Where were those gods, then, who are thought worthy of worship for the sake of the slight and deceptive happiness of this world; when the Romans, to whom they were selling themselves to be worshiped with most lying craft, were vexed by such great calamities? Where were they, when Valerius the consul was killed while defending the Capitol, which had been set on fire by exiles and slaves? And he himself was more easily able to help the temple of Jupiter than that crowd of so many deities with their greatest and best king, whose temple he had liberated, could come to his aid. Where were they, when the city, fatigued by the most dense evils of seditions, while it was waiting for a little quiet for the legates sent to Athens to borrow laws, was wasted by a grave famine and pestilence? Where were they, when again the people, while laboring with famine, created for the first time a prefect of the provisions; and that famine increasing, Spurius Maelius, who distributed corn to the hungry multitude, incurred the crime of affecting the kingdom, and at the instance of the same prefect, through the dictator L. Quintius, decrepit with age, was killed by Quintus Servilius, the master of the horse, with a most great and dangerous tumult of the city? Where were they, when a most great pestilence arose, and the people, long and much fatigued without remedy by the useless gods, thought that new lectisternia should be exhibited, which they had never done before? But couches were spread in honor of the gods, whence this sacred or rather sacrilegious name was taken. Where were they, when for ten continuous years the Roman army had received frequent and great slaughters at Veii by fighting badly, unless help was finally brought through Furius Camillus, whom the ungrateful city afterwards condemned? Where were they, when the Gauls took Rome, spoiled it, burned it, and filled it with slaughters? Where were they, when that notable pestilence gave such a great slaughter, in which even that Furius Camillus was extinguished, who before defended the ungrateful republic from the Veientes, and afterwards vindicated it from the Gauls? In this pestilence they introduced scenic games, another new plague, not to the bodies of the Romans, but, what is much more pernicious, to their morals. Where were they, when another grave pestilence was believed to have arisen from the poisonings of matrons, whose characters, of many and noble ones beyond belief, were discovered to be more grave than any pestilence? Or when, being besieged in the Caudine Forks by the Samnites, both consuls with the army were compelled to make a foul treaty with them; so that, six hundred Roman knights being given as hostages, the rest, having lost their arms and being spoiled and deprived of other coverings, were sent under the yoke of the enemy with a single garment each? Or when, others laboring with a grave pestilence, many also in the army perished being struck by lightning? Or when likewise Rome was compelled to call for and apply Aesculapius from Epidaurus as a medical god in another intolerable pestilence?

quoniam regem omnium Jovem, qui jam diu in Capitolio sedebat, multa stupra, quibus adolescens vacaverat, non permiserant fortasse discere medicinam. Vel cum conspirantibus uno tempore hostibus, Lucanis, Brutiis, Samnitibus, Etruscis et Senonibus Gallis, primo ab eis legati perempti sunt, deinde cum praetore oppressus exercitus, septem tribunis cum illo pereuntibus et militum tredecim millibus? Vel quando post graves et longas Romae seditiones, quibus ad ultimum plebs in Janiculum hostili direptione secesserat, hujus mali tam dira calamitas erat, ut ejus rei causa, quod in extremis periculis fieri solebat, dictator crearetur Hortensius, qui, plebe revocata, in eodem magistratu exspiravit, quod nulli dictatori ante contigerat, et quod illis diis jam praesente Aesculapio gravius crimen fuit.

3. Tum vero tam multa bella ubique crebruerunt, ut inopia militum proletarii illi, qui eo quod proli gignendae vacabant, ob egestatem militare non valentes, hoc nomen acceperant, militiae conscriberentur. Accitus etiam a Tarentinis Pyrrhus, rex Graeciae, tunc ingenti gloria celebratus, Romanorum hostis effectus est. Cui sane de rerum futuro eventu consulenti, satis urbane Apollo sic ambiguum oraculum edidit, ut e duobus quidquid accidisset, ipse divinus haberetur. Ait enim: Dico te, Pyrrhe, vincere posse Romanos. Atque ita sive Pyrrhus a Romanis, sive Romani a Pyrrho vincerentur, securus fatidicus utrumlibet exspectaret eventum. Quae tunc et quam horrenda utriusque exercitus clades? In qua tamen superior Pyrrhus exstitit, ut jam posset Apollinem pro suo intellectu praedicare divinum; nisi proxime alio praelio Romani abscederent superiores. Atque in tanta strage bellorum etiam pestilentia gravis exorta est mulierum: nam priusquam maturos partus ederent, gravidae moriebantur. Ubi se, credo, Aesculapius excusabat, quod archiatrum, non obstetricem profitebatur. Pecudes quoque similiter interibant, ita ut jam defecturum genus animalium crederetur. Quid hiems illa memorabilis tam incredibili immanitate saeviens, ut nivibus horrenda altitudine etiam in foro per dies quadraginta manentibus, Tiberis quoque glacie duraretur, si nostris temporibus accidisset, quae isti et quanta dixissent? Quid illa itidem ingens pestilentia, quamdiu saevivit, quam multos peremit? Quae cum in annum alium multo gravius tenderetur, frustra praesente Aesculapio, aditum est ad libros Sibyllinos. In quo genere oraculorum, sicut Cicero in libris de Divinatione commemorat, magis interpretibus, ut possunt seu volunt, dubia conjectantibus, credi solet (Libro 2, cap. 54). Tunc ergo dictum est eam esse causam pestilentiae, quod plurimas aedes sacras multi occupatas privatim tenerent: sic interim a magno imperitiae vel desidiae crimine Aesculapius liberatus est.

since Jupiter, the king of all, who had long sat in the Capitol, perhaps his many adulteries, in which as a youth he had been vacant, had not permitted him to learn medicine. Or when, their enemies—the Lucanians, Bruttians, Samnites, Etruscans, and Senonian Gauls—conspiring at one time, first the legates were slain by them, then the army was oppressed with the praetor, seven tribunes perishing with him and thirteen thousand soldiers? Or when, after grave and long seditions at Rome, in which at last the plebs had seceded to the Janiculum by a hostile plundering, the dire calamity of this evil was so great that for the sake of this thing, which was accustomed to be done in extreme perils, Hortensius was created dictator, who, after the plebs had been recalled, expired in the same magistracy—which had happened to no dictator before, and which was a more grave crime for those gods, Aesculapius being already present.

3. But then so many wars grew everywhere, that for the want of soldiers those proletarians were enrolled in the military, who, because they were vacant for the begetting of offspring and not strong enough to serve for want of means, had received this name. Pyrrhus also, the king of Greece, then celebrated with great glory, being called by the Tarentines, became an enemy of the Romans. To whom indeed consulting about the future event of things, Apollo gave so ambiguous an oracle, that whatever had happened from the two, he himself would be held as divine. For he says: "I say that you, Pyrrhus, are able to conquer the Romans." And so whether Pyrrhus should be conquered by the Romans, or the Romans by Pyrrhus, the secure soothsayer would expect either event. What then and how horrendous was the slaughter of both armies? In which nevertheless Pyrrhus stood out superior, so that he could now preach Apollo as divine according to his own understanding; unless in another battle very soon the Romans departed superior. And in so great a slaughter of wars a grave pestilence of women also arose: for before they could give birth to mature offspring, being pregnant they died. Where, I believe, Aesculapius excused himself, because he professed himself a chief physician, not a midwife. The cattle also similarly died, so that now it was believed the genus of animals would fail. What of that memorable winter raging with such incredible monstrousness, so that with snows of horrendous height remaining even in the forum for forty days, the Tiber also was hardened with ice—if it had happened in our times, what and how great things would they have said? What of that likewise huge pestilence, how long it raged, how many it destroyed? Which when it was extended into another year much more gravely, Aesculapius being present in vain, the Sibylline books were approached. In which kind of oracles, as Cicero commemorates in the books On Divination, it is accustomed to be believed rather by interpreters conjecturing doubtful things as they are able or wish. (Book 2, ch. 54). Then therefore it was said that that was the cause of the pestilence, because many held privately many sacred buildings that were occupied: thus in the meantime Aesculapius was liberated from a great crime of unskillfulness or sloth.

Unde autem a multis aedes illae fuerant occupatae, nemine prohibente, nisi quia tantae numinum turbae diu frustra fuerat supplicatum; atque ita paulatim loca deserebantur a cultoribus, ut tanquam vacua sine ullius offensione possent humanis saltem usibus vindicari? Nam quae tunc velut ad sedandam pestilentiam diligenter repetita atque reparata, nisi postea eodem modo neglecta atque usurpata latitarent, non utique magnae peritiae Varronis tribueretur, quod scribens de aedibus sacris tam multa ignorata commemorat. Sed tunc interim elegans, non pestilentiae depulsio, sed deorum excusatio procurata est.

## Caput XVIII.

*Quantae clades Romanos sub bellis Punicis triverint, frustra deorum praesidiis expetitis.*

1. Jam vero Punicis bellis, cum inter utrumque imperium victoria diu anceps atque incerta penderet, populique duo praevalidi impetus in alterutrum fortissimos et opulentissimos agerent, quot minutiora regna contrita sunt? quae urbes amplae nobilesque deletae? quot afflictae, quot perditae civitates? quam longe lateque tot regiones terraeque vastatae sunt? quoties victi hinc atque inde victores? quid hominum consumptum est, vel pugnantium militum, vel ab armis vacantium populorum? quanta vis navium marinis etiam praeliis oppressa, et diversarum tempestatum varietate submersa est? Si enarrare vel commemorare conemur, nihil aliud quam scriptores etiam nos erimus historiae. Tunc magno metu perturbata Romana civitas ad remedia vana et ridenda currebat. Instaurati sunt ex auctoritate librorum Sibyllinorum ludi saeculares, quorum celebritas inter centum annos fuerat instituta, felicioribusque temporibus memoria negligente perierat. Renovarunt etiam pontifices ludos sacros inferis, et ipsos abolitos annis retrorsum melioribus. Nimirum enim quando renovati sunt, tanta copia morientium ditatos inferos etiam ludere delectabat: cum profecto miseri homines ipsa rabida bella et cruentas animositates funereasque hinc atque inde victorias, magnos agerent ludos daemonum et opimas epulas inferorum. Nihil sane miserabilius primo bello Punico accidit, quam quod ita Romani victi sunt, ut etiam Regulus ille caperetur, cujus in primo et in altero libro mentionem fecimus (Lib. 1, capp. 15 et 24; et lib. 2, cap. 23), vir plane magnus et victor antea domitorque Poenorum: qui etiam ipsum primum bellum Punicum confecisset, nisi aviditate nimia laudis et gloriae duriores conditiones, quam ferre possent, fessis Carthaginensibus imperasset.

But for what reason had those buildings been occupied by many, no one prohibiting, unless because to so great a crowd of deities it had long been supplicated in vain; and thus by degrees the places were deserted by the worshipers, so that as if vacant they could be vindicated at least for human uses without anyone's offense? For what things were then diligently repeated and repaired as if to settle the pestilence, unless they were afterwards neglected in the same way and remained hidden by being usurped, would certainly not be attributed to the great skill of Varro, that in writing of sacred buildings he commemorates so many things that were unknown. But then in the meantime an elegant thing was procured, not a driving away of the pestilence, but an excusing of the gods.

## Chapter XVIII.

*How great slaughters wore down the Romans under the Punic wars, the protections of the gods being sought in vain.*

1. But now in the Punic wars, when victory hung for a long time doubtful and uncertain between each empire, and two very powerful peoples were making most brave and opulent impetuses against each other, how many smaller kingdoms were crushed? what large and noble cities were deleted? how many were afflicted, how many cities lost? how far and wide were so many regions and lands wasted? how often were the conquered on this side and the victors on that? what of men was consumed, either of fighting soldiers, or of peoples vacant from arms? how great a force of ships was oppressed in marine battles also, and submerged by the variety of diverse tempests? If we should attempt to narrate or commemorate these things, we ourselves will be nothing other than writers of history. Then the Roman city, disturbed by great fear, ran to vain and ridiculous remedies. The secular games were restored by the authority of the Sibylline books, the celebration of which had been instituted between a hundred years, and in more happy times had perished by neglecting memory. The pontiffs also renewed the sacred games to the gods below, and these also abolished in better years past. For certainly when they were renewed, it was delighting even the gods below, enriched by so great a supply of the dying, to play: when indeed wretched men were acting out the great games of the demons and the rich banquets of the gods below in those very rabid wars and bloody animosities and funeral victories on this side and that. Surely nothing more miserable happened in the first Punic war than that the Romans were so conquered that even that Regulus was captured, of whom we made mention in the first and in the second book (Book 1, ch. 15 and 24; and book 2, ch. 23), a man clearly great and previously a victor and tamer of the Carthaginians: who also would have finished the first Punic war itself, unless by too much greed for praise and glory he had commanded harder conditions than they could bear upon the weary Carthaginians.

Illius viri et captivitas inopinatissima, et servitus indignissima, et juratio fidelissima, et mors crudelissima si deos illos non cogit erubescere, verum est quod aerei sunt, et non habent sanguinem.

2. Nec mala illo tempore gravissima intra moenia defuerunt. Nam exundante nimis ultra morem fluvio Tiberino pene omnia urbis plana subversa sunt; allis impetu quasi torrentis impulsis, aliis velut stagno diuturno madefactis atque sublapsis. Istam deinde pestem ignis perniciosior subsecutus est, qui correptis circa forum quibusque celsioribus, etiam templo Vestae suo familiarissimo non pepercit, ubi ei veluti vitam perpetuam diligentissima substitutione lignorum, non tam honoratae quam damnatae virgines donare consueverant. Tunc vero illic ignis, non tantum vivebat, sed etiam saeviebat. Cujus impetu exterritae virgines, sacra illa fatalia, quae jam tres, in quibus fuerant, presserant civitates, cum ab illo incendio liberare non possent, Metellus pontifex suae quodam modo salutis oblitus irruens ea semiustulatus abripuit. Neque enim vel ipsum ignis agnovit: aut vero erat ibi numen, quod non etiam, si fuisset, fugisset. Homo igitur potius sacris Vestae, quam illa homini prodesse potuerunt. Si autem a se ipsis ignem non repellebant, civitatem, cujus salutem tueri putabantur, quid contra illas aquas flammasque poterant adjuvare? sicut etiam res ipsa nihil ea prorsus potuisse patefecit. Haec istis nequaquam objicerentur a nobis, si illa sacra dicerent, non tuendis his bonis temporalibus instituta, sed significandis aeternis; et ideo, cum ea quod corporalia visibiliaque essent, perire contingeret, nihil his rebus minui, propter quas fuerant instituta, et posse ad eosdem usus denuo reparari. Nunc vero caecitate mirabili, eis sacris quae perire possint, fieri potuisse existimant, ut salus terrena et temporalis felicitas civitatis perire non posset. Proinde cum illis etiam manentibus sacris, vel salutis contritio, vel infelicitas irruisse monstratur, mutare sententiam, quam defendere nequeunt, erubescunt.

## Caput XIX.

*De afflictione belli Punici secundi, qua vires partis utriusque consumptae sunt.*

If the most unexpected captivity and most unworthy servitude and most faithful swearing and most cruel death of that man does not compel those gods to blush, it is true that they are of brass and have no blood.

2. Nor were most grave evils wanting within the walls at that time. For the river Tiber overflowing too much beyond custom, almost all the flat parts of the city were subverted; some being pushed by the impetus as if of a torrent, others being made wet and having collapsed as if in a daily pool. Then a more pernicious plague of fire followed that plague, which, having seized whichever higher things were around the forum, did not spare even the temple of Vesta, its most familiar one, where virgins, not so much honored as condemned, were accustomed to give to it as if a perpetual life by the most diligent substitution of wood. But then the fire there not only was living, but also was raging. Terrified by whose impetus, the virgins, since they were not able to liberate from that fire those fatal sacred things which had already pressed three cities in which they had been, Metellus the pontiff, having in a certain way forgotten his own safety, rushing in, snatched them away half-burned. For not even the fire recognized him: or truly there was a deity there, who, if he had been, would not even have fled. A man, therefore, was rather able to help the sacred things of Vesta, than those things were able to help a man. But if they did not repel fire from themselves, what could they help against those waters and flames the city whose safety they were thought to guard? just as the thing itself made plain that they had been able to do nothing at all. These things would by no means be objected by us to them, if they said those sacred things were instituted, not for guarding these temporal goods, but for signifying eternal ones; and therefore, when it happened that they perished because they were corporal and visible things, nothing was diminished of these things for the sake of which they had been instituted, and they could be repaired anew for the same uses. But now by a wonderful blindness, they think it could be done by those sacred things which are able to perish, so that the earthly safety and temporal happiness of the city could not perish. Accordingly, when even while those sacred things remain, either the crushing of safety or unhappiness is shown to have rushed in, they blush to change the opinion which they are unable to defend.

## Chapter XIX.

*Concerning the affliction of the second Punic war, by which the strengths of both sides were consumed.*

Secundo autem bello Punico nimis longum est commemorare clades duorum populorum, tam longe secum lateque pugnantium; ita ut his quoque fatentibus, qui non tam narrare bella Romana, quam Romanum imperium laudare instituerunt, similior victo fuerit ille qui vicit. Annibale quippe ab Hispania surgente, et Pyrenaeis montibus superatis, Gallia transcursa, Alpibusque disruptis, tam longo circuitu auctis viribus, cuncta vastando aut subigendo, torrentis modo Italiae faucibus irruente, quam cruenta bella gesta sunt, quam multa praelia! Quoties Romani superati! quam multa ad hostem oppida defecerunt, quam multa capta et oppressa! quam dirae pugnae, et toties Annibali Romana clade gloriosae! De Cannensi autem mirabiliter horrendo malo quid dicam, ubi Annibal cum esset crudelissimus, tamen tanta inimicorum atrocissimorum caede satiatus, parci jussisse perhibetur? Unde tres modios annulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit: quo intelligerent tantam in illo praelio dignitatem cecidisse Romanam, ut facilius eam caperet mensura quam numerus; atque hinc strages turbae caeterae, tanto utique numerosioris, quanto infimioris, quae sine annulis jacebat, conjicienda potius quam nuntianda putaretur. Denique tanta militum inopia secuta est, ut Romani reos facinorum proposita impunitate colligerent, servitia libertate donarent, atque ex illis pudendus non tam suppleretur quam institueretur exercitus. Servis itaque, imo ne faciamus injuriam, jam libertis pro Romana republica pugnaturis arma defuerunt. Detracta sunt templis, tanquam Romani diis suis dicerent, Ponite quae tam diu inaniter habuistis, ne forte aliquid utile inde facere possint nostra mancipia, unde vos, nostra numina, nihil facere potuistis. Tunc etiam stipendiis sufficiendis cum defecisset aerarium, in usus publicos opes venere privatae, adeo unoquoque id quod habuit conferente, ut praeter singulos annulos aureos singulasque bullas, miserabilia dignitatis insignia, nihil sibi auri senatus ipse, quanto magis caeteri ordines tribusque relinquerent! Quis ferret istos, si nostris temporibus ad hanc inopiam cogerentur, cum eos modo vix feramus, quando pro superflua voluptate plura donantur histrionibus, quam tunc legionibus pro extrema salute collata sunt?

## Caput XX.

*De exitio Saguntinorum, quibus propter Romanorum amicitiam pereuntibus dii Romani auxilium non tulerunt.*

In the second Punic war indeed it is too long to commemorate the slaughters of two peoples, fighting so long and far and wide with each other; so that even those confessing, who instituted not so much to narrate the Roman wars as to praise the Roman empire, that he who conquered was more like the conquered. For Hannibal rising from Spain and, the Pyrenean mountains being surpassed, Gaul being run through, and the Alps being broken through, having increased his forces by so long a circuit, wasting or subduing all things, rushing into the jaws of Italy in the manner of a torrent, how bloody wars were waged, how many battles! How often were the Romans surpassed! how many towns defected to the enemy, how many were captured and oppressed! how dire the fights, and so often glorious for Hannibal by the Roman slaughter! But of the wonderfully horrendous evil of Cannae what shall I say, where Hannibal, although he was most cruel, yet being satiated by such great slaughter of most atrocious enemies, is related to have ordered to spare them? Whence he sent three modii of gold rings to Carthage: by which they might understand that so great Roman dignity had fallen in that battle, that a measure might easier take it than a number; and from this the slaughter of the rest of the crowd, so much more numerous as it was lower, which was lying without rings, might be conjectured rather than announced. Finally such a want of soldiers followed, that the Romans collected those guilty of crimes, impunity being proposed, gave liberty to slaves, and from them a shameful army was not so much supplied as instituted. To the slaves therefore, nay let us not do injury, now to the freedmen who were about to fight for the Roman republic, arms were wanting. They were taken from the temples, as if the Romans were saying to their gods, "Put down what you have held in vain for so long, lest perchance our bond-slaves might be able to do something useful from there, whence you, our deities, were able to do nothing." Then also when the treasury had failed for the stipends to be sufficient, private wealth came into public uses, each one so conferring what he had, that except for single gold rings and single bullae, the miserable insignia of dignity, the senate itself left nothing of gold for itself, how much more the other orders and tribes! Who would bear those men if in our times they were compelled to this want, since we can hardly bear them now, when more things are given to actors for superfluous pleasure than were then collected for the legions for extreme safety?

## Chapter XX.

*Concerning the destruction of the Saguntines, for whom the Roman gods brought no help while they were perishing on account of their friendship with the Romans.*

Sed in his omnibus belli Punici secundi malis, nihil miserabilius ac miserabili querela dignius, quam exitium Saguntinorum fuit. Haec quippe Hispaniae civitas amicissima populi Romani, dum eidem populo fidem servat, eversa est. Hinc enim Annibal fracto foedere Romanorum, causas quaesivit quibus eos irritaret ad bellum. Saguntum ergo ferociter obsidebat: quod ubi Romae auditum est, missi legati ad Annibalem, ut ab ejus obsidione discederet. Contempti Carthaginem pergunt, querimoniamque deponunt foederis rupti, infectoque negotio Romam redeunt. Dum hae morae aguntur, misera illa civitas opulentissima, suae reipublicae Romanaeque charissima, octavo vel nono a Poenis mense deleta est. Cujus interitum legere, quanto magis scribere, horroris est. Breviter tamen eum commemorabo: ad rem quippe quae agitur, multum pertinet. Primo fame contabuit: nam etiam suorum cadaveribus a nonnullis pasta perhibetur. Deinde omnium fessa rerum, ne saltem captiva in manus Annibalis perveniret, ingentem rogum publice struxit, in quem ardentem ferro etiam trucidatos omnes se suosque miserunt. Hic aliquid agerent dii helluones atque nebulones, sacrificiorum adipibus inhiantes, et fallacium divinationum caligine decipientes: hic aliquid agerent, civitati populi Romani amicissimae subvenirent, fidei conservatione pereuntem perire non sinerent. Ipsi utique medii praefuerunt, cum Romanae reipublicae interjecto foedere copulata est. Custodiens itaque fideliter quod ipsis praesidibus placito junxerat, fide vinxerat, juratione constrinxerat, a perfido obsessa, oppressa, consumpta est. Si ipsi dii tempestate atque fulminibus Annibalem postea Romanis proximum moenibus terruerunt, longeque miserunt; tunc primum tale aliquid facerent. Audeo quippe dicere, honestius illos pro amicis Romanorum, ideo periclitantibus ne Romanis frangerent fidem, et nullam opem tunc habentibus, quam pro ipsis Romanis, qui pro se pugnabant, atque adversus Annibalem opulenti erant, potuisse tempestate saevire. Si ergo tutores essent Romanae felicitatis et gloriae, tam grave ab ea crimen Saguntinae calamitatis averterent: nunc vero quam stulte creditur diis illis defensoribus Romam victore Annibale non perisse, qui Saguntinae urbi non potuerunt, ne pro ejus periret amicitia, subvenire? Si Saguntinorum christianus populus esset, et hujusmodi aliquid pro fide evangelica pateretur, quanquam se ipse nec ferro, nec ignibus corrupisset; sed tamen si pro fide evangelica excidium pateretur, ea spe pateretur qua in Christum crediderat, non mercede brevissimi temporis, sed aeternitatis interminae.

But in all these evils of the second Punic war, nothing was more miserable or more worthy of a miserable complaint than the destruction of the Saguntines. For this city of Spain, most friendly to the Roman people, was overturned while it kept faith with that same people. For from this Hannibal, having broken the treaty of the Romans, sought causes by which he might irritate them to war. Therefore he was fiercely besieging Saguntum: which when it was heard at Rome, ambassadors were sent to Hannibal, that he might depart from its siege. Despised, they proceed to Carthage, and lay down a complaint of the broken treaty, and, the business being unfinished, they return to Rome. While these delays are acted out, that miserable city, most opulent, and most dear to its own republic and to the Roman, was deleted in the eighth or ninth month by the Carthaginians. To read whose destruction, how much more to write it, is of horror. Yet I will briefly commemorate it: for it pertains much to the matter which is being acted. First it wasted away by hunger: for it is related to have been fed even by the corpses of its own by some. Then weary of all things, lest at least it should come captive into the hands of Hannibal, it publicly constructed a huge pyre, into which, while burning, they all cast themselves and theirs, even being slaughtered by the sword. Here those gods, gluttons and rascals, gaping for the fats of sacrifices, and deceiving by the darkness of false divinations, should have done something: here they should have done something, they should have come to the aid of a city most friendly to the Roman people, they should not have permitted it to perish while perishing for the preservation of faith. They indeed were present as mediators, when it was coupled to the Roman republic, a treaty being interposed. Therefore guarding faithfully what it had joined by the pleasure of those same presiding ones, had bound by faith, and had constrained by oath, it was besieged, oppressed, and consumed by a perfidious one. If the gods themselves afterwards terrified Hannibal with a tempest and thunderbolts when he was nearest to the Roman walls, and sent him far away; then first they should have done such a thing. For I dare to say, that they could more honestly have raged with a tempest for the friends of the Romans, therefore being in danger lest they should break faith with the Romans, and having no help then, than for the Romans themselves, who were fighting for themselves, and were opulent against Hannibal. If therefore they were guardians of Roman happiness and glory, they would avert so grave a crime of the Saguntine calamity from it: but now how foolishly is it believed that Rome did not perish by those gods as defenders when Hannibal was victor, who were not able to come to the aid of the Saguntine city, lest it should perish for its friendship? If the people of the Saguntines were Christian, and suffered something of this kind for the evangelical faith, although it had not corrupted itself either by the sword or by fires; yet if it suffered destruction for the evangelical faith, it would suffer it by that hope by which it had believed in Christ, not for the reward of a very short time, but of an unending eternity.

Pro istis autem diis, qui propterea coli perhibentur, qui propterea colendi requiruntur, ut harum labentium atque transeuntium rerum felicitas tuta sit, quid nobis defensores et excusatores eorum de Saguntinis pereuntibus respondebunt, nisi quod de illo Regulo exstincto? Hoc quippe interest, quod ille unus homo, haec tota civitas; utriusque tamen interitus causa conservatio fidei fuit. Propter hanc enim ad hostes et redire ille voluit, et noluit ista transire. Conservata ergo provocat deorum iram fides? an possunt et diis propitiis perire non solum quique homines, verum etiam integrae civitates? Utrum volunt, eligant. Si enim fidei servatae irascuntur illi dii, quaerant perfidos a quibus colantur: si autem etiam illis propitiis multis gravibusque cruciatibus afflicti, interire homines civitatesque possunt, nullo fructu felicitatis hujus coluntur. Desinant igitur succensere, qui sacris deorum suorum perditis se infelices esse factos putant. Possent enim illis non solum manentibus, verum etiam faventibus, non, sicut modo, de miseria murmurare, sed sicut tunc Regulus et Saguntini, excruciati horribiliter etiam penitus interire.

## Caput XXI.

*Quam ingrata fuerit Romana civitatis Scipioni liberatori suo, et in quibus moribus egerit, quando eam Sallustius optimam fuisse describit.*

Porro inter secundum et postremum bellum Carthaginense, quando Sallustius optimis moribus et maxima concordia dixit egisse Romanos (multa enim praetereo, suscepti operis modum cogitans): eodem ergo ipso tempore morum optimorum maximaeque concordiae, Scipio ille Romae Italiaeque liberator, ejusdemque belli Punici secundi tam horrendi, tam exitiosi, tam periculosi praeclarus mirabilisque confector, victor Annibalis domitorque Carthaginis, cujus ab adolescentia vita describitur diis dedita templisque nutrita, inimicorum accusationibus cessit, carensque patria, quam sua virtute salvam et liberam reddidit, in oppido Linternensi egit reliquam complevitque vitam, post insignem suum triumphum nullo illius urbis captus desiderio, ita ut jussisse perhibeatur, ne saltem mortuo in ingrata patria funus fieret. Deinde tunc primum per Cneum Manlium proconsulem de Gallograecis triumphantem, Asiatica luxuria Romam omni hoste pejor irrepsit. Tunc enim primum lecti aerati, et pretiosa stragula visa perhibentur: tunc inductae in convivia psaltriae, et alia licentiosa nequitia.

But for these gods, who for this reason are related to be worshiped, who for this reason are required to be worshiped, that the happiness of these failing and passing things may be safe, what will their defenders and excusers answer to us concerning the perishing Saguntines, except what concerning that extinguished Regulus? For this interests, that that was one man, this a whole city; yet the cause of the destruction of each was the preservation of faith. For on account of this he both wished to return to the enemies, and it did not wish to pass over. Therefore does faith preserved provoke the wrath of the gods? or are both any men and even entire cities able to perish even while the gods are propitious? Which they wish, let them choose. For if those gods are angry at faith kept, let them seek perfidious ones by whom they may be worshiped: but if also while they are propitious men and cities are able to be afflicted with many and grave tortures and to perish, they are worshiped with no fruit of this happiness. Let them cease therefore to be angry, who think themselves to have been made unhappy, the sacred things of their gods being lost. For they were able, while those were not only remaining, but also favoring, not, as now, to murmur concerning misery, but as then Regulus and the Saguntines, being horribly tortured, even to perish completely.

## Chapter XXI.

*How ungrateful the Roman city was to Scipio its liberator, and in what manners it acted when Sallust describes it as having been at its best.*

Moreover, between the second and the last Carthaginian war, when Sallust said the Romans acted with the best manners and the greatest concord (for I pass over many things, thinking of the limit of the undertaken work): at that same time, therefore, of the best manners and the greatest concord, that Scipio, the liberator of Rome and Italy, and the illustrious and wonderful finisher of that second Punic war, so horrendous, so destructive, so dangerous, the victor of Hannibal and the tamer of Carthage, whose life from adolescence is described as dedicated to the gods and nourished in the temples, yielded to the accusations of his enemies, and lacking the fatherland which he rendered safe and free by his virtue, he spent and completed the rest of his life in the town of Literum, after his signal triumph taken by no desire for that city, so that he is related to have commanded that at least when dead a funeral should not be made for him in his ungrateful fatherland. Then first, through Gnaeus Manlius the proconsul triumphing over the Gallograeci, Asiatic luxury, worse than any enemy, crept into Rome. For then first, bronze-plated couches and precious coverings are related to have been seen: then psaltresses and other licentious wickedness were introduced into banquets.

Sed nunc de his malis quae intolerabiliter homines patiuntur, non de his quae libenter faciunt, dicere institui. Unde illud magis quod de Scipione commemoravi, quod cedens inimicis extra patriam, quam liberavit, mortuus est, ad praesentem pertinet disputationem, quod ei Romana numina a quorum templis avertit Annibalem, non reddiderunt vicem, quae propter istam tantummodo coluntur felicitatem. Sed quia Sallustius eo tempore ibi dixit mores optimos fuisse, propterea hoc de Asiana luxuria commemorandum putavi, ut intelligatur etiam illud a Sallustio in comparatione aliorum temporum dictum, quibus temporibus pejores utique in gravissimis discordiis mores fuerunt. Nam tunc, id est inter secundum et postremum bellum Carthaginense, lata est etiam illa lex Voconia, ne quis haeredem feminam faceret, nec unicam filiam. Qua lege quid iniquius dici aut cogitari possit, ignoro. Verumtamen toto illo intervallo duorum bellorum Punicorum tolerabilior infelicitas fuit. Bellis tantummodo foris conterebatur exercitus, sed victoriis consolabatur: domi autem nullae, sicut alias, discordiae saeviebant. Sed ultimo bello Punico uno impetu alterius Scipionis, qui ob hoc etiam ipse Africani cognomen invenit, aemula imperii Romani ab stirpe deleta est: ac deinde tantis malorum aggeribus oppressa Romana respublica, ut prosperitate ac securitate rerum, unde nimium corruptis moribus mala illa congesta sunt, plus nocuisse monstretur tam cito eversa, quam prius nocuerat tam diu adversa Carthago. Hoc toto tempore usque ad Caesarem Augustum, qui videtur non adhuc vel ipsorum opinione gloriosam, sed contentiosam et exitiosam et plane jam enervem ac languidam libertatem omni modo extorsisse Romanis, et ad regale arbitrium cuncta revocasse, et quasi morbida vetustate collapsam veluti instaurasse ac renovasse rempublicam: toto ergo isto tempore, omitto ex aliis atque aliis causis etiam atque etiam bellicas clades, et Numantinum foedus horrenda ignominia maculosum: volaverant enim pulli de cavea, et Mancino consuli, ut aiunt, augurium malum fecerant; quasi per tot annos, quibus illa exigua civitas Romanum circumsessa exercitum afflixerat, ipsique Romanae reipublicae terrori esse jam coeperat, alii contra eam malo augurio processerint.

## Caput XXII.

*De Mithridatis edicto, quo omnes cives Romanos, qui intra Asiam invenirentur, jussit occidi.*

But now I have instituted to speak of these evils which men suffer intolerably, not of those which they do willingly. Whence that rather which I commemorated concerning Scipio, that yielding to his enemies he died outside the fatherland which he liberated, pertains to the present disputation, because the Roman deities, from whose temples he averted Hannibal, did not return the favor to him, who are worshiped only for the sake of this happiness. But because Sallust said that at that time there were the best manners, therefore I thought this concerning Asian luxury should be commemorated, so that it may be understood that that was also said by Sallust in comparison with other times, in which times there were surely worse manners in the most grave discords. For then, that is between the second and the last Carthaginian war, that Voconian law was also passed, that no one should make a female an heir, not even an only daughter. Than which law I know not what more iniquitous could be said or thought. Nevertheless, in that whole interval of the two Punic wars unhappiness was more tolerable. Only by wars abroad was the army worn down, but it was consoled by victories: at home however no discords were raging, as at other times. But in the last Punic war, by one impetus of the other Scipio, who on account of this also found for himself the cognomen Africanus, the rival of the Roman empire was deleted from the root: and thereafter the Roman republic was oppressed by such great heaps of evils, that by the prosperity and security of things, from which those evils were amassed through too much corrupted manners, it is shown to have harmed more being so quickly overturned, than Carthage had previously harmed being so long adverse. In this whole time until Caesar Augustus, who seems to have extorted from the Romans by every means a liberty not yet glorious even in their own opinion, but contentious and destructive and clearly now nerveless and languid, and to have recalled all things to a royal judgment, and to have as it were restored and renewed the republic collapsed by a morbid antiquity: in all that time, therefore, I omit again and again the military slaughters from other and other causes, and the Numantine treaty spotted with horrendous ignominy: for the chickens had flown from the cage, and had made a bad augury for Mancinus the consul, as they say; as if through so many years, in which that tiny city had afflicted the surrounded Roman army, and had already begun to be a terror to the Roman republic itself, others had proceeded against it with a bad augury.

## Chapter XXII.

*Concerning the edict of Mithridates, by which he ordered all Roman citizens who should be found within Asia to be killed.*

Sed haec, inquam, omitto, quamvis illud nequaquam tacuerim, quod Mithridates rex Asiae ubique in Asia peregrinantes cives Romanos, atque innumerabili copia suis negotiis intentos, uno die occidi jussit: et factum est. Quam illa miserabilis rerum facies erat, subito quemque, ubicumque fuisset inventus, in agro, in via, in oppido, in domo, in vico, in foro, in templo, in lecto, in convivio, inopinate atque impie fuisse trucidatum? Quis gemitus morientium, quae lacrymae spectantium, fortasse etiam ferientium fuerunt? Quam dura necessitas hospitum, non solum videndi nefarias illas caedes domi suae, verum etiam perpetrandi; ab illa blanda comitate humanitatis repente mutatis vultibus ad hostile negotium in pace peragendum, mutuis dicam omnino vulneribus, cum percussus in corpore, et percussor in animo feriretur? Num et isti omnes auguria contempserant? num deos et domesticos et publicos, cum de sedibus suis ad illam irremeabilem peregrinationem profecti sunt, quos consulerent, non habebant? Hoc si ita est, non habent cur isti in hac causa de nostris temporibus conquerantur. Olim Romani haec vana contemnunt. Si autem consuluerunt, respondeatur quid ista profuerunt, quando per humanas duntaxat leges, nemine prohibente, licuerunt.

## Caput XXIII.

*De interioribus malis, quibus Romana respublica exagitata est, praecedente prodigio, quod in rabie omnium animalium, quae hominibus serviunt, fuit.*

Sed jam illa mala breviter, quantum possumus, commemoremus, quae quanto interiora, tanto miseriora exstiterunt: discordiae civiles, vel potius inciviles; nec jam seditiones, sed etiam ipsa bella urbana, ubi tantus sanguis effusus est, ubi partium studia, non concionum dissensionibus variisque vocibus in alterutrum, sed plane jam ferro armisque saeviebant: bella socialia, bella servilia, bella civilia quantum Romanum cruorem fuderunt, quantam Italiae vastationem desertionemque fecerunt? Namque antequam se adversus Romam sociale Latium commoveret, cuncta animalia humanis usibus subdita, canes, equi, asini, boves, et quaeque alia pecora sub hominum dominio fuerunt, subito efferata et domesticae lenitatis oblita, relictis tectis libera vagabantur, et omnem non solum aliorum, verum etiam dominorum aversabantur accessum, non sine exitio vel periculo audentis, si quis de proximo urgeret. Quanti mali signum fuit, si hoc signum fuit quod tantum malum fuit, si etiam signum non fuit? Hoc si nostris temporibus accidisset, rabidiores istos quam illi sua animalia pateremur.

But these things, I say, I omit, although I would by no means keep silent about that, that Mithridates the king of Asia ordered Roman citizens traveling everywhere in Asia, and intent on their businesses in innumerable abundance, to be killed in one day: and it was done. How miserable was that face of things, that suddenly everyone, wherever he had been found, in the field, on the road, in the town, in the house, in the village, in the forum, in the temple, in bed, at a banquet, was unexpectedly and impiously slaughtered? What were the groans of the dying, what the tears of the spectators, perhaps even of the strikers? How hard the necessity of the hosts, not only of seeing those nefarious slaughters in their own house, but even of perpetrating them; from that bland courtesy of humanity suddenly with changed countenances to carry out a hostile business in peace, with mutual wounds, I shall say altogether, when the one struck in the body, and the striker in the soul was being struck? Had all these also despised the auguries? did they not have gods both domestic and public, whom they might consult when they set out from their seats to that journey from which there is no return? If this is so, they have no reason why they should complain of our times in this cause. Long ago the Romans despised these vain things. But if they did consult them, let it be answered what those things profited, when they were permitted at least by human laws, no one prohibiting.

## Chapter XXIII.

*Concerning the interior evils by which the Roman republic was agitated, a prodigy preceding which was in the madness of all animals which serve men.*

But now let us briefly commemorate, as much as we can, those evils which, as much as they were more interior, so much more miserable they stood out: civil discords, or rather uncivil; and no longer seditions, but even urban wars themselves, where so much blood was shed, where the studies of parties were raging no longer with the dissensions of assemblies and various voices against one another, but plainly now with the sword and arms: how much Roman blood did the Social wars, the servile wars, the civil wars shed, how much devastation and desertion of Italy did they make? For before social Latium moved itself against Rome, all animals subjected to human uses, dogs, horses, asses, oxen, and whatever other cattle were under the dominion of men, suddenly being made wild and having forgotten domestic gentleness, having left the roofs were wandering free, and were turning away from every access not only of others, but even of their masters, not without the destruction or danger of the one daring, if anyone pressed from nearby. Of how great an evil was it a sign, if this was a sign which was so great an evil, even if it was not a sign? If this had happened in our times, we would suffer those men more rabid than they suffered their animals.

## Caput XXIV.

*De discordia civili, quam Gracchiae seditiones excitaverunt.*

Initium autem civilium bellorum fuit, seditiones Gracchorum agrariis legibus excitatae. Volebant enim agros populo dividere, quos nobilitas perperam possidebat. Sed tam vetustam iniquitatem audere convellere, periculosissimum; imo vero, ut ipsa res docuit, perniciosissimum fuit. Quae funera facta sunt, cum prior Gracchus occisus est? quae etiam, cum alius frater ejus non longo interposito tempore? Neque enim legibus et ordine potestatum, sed turbis armorumque conflictibus nobiles ignobilesque necabantur. Post Gracchi alterius interfectionem, Lucius Opimius consul, qui adversus eum intra Urbem arma commoverat, eoque cum sociis oppresso et exstincto ingentem civium stragem fecerat, cum quaestionem haberet jam judiciaria inquisitione caeteros persequens, tria millia hominum occidisse perhibetur. Ex quo intelligi potest, quantam multitudinem mortium habere potuerit turbidus conflictus armorum, quando tantam habuit judiciorum velut examinata cognitio. Percussor Gracchi ipsius caput quantum grave erat, tanto auri pondere consuli vendidit: haec enim pactio caedem praecesserat. In qua etiam occisus est cum liberis Marcus Fulvius consularis.

## Caput XXV.

*De aede Concordiae ex senatusconsulto in loco seditionum et caedium condita.*

Eleganti sane senatusconsulto eo ipso loco, ubi funereus tumultus ille commissus est, ubi tot cives ordinis cujusque ceciderunt, aedes Concordiae facta est, ut Gracchorum poenae testis concionantium oculos feriret, memoriamque compungeret. Sed hoc quid aliud fuit, quam irrisio deorum, illi deae templum construere, quae si esset in civitate, non tantis dissensionibus dilacerata corrueret? nisi forte sceleris hujus rea Concordia, quia deseruerat animos civium, meruit in illa aede tanquam in carcere includi. Cur enim, si rebus gestis congruere voluerunt, non ibi potius aedem Discordiae fabricaverunt? an ulla ratio redditur, cur Concordia dea sit, et Discordia dea non sit; ut secundum Labeonis distinctionem, bona sit ista, illa vero mala? Nec ipse aliud secutus videtur, quam quod advertit Romae etiam Febri, sicut Saluti, templum constitutum. Eo igitur modo non tantum Concordiae, verum etiam Discordiae constitui debuit. Periculose itaque Romani tam mala dea irata vivere voluerunt, nec Trojanum excidium recoluerunt originem ab ejus offensione sumpsisse.

## Chapter XXIV.

*Concerning the civil discord which the seditions of the Gracchi excited.*

But the beginning of the civil wars was the seditions of the Gracchi excited by the agrarian laws. For they wished to divide the fields to the people, which the nobility was possessing wrongly. But to dare to pluck up so ancient an iniquity was most dangerous; nay indeed, as the thing itself taught, it was most pernicious. What funerals were made when the former Gracchus was killed? what also when his other brother after not a long time interposed? For not by laws and the order of powers, but by crowds and conflicts of arms, nobles and ignobles were being slain. After the killing of the other Gracchus, Lucius Opimius the consul, who had moved arms against him within the City, and that one being oppressed and extinguished with his associates had made a huge slaughter of citizens, when he was holding an inquiry already pursuing the others by judicial inquisition, is related to have killed three thousand men. From which it can be understood how great a multitude of deaths the turbid conflict of arms could have had, when the as it were examined cognition of judgments had so great a number. The striker of Gracchus sold his head to the consul for as much weight of gold as it was heavy: for this pact had preceded the slaughter. In which also Marcus Fulvius the consular was killed with his children.

## Chapter XXV.

*Concerning the temple of Concord built by a decree of the senate in the place of seditions and slaughters.*

By an elegant decree of the senate indeed, in that very place where that funeral tumult was committed, where so many citizens of every order fell, the temple of Concord was made, so that as a witness of the punishment of the Gracchi it might strike the eyes of those holding assemblies, and might prick the memory. But what else was this than a mockery of the gods, to construct a temple to that goddess who, if she were in the city, it would not collapse torn apart by so great dissensions? unless perchance Concord, guilty of this crime because she had deserted the minds of the citizens, deserved to be included in that temple as if in a prison. For why, if they wished to agree with the things done, did they not rather build a temple of Discord there? or is any reason rendered why Concord should be a goddess, and Discord should not be a goddess; so that according to the distinction of Labeo, that one should be good, but this one bad? Nor does he himself seem to have followed anything else than what he noticed, that at Rome a temple was constituted even to Fever, just as to Health. In that way therefore not only to Concord, but also to Discord it ought to have been constituted. Dangerously therefore the Romans wished to live with so bad a goddess being angry, nor did they recollect that the Trojan destruction took its origin from her offense.

Ipsa quippe quia inter deos non fuerat invitata, trium dearum litem aurei mali suppositione commenta est: unde rixa numinum, et Venus victrix, et rapta Helena, et Troja deleta. Quapropter, si forte indignata quod inter deos in Urbe nullum templum habere meruit, ideo jam turbabat tantis tumultibus civitatem; quanto atrocius potuit irritari, cum in loco illius caedis, hoc est in loco sui operis, adversariae suae constitutam aedem videret? Haec vana ridentibus nobis illi docti sapientesque stomachantur, et tamen numinum bonorum malorumque cultores de hac quaestione Concordiae Discordiaeque non exeunt, sive praetermiserint harum dearum cultum, eisque Febrem Bellonamque praetulerint, quibus antiqua fana fecerunt; sive et istas coluerint, cum sic eos, discedente Concordia, Discordia saeviens usque ad civilia bella perduxerit.

## Caput XXVI.

*De diversis generibus belli, quae post conditam aedem Concordiae sunt secuta.*

Praeclarum vero seditionibus obstaculum, aedem Concordiae testem caedis suppliciique Gracchorum concionantibus opponendam putarunt. Quantum ex hoc profecerint, indicant secuta pejora. Laborarunt enim deinceps concionatores, non exemplum devitare Gracchorum, sed superare propositum, Lucius Saturninus tribunus plebis, et Caius Servilius praetor, et multo post Marcus Drusus, quorum omnium seditionibus caedes primo jam tunc gravissimae, deinde socialia bella exarserunt: quibus Italia vehementer afflicta, et ad vastitatem mirabilem desertionemque perducta est. Bellum deinde servile successit, et bella civilia: in quibus quae praelia commissa sunt, quid sanguinis fusum? ut omnes fere Italae gentes, quibus Romanum maxime praepollebat imperium, tanquam saeva barbaries domarentur. Jam ex paucissimis, hoc est minus quam septuaginta, gladiato ribus quemadmodum bellum servile contractum sit, ad quantum numerum et quam acrem ferocemque pervenerit: quos ille numerus imperatores populi Romani superaverit: quas et quomodo civitates regionesque vastaverit, vix qui historiam conscripserunt, satis explicare potuerunt. Neque id solum fuit servile bellum; sed et Macedoniam provinciam prius servitia depopulata sunt, et deinde Siciliam oramque maritimam. Quanta etiam et quam horrenda commiserint primo latrocinia, deinde valida bella piratarum, quis pro magnitudine rerum valeat eloqui?

## Caput XXVII.

*De bello civili Mariano atque Syllano.*

For she herself, because she had not been invited among the gods, devised the strife of the three goddesses by the substitution of the golden apple: whence the quarrel of the deities, and Venus victrix, and Helena snatched away, and Troy deleted. Wherefore, if perchance indignant because she deserved to have no temple among the gods in the City, she was therefore now disturbing the city with so great tumults; how much more atrociously could she be irritated, when in the place of that slaughter, that is in the place of her own work, she saw a temple constituted to her adversary? At us laughing at these vain things those learned and wise men are angry, and yet the worshipers of good and bad deities do not depart from this question of Concord and Discord, whether they have passed over the worship of these goddesses, and preferred Fever and Bellona to them, to whom they made ancient temples; or have worshiped these also, when thus Concord departing, Discord raging has led them all the way to civil wars.

## Chapter XXVI.

*Concerning the different kinds of war which followed after the building of the temple of Concord.*

They thought that a remarkable obstacle indeed to seditions, the temple of Concord, should be opposed to those holding assemblies as a witness of the slaughter and punishment of the Gracchi. How much they profited from this, the worse things that followed indicate. For thereafter the speakers labored, not to avoid the example of the Gracchi, but to surpass their purpose: Lucius Saturninus, tribune of the plebs, and Caius Servilius, the praetor, and much later Marcus Drusus; from the seditions of all of whom first indeed then the most grave slaughters, then the Social wars blazed forth: by which Italy was vehemently afflicted, and brought to a wonderful vastness and desertion. Then the servile war succeeded, and civil wars: in which what battles were committed, what blood was shed? so that almost all the Italian nations, by whom the Roman empire was most powerful, were subdued as if a savage barbarity. Now from very few, that is less than seventy, gladiators, in what manner the servile war was contracted, to what number and how sharp and fierce it arrived: what generals of the Roman people that number overcame: what cities and regions it devastated and in what way, those who have written history have scarcely been able to explain sufficiently. Nor was that the only servile war; but also servile groups first depopulated the province of Macedonia, and then Sicily and the maritime coast. How great also and how horrendous robberies they first committed, then the powerful wars of the pirates, who might be able to speak according to the magnitude of the things?

## Chapter XXVII.

*Concerning the Marian and Sullan civil war.*

Cum vero Marius civili sanguine jam cruentus, multis adversarum sibi partium peremptis, victus Urbe profugisset, vix paululum respirante civitate, ut verbis Tullianis utar, superavit postea Cinna cum Mario. Tum vero clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis exstincta sunt. Ultus est hujus victoriae crudelitatem postea Sylla, ne dici quidem opus est quanta diminutione civium et quanta calamitate reipublicae. De hac enim vindicta, quae perniciosior fuit, quam si scelera quae puniebantur, impunita relinquerentur, ait et Lucanus: Excessit medicina modum; nimiumque secuta est, Qua morbi duxere manum; periere nocentes. Sed cum jam soli possent superesse nocentes, Tunc data libertas odiis, resolutaque legum Frenis ira ruit. Illo bello Mariano atque Syllano, exceptis his qui foris in acie ceciderunt, in ipsa quoque Urbe cadaveribus vici, plateae, fora, theatra, templa completa sunt; ut difficile judicaretur quando victores plus funerum ediderint, utrum prius ut vincerent, an postea quia vicissent: cum primum victoria Mariana, quando de exsilio se ipse restituit, exceptis passim quaquaversum caedibus factis, caput Octavii consulis poneretur in rostris, Caesar et Fimbria in domibus trucidarentur suis, duo Crassi, pater et filius, in conspectu mutuo mactarentur, Bebius et Numitorius unco tracti sparsis visceribus interirent, Catulus hausto veneno se manibus inimicorum subtraheret, Merula, flamen Dialis, praecisis venis Jovi etiam suo sanguine litaret. In ipsius autem Marii oculis continuo feriebantur, quibus salutantibus dexteram porrigere noluisset.

## Caput XXVIII.

*Qualis fuerit Syllana victoria vindex Marianae crudelitatis.*

Syllana vero victoria secuta, hujus videlicet vindex crudelitatis, post tantum sanguinem civium, quo fuso comparata fuerat, finito jam bello inimicitiis viventibus, crudelius in pace grassata est. Jam etiam post Marii majoris pristinas ac recentissimas caedes additae fuerant aliae graviores a Mario juvene, atque Carbone earumdem partium Marianarum: qui Sylla imminente, non solum victoriam, verum etiam ipsam desperantes salutem, cuncta suis alienisque caedibus impleverunt.

But when Marius, already bloody with civil blood, many of the parties adverse to him having been destroyed, had fled from the City being conquered, the city scarcely breathing for a little while, to use the Tullian words, Cinna afterwards surpassed with Marius. Then indeed the most illustrious men being killed, the lights of the city were extinguished. Sulla afterwards avenged the cruelty of this victory, it is not even necessary to say with how great a diminution of citizens and how great a calamity of the republic. For concerning this vengeance, which was more pernicious than if the crimes which were being punished had been left unpunished, Lucan also says: The medicine exceeded the measure; and too much followed where the diseases led the hand; the guilty perished. But when now the guilty alone were able to survive, then liberty was given to hatreds, and anger, released from the reins of the laws, rushed on. In that Marian and Sullan war, those being excepted who fell abroad in the line of battle, in the City itself also the streets, squares, forums, theaters, temples were filled with corpses; so that it was difficultly judged when the victors gave out more funerals, whether first that they might conquer, or afterwards because they had conquered: when first in the Marian victory, when he restored himself from exile, slaughters made everywhere on every side being excepted, the head of Octavius the consul was placed on the rostra, Caesar and Fimbria were slaughtered in their own houses, the two Crassi, father and son, were butchered in mutual sight, Bebius and Numitorius being dragged by a hook with scattered viscera perished, Catulus by having drunk poison withdrew himself from the hands of his enemies, Merula, the flamen Dial, his veins having been cut even to his own Jupiter made an offering with his blood. Moreover, in the eyes of Marius himself they were immediately struck, to whom he had not been willing to extend his right hand while they were saluting.

## Chapter XXVIII.

*What kind of thing was the Sullan victory, the avenger of the Marian cruelty.*

But the Sullan victory having followed, the avenger of this cruelty forsooth, after so much blood of the citizens, by the shedding of which it had been compared, the war being already finished while enmities were living, it raged more cruelly in peace. For already even after the former and most recent slaughters of the elder Marius, others more grave had been added by the younger Marius and Carbo of the same Marian parties: who, with Sulla imminent, despairing not only of victory but even of safety itself, filled all things with their own and others' slaughters.

Nam praeter stragem late per diversa diffusam, obsesso etiam senatu, de ipsa curia, tanquam de carcere, producebantur ad gladium. Mucius Scaevola pontifex, quoniam nihil apud Romanos templo Vestae sanctius habebatur, aram ipsam amplexus, occisus est; ignemque illum, qui perpetua cura virginum semper ardebat, suo pene sanguine exstinxit. Urbem deinde Sylla victor intravit, qui in villa publica, non jam bello, sed ipsa pace saeviente, septem millia deditorum (unde utique inermia) non pugnando, sed jubendo prostraverat. In Urbe autem tota quem vellet Syllanus quisque feriebat: unde tot funera numerari omnino non poterant, donec Syllae suggereretur, sinendos esse aliquos vivere, ut essent quibus possent imperare qui vicerant. Tunc jam cohibita, quae hac atque hac passim furibunda ferebatur licentia jugulandi, tabula illa cum magna gratulatione proposita est, quae hominum ex utroque ordine splendido, equestri scilicet atque senatorio, occidendorum ac proscribendorum duo millia continebat. Contristabat numerus, sed consolabatur modus; nec quia tot cadebant tantum erat moeroris, quantum laetitiae, quia caeteri non timebant. Sed in quibusdam eorum, qui mori jussi erant, etiam ipsa licet crudelis caeterorum securitas, genera mortium exquisita congemuit. Quemdam enim sine ferro laniantium manus diripuerunt, immanius homines hominem vivum, quam bestiae solent discerpere cadaver abjectum. Alius oculis effossis et particulatim membris amputatis in tantis cruciatibus diu vivere, vel potius diu mori coactus est. Subhastatae sunt etiam, tanquam villae, quaedam nobiles civitates. Una vero, velut unus reus duci juberetur, sic tota jussa est trucidari. Haec facta sunt in pace post bellum, non ut acceleraretur obtinenda victoria, sed ne contemneretur obtenta. Pax cum bello de crudelitate certavit, et vicit. Illud enim prostravit armatos, ista nudatos. Bellum erat, ut qui feriebatur, si posset, feriret: pax autem, non ut qui evaserat, viveret, sed ut moriens non repugnaret.

## Caput XXIX.

*De comparatione Gothicae irruptionis cum eis cladibus quas Romani vel a Gallis, vel a bellorum civilium auctoribus exceperunt.*

For besides the carnage diffused far and wide through diverse places, the senate also being besieged, they were brought forth to the sword from the curia itself as if from a prison. Mucius Scaevola the pontiff, since nothing was held more sacred among the Romans than the temple of Vesta, having embraced the altar itself, was killed; and that fire, which by the perpetual care of the virgins was always burning, he almost extinguished with his own blood. Then Sulla the victor entered the City, who in the villa publica, not now with war but with peace itself raging, had prostrated seven thousand of those who had surrendered (whence certainly unarmed) not by fighting, but by commanding. Moreover, in the whole City each Sullan struck whom he wished: whence so many funerals were not able to be numbered at all, until it was suggested to Sulla that some should be allowed to live, so that there might be those whom those who had conquered might be able to command. Then already was restrained that license of cutting throats which furibund was carried here and there everywhere, that table was proposed with great gratulation, which contained two thousand of men to be killed and proscribed from each splendid order, that is the knightly and the senatorial. The number made them sad, but the manner consoled them; nor was there so much of mourning because so many were falling, as of joy because the rest did not fear. But in some of them who had been ordered to die, even that security of the rest, although cruel, groaned at the exquisite kinds of deaths. For the hands of those mangling without iron tore someone apart; men more monstrously tore apart a living man than beasts are accustomed to tear apart a corpse cast away. Another, his eyes being dug out and his members being amputated piece by piece, was compelled to live for a long time in so great tortures, or rather to die for a long time. Certain noble cities were also sold by auction as if villas. One indeed, as if one guilty person were ordered to be led away, thus the whole was ordered to be slaughtered. These things were done in peace after war, not that the victory to be obtained might be accelerated, but that the one obtained might not be contemned. Peace contended with war concerning cruelty, and conquered. For the one prostrated the armed, the other the naked. It was war, so that he who was struck, if he could, might strike: but peace, not so that he who had escaped might live, but so that dying he might not resist.

## Chapter XXVI.

*Concerning the comparison of the Gothic irruption with those calamities which the Romans received either from the Gauls or from the authors of the civil wars.*

Quae rabies exterarum gentium, quae saevitia barbarorum huic de civibus victoriae civium comparari potest? Quid Roma funestius, tetrius, amariusque vidit, utrum olim Gallorum et paulo ante Gothorum irruptionem, an Marii et Syllae aliorumque in eorum partibus virorum clarissimorum tanquam suorum luminum in sua membra ferocitatem? Galli quidem trucidaverunt senatum, quidquid ejus in Urbe tota, praeter arcem Capitolinam, quae sola utcumque defensa est, reperire potuerunt; sed in illo colle constitutis auro vitam saltem vendiderunt, quam etsi ferro rapere non possent, possent tamen obsidione consumere: Gothi vero tam multis senatoribus pepercerunt, ut magis mirum sit quod aliquos peremerunt. At vero Sylla, vivo adhuc Mario, ipsum Capitolium, quod a Gallis tutum fuit, ad decernendas caedes victor insedit; et cum fuga Marius esset elapsus, ferocior cruentiorque rediturus, iste in Capitolio per senatus etiam consultum tam multos vita rebusque privavit. Marianis autem partibus, Sylla absente, quid sanctum cui parcerent fuit, quando Mucio civi, senatori, pontifici, aram ipsam, ubi erant, ut aiunt, fata Romana, miseris ambienti amplexibus non pepercerunt? Syllana porro tabula illa postrema, ut omittamus alias innumerabiles mortes, plures jugulavit senatores, quam Gothi vel spoliare potuerunt.

## Caput XXX.

*De connexione bellorum, quae adventum Christi plurima et gravissima praecesserunt.*

Qua igitur fronte, quo corde, qua impudentia, qua insipientia, vel potius amentia, illa diis suis non imputant, et haec nostro imputant Christo? Crudelia bella civilia omnibus bellis hostilibus, auctoribus etiam eorum fatentibus, amariora, quibus illa respublica nec afflicta, sed perdita omnino judicata est, longe ante adventum Christi exorta sunt, et sceleratarum concatenatione causarum a bello Mariano atque Syllano ad bella Sertorii et Catilinae, quorum a Sylla fuerat ille proscriptus, ille nutritus: inde ad Lepidi et Catuli bellum, quorum alter gesta Syllana rescindere, alter defendere cupiebat: inde ad Pompeii et Caesaris, quorum Pompeius sectator Syllae fuerat, ejusque potentiam vel aequaverat, vel jam etiam superaverat; Caesar autem Pompeii potentiam non ferebat, sed quia non habebat, quam tamen illo victo interfectoque transcendit. Hinc ad alium Caesarem, qui post Augustus appellatus est, pervenerunt, quo imperante natus est Christus.

What madness of foreign nations, what cruelty of barbarians can be compared to this victory of citizens over citizens? What more fatal, more foul, and more bitter has Rome seen, whether formerly the irruption of the Gauls and a little before of the Goths, or the ferocity of Marius and Sulla and of other most illustrious men in their parties against their own members as if against their own lights? The Gauls indeed slaughtered the senate, whatever of it they were able to find in the whole City, besides the Capitoline citadel, which alone was defended in whatever way; but to those constituted on that hill they sold at least their life for gold, which even if they were not able to snatch away by the sword, they were able nevertheless to consume by siege: the Goths indeed spared so many senators, that it is more a wonder that they killed some. But forsooth Sulla, while Marius was still living, as victor sat upon the Capitol itself, which was safe from the Gauls, for the purpose of decreeing slaughters; and when Marius had escaped by flight, destined to return more fierce and more bloody, he deprived so many of life and of goods even by a decree of the senate on the Capitol. Moreover, in the Marian parties, while Sulla was absent, what was there sacred for them to spare, when they did not spare Mucius the citizen, the senator, the pontiff, while he was surrounding the altar itself, where the Roman fates are, as they say, with miserable embraces? Furthermore, that last table of Sulla, that we may omit other innumerable deaths, cut the throats of more senators than the Goths were even able to despoil.

## Chapter XXX.

*Concerning the connection of wars, very many and very grave, which preceded the coming of Christ.*

By what front, therefore, by what heart, by what impudence, by what insipience, or rather madness, do they not impute those things to their gods, and impute these things to our Christ? Cruel civil wars, more bitter than all hostile wars, their authors also confessing it, by which that republic was judged not afflicted, but entirely lost, arose long before the coming of Christ, and by the concatenation of criminal causes from the Marian and Sullan war to the wars of Sertorius and Catiline, of whom that one had been proscribed by Sulla, this one nourished: thence to the war of Lepidus and Catulus, of whom one wished to rescind the Sullan acts, the other to defend them: thence to that of Pompey and Caesar, of whom Pompey had been a follower of Sulla, and had either equaled or already even surpassed his power; but Caesar did not bear the power of Pompey, but because he did not have it, which nevertheless he transcended when that one was conquered and killed. From here they arrived at another Caesar, who afterwards was called Augustus, in whose reign Christ was born.

Nam et ipse Augustus cum multis gessit bella civilia: et in eis etiam multi clarissimi viri perierunt, inter quos et Cicero, disertus ille artifex regendae reipublicae. Pompeii quippe victorem Caium Caesarem (qui victoriam civilem elementer exercuit, suisque adversariis vitam dignitatemque donavit) tanquam regni appetitorem quorumdam nobilium conjuratio senatorum velut pro reipublicae libertate in ipsa curia trucidavit. Hujus deinde potentiam, multum moribus dispar, vitiisque omnibus inquinatus atque corruptus, affectare videbatur Antonius, cui vehementer pro eadem illa velut patriae libertate Cicero resistebat. Tunc emerserat mirabilis indolis adolescens ille alius Caesar, illius Caii Caesaris filius adoptivus: qui, ut dixi, postea appellatus est Augustus. Huic adolescenti Caesari, ut ejus potentia contra Antonium nutriretur, Cicero favebat; sperans eum depulsa et oppressa Antonii dominatione instauraturum reipublicae libertatem, usque adeo caecus atque improvidus futurorum, ut ille ipse juvenis, cujus dignitatem ac potestatem fovebat, et eumdem Ciceronem occidendum Antonio quadam quasi concordiae pactione permitteret, et ipsam libertatem reipublicae, pro qua multum ille clamaverat, ditioni propriae subjugaret.

## Caput XXXI.

*Quod impudenter praesentia incommoda Christo imputent qui deos colere non sinuntur, cum tantae clades eo tempore, quo colebantur, exstiterint.*

Deos suos accusent de tantis malis, qui nostro Christo ingrati sunt de tantis bonis. Certe quando illa mala fiebant, calebant arae numinum, Sabaeo thure sertisque recentibus halabant, clarebant sacerdotia, fana renidebant; sacrificabatur, ludebatur, furebatur in templis, quando passim tantus civium sanguis a civibus, non modo in caeteris locis, verum inter ipsa quoque deorum altaria fundebatur. Non elegit templum, quo confugeret Tullius; quia frustra elegerat Mucius. Hi vero qui multo indignius insultant christianis temporibus, aut ad loca Christo dicatissima confugerunt, aut illuc eos ut viverent, etiam ipsi Barbari deduxerunt. Illud scio, et hoc mecum quisquis sine studio partium judicat, facillime agnoscit (ut omittam caetera quae multa commemoravi, et alia multo plura quae commemorare longum putavi), si humanum genus ante bella Punica christianam reciperet disciplinam, et consequeretur rerum tanta vastatio, quarta illis bellis Europam Africamque contrivit; nullus talium, quales nunc patimur, nisi christianae religioni mala illa tribuisset.

For even Augustus himself waged civil wars with many: and in them also many most illustrious men perished, among whom also Cicero, that eloquent artificer of governing the republic. Forsooth, a conspiracy of certain noble senators, as if for the liberty of the republic, slaughtered in the curia itself Caius Caesar, the victor of Pompey (who exercised civil victory mercifully, and gave life and dignity to his adversaries), as if an aspirer to kingship. Then Antony, much different in manners, and stained and corrupted by all vices, seemed to affect the power of this one, whom Cicero vehemently resisted for that same as if liberty of the fatherland. Then had emerged that other Caesar, a youth of wonderful character, the adopted son of that Caius Caesar: who, as I said, was afterwards called Augustus. Cicero favored this youth Caesar, so that his power might be nourished against Antony; hoping that he, when the domination of Antony was driven away and oppressed, would restore the liberty of the republic, so far blind and improvident of future things, that that same youth, whose dignity and power he was fostering, both permitted the same Cicero to be killed by Antony by a certain as if pact of concord, and subjected to his own power that same liberty of the republic, for which he had cried out much.

## Chapter XXXI.

*That they impudently impute present inconveniences to Christ who are not permitted to worship the gods, when so many slaughters existed at that time in which they were worshiped.*

Let them accuse their gods concerning so great evils, they who are ungrateful to our Christ concerning so great goods. Certainly when those evils happened, the altars of the deities were warm, they were fragrant with Sabaean incense and fresh garlands, the priesthoods were brilliant, the temples shone; sacrifice was made, games were played, they raged in the temples, when everywhere so great blood of citizens was shed by citizens, not only in other places, but even among the very altars of the gods. Tully did not choose a temple to which he might flee; because Mucius had chosen it in vain. But these who much more unworthily insult Christian times, either fled to the places most dedicated to Christ, or even the barbarians themselves led them there that they might live. This I know, and whoever judges with me without study of parties easily recognizes (that I may omit the rest which I have commemorated many, and other much more numerous which I thought long to commemorate), if the human race before the Punic wars had received the Christian discipline, and so great a vastness of things followed, such as crushed Europe and Africa in those wars; none of such people as we now suffer, but would have attributed those evils to the Christian religion.

Multo autem minus eorum voces tolerarentur, quantum attinet ad Romanos, si christianae religionis receptionem et diffamationem, vel irruptio illa Gallorum, vel Tiberini fluminis igniumque illa depopulatio, vel quod cuncta mala praecedit, bella illa civilia sequerentur. Mala etiam alia, quae usque adeo incredibilia acciderunt, ut inter prodigia numerarentur, si christianis temporibus accidissent, quibus ea, nisi christianis hominibus, tanquam crimina objicerent? Omitto quippe illa, quae magis fuerunt mira quam noxia, boves locutos, infantes nondum natos de uteris matrum quaedam verba clamasse, volasse serpentes, feminas et gallinas et homines in masculinum sexum fuisse conversas: et caetera hujusmodi; quae in eorum libris, non fabulosis, sed historicis, seu vera seu falsa sint, non inferunt hominibus perniciem, sed stuporem. Sed cum pluit terra, cum pluit creta, cum pluit lapidibus, non ut grando appellari solet hoc nomine, sed omnino lapidibus; haec profecto etiam graviter laedere potuerunt. Legimus apud eos Aetnaeis ignibus ab ipso montis vertice usque ad littus proximum decurrentibus ita mare ferbuisse, ut rupes exurerentur, et pices navium solverentur. Hoc utique non leviter noxium fuit, quamvis incredibiliter mirum. Eodem rursus aestu ignium tanta vi favillae scripserunt oppletam esse Siciliam, ut Catinensis urbis tecta obruta et oppressa dirueret: qua calamitate permoti, misericorditer ejusdem anni tributum ei relaxavere Romani. Locustarum etiam in Africa multitudinem prodigii similem fuisse, cum jam esset populi Romani provincia, litteris mandaverunt: consumptis enim fructibus foliisque lignorum, ingenti atque inaestimabili nube in mare dicunt esse dejectam: qua mortua redditaque littoribus, atque hinc aere corrupto, tantam ortam pestilentiam, ut in solo regno Masinissae octingenta hominum millia perisse referantur, et multo amplius in terris littoribus proximis. Tunc Uticae ex triginta millibus juniorum, quae ibi erant, decem remansisse confirmant. Talis itaque vanitas, qualem ferimus, eique respondere compellimur, quid horum non christianae religioni tribueret, si temporibus christianis videret? Et tamen diis suis non ista tribuunt: quorum ideo cultum requirunt, ne ista vel minora patiantur, cum ea majora pertulerint a quibus antea colebantur.

But much less would their voices be tolerated, as far as pertains to the Romans, if the reception and diffamation of the Christian religion, either that irruption of the Gauls, or that depopulation of the Tiber river and of fires, or what precedes all evils, those civil wars were to follow. Other evils also, which happened so far incredible that they were numbered among prodigies, if they had happened in Christian times, to whom would they object them, unless to Christian men, as if crimes? For I omit those which were more wonderful than harmful, oxen speaking, infants not yet born from the wombs of mothers crying out certain words, serpents flying, women and hens and men having been converted into the masculine sex: and other things of this kind; which in their books, not fabulous but historical, whether they be true or false, do not bring in destruction to men, but stupor. But when it rained earth, when it rained chalk, when it rained with stones, not as hail is accustomed to be called by this name, but entirely stones; these forsooth were able to hurt even gravely. We read among them, that with Aetnaean fires from the very peak of the mountain flowing down all the way to the nearest shore, the sea boiled so that the rocks were burned, and the pitches of ships were dissolved. This certainly was not lightly harmful, although incredibly wonderful. Again by the same heat of fires they wrote that Sicily was filled with so great a force of ashes, that it overthrew the roofs of the city of Catina buried and oppressed: by which calamity moved, the Romans mercifully relaxed its tribute for that same year. They also committed to letters that the multitude of locusts in Africa was similar to a prodigy, when it was already a province of the Roman people: for the fruits and leaves of trees having been consumed, they say it was cast into the sea in a huge and inestimable cloud: which being dead and returned to the shores, and hence the air being corrupted, so great a pestilence arose, that in the kingdom of Masinissa alone eight hundred thousand of men are reported to have perished, and much more in the lands nearest to the shores. Then at Utica they confirm that out of thirty thousand of young men, who were there, ten remained. What of these, therefore, would such vanity as we bear, and are compelled to answer it, not attribute to the Christian religion, if it saw them in Christian times? And yet they do not attribute those things to their gods: whose worship they therefore require, lest they suffer those or smaller things, when they endured those greater ones from whom they were formerly worshiped.

# LIBER QUARTUS.

In quo probatur amplitudinem Romani imperii ac diuturnitatem adscribendam esse, non Jovi diisve Paganorum, quibus singulis vix singulae res et infima quaeque committenda credebantur officia, sed uni vero Deo felicitatis auctori, cujus potestate ac judicio regna terrena constituuntur atque servantur.

## Caput Primum.

*De his quae primo volumine disputata sunt.*

De civitate Dei dicere exorsus, prius respondendum putavi ejus inimicis, qui terrena gaudia consectantes, rebusque fugacibus inhiantes, quidquid in eis triste, misericordia potius admonentis Dei, quam punientis severitate patiuntur, religioni increpitant christianae, quae una est salubris et vera religio. Et quoniam, cum sit in eis etiam vulgus indoctum, velut doctorum auctoritate in odium nostrum gravius irritantur, existimantibus imperitis ea, quae suis temporibus insolite acciderunt, per alia retro tempora accidere non solere; eorumque opinionem, etiam iis qui eam falsam esse noverunt, ut adversum nos justa murmura habere videantur, suae scientiae dissimulatione firmantibus: de libris quos auctores eorum ad cognoscendam praeteritorum temporum historiam memoriae mandaverunt, longe aliter esse quam putant, demonstrandum fuit; et simul docendum, deos falsos, quos vel palam colebant, vel occulte adhuc colunt, eos esse immundissimos spiritus et malignissimos ac fallacissimos daemones; usque adeo ut aut veris, aut fictis etiam, suis tamen criminibus delectentur, quae sibi celebrari per sua festa voluerunt; ut a perpetrandis damnabilibus factis humana revocari non possit infirmitas, dum ad haec imitanda velut divina praebetur auctoritas. Haec non ex nostra conjectura probavimus, sed partim ex recenti memoria, quia et ipsi vidimus talia ac talibus numinibus exhiberi; partim ex litteris eorum, qui non tanquam in contumeliam, sed tanquam in honorem deorum suorum ista conscripta posteris reliquerunt:

# BOOK FOUR.

In which it is proved that the magnitude and long duration of the Roman empire are to be ascribed, not to Jupiter or to the gods of the Pagans, to each of whom scarcely single things and even each most base duty was believed to be committed, but to the one true God, the author of felicity, by whose power and judgment earthly kingdoms are constituted and preserved.

## Chapter I.

*Concerning those things which were disputed in the first volume.*

Having begun to speak concerning the City of God, I first thought it should be answered to its enemies, who following earthly joys, and gasping for fleeting things, whatever sad things they suffer in them, rather by the mercy of God admonishing than by the severity of Him punishing, they rail at the Christian religion, which alone is the salutary and true religion. And since, as there is even among them an unlearned vulgar, they are more gravely irritated into hatred of us as if by the authority of the learned, the unskilful thinking that those things which occurred unusually in their times, were not accustomed to occur through other times past; and those also who knew it to be false confirming their opinion, so that they may seem to have just murmurs against us, by the dissimulation of their knowledge: it had to be demonstrated from the books which their authors committed to memory for knowing the history of past times, that it is far otherwise than they think; and at the same time it was to be taught, that the false gods, whom they either openly worshiped, or still secretly worship, are most impure spirits and most malignant and most fallacious demons; all the way to such a point that they are delighted either with true, or even with feigned, yet their own crimes, which they wished to be celebrated for themselves through their festivals; so that human infirmity may not be able to be recalled from perpetrating damnable facts, while divine authority as it were is provided for imitating these. We have proved these things not from our conjecture, but partly from recent memory, because we ourselves have seen such things exhibited to such deities; partly from their letters, who left those things written to posterity not as if for the insult, but as if for the honor of their gods:

ita ut vir doctissimus apud eos, Varro, et gravissimae auctoritatis, cum rerum humanarum atque divinarum dispertitos faceret libros, alios humanis, alios divinis, pro sua cujusque rei dignitate distribuens, non saltem in rebus humanis, sed in rebus divinis ludos scenicos poneret: cum utique, si tantummodo boni et honesti homines in civitate essent, nec in rebus humanis ludi scenici esse debuissent. Quod profecto non auctoritate sua fecit, sed quoniam eos Romae natus et educatus in divinis rebus invenit. Et quoniam in fine primi libri, quae deinceps dicenda essent, breviter posuimus, et ex his quaedam in duobus consequentibus diximus, exspectationi legentium quae restant reddenda cognoscimus.

## Caput II.

*De his quae libro secundo et tertio continentur.*

Promiseramus ergo quaedam nos esse dicturos adversus eos, qui Romanae reipublicae clades in religionem nostram referunt, et commemoraturos quaecumque et quantacumque occurrere potuissent, vel satis esse viderentur, mala, quae illa civitas pertulit, vel ad ejus imperium provinciae pertinentes, antequam eorum sacrificia prohibita fuissent: quae omnia procul dubio nobis tribuerent, si jam vel illis clareret nostra religio, vel ita eos a sacris sacrilegis prohiberet. Haec in secundo et tertio libro satis, quantum existimo, absolvimus: in secundo agentes de malis morum, quae mala vel sola, vel maxima deputanda sunt; in tertio autem de his quae stulti sola perpeti exhorrent, corporis videlicet externarumque rerum, quae plerumque patiuntur et boni. Illa vero mala non dico patienter, sed libenter habent, quibus ipsi fiunt mali. Et quam pauca dixi de sola ipsa civitate atque ejus imperio? nec inde omnia usque ad Caesarem Augustum. Quid, si commemorare voluissem, et exaggerare illa mala, quae non sibi invicem homines faciunt, sicut sunt vastationes eversionesque bellantium, sed ex ipsius mundi elementis terrenis accidunt rebus? quae uno loco Apuleius breviter stringit in eo libro quem de Mundo scripsit, terrena omnia dicens mutationes, conversiones atque interitus habere. Namque immodicis tremoribus terrarum, ut verbis ejus utar, dissiluisse humum, et interceptas urbes cum populis dicit: abruptis etiam imbribus prolutas totas esse regiones: illas etiam quae prius fuerant continentes, hospitibus atque advenis fluctibus insulatas, aliasque desidia maris pedestri accessu pervias factas: ventis ac procellis eversas esse civitates: incendia de nubibus emicasse, quibus Orientis regiones conflagratae perierunt; et in Occidentis plagis scaturigines quasdam ac proluviones easdem strages dedisse.

so that the most learned man among them, Varro, and of the most grave authority, when he made books distributed of human and divine things, distributing some to the human, others to the divine, according to the dignity of each thing, did not at least place scenic games in human things, but in divine things: when certainly, if only good and honest men were in the city, scenic games ought not to have been even in human things. Which forsooth he did not do by his own authority, but since being born and educated at Rome he found them in divine things. And since at the end of the first book, we briefly placed those things which were to be said thereafter, and of these we said certain things in the two following, we recognize that those which remain are to be rendered to the expectation of the readers.

## Chapter II.

*Concerning those things which are contained in the second and third book.*

We had promised, therefore, that we were going to say certain things against those who refer the calamities of the Roman republic to our religion, and to commemorate whatever and how great things might have been able to occur, or might seem to be sufficient, the evils which that city endured, or the provinces pertaining to its empire, before their sacrifices had been prohibited: all of which they would without doubt attribute to us, if either our religion were already clear to them, or it thus prohibited them from sacrilegious rites. These things we have sufficiently, as I think, absolved in the second and third book: in the second acting concerning the evils of manners, which evils either alone, or are to be deputed the greatest; but in the third concerning these which fools dread alone to endure, of the body forsooth and of external things, which for the most part even the good suffer. But those evils they have not I say patiently, but willingly, by which they themselves become evil. And how few things have I said concerning that city alone and its empire? nor all things from there all the way to Caesar Augustus. What if I had wished to commemorate, and to exaggerate those evils which men do not do to each other mutually, such as are the vastations and overthrows of those warring, but happen to earthly things from the elements of the world itself? which in one place Apuleius briefly touches upon in that book which he wrote concerning the World, saying that all earthly things have mutations, conversions, and destructions. For by immoderate tremors of the earths, to use his words, he says the ground has burst asunder, and cities with their peoples have been intercepted: by abrupt rains also whole regions have been washed away: those also which before had been continents, being insulated by guest and stranger waves, and others by the sloth of the sea made passable by pedestrian access: by winds and storms cities have been overturned: fires have flashed forth from the clouds, by which the regions of the East perished being conflagrated; and in the tracts of the West certain springs and overflows gave the same carnage.

Sic ex Aetnae verticibus quondam effusis crateribus, divino incendio per declivia, torrentis vice flammarum flumina cucurrisse. Si haec atque hujusmodi, quae habet historia, unde possem, colligere voluissem, quando finissem quae illis temporibus evenerunt, antequam Christi nomen illa istorum vana et verae saluti perniciosa comprimeret? Promiseram etiam me demonstraturum, quos eorum mores, et quam ob causam Deus verus ad augendum imperium adjuvare dignatus est, in cujus potestate sunt regna omnia; quamque nihil eos adjuverint hi quos deos putant, et potius quantum decipiendo et fallendo nocuerint: unde nunc mihi video esse dicendum, et magis de incrementis imperii Romani. Nam de noxia fallacia daemonum, quos velut deos colebant, quantum malorum invexerit moribus eorum, in secundo maxime libro non pauca jam dicta sunt. Per omnes autem absolutos tres libros, ubi opportunum visum est, commendavimus etiam in ipsis bellicis malis quantum solatiorum Deus per Christi nomen, cui tantum honoris, Barbari detulerunt praeter bellorum morem, bonis malisque contulerit, quomodo qui facit solem suum oriri super bonos et malos, et pluit super justos et injustos.

## Caput III.

*An lalitudo imperii, quae nonnisi bellis acquiritur, in bonis sive sapientium habenda sit, sive felicium.*

Jam itaque videamus quale sit, quod tantam latitudinem ac diuturnitatem imperii Romani illis diis audent tribuere: quos etiam per turpium ludorum obsequia et per turpium hominum ministeria se honeste coluisse contendunt. Quanquam prius vellem paululum inquirere, quae sit ratio, quae prudentia, cum hominum felicitatem non possis ostendere, semper in bellicis cladibus et in sanguine civili, vel hostili, tamen humano, cum tenebroso timore et cruenta cupiditate versantium, ut vitrea laetitia comparetur fragiliter splendida, cui timeatur horribilius ne repente frangatur, de imperii magnitudine ac latitudine velle gloriari. Hoc ut facilius dijudicetur, non vanescamus inani ventositate jactati, atque obtundamus intentionis aciem altisonis vocabulis rerum, cum audimus populos, regna, provincias: sed duos constituamus homines (nam singulus quisque homo, ut in sermone una littera, ita quasi elementum est civitatis et regni, quantalibet terrarum occupatione latissimi), quorum duorum hominum, pauperem unum, vel potius mediocrem; alium praedivitem cogitemus:

Thus from the peaks of Aetna formerly the craters being poured out, by divine fire through the declivities, rivers of flames ran in the stead of a torrent. If I had wished to collect these and things of this kind, which history has, from where I could, when would I have finished those things which happened in those times, before the name of Christ suppressed those vain things of theirs and those pernicious to true safety? I had also promised that I was going to demonstrate, what manners of theirs, and for what cause the true God deigned to help for increasing the empire, in whose power are all kingdoms; and how nothing those helped them whom they think to be gods, and rather how much they hurt by deceiving and fallaciously: whence now I see it is to be said by me, and more concerning the increments of the Roman empire. For concerning the noxious fallacy of the demons, whom they worshiped as if gods, how much of evils it brought into their manners, not a few things have already been said in the second book especially. Moreover, through all the three completed books, where it seemed opportune, we have commended even in those martial evils how much of solaces God conferred upon the good and the bad through the name of Christ, to whom so much of honor the barbarians deferred beyond the custom of wars, just as He who makes his sun to rise upon the good and the bad, and rains upon the just and the unjust.

## Chapter III.

*Whether the breadth of empire, which is not acquired except by wars, is to be held in the goods of either the wise or the happy.*

Now therefore let us see what kind of thing it is, that they dare to attribute so great a breadth and long duration of the Roman empire to those gods: whom even through the obsequies of shameful games and through the ministries of shameful men they contend that they have honestly worshiped. Although first I would wish to inquire a little, what is the reason, what the prudence, when you cannot show the happiness of men, always in martial calamities and in civil blood, or hostile, nevertheless human, with those living in dark fear and bloody cupidity, that a vitreous joy may be compared, fragilely splendid, for which it may be feared more horribly lest it suddenly be broken, to wish to glory concerning the magnitude and breadth of empire. That this may be more easily judged, let us not vanish being tossed by empty windiness, and let us not blunt the edge of our intention with high-sounding words of things, when we hear peoples, kingdoms, provinces: but let us constitute two men (for each single man, as in speech one letter, so is as it were an element of a city and a kingdom, by however great an occupation of lands most wide), of which two men, let us think one poor, or rather mediocre; another very rich:

sed divitem timoribus anxium, moeroribus tabescentem, cupiditate flagrantem, nunquam securum, semper inquietum, perpetuis inimicitiarum contentionibus anhelantem, augentem sane his miseriis patrimonium suum in immensum modum, atque illis augmentis curas quoque amarissimas aggerantem; mediocrem vero illum re familiari parva atque succincta sibi sufficientem, charissimum suis, cum cognatis, vicinis, amicis dulcissima pace gaudentem, pietate religiosum, benignum mente, sanum corpore, vita parcum, moribus castum, conscientia securum. Nescio utrum quisquam ita desipiat, ut audeat dubitare quem praeferat. Ut ergo in his duobus hominibus, ita in duabus familiis, ita in duobus populis, ita in duobus regnis regula sequitur aequitatis: qua vigilanter adhibita, si nostra intentio corrigatur, facillime videbimus ubi habitet vanitas, et ubi felicitas. Quapropter si verus Deus colatur, eique sacris veracibus et bonis moribus serviatur, utile est ut boni longe lateque diu regnent. Neque hoc tam ipsis, quam illis utile est, quibus regnant. Nam quantum ad ipsos pertinet, pietas et probitas eorum, quae magna dona Dei sunt, sufficit eis ad veram felicitatem, qua et ista vita bene agatur, et postea percipiatur aeterna. In hac ergo terra regnum bonorum non tam illis praestatur, quam rebus humanis: malorum vero regnum magis regnantibus nocet, qui suos animos vastant scelerum majore licentia; his autem qui eis serviendo subduntur, non nocet nisi iniquitas propria. Nam justis quidquid malorum ab iniquis dominis irrogatur, non est poena criminis, sed virtutis examen. Proinde bonus etiamsi serviat, liber est: malus autem etiamsi regnet, servus est; nec unius hominis, sed quod est gravius, tot dominorum, quot vitiorum. De quibus vitiis cum ageret Scriptura divina, A quo enim quis, inquit, devictus est, huic et servus addictus est (II Petr. II, 19).

## Caput IV.

*Quam similia sint latrociniis regna absque justitia.*

Remota itaque justitia, quid sunt regna, nisi magna latrocinia? quia et ipsa latrocinia quid sunt, nisi parva regna? Manus et ipsa hominum est, imperio principis regitur, pacto societatis astringitur, placiti lege praeda dividitur. Hoc malum si in tantum perditorum hominum accessibus crescit, ut et loca teneat, sedes constituat, civitates occupet, populos subjuget, evidentius regni nomen assumit, quod ei jam in manifesto confert non adempta cupiditas, sed addita impunitas. Eleganter enim et veraciter Alexandro illi Magno quidam comprehensus pirata respondit.

but the rich man anxious with fears, wasting away with mournings, burning with cupidity, never secure, always unquiet, panting with perpetual contentions of enmities, increasing indeed by these miseries his patrimony in an immense measure, and by those augmentations heaping up also most bitter cares; but that mediocre man sufficient for himself with a small and succinct family property, most dear to his own, enjoying most sweet peace with kinsmen, neighbors, friends, religious in piety, benign in mind, healthy in body, spare in life, chaste in manners, secure in conscience. I do not know whether anyone is so foolish, that he dares to doubt which he may prefer. As therefore in these two men, so in two families, so in two peoples, so in two kingdoms the rule of equity follows: which being vigilantly applied, if our intention be corrected, we shall most easily see where vanity dwells, and where happiness. Wherefore if the true God be worshiped, and He be served with truthful sacrifices and good manners, it is useful that the good should rule far and wide for a long time. Nor is this so much useful to themselves, as to those over whom they rule. For as much as pertains to themselves, their piety and probity, which are great gifts of God, suffice them for true happiness, by which both this life may be well passed, and afterwards the eternal one may be perceived. In this earth therefore the kingdom of the good is not so much provided for them, as for human affairs: but the kingdom of the bad hurts more those ruling, who devastate their own minds by a greater license of crimes; but to those who are subjected to them by serving, nothing hurts except their own iniquity. For to the just whatever of evils is inflicted by unjust masters, is not the punishment of crime, but the examination of virtue. Accordingly the good man even if he serves, is free: but the bad man even if he reigns, is a slave; nor of one man, but what is more grave, of so many masters as of vices. Concerning which vices when divine Scripture was acting, For by whom anyone, it says, has been conquered, to this one also he has been assigned as a slave (II Pet. II, 19).

## Chapter IV.

*How similar kingdoms without justice are to robberies.*

Justice therefore being removed, what are kingdoms, except great robberies? for what are robberies themselves, except small kingdoms? The band itself is of men, it is ruled by the command of a prince, it is bound by a pact of society, the booty is divided by the law of agreement. If this evil grows by the accessions of desperate men to such an extent that it holds places, establishes seats, occupies cities, subjugates peoples, it assumes the name of a kingdom more evidently, which is now conferred upon it in manifest not by removed cupidity, but by added impunity. For elegantly and truthfully a certain captured pirate responded to that Alexander the Great.

Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogasset, quid ei videretur, ut mare haberet infestum: ille libera contumacia, Quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum: sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor, quia tu magna classe, imperator.

## Caput V.

*De fugitivis gladiatoribus, quorum potentia similis fuerit regiae dignitatis.*

Proinde omitto quaerere quales Romulus congregaverit, quoniam multum eis consultum est, ut ex illa vita, dato sibi consortio civitatis, poenas debitas cogitare desisterent, quarum metus eos in majora facinora propellebat; ut deinceps pacatiores essent rebus humanis. Hoc dico, quod ipsum Romanum imperium, jam magnum multis gentibus subjugatis caeterisque terribile, acerbe sensit, graviter timuit, non parvo negotio devitandae ingentis cladis oppressis; quando paucissimi gladiatores in Campania de ludo fugientes, exercitum magnum compararunt, tres duces habuerunt, Italiam latissime et crudelissime vastaverunt. Dicant quis istos deus adjuverit, ut ex parvo et contemptibili latrocinio pervenirent ad regnum, tantis jam Romanis viribus arcibusque metuendum. An quia non diu fuerunt, ideo divinitus negabuntur adjuti? Quasi vero ipsa cujuslibet hominis vita diuturna est. Isto ergo pacto neminem dii adjuvant ad regnandum, quoniam singuli quique cito moriuntur; nec beneficium deputandum est, quod exiguo tempore in unoquoque homine, ac per hoc singillatim utique in omnibus vice vaporis evanescit. Quid enim interest eorum qui sub Romulo deos coluerunt, et olim sunt mortui, quod post eorum mortem Romanum tantum crevit imperium? cum illi apud inferos causas suas agant: utrum bonas, an malas, ad rem praesentem non pertinet. Hoc autem de omnibus intelligendum est, qui per ipsum imperium (quamvis decedentibus succedentibusque mortalibus in longa spatia protendatur) paucis diebus vitae suae cursim raptimque transierunt, actuum suorum sarcinas bajulantes. Sin vero etiam ipsa brevissimi temporis beneficia deorum adjutorio tribuenda sunt, non parum adjuti sunt illi gladiatores, qui servilis conditionis vincula ruperunt, fugerunt, evaserunt, exercitum magnum et fortissimum collegerunt, obedientes regum suorum consiliis et jussis, multum Romanae celsitudini metuendi, et aliquot Romanis imperatoribus insuperabiles multa ceperunt: potiti sunt victoriis plurimis, usi voluptatibus quibus voluerunt; quod suggessit libido, fecerunt: postremo donec vincerentur, quod difficillime est factum, sublimes regnantesque vixerunt. Sed ad majora veniamus.

For when the same king had asked the man, what it seemed to him, that he should keep the sea infested: he with free contumacy, "What to you," he said, "that [you should keep] the world: but because I do it with a small ship, I am called a robber, because you [do it] with a great fleet, a general."

## Chapter V.

*Concerning the fugitive gladiators, whose power was similar to royal dignity.*

Accordingly I omit to inquire what kind of men Romulus gathered, since much was provided for them, so that from that life, the fellowship of the city being given to them, they might cease to think of due punishments, the fear of which was impelling them into greater crimes; so that henceforth they might be more peaceful toward human affairs. This I say, that the Roman empire itself, now great many nations being subjugated and to the rest terrible, bitterly felt, gravely feared, not with small business of avoiding a huge calamity was it oppressed; when very few gladiators in Campania fleeing from the school, prepared a great army, had three leaders, and devastated Italy most widely and most cruelly. Let them say what god helped those, so that from a small and contemptible robbery they should arrive at a kingdom, to be feared by so great Roman forces and citadels. Or because they were not for a long time, will they therefore be denied to have been helped divinely? As if indeed the very life of any man is long-lasting. By this pact therefore the gods help no one to reign, since each single one dies quickly; nor is it to be deputed as a benefit, which in a small time in each man, and through this individually indeed in all, vanishes in the manner of a vapor. For what does it interest those who under Romulus worshiped the gods, and long ago are dead, that after their death the Roman empire grew so much? since they among those below may act their own causes: whether good or bad, it does not pertain to the present matter. But this is to be understood concerning all, who through the empire itself (although by those departing and succeeding mortals it may be extended into long spaces) in a few days of their life have passed through cursorily and rapidly, carrying the burdens of their acts. But if indeed even these benefits of the shortest time are to be attributed to the help of the gods, not a little were those gladiators helped, who broke the bonds of servile condition, fled, escaped, gathered a great and most strong army, obeying the counsels and commands of their kings, to be feared much by Roman highness, and insuperable to some Roman generals they took many things: they possessed very many victories, used pleasures which they wished; what lust suggested, they did: finally until they should be conquered, which was done most difficultly, they lived sublime and reigning. But let us come to greater things.

## Caput VI.

*De cupiditate Nini regis, qui, ut latius dominaretur, primus intulit bella finitimis.*

Justinus qui graecam, vel potius peregrinam, Trogum Pompeium secutus, non latine tantum, sicut ille, verum etiam breviter scripsit historiam, opus librorum suorum sic incipit: «Principio rerum gentium nationumque imperium penes reges erat, quos ad fastigium hujus majestatis non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio provehebat. Populi nullis legibus tenebantur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant. Fines imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erat: intra suam cuique Patriam regna finiebantur. Primus omnium Ninus, rex Assyriorum, veterem et quasi avitum gentibus morem nova imperii cupiditate mutavit. Hic primus intulit bella finitimis, et rudes adhuc ad resistendum populos ad terminos usque Libyae perdomuit.» Et paulo post: «Ninus, inquit, magnitudinem quaesitae dominationis continua possessione firmavit. Domitis igitur proximis, cum accessione virium fortior ad alios transiret, et proxima quaeque victoria instrumentum sequentis esset, totius Orientis populos subegit.» Qualibet autem fide rerum, vel iste vel Trogus scripserit (nam quaedam illos fuisse mentitos, aliae fideliores litterae ostendunt), constat tamen et inter alios scriptores, regnum Assyriorum a Nino rege fuisse longe lateque porrectum. Tam diu autem perseveravit, ut Romanum nondum sit ejus aetatis. Nam sicut scribunt qui chronicam historiam persecuti sunt, mille ducentos et quadraginta annos ab anno primo quo Ninus regnare coepit, permansit hoc regnum, donec transferretur ad Medos. Inferre autem bella finitimis, et inde in caetera procedere, ac populos sibi non molestos sola regni cupiditate conterere et subdere, quid aliud quam grande latrocinium nominandum est?

## Caput VII.

*An regna terrena inter profectus suos atque defectus deorum vel juventur vel deserantur auxilio.*

Si nullo deorum adjutorio tam magnum hoc regnum et prolixum fuit, quare diis Romanis tribuitur Romanum regnum locis amplum temporibusque diuturnum? Quaecumque enim causa est illa, eadem est etiam ista. Si autem et illud deorum adjutorio tribuendum esse contendunt, quaero quorum. Non enim aliae gentes, quas Ninus domuit et subegit, alios tunc colebant deos.

## Chapter VI.

*Concerning the cupidity of king Ninus, who, that he might rule more widely, first brought wars upon his neighbors.*

Justin, who following Trogus Pompey wrote a history not only in Latin, as he did, but also briefly, begins the work of his books thus: "In the beginning of things the empire of gentiles and nations was in the power of kings, whom not popular ambition, but moderation witnessed among the good, promoted to the summit of this majesty. The peoples were held by no laws: the judgments of princes were as laws. It was the custom to protect the borders of empire rather than to extend them: the kingdoms were finished each within its own Fatherland. Ninus, king of the Assyrians, first of all changed the old and as it were ancestral custom for the nations by a new cupidity of empire. He first brought wars upon his neighbors, and subjugated the peoples still rude to resisting even to the borders of Libya." And a little after: "Ninus," he says, "firmly established the magnitude of the sought domination by continuous possession. Therefore, his neighbors being tamed, when he might pass to others stronger by the accession of forces, and each nearest victory should be the instrument of the following one, he subdued the peoples of the whole Orient." By whatever faith of things, either he or Trogus wrote (for that they lied in certain things, other more faithful writings show), it is nevertheless clear also among other writers, that the kingdom of the Assyrians was extended far and wide by king Ninus. But it persevered so long, that the Roman is not yet of its age. For as they write who have pursued chronic history, one thousand two hundred and forty years from the first year in which Ninus began to reign, this kingdom remained, until it should be transferred to the Medes. But to bring wars upon neighbors, and from there to proceed into the rest, and to wear down and subject peoples not troublesome to oneself by the sole cupidity of reigning, what else than a great robbery is it to be named?

## Chapter VII.

*Whether earthly kingdoms between their progresses and defects are either helped or deserted by the help of the gods.*

If by no help of the gods this kingdom was so great and prolonged, why is the Roman kingdom attributed to the Roman gods, ample in places and long-lasting in times? For whatever that cause is, the same is also this. But if they contend that that also is to be attributed to the help of the gods, I ask of which. For not other nations, which Ninus tamed and subdued, were then worshiping other gods.

Aut si proprios habuerunt Assyrii, quasi peritiores fabros imperii construendi atque servandi, numquidnam mortui sunt, quando et ipsi imperium perdiderunt, aut mercede non sibi reddita, vel alia promissa majore, ad Medos transire maluerunt, atque inde rursus ad Persas, Cyro invitante et aliquid commodius pollicente? Quae gens non angustis Orientis finibus, post Alexandri Macedonis regnum magnum locis, sed brevissimum tempore, in suo regno adhuc usque perdurat. Hoc si ita est, aut infideles dii sunt, qui suos deserunt, et ad hostes transeunt; quod nec homo fecit Camillus, quando victor et expugnator adversissimae civitatis, Romam, cui vicerat, sensit ingratam, quam tamen postea oblitus injuriae, memor patriae, a Gallis iterum liberavit: aut non ita fortes sunt, ut deos esse fortes decet, qui possunt humanis vel consiliis vel viribus vinci. Aut si, cum inter se belligerant, non dii ab hominibus, sed dii ab aliis diis forte vincuntur, qui sunt quarumque proprii civitatum; habent ergo et ipsi inter se inimicitias, quas pro sua quisque parte suscipiunt. Non itaque deos suos debuit colere civitas magis, quam alios, a quibus adjuvarentur sui. Postremo, quoquo modo se habeat deorum iste vel transitus, vel fuga, vel migratio, vel in pugna defectio, nondum illis temporibus atque in illis terrarum partibus Christi nomen fuerat praedicatum, quando illa regna per ingentes bellicas clades amissa atque translata sunt. Nam si post mille ducentos et quod excurrit annos, quando regnum Assyriis ablatum est, jam ibi christiana religio aliud regnum praedicaret aeternum, et deorum falsorum cultus sacrilegos inhiberet; quid aliud gentis illius vani homines dicerent, nisi regnum, quod tam diu conservatum est, nulla alia causa nisi suis religionibus desertis et illa recepta perire potuisse? In qua voce vanitatis, quae poterat esse, isti attendant speculum suum; et similia conqueri, si ullus in eis pudor est, erubescant. Quanquam Romanum imperium afflictum est potius, quam mutatum; quod et aliis ante Christi nomen temporibus ei contigit: et ab illa est afflictione recreatum; quod nec istis temporibus desperandum est. Quis enim de hac re novit voluntatem Dei?

## Caput VIII.

*Quorum deorum praesidio putent Romani imperium suum auctum atque servatum, cum singulis vix singularum rerum tuitionem committendam esse crediderint.*

Or if the Assyrians had their own, as it were more skilled craftsmen of constructing and preserving empire, did they perchance die, when they themselves also lost the empire, or the reward not being returned to them, or another greater being promised, did they prefer to pass to the Medes, and from there again to the Persians, Cyrus inviting and promising something more commodious? Which nation, not in the narrow borders of the Orient, after the great kingdom of Alexander the Macedonian in places, but shortest in time, continues yet in its own kingdom. If this is so, either the gods are unfaithful, who desert their own and pass to the enemies; which not even the man Camillus did, when victor and conqueror of a most adverse city, he felt Rome, for which he had conquered, ungrateful, which nevertheless afterwards having forgotten the injury, mindful of the fatherland, he liberated again from the Gauls: or they are not so strong, as it becomes gods to be strong, who can be conquered by either human counsels or forces. Or if, when they wage war among themselves, not gods by men, but gods by other gods perchance are conquered, who are proper to each of the cities; they have therefore also among themselves enmities, which each takes up for his own part. A city therefore ought not to have worshiped its own gods more than others, by whom its own were helped. Finally, in whatever way that transit of the gods, or flight, or migration, or defection in battle holds itself, the name of Christ had not yet been preached in those times and in those parts of the lands, when those kingdoms were lost and transferred through huge martial calamities. For if after one thousand two hundred and running years, when the kingdom was taken from the Assyrians, the Christian religion already preached there another eternal kingdom, and inhibited the sacrilegious cults of false gods; what else would the vain men of that nation say, except that the kingdom, which was preserved so long, could perish for no other cause except their religions being deserted and that one received? In which voice of vanity, which could be, let these attend their own mirror; and to complain of similar things, if there is any shame in them, let them blush. Although the Roman empire has been afflicted rather than changed; which also happened to it at other times before the name of Christ: and it was recreated from that affliction; which is not to be despaired of even in these times. For who has known the will of God concerning this matter?

## Chapter VIII.

*By the protection of which gods the Romans think their empire was increased and preserved, when they believed that the protection of single things was scarcely to be committed to single ones.*

Deinde quaeramus, si placet, ex tanta deorum turba, quam Romani colebant, quem potissimum, vel quos deos credant illud imperium dilatasse atque servasse. Neque enim in hoc tam praeclaro opere et tantae plenissimo dignitatis audent aliquas partes deae Cloacinae (a) tribuere; aut Volupiae, quae a voluptate appellata est; aut Lubentinae, cui nomen est a libidine; aut Vaticano qui infantum vagitibus praesidet; aut Cuninae, quae cunas eorum administrat. Quando autem possunt uno loco libri hujus commemorari omnia nomina deorum, aut dearum, quae illi grandibus voluminibus vix comprehendere potuerunt, singulis rebus propria dispertientes officia numinum? Nec agrorum munus uni alicui deo committendum arbitrati sunt; sed rura deae Rusinae, juga montium deo Jugatino (b); collibus deam Collatinam, vallibus Valloniam praefecerunt. Nec saltem potuerunt unam Segetiam talem invenire, cui semel segetes commendarent: sed sata frumenta quamdiu sub terra essent, praepositam voluerunt habere deam Sejam; cum vero jam essent super terram et segetem facerent, deam Segetiam; frumentis vero collectis atque reconditis, ut tuto servarentur, deam Tutilinam praeposuerunt. Cui non sufficere videretur illa Segetia, quamdiu seges ab initiis herbidis usque ad aristas aridas perveniret? Non tamen satis fuit hominibus deorum multitudinem amantibus, ut anima misera daemoniorum turbae prostitueretur, unius Dei veri castum dedignata complexum. Praefecerunt ergo Proserpinam frumentis germinantibus (c), geniculis nodisque culmorum deum Nodotum, involumentis folliculorum deam Volutinam; cum folliculi patescunt, ut spica exeat, deam Patelanam; cum segetes novis aristis aequantur, quia veteres aequare hostire dixerunt, deam Hostilinam; florentibus frumentis deam Floram, lactescentibus deum Lacturnum, maturescentibus deam Matutam; cum runcantur, id est a terra auferuntur, deam Runcinam. Nec omnia commemoro, quia me piget quod illos non pudet. Haec autem paucissima ideo dixi, ut intelligeretur nullo modo eos dicere audere ista numina imperium constituisse, auxisse, conservasse Romanum, quae ita suis quaeque adhibebantur officiis, ut nihil universum uni alicui crederetur. Quando ergo Segetia curaret imperium, cui curam gerere simul et segetibus et arboribus non licebat? Quando de armis Cunina cogitaret, cujus praepositura parvulorum cunas non permittebatur excedere? Quando Nodutus adjuvaret in bello, qui nec ad folliculum spicae, sed tantum ad nodum geniculi pertinebat? Unum quisque domui suae ponit ostiarium, et quia homo est, omnino sufficit: tres deos isti posuerunt, Forculum foribus, Cardeam cardini, Limentinum limini. Ita non poterat Forculus simul et cardinem limenque servare.

Next let us inquire, if it pleases, from so great a crowd of gods, which the Romans were worshiping, which most especially, or which gods they believe expanded and preserved that empire. For in this so illustrious work and full of so great dignity they do not dare to attribute any parts to the goddess Cloacina; or to Volupia, who has been named from pleasure; or to Lubentina, whose name is from lust; or to Vaticanus who presides over the wailings of infants; or to Cunina, who administers their cradles. But when can all the names of gods or goddesses be commemorated in one place of this book, which they were scarcely able to comprehend in great volumes, distributing proper offices of deities to single things? Nor did they think the task of the fields was to be committed to any one god; but they set the country under the goddess Rusina, the ridges of the mountains under the god Jugatinus; over the hills the goddess Collatina, over the valleys Vallonia. Nor at least were they able to find one Segetia such, to whom once for all they might commend the crops: but as long as the sown grains should be under the earth, they wished to have the goddess Seja set over them; but when they should already be above the earth and should make a crop, the goddess Segetia; but the grains being collected and stored away, that they might be safely preserved, they set over them the goddess Tutilina. To whom would that Segetia not seem to suffice, as long as the crop should arrive from the grassy beginnings even to the dry ears? Nevertheless it was not enough for men loving a multitude of gods, that the miserable soul should be prostituted to a crowd of demons, having disowned the chaste embrace of the one true God. They set Proserpina therefore over the germinating grains, over the joints and nodes of the stalks the god Nodotus, over the wrappings of the follicles the goddess Volutina; when the follicles open, so that the spike may come out, the goddess Patelana; when the crops are equaled with new ears, because the ancients said to equal was hostire, the goddess Hostilina; over the flowering grains the goddess Flora, over the milky ones the god Lacturnus, over the maturing ones the goddess Matuta; when they are weeded, that is removed from the earth, the goddess Runcina. Nor do I commemorate all, because it irks me what does not shame them. But these very few things I have said for this reason, that it might be understood that in no way do they dare to say those deities established, increased, or preserved the Roman empire, which were each so applied to its own offices, that nothing universal was committed to any one. When therefore would Segetia care for the empire, to whom it was not allowed to manage at the same time both the crops and the trees? When would Cunina think concerning arms, whose prefecture was not permitted to exceed the cradles of little ones? When would Nodotus help in war, who pertained not even to the follicle of the spike, but only to the node of the joint? Each one places one doorkeeper to his house, and because he is a man, it is altogether sufficient: these placed three gods, Forculus for the doors, Cardea for the hinge, Limentinus for the threshold. Thus Forculus was not able at the same time to preserve both the hinge and the threshold.

## Caput IX.

*An imperii Romani amplitudo et diuturnitas Jovi fuerit adscribenda, quem summum deum cultores ipsius opinantur.*

Omissa igitur ista turba minutorum deorum, vel aliquantum intermissa, officium majorum deorum debemus inquirere, quo Roma tam magna facta est, ut tamduis tot gentibus imperaret. Nimirum ergo Jovis hoc opus est. Ipsum enim deorum omnium dearumque regem esse volunt: hoc ejus indicat sceptrum, hoc in alto colle Capitolium. De isto deo, quamvis a poeta, dictum convenientissime praedicant, Jovis omnia plena. (Virgil. Eclog. 3, vers. 60.) Hunc Varro credit etiam ab his coli, qui unum Deum solum sine simulacro colunt, sed alio nomine nuncupari. Quod si ita est, cur tam male tractatus est Romae (sicut quidem et in caeteris gentibus), ut ei fieret simulacrum? Quod ipsi etiam Varroni ita displicet, ut cum tantae civitatis perversa consuetudine premeretur, nequaquam tamen dicere et scribere dubitaret quod hi qui populis instituerunt simulacra, et metum dempserunt, et errorem addiderunt.

## Caput X.

*Quas opiniones secuti sint, qui diversos deos diversis mundi partibus praefecerunt.*

Cur illi etiam Juno uxor adjungitur, quae dicitur soror et conjux (Virgil., Aeneid. lib. 1, vers. 47)? Quia Jovem, inquiunt, in aethere accipimus, in aere Junonem; et haec duo elementa conjuncta sunt, alterum superius, alterum inferius. Non est ergo ille de quo dictum est, Jovis omnia plena; si aliquam partem implet et Juno. An uterque utrumque implet, et ambo isti conjuges et in duobus istis elementis, et in singulis simul sunt? Cur ergo aether datur Jovi, aer Junoni? Postremo ipsi duo satis essent: quid est quod mare Neptuno tribuitur, terra Plutoni? Et ne ipsi quoque sine conjugibus remanerent, additur Neptuno Salacia, Plutoni Proserpina. Nam sicut inferiorem coeli partem, id est aerem, inquiunt, Juno tenet; ita inferiorem maris Salacia, et terrae inferiorem Proserpina. Quaerunt quemadmodum sarciant fabulas, nec inveniunt. Si enim haec ita essent, tria potius elementa mundi esse, non quatuor, eorum veteres proderent, ut singula deorum conjugia singulis dividerentur elementis. Nunc vero omni modo affirmaverunt, aliud esse aetherem, aliud aerem.

## Chapter IX.

*Whether the amplitude and long duration of the Roman empire should be ascribed to Jove, whom his worshipers think to be the highest god.*

This crowd of minute gods being therefore omitted, or for a while intermitted, we ought to inquire the office of the greater gods, by which Rome was made so great, that for so long it should rule so many nations. Surely therefore this is the work of Jove. For they wish him to be the king of all gods and goddesses: his sceptre indicates this, the Capitol on the high hill indicates this. Concerning this god, although by a poet, they preach it most conveniently said, Of Jove all things are full. (Virgil. Eclog. 3, vers. 60.) This one Varro believes is worshiped even by those who worship only one God without an image, but is called by another name. But if this is so, why was he so badly treated at Rome (as indeed also among other nations), that an image should be made for him? Which so displeases even Varro himself, that when he was pressed by the perverse custom of so great a city, he nevertheless in no way doubted to say and write that those who instituted images for peoples, both took away fear and added error.

## Chapter X.

*Which opinions those followed, who set different gods over different parts of the world.*

Why is even Juno the wife joined to him, who is said to be sister and spouse (Virgil. Aeneid lib. 1, v. 47)? Because, they say, we accept Jove in the ether, Juno in the air; and these two elements are joined, the one superior, the other inferior. He is not therefore that one of whom it was said, Of Jove all things are full; if Juno also fills some part. Or does each fill both, and are both these spouses both in these two elements, and in single ones at the same time? Why therefore is the ether given to Jove, the air to Juno? Finally those two would be enough: why is it that the sea is attributed to Neptune, the earth to Pluto? And lest they too should remain without spouses, Salacia is added to Neptune, Proserpina to Pluto. For as they say Juno holds the inferior part of heaven, that is the air; so Salacia holds the inferior part of the sea, and Proserpina the inferior of the earth. They seek how they may patch up fables, and they do not find it. For if these things were so, their ancients would have produced that there are three elements of the world rather, not four, so that single marriages of gods should be divided to single elements. But now in every way they have affirmed, that the ether is one thing, the air another.

Aqua vero sive superior, sive inferior, utique aqua est: puta quia dissimilis, numquid in tantum ut aqua non sit? Et inferior terra, quid aliud potest esse quam terra, quantalibet diversitate distincta? Deinde ecce jam totus in his quatuor vel tribus elementis corporeus completus est mundus: Minerva ubi erit? quid tenebit? quid implebit? Simul enim cum his in Capitolio constituta est, cum ista filia non sit amborum. Aut si aetheris partem superiorem Minervam tenere dicunt, et hac occasione fingere poetas quod de Jovis capite nata sit; cur non ergo ipsa potius deorum regina deputatur, quod sit Jove superior? an quia indignum erat praeponere patri filiam? Cur non de Jove ipso erga Saturnum justitia ista servata est? an quia victus est? Ergo pugnarunt? Absit, inquiunt: fabularum est ista garrulitas. Ecce fabulis non credatur, et de diis sentiantur meliora: cur ergo non data est patri Jovis, etsi non sublimior, aequalis certe sedes honoris? Quia Saturnus, inquiunt, temporis longitudo est. Tempus igitur colunt, qui Saturnum colunt, et rex deorum Jupiter insinuatur natus ex tempore. Quid enim indignum dicitur, cum Jupiter et Juno nati dicuntur ex tempore, si coelum est ille et illa terra, cum facta sint utique coelum et terra? Nam hoc quoque in libris suis habent eorum docti atque sapientes: neque de figmentis poeticis, sed de philosophorum libris a Virgilio dictum est, Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus aether, Conjugis in laetae gremium descendit, (Virgil. Georg. lib. 2, vers. 325, 326.) id est in gremium telluris aut terrae. Quia et hic aliquas differentias volunt esse, atque in ipsa terra aliud Terram, aliud Tellurem, aliud Tellumonem putant. Et hos omnes deos habent suis nominibus appellatos, suis officiis distinctos, suis aris sacrisque veneratos. Eamdem Terram etiam matrem deorum vocant: ut jam poetae tolerabiliora confingant, si secundum istorum, non poeticos, sed sacrorum libros, non solum Juno soror et conjux, sed etiam mater est Jovis. Eamdem terram Cererem, eamdem etiam Vestam volunt: cum tamen saepius Vestam nonnisi ignem esse perhibeant, pertinentem ad focos, sine quibus civitas esse non potest; et ideo illi virgines solere servire, quod sicut ex virgine, ita nihil ex igne nascatur. Quam totam aboleri vanitatem et exstingui utique ab illo oportuit, qui est natus ex Virgine. Quis enim ferat, quod cum tantum honoris et quasi castitatis igni tribuerint, aliquando Vestam non erubescunt etiam Venerem dicere, ut vanescat in ancillis ejus honorata virginitas?

But water whether superior or inferior, is certainly water: suppose because it is dissimilar, is it to such an extent that it is not water? And the inferior earth, what else can it be than earth, distinguished by however great a diversity? Then behold now the whole corporeal world is filled in these four or three elements: where will Minerva be? what will she hold? what will she fill? For she was established together with these in the Capitol, although she is not the daughter of both. Or if they say Minerva holds the superior part of the ether, and on this occasion the poets feign that she was born from the head of Jove; why therefore is she not rather deputed the queen of the gods, because she is superior to Jove? or because it was unworthy to set the daughter before the father? Why was that justice not served concerning Jove himself toward Saturn? or because he was conquered? Therefore they fought? Far be it, they say: that is the garrulity of fables. Behold let fables not be believed, and let better things be thought concerning the gods: why therefore was there not given to the father of Jove, even if not a more sublime, certainly an equal seat of honor? Because Saturn, they say, is the length of time. They worship time therefore, who worship Saturn, and Jove the king of the gods is insinuated as born from time. For what unworthy thing is said, when Jove and Juno are said born from time, if he is the heaven and she the earth, when certainly heaven and earth were made? For this also their learned and wise men have in their books: nor from poetic figments, but from the books of philosophers it was said by Virgil, Then the omnipotent father ether with fertile rains, descends into the lap of his joyful spouse (Virgil. Georg. lib. 2, v. 325, 326), that is into the lap of the soil or earth. For here also they wish there to be some differences, and in the earth itself they think Earth to be one thing, Tellus another, Tellumo another. And they have all these gods called by their own names, distinguished by their own offices, venerated by their own altars and sacrifices. They also call the same Earth the mother of the gods: so that now the poets may feign more tolerable things, if according to the books, not of the poets, but of the sacred things of these men, Juno is not only sister and spouse, but also the mother of Jove. They wish the same earth to be Ceres, the same also Vesta: although nevertheless they more often assert Vesta to be nothing except fire, pertaining to the hearths, without which a city cannot be; and for that reason virgins are accustomed to serve her, because as from a virgin, so nothing is born from fire. Which whole vanity it was certainly behooving to be abolished and extinguished by Him who was born from a Virgin. For who may bear, that when they have attributed so much of honor and as it were of chastity to fire, sometimes they do not blush to call Vesta even Venus, so that honored virginity may vanish in her handmaids?

Si enim Vesta Venus est, quomodo ei rite virgines a venereis operibus abstinendo servierunt? An Veneres duae sunt, una virgo, altera mulier? an potius tres, una virginum, quae etiam Vesta est, alia conjugatarum, alia meretricum? Cui etiam Phoenices donum dabant de prostitutione filiarum, antequam jungerent eas viris. Quae illarum est matrona Vulcani? Non utique virgo, quoniam habet maritum. Absit autem ut meretrix, ne filio Junonis et cooperario Minervae facere videamur injuriam. Ergo haec ad conjugatas intelligitur pertinere: sed eam nolumus imitentur in eo quod fecit illa cum Marte. Rursus, inquiunt, ad fabulas redis. Quae ista justitia est, nobis succensere, quod talia dicimus de diis eorum; et sibi non succensere, qui haec in theatris libentissime spectant crimina deorum suorum? Et quod esset incredibile, nisi contestatissime probaretur, haec ipsa theatrica crimina deorum suorum in honorem instituta sunt eorumdem deorum.

## Caput XI.

*De multis diis, quos doctores Paganorum unum eumdemque Jovem esse defendunt.*

Quotquot libet igitur physicis rationibus et disputationibus asserant: modo sit Jupiter corporei hujus mundi animus, qui universam istam molem ex quatuor, vel quot eis placet, elementis constructam atque compactam implet et movet; modo inde suas partes sorori et fratribus cedat: modo sit aether, ut aerem Junonem subteriusam desuper amplectatur; modo totum simul cum aere sit ipse coelum, terram vero tanquam conjugem eamdemque matrem (quia hoc in divinis turpe non est) fecundis imbribus et seminibus fetet; modo autem (ne sit necesse per cuncta discurrere) deus unus, de quo multi a poeta nobilissimo dictum putant, Deum namque ire per omnes Terrasque, tractusque maris, coelumque profundum: (Virgil. Georg. lib. 4, vers. 221, 222.) ipse in aethere sit Jupiter, ipse in aere Juno, ipse in mari Neptunus, in inferioribus etiam maris ipse Salacia, in terra Pluto, in terra inferiore Proserpina, in focis domesticis Vesta, in fabrorum fornace Vulcanus, in sideribus sol et luna et stellae, in divinantibus Apollo, in merce Mercurius, in Jano initiator, in Termino terminator, Saturnus in tempore, Mars et Bellona in bellis, Liber in vineis, Ceres in frumentis, Diana in silvis, Minerva in ingeniis:

For if Vesta is Venus, how did virgins rightly serve her by abstaining from venereal works? Or are there two Venuses, one a virgin, the other a woman? or rather three, one of virgins, who is also Vesta, another of the married, another of harlots? To whom even the Phoenicians used to give a gift from the prostitution of daughters, before they should join them to men. Which of those is the matron of Vulcan? Not certainly the virgin, since she has a husband. But far be it that she is the harlot, lest we should seem to do injury to the son of Juno and co-worker of Minerva. Therefore she is understood to pertain to the married: but we do not wish that they should imitate her in that which she did with Mars. Again, they say, you return to fables. What justice is this, to be angry at us, because we say such things of their gods; and not to be angry at themselves, who most willingly behold these crimes of their gods in the theatres? And what would be incredible, unless it were proved most contestably, these very theatrical crimes of their gods have been instituted in honor of the same gods.

## Chapter XI.

*Concerning the many gods, whom the doctors of the Pagans defend to be one and the same Jove.*

However many physical reasons and disputations they may assert: now let Jove be the mind of this corporeal world, who fills and moves this whole mass constructed and compacted from four, or however many elements please them; now from there let him cede his parts to his sister and brothers: now let him be the ether, so that he may embrace from above the air, Juno, spread beneath; now let he himself be the whole heaven together with the air, but let him fertilize the earth as his spouse and at the same time mother (because this is not shameful in divine things) with fertile rains and seeds; now however (lest it be necessary to run through all things) let there be one god, concerning whom many think it was said by a most noble poet, For God goes through all lands, and the tracts of the sea, and the profound heaven: (Virgil. Georg. lib. 4, v. 221, 222.) let he himself be Jove in the ether, he himself Juno in the air, he himself Neptune in the sea, in the inferior parts of the sea he himself Salacia, in the earth Pluto, in the inferior earth Proserpina, in the domestic hearths Vesta, in the furnace of smiths Vulcan, in the stars the sun and moon and stars, in those divining Apollo, in merchandise Mercury, in Janus the initiator, in Terminus the terminator, Saturn in time, Mars and Bellona in wars, Liber in vineyards, Ceres in crops, Diana in woods, Minerva in geniuses:

ipse sit postremo etiam in illa turba quasi plebeiorum deorum: ipse praesit nomine Liberi virorum seminibus, et nomine Liberae feminarum: ipse sit Diespiter, qui partum perducat ad diem; ipse sit dea Mena, quam praefecerunt menstruis feminarum; ipse Lucina, quae a parturientibus invocetur: ipse opem ferat nascentibus, excipiendo eos sinu terrae, et vocetur Opis; ipse in vagitu os aperiat, et vocetur deus Vaticanus: ipse levet de terra, et vocetur dea Levana; ipse cunas tueatur, et vocetur dea Cunina: non sit alius, sed ipse in deabus illis, quae fata nascentibus canunt, et vocantur Carmentes: praesit fortuitis, voceturque Fortuna: in diva Rumina mammam parvulo immulgeat, quia rumam dixerunt veteres mammam; in diva Potina potionem ministret; in diva Educa escam praebeat: de pavore infantum Paventia nuncupetur; de spe quae venit, Venilia; de voluptate Volupia; de actu Agenoria; de stimulis, quibus ad nimium actum homo impellitur, dea Stimula nominetur, Strenia dea sit, strenuum faciendo; Numeria, quae numerare doceat; Camoena, quae canere: ipse sit et deus Consus, praebendo consilia; et dea Sentia, sententias inspirando: ipse dea Juventas, quae post praetextam excipiat juvenilis aetatis exordia: ipse sit et Fortuna Barbata, quae adultos barba induat; quos honorare noluerunt, ut hoc qualecumque numen saltem masculum deum, vel a barba Barbatum, sicut a nodis Nodutum, vel certe non Fortunam, sed quia barbas habet, Fortunium nominarent: ipse in Jugatino deo conjuges jungat; et cum virgini uxori zona solvitur, ipse invocetur, et dea Virginiensis vocetur: ipse sit Mutunus vel Tutunus, qui est apud Graecos Priapus: si non pudet, haec omnia quae dixi, et quaecumque non dixi (non enim omnia dicenda arbitratus sum), hi omnes dii deaeque sit unus Jupiter: sive sint, ut quidam volunt, omnia ista partes ejus, sive virtutes ejus, sicut eis videtur, quibus eum placet esse mundi animum; quae sententia velut magnorum multumque doctorum est. Haec si ita sint (quod quale sit, nondum interim quaero), quid perderent, si unum Deum colerent prudentiore compendio? Quid enim ejus contemneretur, cum ipse coleretur?

finally let he himself be also in that crowd as it were of plebeian gods: let he himself preside in the name of Liber over the seeds of men, and in the name of Libera over those of women: let he himself be Diespiter, who may bring the birth to the day; let he himself be the goddess Mena, whom they set over the menses of women; let he himself be Lucina, who may be invoked by those giving birth: let he himself bring help to those being born, receiving them in the lap of the earth, and be called Opis; let he himself open the mouth in wailing, and be called the god Vaticanus: let he himself lift from the earth, and be called the goddess Levana; let he himself protect the cradles, and be called the goddess Cunina: let it not be another, but he himself in those goddesses, who sing the fates to those being born, and are called Carmentes: let him preside over fortuitous things, and be called Fortuna: in the goddess Rumina let him milk the breast to the little one, because the ancients called the breast ruma; in the goddess Potina let him minister the potion; in the goddess Educa let him provide the food: from the fear of infants let him be named Paventia; from the hope which comes, Venilia; from pleasure Volupia; from action Agenoria; from the stimuli, by which a man is impelled to too much action, let the goddess Stimula be named; let Strenia be a goddess, by making strenuous; Numeria, who may teach to number; Camoena, who [may teach] to sing: let he himself be also the god Consus, by providing counsels; and the goddess Sentia, by inspiring sentences: he himself the goddess Juventas, who after the praetexta should receive the beginnings of youthful age: let he himself be also Fortuna Barbata, who should clothe adults with a beard; whom they did not wish to honor, so that they might at least name this whatever deity a masculine god, either Barbatus from the beard, as Nodotus from nodes, or certainly not Fortuna, but because he has beards, Fortunius: let he himself join spouses in the god Jugatinus; and when the girdle is loosed for the virgin wife, let he himself be invoked, and be called the goddess Virginiensis: let he himself be Mutunus or Tutunus, who among the Greeks is Priapus: if it does not shame, let all these things which I have said, and whatever I have not said (for I did not think all things were to be said), let all these gods and goddesses be one Jove: whether they be, as certain ones wish, all those his parts, or his virtues, as it seems to them, to whom it pleases that he be the mind of the world; which opinion is as it were of great and many doctors. If these things are so (of what kind it may be, I do not meanwhile inquire), what would they lose, if they should worship one God by a more prudent compendium? For what of him would be contemned, when he himself should be worshiped?

Si autem metuendum fuit, ne praetermissae sive neglectae partes ejus irascerentur: non ergo ut volunt, velut unius animantis haec tota vita est, quae omnes continet deos, quasi suas virtutes, vel membra, vel partes; sed suam quaeque pars habet vitam a caeteris separatam, si praeter alteram irasci altera potest, et alia placari, alia concitari. Si autem dicitur omnes simul, id est totum ipsum Jovem potuisse offendi, si partes ejus non etiam singillatim minutatimque colerentur, stulle dicitur. Nulla quippe earum praetermitteretur, cum ipse unus qui habet omnia, coleretur. Nam ut alia omittam, quae sunt innumerabilia, cum dicunt omnia sidera partes Jovis esse, et omnia vivere atque rationales animas habere, et ideo sine controversia deos esse, non vident quam multos non colant, quam multis aedes non construant, aras non statuant, quas tamen paucissimis siderum statuendas esse putaverunt, et singillatim sacrificandum. Si igitur, irascuntur qui non singillatim coluntur, non metuunt, paucis placatis, toto coelo irato vivere? Si autem stellas omnes ideo colunt, quia in Jove sunt quem colunt, isto compendio possent in illo uno omnibus supplicare. Sic enim nemo irasceretur, cum in illo uno nemo contemneretur, potius quam, cultis quibusdam, justa irascendi causa illis, qui praetermissi essent, multum numerosioribus praeberetur: praesertim cum eis de superna sede fulgentibus, turpi nuditate distentus praeponeretur Priapus.

## Caput XII.

*De opinione eorum qui Deum animam mundi, et mundum corpus Dei esse putaverunt.*

Quid illud, nonne debet movere acutos homines, vel qualescumque homines? Non enim ad hoc ingenii opus est excellentia, ut deposito studio contentionis attendant, si mundi animus Deus est, eique animo mundus ut corpus est, ut sit unum animal constans ex animo et corpore, atque iste Deus est sinu quodam naturae in se ipso continens omnia, ut ex ipsius anima, qua vivificatur tota ista moles, vitae atque animae cunctorum viventium pro cujusque nascentis sorte sumantur, nihil omnino remanere, quod non sit pars Dei. Quod si ita est, quis non videat quanta impietas et irreligiositas consequatur, ut quod calcaverit quisque, partem Dei calcet, et in omni animante occidendo, pars Dei trucidetur? Nolo omnia dicere quae possunt occurrere cogitantibus, dici autem sine verecundia non possunt.

But if it was to be feared, lest his omitted or neglected parts should be angry: therefore this whole life is not, as they wish, as it were of one living being, which contains all the gods as its own virtues, or members, or parts; but each part has its own life separate from the rest, if one part can be angry besides another, and one can be placated, another incited. But if it is said all at the same time, that is all Jove himself could have been offended, if his parts were not also worshiped individually and minutely, it is said foolishly. For none of them would be passed over, when he himself alone who has all things, should be worshiped. For to omit other things, which are innumerable, when they say all the stars are parts of Jove, and all live and have rational souls, and for that reason are gods without controversy, they do not see how many they do not worship, for how many they do not construct temples, do not establish altars, which nevertheless they thought were to be established for the very few of the stars, and sacrifice to be made individually. If therefore, those are angry who are not worshiped individually, do they not fear, few being placated, to live with the whole heaven angry? But if they worship all the stars for this reason, because they are in Jove whom they worship, by this compendium they could in that one supplicate all. For thus no one would be angry, when in that one no one should be contemned, rather than, certain ones being worshiped, a just cause of being angry should be provided to those who had been passed over, many more numerous: especially when, with them shining from the supernal seat, Priapus, distended with shameful nudity, should be set before them.

## Chapter XII.

*Of the opinion of those who thought that God is the soul of the world, and the world the body of God.*

What of that, ought it not to move acute men, or men of whatever kind? For there is no need for excellence of genius for this, that, laying aside the study of contention, they should attend to this: if God is the mind of the world, and the world is as a body to that mind, so that there is one living being consisting of mind and body, and this God is containing all things in himself in a certain bosom of nature, so that from his own soul, by which this whole mass is vivified, the lives and souls of all living things are taken according to the lot of each one being born, [then] nothing at all remains which is not a part of God. Which if it is so, who may not see how great impiety and irreligiosity follows, so that whatever anyone should tread upon, he treads upon a part of God, and in the killing of every living being, a part of God is slaughtered? I do not wish to say all things which can occur to those thinking [of it], for they cannot be said without shame.

## Caput XIII.

*De his qui sola rationalia animantia partes esse unius Dei asserunt.*

Si autem sola animalia rationalia, sicut sunt homines, partes Dei esse contendunt; non video quidem, si totus mundus est Deus, quomodo bestias ab ejus partibus separent. Sed obluctari quid opus est? De ipso rationali animante, id est homine, quid infelicius credi potest, quam Dei partem vapulare, cum puer vapulat? Jam vero partes Dei fieri lascivas, iniquas, impias, atque omnino damnabiles, quis ferre possit, nisi qui prorsus insanit? Postremo quid irascitur eis a quibus non colitur, cum a suis partibus non colatur? Restat ergo ut dicant, omnes deos suas habere vitas, sibi quemque vivere, nullum eorum esse partem cujusquam; sed omnes colendos, qui cognosci et coli possunt; quia tam multi sunt, ut omnes non possint. Quorum Jupiter, quia rex praesidet, ipsum credo ab eis putari regnum constituisse, vel auxisse Romanum. Nam si hoc ipse non fecit, quem alium deum opus tam magnum potuisse aggredi credant, cum omnes occupati sint officiis et operibus propriis, nec alter irruat in alterius? A rege igitur deorum regnum hominum potuit propagari et augeri.

## Caput XIV.

*Augmenta regnorum Jovi incongruenter adscribi: cum, si Victoria, ut volunt, dea est, ipsa huic negotio sola sufficeret.*

Hic primum quaero, cur non etiam ipsum regnum aliquis deus est? Cur enim non ita sit, si Victoria dea est? Aut quid ipso Jove in hac causa opus est, si Victoria faveat sitque propitia, et semper eat ad illos, quos vult esse victores? Hac dea favente et propitia, etiam Jove vacante vel aliud agente, quae gentes non subditae remanerent? quae regna non cederent? An forte displicet bonis, iniquissima improbitate pugnare, et finitimos quietos nullamque injuriam facientes ad dilatandum regnum bello spontaneo provocare? Plane si ita sentiunt, approbo et laudo.

## Caput XV.

*An congruat bonis latius velle regnare.*

## Chapter XIII.

*Of those who assert that only rational animals are parts of the one God.*

But if they contend that only rational animals, such as are men, are parts of God; I do not see indeed, if the whole world is God, how they separate the beasts from his parts. But what need is there to struggle? Concerning the rational living being itself, that is, man, what more unhappy thing can be believed, than that a part of God is beaten when a boy is beaten? Now indeed, who could bear that parts of God should become lascivious, iniquitous, impious, and altogether damnable, unless he who is utterly insane? Finally, why is he angry with those by whom he is not worshiped, when he is not worshiped by his own parts? It remains, therefore, that they say all the gods have their own lives, each one lives for himself, none of them is a part of anyone; but all are to be worshiped who can be known and worshiped; because they are so many that all cannot be. Of whom Jove, because he presides as king, I believe is thought by them to have constituted or increased the Roman kingdom. For if he himself did not do this, what other god could they believe could have undertaken so great a work, when all are occupied with their own offices and works, nor does one rush into those of another? By the king of the gods, therefore, the kingdom of men could be propagated and increased.

## Chapter XIV.

*That the increases of kingdoms are incongruously ascribed to Jove: since, if Victoria, as they wish, is a goddess, she herself alone would suffice for this business.*

Here first I ask, why is not also the kingdom itself some god? For why should it not be so, if Victoria is a goddess? Or what need is there of Jove himself in this cause, if Victoria favors and is propitious, and always goes to those whom she wishes to be victors? With this goddess favoring and being propitious, even with Jove being at leisure or doing something else, what nations would remain not subjected? what kingdoms would not yield? Or does it perchance displease good men to fight with most iniquitous impropriety, and to provoke quiet neighbors and those doing no injury to a spontaneous war for the sake of dilating the kingdom? Plainly if they so feel, I approve and praise.

## Chapter XV.

*Whether it congruously belongs to good men to wish to reign more widely.*

Videant ergo ne forte non pertineat ad viros bonos, gaudere de regni latitudine. Iniquitas enim eorum, cum quibus justa bella gesta sunt, regnum adjuvit ut cresceret: quod utique parvum esset, si quies et justitia finitimorum contra se bellum geri nulla provocaret injuria: ac sic felicioribus rebus humanis omnia regna parva essent concordi vicinitate laetantia; et ita essent in mundo regna plurima gentium, ut sunt in urbe domus plurimae civium. Proinde belligerare et perdomitis gentibus dilatare regnum, malis videtur felicitas, bonis necessitas. Sed quia pejus esset, ut injuriosi justioribus dominarentur, ideo non incongrue dicitur etiam ista felicitas. Sed procul dubio felicitas major est, vicinum bonum habere concordem, quam vicinum malum subjugare bellantem. Mala vota sunt, optare habere quem oderis, vel quem timeas, ut possit esse quem vincas. Si ergo justa gerendo bella, non impia, non iniqua, Romani imperium tam magnum acquirere potuerunt, numquid tanquam aliqua dea colenda est eis etiam iniquitas aliena? Multum enim ad istam latitudinem imperii eam cooperatam videmus, quae faciebat injuriosos, ut essent cum quibus justa bella gererentur, et augeretur imperium. Cur autem et iniquitas dea non sit, vel externarum gentium, si Pavor et Pallor et Febris dii Romani esse meruerunt? His igitur duabus, id est aliena iniquitate et dea Victoria, dum bellorum causas iniquitas excitat, Victoria eadem bella feliciter terminat, etiam feriato Jove crevit imperium. Quas enim hic partes Jupiter haberet; cum ea quae possent beneficia ejus putari, dii habentur, dii vocantur, dii coluntur, ipsi pro suis partibus invocantur? Haberet autem hic etiam ille aliquam partem, si regnum etiam ipse appellaretur, sicut appellatur illa Victoria. Aut si regnum munus est Jovis, cur non et victoria munus ejus habeatur? Quod profecto haberetur, si non lapis in Capitolio, sed verus Rex regum et Dominus dominantium (Apoc. XIX, 16) cognosceretur atque coleretur.

## Caput XVI.

*Quid fuerit quod Romani omnibus rebus et omnibus motibus deos singulos deputantes, aedem Quietis extra portas esse voluerunt.*

Let them see, therefore, lest perchance it does not pertain to good men to rejoice in the latitude of a kingdom. For the iniquity of those with whom just wars have been waged helped the kingdom to grow: which would certainly be small, if the quiet and justice of neighbors provoked no war to be waged against them by any injury: and thus, with more happy human affairs, all kingdoms would be small, rejoicing in harmonious vicinity; and so there would be very many kingdoms of nations in the world, as there are very many houses of citizens in a city. Hence to wage war and to dilate a kingdom by thoroughly subduing nations seems to the evil a felicity, to the good a necessity. But because it would be worse that the injurious should dominate the more just, therefore not incongruously is even that called a felicity. But without doubt it is a greater felicity to have a harmonious good neighbor than to subjugate a warring evil neighbor. They are evil vows to wish to have one whom you may hate, or whom you may fear, so that there may be one whom you may conquer. If therefore, by waging just wars, not impious, not iniquitous, the Romans were able to acquire so great an empire, should even the iniquity of others be worshiped by them as some goddess? For we see that it cooperated much toward that latitude of empire, which made men injurious, so that there might be those with whom just wars might be waged, and the empire might be increased. Why, moreover, should even iniquity not be a goddess, even of foreign nations, if Dread and Paleness and Fever deserved to be Roman gods? Therefore by these two, that is, foreign iniquity and the goddess Victoria, while iniquity excites the causes of wars, Victoria happily terminates the same wars, [and] the empire grew even with Jove being on holiday. For what parts would Jove have here, when those things which could be thought his benefits are held as gods, are called gods, are worshiped as gods, and are themselves invoked for their own parts? But even he would have some part here if he himself were also called 'Kingdom,' just as she is called Victoria. Or if a kingdom is a gift of Jove, why is not also victory held as his gift? Which certainly would be held, if not a stone in the Capitol, but the true King of kings and Lord of lords (Rev. 19:16) were known and worshiped.

## Chapter XVI.

*What was the reason that the Romans, deputing individual gods to all things and all motions, wished the temple of Quiet to be outside the gates.*

Miror autem plurimum, quod cum deos singulos singulis rebus et pene singulis motibus attribuerent, vocaverunt deam Agenoriam, quae ad agendum excitaret; deam Stimulam, quae ad agendum ultra modum stimularet; deam Murciam, quae praeter modum non moveret, ac faceret hominem, ut ait Pomponius, murcidum, id est nimis desidiosum et inactuosum; deam Streniam, quae faceret strenuum; his omnibus diis et deabus publica sacra facere susceperunt: Quietem vero appellantes, quae faceret quietum, cum aedem haberet extra portam Collinam, publice illam suscipere noluerunt. Utrum indicium fuit animi inquieti, an potius ita significatum est, qui illam turbam colere perseveraret, non plane deorum, sed daemoniorum, eum quietem habere non posse? ad quam vocat verus Medicus, dicens: Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenietis requiem animabus vestris (Matth. XI, 29).

## Caput XVII.

*An, si Jovis summa potestas est, etiam Victoria dea debuerit aestimari.*

An forte dicunt, quod deam Victoriam Jupiter mittat, atque illa tanquam regi deorum obtemperans, ad quos jusserit veniat, et in eorum parte considat? Hoc vere dicitur, non de illo Jove, quem deorum regem pro sua opinione confingunt; sed de illo vero Rege saeculorum, quod mittat non Victoriam, quae nulla substantia est, sed angelum suum, et faciat vincere quem voluerit; cujus consilium occultum esse potest, iniquum non potest. Nam si victoria dea est, cur non deus est et triumphus, et victoriae jungitur vel maritus, vel frater, vel filius? Talia quippe isti de diis opinati sunt, qualia si poetae fingerent, atque a nobis exagitarentur; responderent isti, ridenda esse figmenta poetarum, non veris attribuenda numinibus: et tamen se ipsi non ridebant cum talia deliramenta non apud poetas legebant, sed in templis colebant. Jovem igitur de omnibus rogarent, ei uni tantummodo supplicarent. Non enim, quo misisset Victoriam, si dea est et sub illo rege est, posset ei audere resistere, et suam potius facere voluntatem.

## Caput XVIII.

*Felicitatem et Fortunam qui deas putant, qua ratione secernunt.*

But I wonder very much that, when they attributed individual gods to individual things and almost to individual motions, they called the goddess Agenoria, who should excite to action; the goddess Stimula, who should stimulate to action beyond measure; the goddess Murcia, who should not move beyond measure, and should make a man, as Pomponius says, murcidus, that is, too slothful and inactive; the goddess Strenia, who should make one strenuous; for all these gods and goddesses they undertook to perform public sacred rites: but calling [her] Quiet, who should make one quiet, when she had a temple outside the Colline gate, they were unwilling to receive her publicly. Whether was it an indication of an unquiet mind, or rather was it so signified, that he who should persevere in worshiping that crowd, not plainly of gods, but of demons, could not have quiet? to which the true Physician calls, saying: Learn from me, for I am meek and humble in heart, and you shall find rest for your souls (Matt. 11:29).

## Chapter XVII.

*Whether, if the supreme power is Jove's, Victoria also ought to be esteemed a goddess.*

Or do they perchance say that Jove sends the goddess Victoria, and she, obeying the king of the gods as it were, comes to those whom he has ordered, and settles on their side? This is truly said, not of that Jove whom they fashion for themselves as king of the gods according to their own opinion; but of that true King of ages, that he sends not Victoria, who is no substance, but his angel, and makes him to conquer whom he has willed; whose counsel can be occult, [but] cannot be iniquitous. For if victory is a goddess, why is not also triumph a god, and joined to victory as either husband, or brother, or son? For such things these men have thought concerning the gods, as if poets should fashion them, and be attacked by us; they would respond that the figments of poets are to be laughed at, not to be attributed to true deities: and yet they themselves did not laugh when they read such deliraments not among poets, but worshiped them in temples. Therefore they should ask Jove concerning all things, they should supplicate him alone. For wherever he might have sent Victoria, if she is a goddess and is under that king, she could not dare to resist him, and rather to do her own will.

## Chapter XVIII.

*By what reason those who think Felicity and Fortune are goddesses distinguish them.*

Quid quod et Felicitas dea est? aedem accepit, aram meruit, sacra ei congrua persoluta sunt. Ipsa ergo sola coleretur: ubi enim ipsa esset, quid boni non esset? Sed quid sibi vult, quod et Fortuna dea putatur, et colitur? An aliud est felicitas, aliud fortuna? Quia fortuna potest esse et mala: felicitas autem si mala fuerit, felicitas non erit. Certe omnes deos utriusque sexus (si et sexum habent) nonnisi bonos existimare debemus. Hoc Plato dicit (De Republica, lib. 2), hoc alii philosophi, hoc excellentes reipublicae populorumque rectores. Quomodo ergo dea Fortuna aliquando bona est, aliquando mala? An forte quando mala est, dea non est, sed in malignum daemonem repente convertitur? Quot sunt ergo deae istae? Profecto quotquot homines fortunati, hoc est bonae fortunae. Nam cum sint et alii plurimi simul, hoc est uno tempore, malae fortunae, numquid, si ipsa esset, simul et mala et bona; his aliud, iliis aliud? An illa quae dea est, semper bona est? Ipsa est ergo Felicitas: cur adhibentur duo nomina? Sed hoc ferendum est: solet enim et una res duobus nominibus appellari. Quid diversae aedes, diversae arae, diversa sacra? Est causa, inquiunt: quia felicitas illa est, quam boni habent praecedentibus meritis; fortuna vero quae dicitur bona, sine ullo examine meritorum fortuitu accidit hominibus et bonis et malis, unde etiam fortuna nominatur. Quomodo ergo bona est, quae sine ullo judicio venit et ad bonos et ad malos? Utquid autem colitur, quae ita caeca est, passim in quoslibet incurrens, ut suos cultores plerumque praetereat, et suis contemptoribus haereat? Aut si aliquid proficiunt cultores ejus, ut ab illa videantur et amentur, jam merita sequitur, non fortuitu venit. Ubi est ergo definitio illa fortunae? ubi est quod a fortuitis etiam nomen accepit? Nihil enim prodest eam colere, si fortuna est. Si autem suos cultores discernit, ut prosit, fortuna non est. An et ipsam, quo voluerit, Jupiter mittat? Colatur ergo ipse solus: non enim potest ei jubenti et eam quo voluerit mittenti Fortuna resistere. Aut certe istam mali colant, qui nolunt habere merita, quibus possit Dea Felicitas invitari.

## Caput XIX.

*De Fortuna muliebri.*

What of the fact that Felicity also is a goddess? She has received a temple, she has merited an altar, sacred rites congruous to her have been paid. She alone, therefore, should be worshiped: for where she herself should be, what of good would not be? But what does it mean that Fortune also is thought a goddess, and is worshiped? Is felicity one thing, fortune another? Because fortune can also be evil: but felicity, if it should be evil, will not be felicity. Certainly we ought to think all the gods of both sexes (if they also have sex) to be nothing but good. This Plato says (De Rep. lib. 2), this other philosophers, this the excellent rulers of the republic and of nations. How therefore is the goddess Fortune sometimes good, sometimes evil? Or perchance when she is evil, is she not a goddess, but is suddenly converted into a malignant demon? How many, therefore, are those goddesses? Truly as many as there are fortunate men, that is, of good fortune. For since there are also very many others at the same time, that is, at one time, of evil fortune, would she, if she were the same, be at the same time both evil and good; to these one thing, to those another? Or is she who is a goddess always good? She herself, therefore, is Felicity: why are two names employed? But this is to be borne: for one thing is often called by two names. Why diverse temples, diverse altars, diverse sacred rites? There is a cause, they say: because that felicity is what the good have by preceding merits; but fortune, which is called good, happens by chance to men both good and evil, without any examination of merits, whence also it is named fortune. How therefore is she good, who comes without any judgment both to the good and to the evil? Why, moreover, is she worshiped, who is so blind, running here and there into any persons whatever, so that she mostly passes by her own worshipers, and cleaves to her own contemners? Or if her worshipers profit anything, so that they may be seen and loved by her, now she follows merits, she does not come by chance. Where is, therefore, that definition of fortune? where is that which she received even her name from fortuitous things? For it profits nothing to worship her, if she is fortune. But if she discerns her own worshipers, so that she may profit them, she is not fortune. Or does Jove send her also wherever he has willed? Let he himself alone be worshiped: for Fortune cannot resist him commanding and sending her wherever he has willed. Or certainly let the evil worship her, who do not wish to have merits by which the goddess Felicity can be invited.

## Chapter XIX.

*Of Women's Fortune.*

Tantum sane huic, velut numini tribuunt, quam Fortunam vocant, ut simulacrum ejus, quod a matronis dedicatum est (et appellata est Fortuna muliebris [Liv. l. 2]), etiam locutum esse memoriae commendaverint (Plutarch. in Coriolano et lib. de Fortuna Romam.), atque dixisse non semel, sed iterum, quod eam rite matronae dedicaverint. Quod quidem si verum sit, mirari nos non oportet. Non enim malignis daemonibus etiam sic difficile est fallere, quorum artes atque versutias hinc potius isti advertere debuerunt, quod illa dea locuta est, quae fortuitu accidit, non quae meritis venit. Fuit enim Fortuna loquax, et muta Felicitas; utquid aliud, nisi ut homines recte vivere non curarent, conciliata sibi Fortuna, quae illos sine ullis bonis meritis faceret fortunatos? Et certe si Fortuna loquitur, non saltem muliebris, sed virilis potius loqueretur, ut non ipsae, quae simulacrum dedicaverunt, putarentur tantum miraculum muliebri loquacitate finxisse.

## Caput XX.

*De Virtute et Fide, quas Romani inter deos coluerunt, nec eas in Joviana parte posuerunt.*

Virtutem quoque deam fecerunt; quae quidem si dea esset, multis praeferretur. Et nunc quia dea non est, sed donum Dei est, ab ipso impetretur, a quo solo dari potest, et omnis deorum turba evanescet. Sed cur et Fides dea credita est, et accepit etiam ipsa templum et aram? Quam quisquis prudenter agnoscit, semetipsum ei templum facit. Quomodo autem sciunt quid sit fides, cujus primum et maximum officium est, ut in verum Deum credatur? Sed cur virtuti non suffecit fides? siquidem virtus ab eis quatuor partibus definitur: prudentia, justitia, fortitudine, temperantia. Quoniam vero et istae singulae suas habent deas, cur fides adeo virtuti adjuncta est, ut in illis quatuor nullum locum haberet, nec earum alicui jungeretur? quae fides est, nisi quam nos in eodem regesto reperimus, cum justitia ex fide vivere dicitur? Miror autem quod isti, qui tantae deorum turbae dediti fuerunt, virtutem et fidem deas esse voluerunt, quarum in animo esse sedem non dubitaverunt; cum tamen aede careat animus ipse, in quo sedere possint.

## Caput XXI.

*Quod his qui non intelligunt unum Deum, sufficere debuerit Felicitas.*

So much indeed do they attribute to this as it were deity, whom they call Fortune, that they have even committed to memory that her image, which was dedicated by matrons (and was called Women's Fortune [Liv. l. 2]), also spoke (Plutarch in Coriolanus and in the book on the Fortune of the Romans), and said not once, but again, that the matrons had dedicated her rightly. Which indeed, if it be true, ought not to surprise us. For it is not even thus difficult for malignant demons to deceive, whose arts and subtleties these men ought rather to have observed from this, that that goddess spoke who happens by chance, not who comes by merits. For Fortune was loquacious, and Felicity mute; for what else, unless that men should not care to live rightly, Fortune being conciliated to themselves, who should make them fortunate without any good merits? And certainly if Fortune speaks, at least not the feminine, but the masculine rather should speak, so that they themselves who dedicated the image might not be thought to have feigned so great a miracle by female loquacity.

## Chapter XX.

*Of Virtue and Faith, which the Romans worshiped among the gods, nor did they place them in the Jovian part.*

Virtue also they made a goddess; which indeed, if she were a goddess, would be preferred to many. And now because she is not a goddess, but is a gift of God, let her be impetrated from him, by whom alone she can be given, and all the crowd of gods will vanish. But why also was Faith believed a goddess, and received even herself a temple and an altar? Whom whoever prudently acknowledges, makes himself a temple to her. How moreover do they know what faith is, whose first and greatest office is, that it should be believed in the true God? But why was faith not sufficient for virtue? since indeed virtue is defined by them in four parts: prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance. But since also these individuals have their own goddesses, why was faith so joined to virtue, that it should have no place among those four, nor be joined to any of them? what faith is it, unless that which we find in the same register, when justice is said to live from faith? But I wonder that those, who were given to so great a crowd of gods, wished virtue and faith to be goddesses, whose seat they did not doubt to be in the mind; when nevertheless the mind itself lacks a temple, in which they could sit.

## Chapter XXI.

*That for those who do not understand the one God, Felicity alone ought to have sufficed.*

Cum vero et Felicitatem deam fecerint, aedemque illi et aram et sacra constituerint, si hanc solam colerent, omnino sufficeret. Quid enim colendum est ab eo qui vult esse felix, nisi Felicitas? Cur igitur ad illam quaerendam, qui colit Jovem, it ad Apollinem, it ad Mars, it ad singulos deos, qui sibi pro suis quique partibus adhibendos putaverunt? Et hinc jam omittenda est multitudo ista numinum, quae velut singulis rebus pro cujusque eorum officio deputata est. Nam si fieri potest, ut quoniam Deus est, cujus munus est felicitas, ipsam deam fecerint quam vocant Felicitatem, et eam colendo cetera munera ejus pariter habeant: cur non etiam ipsum regnum deam fecerunt, ut eam colendo per eam ceteri deae Victoriae, vel cuilibet alteri in ea causa numini non egerent? Sed si regnum munus est Jovis, cur non et ipsa felicitas munus ejus putatur? Si autem munus ejus putatur, quid opus erat deas illas pro donis ejus colere, cum ipse qui dat, et solus coleretur, et cuncta pariter daret? Cur enim non et regnum deam fecerunt, si Victoria dea est? Aut si ipsa Victoria non est dea, sed munus est Dei, cur non et ipsa felicitas munus ejus habeatur? Postremo, si et regnum munus est Jovis, et Victoria munus ejus est, et Felicitas munus ejus est: cur non ipse solus colatur, a quo haec omnia dantur? Quae si singillatim colenda sunt, cur non et regnum singillatim coleretur? Cur non et ipsa Iniquitas, quae ad dilatandum imperium causas praebet, singillatim coleretur? Quae si dea non est, quia malum est; cur non et ipsa Victoria munus Dei habeatur, sicut regnum munus ejus est? Certe si Victoria dea est, cur non et triumphus deus sit? Quid triumphus, nisi victoriae finis est? Si autem et ipse triumphus deus non est, sed munus est Dei, cur non et ipsa Victoria munus ejus habeatur? Nam si Victoria dea est, et sub illo rege est, quo missa fuerit, illi favebit: cur ergo non ipse solus colatur, a quo haec omnia dantur?

## Caput XXII.

*De scientia colendorum deorum, quam a se Varro gloriatur collatam esse Romanis.*

Quid ergo est, quod pro ingenti beneficio Varro jactat praestare se civibus suis, quia non solum commemorat deos, quos coli oporteat a Romanis, verum etiam dicit quid ad quemque pertineat? Quoniam nihil prodest, inquit, hominis alicujus medici nomen formamque nosse, et quod sit medicus ignorare: ita dicit nihil prodesse scire, deum esse Aesculapium, si nescias eum valetudini opitulari, atque ita ignores cur ei debeas supplicare.

But when they also made Felicity a goddess, and established for her a temple and an altar and sacred rites, if they worshiped this one alone, it would altogether suffice. For what is to be worshiped by him who wishes to be happy, except Felicity? Why therefore, to seek her, does he who worships Jove go to Apollo, go to Mars, go to individual gods, whom they thought were to be employed each for his own parts? And from here now that multitude of deities is to be omitted, which was deputed as it were to individual things for the office of each of them. For if it can be done, that since he is God whose gift is felicity, they made a goddess of her whom they call Felicity, and by worshiping her they equally have his other gifts: why also did they not make the kingdom a goddess, so that by worshiping her they should not lack the other goddess Victoria, or any other deity in that cause? But if the kingdom is a gift of Jove, why is not also felicity itself thought his gift? But if it is thought his gift, what need was there to worship those goddesses for his gifts, when he himself who gives should alone be worshiped, and should give all things equally? For why also did they not make the kingdom a goddess, if Victoria is a goddess? Or if Victoria herself is not a goddess, but is a gift of God, why is not also felicity itself held as his gift? Finally, if both the kingdom is a gift of Jove, and Victoria is his gift, and Felicity is his gift: why is he himself not alone worshiped, from whom all these things are given? Which if they are to be worshiped individually, why should not also the kingdom be worshiped individually? Why should not also iniquity itself, which provides causes for dilating the empire, be worshiped individually? Which if she is not a goddess, because she is an evil; why is not also Victoria herself held as a gift of God, just as the kingdom is his gift? Certainly if Victoria is a goddess, why should not also triumph be a god? What is triumph, except the end of victory? But if even triumph itself is not a god, but is a gift of God, why is not also Victoria herself held as his gift? For if Victoria is a goddess, and is under that king, to whom she shall have been sent, her she will favor: why therefore is he himself not alone worshiped, from whom all these things are given?

## Chapter XXII.

*Concerning the knowledge of worshiping the gods, which Varro boasts was conferred by him upon the Romans.*

What is it, therefore, that Varro boasts he provides to his citizens as a great benefit, because he not only commemorates the gods whom it behooves the Romans to worship, but also says what pertains to each one? "Since it profits nothing," he says, "to know the name and form of some medical man, and to be ignorant that he is a physician: so he says it profits nothing to know that Aesculapius is a god, if you do not know that he helps health, and thus you are ignorant why you ought to supplicate him."

Hoc etiam alia similitudine affirmat, dicens, non modo bene vivere, sed vivere omnino neminem posse, si ignoret quisnam sit faber, quis pistor, quis tector, a quo quid utensile petere possit: quem adjutorem assumere, quem ducem, quem doctorem: eo modo nulli dubium esse asserens, ita esse utilem cognitionem deorum, si sciatur quam quisque deus vim et facultatem ac potestatem cujusque rei habeat. Ex eo enim poterimus, inquit, scire quem cujusque causa deum advocare atque invocare debeamus: ne faciamus, ut mimi solent, et optemus a Libero aquam, a Lymphis vinum. Magna sane utilitas. Quis non huic gratias ageret, si vera monstraret; et si unum verum Deum, a quo essent omnia bona, hominibus colendum doceret?

## Caput XXIII.

*De Felicitate, quam Romani, multorum veneratores deorum, diu non coluerunt honore divino, cum pro omnibus sola sufficeret.*

1. Sed unde nunc agitur, si libri et sacra eorum vera sunt, et Felicitas dea est, cur non ipsa una quae coleretur constituta est, quae posset universa conferre, et compendio facere felicem? Quis enim optat aliquid propter aliud quam ut felix fiat? Cur denique tam sero huic tantae deae post tot Romanos principes Lucullus aedem constituit? Cur ipse Romulus felicem cupiens condere civitatem, non huic templum potissimum struxit? Nec propter aliquid diis caeteris supplicavit, quando nihil deesset, sic haec adesset. Nam et ipse nec prius rex, nec, ut putant, postea deus fieret, si hanc deam propitiam non haberet. Utquid ergo constituit Romanis deos, Janum, Jovem, Martem, Picum, Faunum, Tiberinum, Herculem, et si quos alios? utquid Titus Tatius addidit Saturnum, Opem, Solem, Lunam, Vulcanum, Lucem, et quoscumque alios addidit, inter quos etiam deam Cloacinam, Felicitate neglecta? utquid Numa tot deos et tot deas sine ista? an eam forte in tanta turba videre non potuit? Hostilius certe rex deos et ipse novos Pavorem atque Pallorem propitiandos non introduceret, si deam istam nosset aut colerer. Praesente quippe Felicitate omnis pavor et pallor, non propitiatus abscederet, sed pulsus aufugeret.

2. Deinde quid est hoc, quod jam Romanum imperium longe lateque crescebat, et adhuc nemo Felicitatem colebat? An ideo grandius imperium, quam felicius fuit? Nam quomodo ibi esset vera felicitas, ubi vera non erat pietas? Pietas enim est verax veri Dei cultus, non cultus falsorum tot deorum, quot daemoniorum. Sed et postea jam in deorum numerum Felicitate suscepta, magna bellorum civilium infelicitas subsecuta est.

This he also affirms by another similitude, saying, that not only to live well, but that no one at all can live, if he is ignorant who is the smith, who the baker, who the plasterer, from whom he can seek any useful thing: whom to take as a helper, whom as a leader, whom as a teacher: asserting in that manner that it is doubtful to no one, that the knowledge of the gods is thus useful, if it be known what force and faculty and power of each thing each god has. "For from that," he says, "we shall be able to know which god we ought to advocate and invoke for the cause of each thing: lest we do as mimes are wont, and ask water from Liber, wine from the Lymphae." Great utility indeed! Who would not give thanks to this man, if he showed true things; and if he taught that the one true God, from whom were all good things, was to be worshiped by men?

## Chapter XXIII.

*Concerning Felicity, whom the Romans, venerators of many gods, for a long time did not worship with divine honor, when she alone would have sufficed for all.*

1. But whence it is now treated, if their books and sacred things are true, and Felicity is a goddess, why was she not alone constituted to be worshiped, who could confer all things, and by a short-cut make a man happy? For who desires anything for the sake of anything else than that he may become happy? Why, finally, so late to this so great a goddess, after so many Roman princes, did Lucullus constitute a temple? Why did Romulus himself, desiring to found a happy city, not build a temple to her especially? Nor for the sake of anything would he have supplicated the other gods, since nothing would be lacking, if she were present. For neither would he himself first become a king, nor, as they think, afterwards a god, if he did not have this goddess propitious. For what purpose, therefore, did he constitute for the Romans the gods Janus, Jove, Mars, Picus, Faunus, Tiberinus, Hercules, and if there are any others? For what purpose did Titus Tatius add Saturn, Ops, Sol, Luna, Vulcan, Lux, and whomever others he added, among whom also the goddess Cloacina, Felicity being neglected? For what purpose Numa so many gods and so many goddesses without her? Or could he perhaps not see her in so great a crowd? Hostilius certainly, the king, would not himself have introduced new gods, Fear and Pallor, to be propitiated, if he had known or worshiped this goddess. For if Felicity were present, all fear and pallor, not propitiated, would depart, but, being repelled, would flee away.

2. Then what is this, that now the Roman empire was increasing far and wide, and as yet no one worshiped Felicity? Was the empire therefore grander than it was happier? For how should there be true felicity there, where there was not true piety? For piety is the true worship of the true God, not the worship of as many false gods as there are demons. But also afterwards, when Felicity was already received into the number of the gods, the great infelicity of the civil wars followed.

An forte juste est indignata Felicitas, quod et tam sero, et non ad honorem, sed ad contumeliam potius invitata est, ut cum ea coleretur Priapus, et Cloacina, et Pavor, et Pallor, et Febris, et caetera non numina colendorum, sed crimina colentium?

3. Ad extremum, si cum turba indignissima tanta dea colenda visa est, cur non vel illustrius caeteris colebatur? Quis enim ferat, quod neque inter deos Consentes quos dicunt in consilium Jovis adhiberi, nec inter deos quos Selectos vocant, Felicitas constituta est? Templum aliquod ei fieret, quod et loci sublimitate et operis dignitate praeemineret. Cur enim non aliquid melius, quam ipsi Jovi? Nam quae etiam Jovi regnum nisi Felicitas dedit? si tamen cum regnaret, felix fuit. Et potior est felicitas regno. Nemo enim dubitat, facile inveniri hominem qui timeat se fieri regem: nullus autem invenitur qui se nolit esse felicem. Ipsi ergo dii, si per auguria vel quolibet modo eos poss consuli putant, de hac re consulerentur, utrum vellent Felicitati loco cedere: si forte aliorum aedibus vel altaribus jam fuisset locus occupatus, ubi aedes major atque sublimior Felicitati construeretur, etiam ipse Jupiter cederet, ut ipsum verticem collis Capitolini Felicitas potius obtineret. Non enim quispiam resisteret Felicitati, nisi, quod fieri non potest, qui esse vellet infelix. Nullo modo omnino si consuleretur, faceret Jupiter, quod ei fecerunt tres dii, Mars, Terminus, et Juventas, qui majori et regi suo nullo modo cedere loco voluerunt. Nam sicut habent eorum litterae, cum rex Tarquinius Capitolium fabricare vellet, eumque locum qui ei dignior aptiorque videbatur, ab diis aliis cerneret praeoccupatum, non audens aliquid contra eorum facere arbitrium et credens eos tanto numini suoque principi voluntate cessuros; quia multi erant illic ubi Capitolium constitutum est, per augurium quaesivit, utrum concedere locum vellent Jovi: atque ipsi inde cedere omnes voluerunt, praeter illos quos commemoravi, Martem, Terminum, Juventatem: atque ideo Capitolium ita constructum est, ut etiam isti tres intus essent tam obscuris signis, ut hoc vix homines doctissimi scirent. Nullo modo igitur Felicitatem Jupiter ipse contemneret, sicut a Termino, Marte, Juventate contemptus est. Sed ipsi etiam qui non cesserant Jovi, profecto cederent Felicitati, quae illis regem fecerat Jovem. Aut si non cederent, non id contemptu ejus facerent, sed quod in domo Felicitatis obscuri esse mallent, quam sine illa in locis propriis eminere.

Or perhaps Felicity was justly indignant, because she was invited both so late, and not to honor, but rather to contumely, so that with her were worshiped Priapus, and Cloacina, and Fear, and Pallor, and Fever, and other things not deities of those to be worshiped, but crimes of those worshiping?

3. At the end, if with such a most unworthy crowd so great a goddess seemed fit to be worshiped, why was she not at least worshiped more illustriously than the others? For who can bear, that neither among the gods Consentes, whom they say are adhibited into the council of Jove, nor among the gods whom they call Select, was Felicity constituted? Some temple should be made for her, which should pre-eminently excel both in the sublimity of the place and in the dignity of the work. For why not something better than for Jove himself? For what even gave the kingdom to Jove except Felicity? if indeed, while he reigned, he was happy. And felicity is more powerful than a kingdom. For no one doubts, that a man is easily found who fears to become a king: but none is found who does not wish himself to be happy. Therefore the gods themselves, if they think they can be consulted through auguries or in any way, should be consulted about this matter, whether they wished to yield place to Felicity: if perchance the place had already been occupied by the temples or altars of others, where a greater and more sublime temple should be constructed for Felicity, even Jove himself should yield, so that Felicity rather should obtain the very summit of the Capitoline hill. For no one at all would resist Felicity, except, which cannot be, one who wished to be unhappy. By no means at all, if he were consulted, would Jove do what three gods, Mars, Terminus, and Juventas, did to him, who would in no way yield place to their greater and king. For as their letters have it, when king Tarquinius wished to build the Capitol, and perceived that place which seemed to him worthier and more fit, was preoccupied by other gods, not daring to do anything against their arbitrament, and believing that they would yield to so great a deity and their own prince by their will; because there were many there where the Capitol was constituted, he sought through augury whether they wished to concede the place to Jove: and all wished to yield from there, except those whom I have commemorated, Mars, Terminus, Juventas: and therefore the Capitol was so constructed, that even these three should be within with such obscure signs, that the most learned men should scarcely know this. By no means therefore would Jove himself contemptuously treat Felicity, as he was contemned by Terminus, Mars, and Juventas. But they themselves also who had not yielded to Jove, would surely yield to Felicity, who had made Jove a king for them. Or if they did not yield, they would not do it out of contempt for her, but because they would rather be obscure in the house of Felicity, than eminent without her in their own places.

4. Ita dea Felicitate in loco amplissimo et celsissimo constituta, discerent cives unde omnis boni voti petendum esset auxilium. Ac sic ipsa suadente natura, aliorum deorum superflua multitudine derelicta, coleretur una Felicitas, uni supplicaretur, unius templum frequentaretur a civibus qui felices esse vellent, quorum esset nemo qui nollet: atque ita ipsa a se ipsa peteretur, quae ab omnibus petebatur. Quis enim aliquid ab aliquo deo, nisi felicitatem, velit accipere, vel quod ad felicitatem existimat pertinere? Proinde si felicitas habet in potestate cum quo homine sit (habet autem, si dea est), quae tandem stultitia est, ab aliquo eam deo petere, quam possis a se ipsa impetrare? Hanc ergo deam super deos caeteros honorare etiam loci dignitate debuerunt. Sicut enim apud ipsos legitur, Romani veteres nescio quem Summanum, cui nocturna fulmina tribuebant, coluerunt magis quam Jovem, ad quem diurna fulmina pertinerent. Sed postquam Jovi templum insigne ac sublime constructum est, propter aedis dignitatem sic ad eum multitudo confluxit, ut vix inveniatur qui Summani nomen, quod audire jam non potest, se saltem legisse meminerit. Si autem felicitas dea non est, quoniam, quod verum est, munus est Dei; ille Deus quaeratur, qui eam dare possit, et deorum falsorum multitudo noxia relinquatur, quam stultorum hominum multitudo vana sectatur, dona Dei deos sibi faciens, et ipsum, cujus ea dona sunt, obstinatione superbae voluntatis offendens. Sic enim carere non potest infelicitate, qui tanquam deam felicitatem colit, et Deum datorem felicitatis relinquit: sicut carere non potest fame, qui panem pictum lingit, et ab homine qui verum habet, non petit.

## Caput XXIV.

*Qua ratione defendant Pagani, quod inter deos colant ipsa dona divina.*

Libet autem eorum considerare rationes. Usque adeone, inquiunt, majores nostros insipientes fuisse credendum est, ut haec nescirent munera divina esse, non deos? Sed quoniam sciebant nemini talia nisi aliquo deo largiente concedi, quorum deorum nomina non inveniebant, earum rerum nominibus appellabant deos, quas ab eis sentiebant dari, aliqua vocabula inde flectentes, sicut a bello Bellonam nuncupaverunt, non bellum; sicut a cunis Cuninam, non cuna; sicut a segetibus Segetiam, non segetem; sicut a pomis Pomonam, non pomum; sicut a bubus Bubonam, non bovem;

4. Thus with the goddess Felicity constituted in a most ample and high place, the citizens would learn whence the help of every good vow was to be sought. And thus nature itself persuading, the superfluous multitude of other gods being derelict, one Felicity would be worshiped, to one would supplication be made, the temple of one would be frequented by the citizens who wished to be happy, of whom there would be no one who did not wish it: and thus she would be sought from herself, who was sought by all. For who would wish to receive anything from any god, except felicity, or what he thinks pertains to felicity? Therefore if felicity has it in her power with which man she may be (and she has it, if she is a goddess), what folly at last is it, to seek her from some god, whom you can impetrate from herself? This goddess therefore they ought to have honored over the other gods even by the dignity of the place. For just as is read among themselves, the ancient Romans worshiped I know not what Summanus, to whom they attributed nocturnal lightnings, more than Jove, to whom diurnal lightnings pertained. But after a distinguished and sublime temple was constructed for Jove, on account of the dignity of the house, the multitude so flowed together to him, that there is scarcely found one who remembers the name of Summanus, which he can no longer hear, that he has at least read it. But if felicity is not a goddess, since, which is true, it is a gift of God; let that God be sought, who can give it, and let the noxious multitude of false gods be left, which the vain multitude of foolish men follows, making the gifts of God gods to themselves, and offending him himself, whose those gifts are, by the obstination of a proud will. For thus he cannot lack infelicity, who worships felicity as if a goddess, and leaves God the giver of felicity: just as he cannot lack hunger, who licks painted bread, and does not seek from the man who has true bread.

## Chapter XXIV.

*By what reason the Pagans defend, that among the gods they worship the divine gifts themselves.*

But it is pleasing to consider their reasons. Is it to be believed, they say, that our ancestors were so unwise as not to know that these were divine gifts, not gods? But since they knew that such things were conceded to no one except by some god bestowing them, of which gods they did not find the names, they called the gods by the names of those things which they perceived were given by them, flecting some vocables from them, just as from war (*bellum*) they named Bellona, not war; just as from cradles (*cunae*) Cunina, not the cradle; just as from crops (*segetes*) Segetia, not the crop; just as from fruits (*poma*) Pomona, not the fruit; just as from oxen (*boves*) Bubona, not the ox:

aut certe nulla vocabuli declinatione, sicut res ipsae nominantur, ut Pecunia dicta est dea, quae dat pecuniam, non omnino pecunia dea ipsa putata est: ita Virtus, quae dat virtutem; Honor, qui honorem; Concordia, quae concordiam; Victoria, quae dat victoriam. Ita, inquiunt, cum Felicitas dea dicitur, non ipsa quae datur, sed numen illud attenditur a quo felicitas datur.

## Caput XXV.

*De uno tantum colendo Deo, qui, licet nomine ignoretur, tamen felicitatis dator esse sentitur.*

Ista nobis reddita ratione, multo facilius eis, quorum cor non nimis obduruit, persuadebimus fortasse quod volumus. Si enim jam humana infirmitas sensit, nonnisi ab aliquo Deo dari posse felicitatem; et hoc senserunt homines qui tam multos colebant deos, in quibus et ipsum eorum regem Jovem; quia ejus nomen, a quo daretur felicitas, ignorabant, ideo ipsius rei nomine, quam credebant ab illo dari, eum appellare voluerunt: satis ergo judicarunt, nec ab ipso Jove dari posse felicitatem, quem jam colebant; sed utique ab illo quem nomine ipsius felicitatis colendum esse censebant. Confirmo prorsus a quodam Deo, quem nesciebant, eos credidisse dari felicitatem: ipse ergo quaeratur, ipse colatur, et sufficit. Repudietur strepitus innumerabilium daemoniorum: illi non sufficiat hic Deus, cui non sufficit munus ejus. Illi, inquam, non sufficiat ad colendum Deus dator felicitatis, cui non sufficit ab accipiendum ipsa felicitas. Cui autem sufficit (non enim habet homo quid amplius optare debeat), serviat uni Deo datori felicitatis. Non est ipse quem nominant Jovem. Nam si eum datorem felicitatis agnoscerent, non utique alium, vel aliam, a qua daretur felicitas, nomine ipsius Felicitatis inquirerent; neque ipsum Jovem cum tantis injuriis colendum putarent. Iste alienarum dicitur adulter uxorum, iste pueri pulchri impudicus amator et raptor.

## Caput XXVI.

*De ludis scenicis, quos sibi dii celebrari a suis cultoribus exegerunt.*

or certainly by no declension of the vocable, just as the things themselves are named, as Pecunia is called a goddess, who gives money (*pecunia*), not at all was money itself thought to be a goddess: thus Virtue (*Virtus*), which gives virtue; Honor, which gives honor; Concord (*Concordia*), which gives concord; Victory (*Victoria*), which gives victory. Thus, they say, when Felicity is called a goddess, not she herself who is given, but that deity is attended to from whom felicity is given.

## Chapter XXV.

*Concerning worshiping only one God, who, although he be unknown by name, is yet perceived to be the giver of felicity.*

With this reason given to us, we shall perhaps much more easily persuade those whose heart is not too hardened what we wish. For if already human infirmity has sensed that felicity cannot be given except by some God; and this was sensed by men who worshiped so many gods, among whom even their king himself Jove; because they were ignorant of his name, by whom felicity was given, therefore they wished to call him by the name of that very thing which they believed was given by him: they judged enough, therefore, that felicity could not be given even by Jove himself, whom they already worshiped; but certainly by him whom they thought should be worshiped by the name of felicity itself. I confirm entirely that they believed felicity to be given by a certain God whom they knew not: let him therefore be sought, let him be worshiped, and it suffices. Let the noise of innumerable demons be repudiated: let this God not suffice for him, for whom his gift does not suffice. To him, I say, let the God the giver of felicity not suffice for worshiping, for whom felicity itself does not suffice for receiving. To whom however it suffices (for a man has nothing further which he ought to desire), let him serve the one God the giver of felicity. He is not he whom they name Jove. For if they acknowledged him as the giver of felicity, they would not certainly inquire for another, or another female, from whom felicity was given, by the name of Felicity itself; nor would they think that Jove himself was to be worshiped with such great injuries. He is said to be the adulterer of others' wives; he the impudic lover and ravisher of a beautiful boy.

## Chapter XXVI.

*Concerning the scenic games, which the gods demanded should be celebrated for them by their worshipers.*

Sed fingebat haec Homerus, ait Tullius, et humana ad deos transferebat: divina mallem ad nos. Merito displicuit viro gravi divinorum criminum poeta confictor. Cur ergo ludi scenici, ubi haec dictitantur, cantitantur, actitantur, deorum honoribus exhibentur, inter res divinas a doctissimis conscribuntur? Hic exclamet Cicero, non contra figmenta poetarum, sed contra instituta majorum. Annon exclamarent et illi, Quid nos fecimus? Ipsi dii ista suis honoribus exhibenda flagitaverunt, atrociter imperarunt, cladem nisi fieret praenuntiarunt; quia neglectum est aliquid, severissime vindicarunt; quia id quod neglectum fuerat factum est, placatos se esse monstrarunt. Inter eorum commemoratur virtutes et miranda facta quod dicam. Tito Latinio, rustico Romano patrifamilias, dictum est in somnis, in senatum nuntiaret, ut ludi Romani instaurarentur, quod primo eorum die in quodam scelerato, qui populo spectante ad supplicium duci jussus est, numinibus videlicet ex ludis hilaritatem quaerentibus, triste displicuisset imperium. Cum ergo ille, qui somnio commonitus erat, postero die jussa facere non ausus esset, secunda nocte hoc idem rursus severius imperatum est: amisit filium, quia non fecit. Tertia nocte dictum est homini, quod major ei poena, si non faceret, immineret. Cum etiam sic non auderet, in morbum incidit acrem et horribilem. Tum vero ex amicorum sententia ad magistratus rem detulit, atque in lectica allatus est in senatum: expositoque somnio, recepta continuo valetudine, pedibus suis sanus abscessit. Tanto stupefactus miraculo senatus quadruplicata pecunia ludos censuit instaurari. Quis non videat, qui sanum sapit, subditos homines malignis daemonibus, a quorum dominatione non liberat nisi gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, vi compulsos esse exhibere talibus diis, quae recto consilio poterant turpia judicari? In illis certe ludis poetica numinum crimina frequentantur, qui ludi cogentibus numinibus jussu senatus instaurabantur. In illis ludis corruptorem pudicitiae Jovem turpissimi histriones cantabant, agebant, placebant. Si illud fingebatur, ille irasceretur: si autem suis criminibus etiam fictis delectabatur, quando coleretur, nis idiabolo serviretur? Itane iste Romanum conderet, dilataret, conservaret imperium, quovis Romano, cui displicebant talia, homine abjectior? iste daret felicitatem, qui tam infeliciter colebatur; et nisi ita coleretur, infelicius irascebatur?

## Caput XXVII.

*De tribus generibus deorum, de quibus Scaevola pontifex disputavit.*

But Homer feigned these things, says Tullius, and transferred human things to the gods: I should have preferred divine things to us. Meritously did the poet-contriver of divine crimes displease a grave man. Why therefore are scenic games, where these things are said repeatedly, sung repeatedly, acted repeatedly, exhibited for the honors of the gods, and written down among divine things by the most learned? Here let Cicero exclaim, not against the figments of poets, but against the institutes of the ancestors. Would not they also exclaim, What have we done? The gods themselves demanded that these things be exhibited for their honors, atrociously commanded them, foretold disaster unless it were done; because something was neglected, they most severely vindicated it; because that which had been neglected was done, they showed themselves to be appeased. Among their virtues and wonderful deeds is commemorated what I shall say. To Titus Latinius, a Roman rustic father of a family, it was said in his dreams to announce to the senate that the Roman games should be restored, because on their first day, in a certain criminal who was ordered to be led to punishment while the people were watching, a sad command had displeased the deities seeking hilarity from the games. When therefore he, who had been admonished by the dream, had not dared to do the commands on the following day, on the second night this same thing was again more severely commanded: he lost his son, because he did not do it. On the third night it was said to the man, that a greater penalty would hang over him if he did not do it. When even thus he did not dare, he fell into a sharp and horrible disease. Then truly, by the opinion of his friends, he brought the matter to the magistrates, and was carried in a litter into the senate: and the dream having been exposed, his health being recovered immediately, he departed sound on his own feet. The senate, stupified by so great a miracle, decreed that the games should be restored with quadrupled money. Who does not see, who is of sound taste, that men were compelled by force, being subjects to malignant demons, from whose domination nothing liberates except the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, to exhibit to such gods those things which by right counsel could be judged base? In those games certainly the poetic crimes of the deities are frequented, which games, by the gods compelling, were restored by the command of the senate. In those games the most base actors sang of, acted, and pleased by Jove the corrupter of chastity. If that was feigned, he would be angry: but if he was delighted by his own crimes even when feigned, when should he be worshiped, except that the devil be served? Would he thus found, dilate, preserve the Roman empire, more abject than any Roman man whom such things displeased? Would he give felicity, who was so infelicitously worshiped; and unless he were thus worshiped, was more infelicitously angry?

## Chapter XXVII.

*Concerning the three kinds of gods, about which Scaevola the pontiff disputed.*

Relatum est in litteras, doctissimum pontificem Scaevolam disputasse tria genera tradita deorum: unum a poetis, alterum a philosophis, tertium a principibus civitatis. Primum genus nugatorium dicit esse, quod multa de diis fingantur indigna; secundum non congruere civitatibus, quod habeat aliqua supervacua, aliqua etiam quae obsit populis nosse. De supervacuis non magna causa est: solet enim et a jurisperitis dici, Superflua non nocent. Quae sunt autem illa quae prolata in multitudinem nocent? Haec, inquit, non esse deos Herculem, Aesculapium, Castorem, Pollucem: proditur enim a doctis, quod homines fuerint, et humana conditione defecerint. Quid aliud? Quod eorum qui sint dii non habeant civitates vera simulacra; quod verus Deus nec sexum habeat, nec aetatem, nec definita corporis membra. Haec pontifex nosse populos non vult: nam falsa esse non putat. Expedire igitur existimat, falli in religione civitates. Quod dicere etiam in libris Rerum divinarum ipse Varro non dubitat. Praeclara religio, quo confugiat liberandus infirmus, et cum veritatem qua liberetur inquirat, credatur ei expedire quod fallitur. Poeticum sane deorum genus cur Scaevola respuat, eisdem litteris non tacetur: quia sic videlicet deos deformant, ut nec bonis hominibus comparentur, cum alium faciunt furari, alium adulterare; sic item aliquid aliter, turpiter, atque inepte dicere ac facere; tres inter se deas certasse de praemio pulchritudinis, victas duas a Venere Trojam evertisse; Jovem ipsum converti in bovem aut cycnum, ut cum aliqua concumbat; deam homini nubere, Saturnum liberos devorare: nihil denique posse confingi miraculorum atque vitiorum, quod non ibi reperiatur, atque ab deorum natura longe absit. O Scaevola pontifex maxime, ludos tolle, si potes: praecipe populis, ne tales honores diis immortalibus deferant, ubi crimina deorum libeat mirari, et quae fieri possunt placeat imitari. Si autem tibi responderit populus, Vos nobis importastis ista, pontifices: deos ipsos roga, quibus instigantibus ista jussisitis, ne talia sibi jubeant exhiberi. Quae si mala sunt, et propterea nullo modo de deorum majestate credenda, major est deorum injuria, de quibus impune finguntur.

It is related in letters, that the most learned pontiff Scaevola disputed that three kinds of gods have been handed down: one by the poets, another by the philosophers, the third by the princes of the city. The first kind he says is nugatory, because many things are feigned about the gods that are unworthy; the second does not congruate with cities, because it has some things that are superfluous, some even which it hurts the peoples to know. Concerning the superfluous there is no great cause: for it is wont to be said even by jurisconsults, "Superfluous things do not harm." But what are those things which, brought forth into the multitude, harm? "These," he says, "that Hercules, Aesculapius, Castor, Pollux are not gods: for it is betrayed by the learned, that they were men, and failed by human condition." What else? "That the cities of those who are gods do not have true images; that the true God has neither sex, nor age, nor defined members of the body." These things the pontiff does not wish the peoples to know: for he does not think them to be false. He judges it to be expedient, therefore, that cities be deceived in religion. Which Varro himself does not doubt to say even in his books of Divine Things. Excellent religion! to which the infirm man may fly to be liberated, and when he inquires for the truth by which he may be liberated, it be believed to be expedient for him that he be deceived. Indeed, why Scaevola should reject the poetic kind of gods is not kept silent in the same letters: because forsooth they thus deform the gods, that they are not compared even to good men, when they make one to steal, another to commit adultery; thus also to say or do something otherwise, basely, and ineptly; that three goddesses fought among themselves for the prize of beauty, and the two defeated by Venus overturned Troy; that Jove himself was converted into a bull or a swan, that he might lie with some woman; that a goddess married a man, that Saturn devoured his children: finally that nothing of miracles and vices can be feigned, which is not found there, and is far away from the nature of the gods. O Scaevola, most great pontiff, remove the games, if you can: command the peoples, that they defer not such honors to the immortal gods, where it is pleasing to admire the crimes of the gods, and it is pleasing to imitate those things which can be done. But if the people shall respond to you: "You pontiffs brought those things in to us": ask the gods themselves, at whose instigation you commanded those things, lest they command such things to be exhibited for themselves. Which if they are evil, and therefore in no way to be believed concerning the majesty of the gods, greater is the injury of the gods, about whom these things are feigned with impunity.

Sed non te audiunt, daemones sunt, prava docent, turpibus gaudent: non solum non deputant injuriam, si de illis ista fingantur; sed eam potius injuriam ferre non possunt, si per eorum solemnia non agantur. Jam vero si adversus eos Jovem interpelles, maxime ob eam causam, quia ejus plura crimina ludis scenicis actitantur; nonne etiamsi Deum Jovem nuncupatis, a quo regitur totus atque administratur hic mundus, eo illi fit a vobis maxima injuria, quod eum cum istis colendum putatis, eorumque regem esse perhibetis?

## Caput XXVIII.

*An ad obtinendum dilatandumque regnum profuerit Romanis cultus deorum.*

Nullo igitur modo dii tales, qui talibus placantur, vel potius accusantur honoribus, ut majus sit crimen quod eis falsis oblectantur, quam si de illis vera dicerentur, Romanum imperium augere et conservare potuissent. Hoc enim si possent, Graecis potius donum tam grande conferrent, qui eos in hujuscemodi rebus divinis, hoc est ludis scenicis, honorabilius digniusque coluerunt, quando et a morsibus poetarum, quibus deos dilacerari videbant, se non subtraxerunt, dando eis licentiam male tractandi homines quos liberet, et ipsos scenicos non turpes judicaverunt, sed dignos etiam praeclaris honoribus habuerunt. Sicut autem potuerunt auream pecuniam habere Romani, quamvis deum Aurinum non colerent: sic et argenteam habere potuerunt, et aeream, si nec Argentinum, nec ejus patrem colerent Aesculanum: et sic omnia, quae retexere piget. Sic ergo et regnum invito quidem Deo vero nullo modo habere possent; diis vero istis falsis et multis ignoratis sive contemptis, atque illo uno cognito et fide sincera ac moribus culto, et melius hic regnum haberent, quantumcumque haberent, et post haec acciperent sempiternum, sive hic haberent, sive non haberent.

## Caput XXIX.

*De falsitate auspicii, quo Romani regni fortitudo et stabilitas visa est indicari.*

But they do not hear you, they are demons, they teach perverse things, they rejoice in base things: not only do they not depute it as an injury, if these things are feigned about them; but they rather cannot bear that injury, if they are not acted through their solemnities. Now truly if you should interpose Jove against them, especially for that cause, because more of his crimes are acted repeatedly in the scenic games; is not even if you call him God Jove, by whom all this world is ruled and administered, by you the greatest injury done to him, because you think he is to be worshiped with these, and you perhibit him to be their king?

## Chapter XXVIII.

*Whether the worship of the gods profited the Romans for obtaining and dilating the kingdom.*

In no way, therefore, could such gods, who are appeased by such honors, or rather accused by them, so that the crime is greater that they are delighted by those false things than if true things were said about them, have been able to increase and preserve the Roman empire. For if they could do this, they would rather confer so great a gift upon the Greeks, who worshiped them in divine things of this sort, that is, in scenic games, more honorably and worthily, when they both did not subtract themselves from the bites of the poets, by which they saw the gods being lacerated, by giving them license of treating badly what men they pleased, and did not judge the actors themselves to be base, but even held them worthy of distinguished honors. But just as the Romans were able to have golden money, although they did not worship the god Aurinus: so they were able to have silver money, and bronze, if they worshiped neither Argentinus, nor his father Aesculanus: and thus all things, which it is tedious to weave over. Thus therefore they could in no way have the kingdom against the will of the true God; but with these false gods and many being unknown or contemned, and that one God being known and worshiped with sincere faith and manners, they would both have a better kingdom here, however much they had, and after these things they would receive an eternal one, whether they had it here, or had it not.

## Chapter XXIX.

*Concerning the falsity of the auspice, by which the strength and stability of the Roman kingdom seemed to be indicated.*

Nam illud quale est quod pulcherrimum auspicium fuisse dixerunt, quod paulo ante commemoravi, Martem et Terminum et Juventatem nec Jovi regi deorum loco cedere voluisse? Sic enim, inquiunt, significatum est, Martiam gentem, id est Romanam, nemini locum quem teneret daturam; Romanos quoque terminos propter deum Terminum neminem commoturum; juventutem etiam Romanam propter deam Juventatem nemini esse cessuram. Videant ergo quomodo habeant istum regem deorum suorum et datorem regni sui, ut eum auspicia ista pro adversario ponerent, cui non cedere pulchrum esset. Quanquam haec si vera sunt, non habent omnino quid timeant. Non enim confessuri sunt quod dii cesserint Christo, qui Jovi cedere noluerunt. Salvis quippe imperii finibus Christo cedere potuerunt, et de sedibus locorum et maxime de corde credentium. Sed antequam Christus veniret in carne, antequam denique ista scriberentur, quae de libris eorum proferimus; sed tamen posteaquam factum est sub rege Tarquinio illud auspicium, aliquoties Romanus exercitus fusus est, hoc est versus in fugam, falsumque ostendit auspicium, quo Juventas illa non cesserat Jovi; et gens Martia, superantibus atque irrumpentibus Gallis, in ipsa Urbe contrita est; et termini imperii, deficientibus multis ad Annibalem civitatibus, in angustum fuerant coarctati. Ita evacuata est pulchritudo auspiciorum, remansit contra Jovem contumacia, non deorum, sed daemoniorum. Aliud est enim non cessisse; aliud unde cesseras redisse. Quanquam et postea in Orientalibus partibus Hadriani voluntate mutati sunt termini imperii Romani. Ille namque tres provincias nobiles, Armeniam, Mesopotamiam, Assyriam, Persarum concessit imperio: ut deus ille Terminus, qui Romanos terminos secundum istos tuebatur, et per illud pulcherrimum auspicium loco non cesserat Jovi, plus Hadrianum regem hominum, quam regem deorum timuisse videatur. Receptis quoque alio tempore provinciis memoratis, nostra pene memoria retrorsus Terminus cessit, quando Julianus, deorum illorum oraculis deditus, immoderato ausu naves jussit incendi, quibus alimonia portabatur: qua exercitus destitutus, mox etiam ipso hostili vulnere exstincto, in tantam est redactus inopiam, ut inde nullus evaderet, undique hostibus incursantibus militem imperatoris morte turbatum, nisi placito pacis illic imperii fines constituerentur, ubi hodieque persistunt; non quidem tanto detrimento, quantum concesserat Hadrianus, sed media tamen compositione defixi.

For what sort of thing is that which they said was a most beautiful auspice, which I commemorated a little before, that Mars and Terminus and Juventas were not willing to yield place even to Jove the king of the gods? For thus, they say, it was signified, that the Martian nation, that is, the Roman, would give place to no one which it held; that no one would move the Roman boundaries on account of the god Terminus; that also the Roman youth on account of the goddess Juventas would yield to no one. Let them see therefore how they hold that king of their gods and giver of their kingdom, that those auspices should put him as an adversary, to whom it was beautiful not to yield. Although if these things are true, they have nothing at all what they should fear. For they are not about to confess that the gods yielded to Christ, who were not willing to yield to Jove. Safe forsooth as to the boundaries of the empire, they were able to yield to Christ, both from the seats of places and especially from the heart of believers. But before Christ came in the flesh, before finally these things were written, which we proffer from their books; but yet after that auspice was made under king Tarquinius, several times the Roman army was routed, that is, turned into flight, and showed the auspice false, by which that Juventas had not yielded to Jove; and the Martian nation, the Gauls overcoming and breaking in, was crushed in the City itself; and the boundaries of the empire, many cities falling away to Hannibal, had been coarctated into a narrow space. Thus the beauty of the auspices was evacuated, the contumacy remained against Jove, not of gods, but of demons. For it is one thing not to have yielded; another to have returned whence you had yielded. Although also afterwards in the Oriental parts by the will of Hadrian the boundaries of the Roman empire were changed. For he conceded three noble provinces, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, to the empire of the Persians: so that that god Terminus, who was protecting the Roman boundaries according to those men, and by that most beautiful auspice had not yielded place to Jove, seems to have feared king Hadrian, a man, more than the king of the gods. The memorated provinces also being received at another time, almost in our memory Terminus yielded backwards, when Julian, given up to the oracles of those gods, by immoderate daring ordered the ships to be burned, by which nourishment was carried: by which the army being destitute, soon also he himself being extinguished by a hostile wound, it was reduced to such great penury, that no one should escape from there, the enemies from everywhere incursioning the soldier troubled by the death of the emperor, unless by a pact of peace the boundaries of the empire were constituted there, where today they persist; not indeed with so great detriment as Hadrian had conceded, but yet fixed by a middle composition.

Vano igitur augurio deus Terminus non cessit Jovi, qui cessit Hadriani voluntati, cessit etiam Juliani temeritati, et Joviani necessitati. Viderunt haec intelligentiores gravioresque Romani; sed contra consuetudinem civitatis, quae daemoniacis ritibus fuerat obligata, parum valebant: quia et ipsi etiamsi illa vana esse sentiebant, naturae tamen rerum sub unius veri Dei regimine atque imperio constitutae, religiosum cultum, qui Deo debetur, exhibendum putabant: servientes, ut ait Apostolus, creaturae potius quam Creatori, qui est benedictus in saecula (Rom. I, 25). Hujus Dei veri erat auxilium necessarium, a quo mitterentur sancti viri et veraciter pii, qui pro vera religione morerentur, ut falsae a viventibus tollerentur.

## Caput XXXI.

*De opinionibus Varronis, qui reprobata persuasione populari, licet ad notitiam veri Dei non pervenerit, unum tamen deum colendum esse censuerit.*

1. Quid ipse Varro, quem dolemus in rebus divinis ludos scenicos, quamvis non judicio proprio, posuisse, cum ad deos colendos multis locis velut religiosus hortetur, nonne ita confitetur, non se illa judicio suo sequi, quae civitatem Romanam instituisse commemorat, ut si eam civitatem, novam constitueret, ex naturae potius formula deos nominaque eorum se fuisse dedicaturum non dubitet confiteri? Sed jam quoniam in vetere populo esset, acceptam ab antiquis nominum et cognominum historiam tenere, ut tradita est, debere se dicit, et ad eum finem illa scribere ac perscrutari, ut potius eos magis colere, quam despicere vulgus velit. Quibus verbis homo acutissimus satis indicat, non se aperire omnia, quae non sibi contemptui essent, sed etiam ipsi vulgo despicienda viderentur, nisi tacerentur. Ego ista conjicere putari debui, nisi evidenter alio loco ipse diceret de religionibus loquens, multa esse vera, quae non modo vulgo scire non sit utile, sed etiam, tametsi falsa sunt, aliter existimare populum expediat, et ideo Graecos teletas ac mysteria taciturnitate parietibusque clausisse. Hic certe totum consilium prodidit velut sapientium, per quos civitates et populi regerentur. Hac tamen fallacia miris modis maligni daemones delectantur, qui et deceptores et deceptos pariter possident, a quorum dominatione non liberat nisi gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

By a vain augury therefore the god Terminus did not yield to Jove, who yielded to the will of Hadrian, yielded also to the temerity of Julian, and to the necessity of Jovian. The graver and more intelligent Romans saw these things; but against the custom of the city, which had been obligated to demoniac rituals, they were little able: because even they, although they sensed those things to be vain, yet thought that to the nature of things constituted under the regimen and empire of the one true God, religious worship, which is owed to God, should be exhibited: "serving," as the Apostle says, "the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever" (Rom. I, 25). Of this true God the help was necessary, by whom should be sent holy men and truly pious, who should die for the true religion, so that the false ones should be taken away from the living.

## Chapter XXXI.

*Concerning the opinions of Varro, who, having reprobated the popular persuasion, although he did not arrive at the knowledge of the true God, yet judged that one god should be worshipped.*

1. What [says] Varro himself, whom we grieve to have placed scenic games in divine things, although not by his own judgment, since in many places he exhorts to worshipping the gods as if religious, does he not thus confess, that he does not follow those things by his own judgment, which he commemorates the Roman city to have instituted, so that if he were constituting that city anew, he does not doubt to confess that he would have dedicated the gods and their names rather from the formula of nature? But since he was now in an ancient people, he says he ought to hold the history of names and surnames received from the ancients, as it was delivered, and to write and search into those things to this end, that the vulgar should rather wish to worship them than to despise them. By which words the most acute man sufficiently indicates, that he does not open all things, which were not a matter of contempt to himself, but would even seem to the vulgar themselves as things to be despised, unless they were kept silent. I ought to have been thought to conjecture these things, unless he himself said evidently in another place, speaking of religions, that many things are true which it is not only not useful for the vulgar to know, but even, although they are false, it is expedient for the people to think otherwise, and therefore the Greeks shut up their "teletae" and mysteries in silence and within walls. Here certainly he has betrayed the whole counsel as if of the wise, through whom cities and peoples should be governed. Yet by this fallacy the malignant demons are delighted in wonderful ways, who possess both the deceivers and the deceived alike, from whose domination nothing delivers except the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

2. Dicit etiam idem auctor acutissimus atque doctissimus, quod hi soli ei videantur animadvertisse quid esset Deus, qui crediderunt eum esse animam motu ac ratione mundum gubernantem. Ac per hoc, etsi nondum tenebat quod veritas habet; Deus enim verus, non anima, sed animae quoque est effector et conditor: tamen si contra praejudicia consuetudinis liber esse posset, unum Deum colendum fateretur atque suaderet, motu ac ratione mundum gubernantem: ut ea cum illo de hac re quaestio remaneret, quod eum diceret esse animam, non potius et animae creatorem. Dicit etiam antiquos Romanos plus annos centum et septuaginta deos sine simulacro coluisse «Quod si adhuc,» inquit, «mansisset, castius dii observarentur.» Cui sententiae suae testem adhibet inter caetera etiam gentem Judaeam: nec dubitat eum locum ita concludere, ut dicat, qui primi simulacra deorum populis posuerunt, eos civitatibus suis et metum dempsisse, et errorem addidisse; prudenter existimans deos facile posse in simulacrorum stoliditate contemni. Quod vero non ait, Errorem tradiderunt; sed, addiderunt; jam utique fuisse etiam sine simulacris intelligi vult errorem. Quapropter cum solos dicit animadvertisse quid esset Deus, qui eum crederent animam mundum gubernantem, castiusque existimat sine simulacris observari religionem, quis non videat quantum propinquaverit veritati? Si enim aliquid contra vetustatem tanti posset erroris, profecto et unum Deum, a quo mundum crederet gubernari, et sine simulacro colendum esse censeret; atque in tam proximo inventus facile fortasse de animae mutabilitate commoneretur, ut naturam potius incommutabilem, quae ipsam quoque animam condidisset, Deum verum esse sentiret. Haec cum ita sint, quaecumque tales viri in suis litteris multorum deorum ludibria posuerunt, confiteri ea potius occulta Dei voluntate compulsi sunt, quam persuadere conati. Si qua igitur a nobis inde testimonia proferuntur, ad eos redarguendos proferuntur, qui nolunt advertere de quanta et quam maligna daemonum potestate nos liberet singulare sacrificium tam sancti sanguinis fusi et donum Spiritus impertiti.

## Caput XXXII.

*Ob quam speciem utilitatis principes Gentium apud subjectos sibi populos falsas religiones volueruerunt permanere.*

2. The same most acute and learned author also says, that those alone seem to him to have noticed what God was, who believed Him to be a soul governing the world by motion and reason. And through this, although he did not yet hold what the truth has; for the true God is not a soul, but is the effector and founder of the soul also: yet if he could be free against the prejudices of custom, he would confess and persuade that one God should be worshipped, governing the world by motion and reason: so that this question should remain with him concerning this matter, that he said He was a soul, and not rather the creator of the soul also. He also says that the ancient Romans worshipped the gods for more than a hundred and seventy years without an image. "Which if it had still remained," he says, "the gods would be observed more chastely." To which sentiment of his he adduces as a witness among other things also the Jewish nation: nor does he doubt to conclude that place thus, as to say, that those who first placed images of the gods for the peoples, both took away fear from their cities and added error; prudently judging that the gods could easily be contemned in the stolidity of images. Because indeed he does not say, They delivered error; but, they added it; he certainly wishes it to be understood that there was already error even without images. Wherefore when he says that those alone noticed what God was, who believed Him a soul governing the world, and judges that religion is observed more chastely without images, who should not see how much he approached the truth? For if he were able to do anything against the antiquity of so great an error, surely he would judge both that one God, by whom he believed the world was governed, and that He should be worshipped without an image; and being found in such proximity, he would perhaps easily be commonished concerning the mutability of the soul, so that he should sense that the immutable nature, which had founded the soul itself also, was the true God. These things being so, whatever mockeries of many gods such men have placed in their writings, they were compelled to confess them rather by the hidden will of God, than they endeavored to persuade them. If therefore any testimonies are proffered by us from there, they are proffered for redarguing those, who do not wish to advert from how great and how malignant a power of demons the singular sacrifice of so holy blood shed and the gift of the Spirit imparted delivers us.

## Chapter XXXII.

*On account of what appearance of utility the princes of the Nations willed false religions to remain among the peoples subject to them.*

Dicit etiam de generationibus deorum magis ad poetas, quam ad physicos fuisse populos inclinatos; et ideo et sexum et generationes deorum majores suos, id est veteres credidisse Romanos, et eorum constituisse conjugia. Quod utique non aliam ob causam factum videtur, nisi quia hominum velut prudentium et sapientium negotium fuit populum in religionibus fallere, et in eo ipso non solum colere, sed imitari etiam daemones, quibus maxima est fallendi cupiditas. Sicut enim daemones nisi eos quos fallendo deceperint, possidere non possunt; sic et homines principes, non sane justi, sed daemonum similes, ea, quae vana esse noverant, religionis nomine populis tanquam vera suadebant, hoc modo eos civili societati velut arctius alligantes, quo similiter subditos possiderent. Quis autem infirmus et indoctus evaderet simul fallaces et principes civitatis et daemones?

## Caput XXXIII.

*Quod judicio et potestate Dei veri omnium regum atque regnorum ordinata sint tempora.*

Deus igitur ille felicitatis auctor et dator, quia solus est verus Deus, ipse dat regna terrena et bonis et malis. Neque hoc temere et quasi fortuitu, quia Deus est, non fortuna; sed pro rerum ordine ac temporum occulto nobis, notissimo sibi: cui tamen ordini temporum non subditus servit, sed cum ipse tanquam dominus regit, moderatorque disponit. Felicitatem vero non dat nisi bonis. Hanc enim possunt et non habere et habere servientes, possunt et non habere et habere regnantes. Quae tamen plena in ea vita erit, ubi nemo jam serviet. Et ideo regna terrena et bonis ab illo dantur, et malis; ne ejus cultores adhuc in provectu animi parvuli haec ab eo munera quasi magnum aliquid concupiscant. Et hoc est sacramentum veteris Testamenti, ubi occultum erat novum, quod illic promissa et dona terrena sunt: intelligentibus et tunc spiritualibus quamvis nondum in manifestatione praedicantibus, et quae illis temporalibus rebus significaretur aeternitas, et in quibus Dei donis esset vera felicitas.

## Caput XXXIV.

*De regno Judaeorum, quod ab uno et vero Deo institutum atque servatum est, donec in vera religione manserunt.*

He says also that the peoples were more inclined toward the poets than toward the physicists concerning the generations of the gods; and therefore both their ancestors, that is the ancient Romans, believed the sex and generations of the gods, and constituted their marriages. Which indeed seems to have been done for no other cause, except because it was the business of men as if prudent and wise to deceive the people in religions, and in that very thing not only to worship, but also to imitate the demons, to whom there is a greatest lust of deceiving. For just as the demons cannot possess any except those whom they have deceived by deceiving; so also the princes of men, not indeed just, but similar to demons, persuaded the peoples as true those things which they knew to be vain, under the name of religion, in this way binding them more tightly as if to civil society, by which they might similarly possess their subjects. But what infirm and unlearned man should escape at once both the deceitful princes of the city and the demons?

## Chapter XXXIII.

*That the times of all kings and kingdoms are ordained by the judgment and power of the true God.*

Therefore that God, the author and giver of happiness, because He alone is the true God, Himself gives earthly kingdoms both to the good and to the bad. Nor [does He do] this rashly and as if fortuitously, because He is God, not fortune; but according to the order of things and times, hidden to us, but most known to Himself: to which order of times, however, He does not serve as subject, but He Himself rules as Lord, and as moderator disposes [them]. But happiness He does not give except to the good. For this, those serving are able both not to have and to have, and those reigning are able both not to have and to have. Which, however, will be full in that life, where no one shall now serve. And therefore earthly kingdoms are given by Him both to the good and to the bad; lest His worshippers, still small in the progress of the mind, should concupisce these gifts from Him as if something great. And this is the sacrament of the Old Testament, where the New was hidden, that there the promises and gifts are earthly: although spiritual men even then understood, although not yet preaching in manifestation, both what eternity should be signified by those temporal things, and in which gifts of God there should be true happiness.

## Chapter XXXIV.

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

Itaque ut cognoscerentur etiam illa terrena bona, quibus solis inhiant qui meliora cogitare non possunt, in ipsius unius Dei esse posita potestate, non in multorum falsorum, quos colendos Romani antea crediderunt, populum suum in Aegypto de paucissimis multiplicavit, et inde signis mirabilibus liberavit. Nec Lucinam mulieres illae invocaverunt, quando earum partus, ut miris modis multiplicarentur, et gens illa incredibiliter cresceret, ab Aegyptiorum persequentium et infantes omnes necare volentium manibus ipse liberavit, ipse servavit. Sine dea Rumina suxerunt; sine Cunina in cunis fuerunt; sine Educa et Potina escam potumque sumpserunt: sine tot diis puerilibus educati sunt; sine diis conjugalibus conjugati; sine cultu Priapi conjugibus mixti. Sine invocatione Neptuni mare transeuntibus divisum patuit, et sequentes eorum inimicos fluctibus in se redeuntibus obruit. Nec consecraverunt aliquam deam Manniam, quando de coelo manna sumpserunt; nec quando sitientibus aquam percussa petra profudit, Nymphas Lymphasque coluerunt. Sine insanis sacris Martis et Bellonae bella gesserunt, et sine victoria quidem non vicerunt, non eam tamen deam, sed Dei sui munus habuerunt. Sine Segetia segetes, sine Bubona boves, mella sine Mellona, poma sine Pomona; et prorsus omnia, pro quibus tantae falsorum deorum turbae Romani supplicandum putaverunt, ab uno vero Deo multo felicius acceperunt. Et si non in eum peccassent impia curiositate, tanquam magicis artibus seducti, ad alienos deos et ad idola defluendo, et postremo Christum occidendo, in eodem regno, etsi non spatiosiore, tamen feliciore mansissent. Et nunc quod per omnes fere terras gentesque dispersi sunt, illius unius veri Dei providentia est: ut quod deorum falsorum usquequaque simulacra, arae, luci, templa evertuntur, et sacrificia prohibentur, de codicibus eorum probetur quemadmodum hoc fuerit tanto ante prophetatum; ne forte, cum legeretur in nostris, a nobis putaretur esse confictum. Jam quod sequitur, in volumine sequenti videndum est, et hic dandus hujus prolixitatis modus.

Therefore, so that even those earthly goods, which those alone gape for who are not able to think better things, should be known to be placed in the power of the one true God Himself, not in that of the many false ones, whom the Romans previously believed should be worshipped, He multiplied His people in Egypt from very few, and from there delivered them by wonderful signs. Nor did those women invoke Lucina, when He Himself delivered, He Himself preserved their births from the hands of the persecuting Egyptians and those wishing to kill all the infants, so that they were multiplied in wonderful ways, and that nation grew incredibly. They sucked without the goddess Rumina; they were in cradles without Cunina; they took food and drink without Educa and Potina: they were educated without so many childish gods; married without conjugal gods; mixed with spouses without the worship of Priapus. Without the invocation of Neptune the sea lay open divided for those crossing, and overwhelmed their following enemies with the waves returning upon themselves. Nor did they consecrate any goddess Mannia, when they took manna from heaven; nor when the struck rock poured out water for the thirsty, did they worship Nymphs and Lymphae. They waged wars without the insane rites of Mars and Bellona, and indeed they did not conquer without victory, yet they did not have her as a goddess, but as a gift of their God. Crops without Segetia, oxen without Bubona, honey without Mellona, apples without Pomona; and precisely all things, for which the Romans thought such great crowds of false gods should be supplicated, they received much more happily from the one true God. And if they had not sinned against Him with impious curiosity, as if seduced by magical arts, flowing away to alien gods and to idols, and lastly by killing Christ, they would have remained in the same kingdom, although not more spacious, yet more happy. And now that they are dispersed through almost all lands and nations, it is by the providence of that one true God: so that, because the images, altars, groves, and temples of the false gods are everywhere overturned, and sacrifices are prohibited, it should be proved from their codices how this was prophesied so long before; lest perchance, when it was read in ours, it should be thought by us to have been feigned. Now what follows is to be seen in the following volume, and here a limit must be given to this prolixity.

# LIBER QUINTUS.

Initio de tollenda fati opinione agit, ne demum existant qui Romani imperii vires et incrementa, quae non posse diis talsis adscribi superiore libro monstravit, referre in fatum velint. Inde ad quaestionem de praescientia Dei delapsus, probat liberum nostrae voluntatis arbitrium per eam non auferri. Postea de moribus Romanorum antiquis dicit, et quo eorum merito, sive quo Dei judicio factum sit, ut illis ad augendum imperium Deus ipse verus, quem non colebant, adjutor fuerit. Docet postremo quae vera ducenda sit felicitas Christianorum imperatorum.

## PRAEFATIO.

Quoniam constat omnium rerum optandarum plenitudinem esse felicitatem, quae non est dea, sed donum Dei, et ideo nullum deum colendum esse ab hominibus, nisi qui potest eos facere felices; unde si illa dea esset, sola colenda merito diceretur: jam consequenter videamus, qua causa Deus, qui potest et illa bona dare, quae habere possunt etiam non boni, ac per hoc etiam non felices, Romanum imperium tam magnum tamque diuturnum esse voluerit. Quia enim hoc deorum falsorum illa, quam colebant, multitudo non fecit, et multa jam diximus, et ubi visum fuerit opportunum esse, dicemus.

## CAPUT PRIMUM.

*Causam Romani imperii omniumque regnorum nec fortuitam esse, nec in stellarum positione consistere.*

Causa ergo magnitudinis imperii Romani nec fortuita est, nec fatalis, secundum eorum sententiam sive opinionem, qui ea dicunt esse fortuita, quae vel nullas causas habent, vel non ex aliquo rationabili ordine venientes; et ea fatalia, quae praeter Dei et hominum voluntatem cujusdam ordinis necessitate contingunt. Prorsus divina providentia regna constituuntur humana. Quae si propterea quisquam fato tribuit, quia ipsam Dei voluntatem vel potestatem fati nomine appellat, sententiam teneat, linguam corrigat.

# BOOK FIVE.

In the beginning he acts concerning removing the opinion of fate, lest finally there should exist those who would wish to refer the strengths and increments of the Roman empire, which he showed in the previous book not to be able to be ascribed to false gods, to fate. Thence having glided down to the question concerning the prescience of God, he proves that the free choice of our will is not taken away by it. Afterward he speaks concerning the ancient morals of the Romans, and by what merit of theirs, or by what judgment of God it was done, so that the true God Himself, whom they did not worship, was a helper to them for increasing the empire. Lastly he teaches what should be considered the true happiness of Christian emperors.

## PREFACE.

Since it is manifest that the fullness of all things to be desired is happiness, which is not a goddess, but a gift of God, and therefore no god is to be worshipped by men except He who can make them happy; whence if she were a goddess, she alone would be said deservedly to be worshipped: now consequently let us see, for what cause God, who can give even those goods which those not good can also have, and through this also those not happy, willed the Roman empire to be so great and so long-lasting. For because that multitude of false gods which they were worshipping did not do this, we have already said many things, and where it shall seem to be opportune, we shall say [more].

## CHAPTER ONE.---That the cause of the Roman empire and of all kingdoms is neither fortuitous, nor consists in the position of the stars.

The cause therefore of the magnitude of the Roman empire is neither fortuitous nor fatal, according to the sentiment or opinion of those who say those things are fortuitous which either have no causes, or do not come from some rational order; and those things fatal which happen beyond the will of God and men by the necessity of a certain order. Altogether by divine providence human kingdoms are constituted. Which if anyone attributes to fate for this reason, because he calls the very will or power of God by the name of fate, let him hold his sentiment, but let him correct his tongue.

Cur enim non hoc primum dicit, quod postea dicturus est, cum ab illo quisquam quaesierit quid dixerit fatum? Nam id homines quando audiunt, usitata loquendi consuetudine non intelligunt nisi vim positionis siderum, qualis est quando quis nascitur, sive concipitur: quod aliqui alienant a Dei voluntate, aliqui ex illa etiam hoc pendere confirmant. Sed illi, qui sine Dei voluntate decernere opinantur sidera quid agamus, vel quid bonorum habeamus malorumve patiamur, ab auribus omnium repellendi sunt; non solum eorum qui veram religionem tenent, sed qui deorum qualiumcumque, licet falsorum, volunt esse cultores. Haec enim opinio quid aliud agit, nisi ut nullus omnino colatur aut rogetur Deus? Contra quos modo nobis disputatio non est instituta, sed contra eos qui pro defensione eorum quos deos putant, christianae religioni adversantur. Illi vero, qui positionem stellarum quodammodo decernentium qualis quisque sit, et quid ei proveniat boni quidve mali accidat, ex Dei voluntate suspendunt, si easdem stellas putant habere hanc potestatem traditam sibi a summa illius potestate, ut volentes ista decernant; magnam coelo faciunt injuriam, in cujus velut clarissimo senatu ac splendidissima curia opinantur scelera facienda decerni; qualia si aliqua terrena civitas decrevisset genere humano decernente fuerat evertenda. Quale deinde judicium de hominum factis Deo relinquitur, quibus coelestis necessitas adhibetur, cum Dominus ille sit et siderum et hominum? Aut si non dicunt stellas, accepta quidem potestate a summo Deo, arbitrio suo ista decernere, sed in talibus necessitatibus ingerendis illius omnino jussa complere: itane de ipso Deo sentiendum est, quod indignissimum visum est de stellarum voluntate sentire? Quod si dicuntur stellae significare potius ista quam facere; ut quasi locutio quaedam sit illa positio, praedicens futura, non agens (non enim mediocriter doctorum hominum fuit ista sententia): non quidem ita solent loqui mathematici, ut, verbi gratia, dicant, Mars ita positus homicidam significat; sed, Homicidam facit : verumtamen ut concedamus non eos ut debent loqui, et a philosophis accipere oportere sermonis regulam ad ea praenuntianda, quae in siderum positione se reperire putant: qui fit , quod nihil unquam dicere potuerunt, cur in vita geminorum, in actionibus, in eventis, in professionibus, artibs, honoribus, caeterisque rebus ad humanam vitam pertinentibus, atque in ipsa morte sit plerumque tanta diversitas, ut similiores eis sint, quantum ad haec attinet, multi extranei, quam ipsi inter se gemini, perexiguo temporis intervallo in nascendo separati, in conceptu autem per unum concubitum uno etiam momento seminati?

For why does he not say this first, which he is about to say afterward, when anyone shall have asked from him what he called fate? For when men hear that, by the used custom of speaking they do not understand anything except the force of the position of the stars, such as it is when one is born or conceived: which some alienate from the will of God, some confirm that even this depends from it. But those who think that the stars, without the will of God, decree what we should do, or what goods we should have or what evils we should suffer to be borne, are to be repelled from the ears of all; not only of those who hold the true religion, but who wish to be worshippers of whatever gods, although false ones. For what else does this opinion act, except that no God at all should be worshipped or asked? Against whom a disputation has not been instituted by us now, but against those who, for the defense of those whom they think gods, are adverse to the Christian religion. Those truly, who suspend the position of the stars, in a certain way decreeing of what sort each one is, and what good should come to him or what evil should happen to him, from the will of God, if they think the same stars have this power delivered to themselves from that highest power of His, so that they decreeing these things should be willing; they do a great injury to heaven, in whose as if most bright senate and most splendid curia they think crimes to be decreed to be done; such as if any earthly city had decreed, the human race decreeing, it would have had to be overturned. What judgment then is left to God concerning the deeds of men, to whom a celestial necessity is applied, since He is the Lord of both stars and men? Or if they do not say that the stars, having indeed received power from the highest God, decree these things by their own choice, but in bringing in such necessities they altogether complete His commands: is it thus to be felt concerning God Himself, which seemed most unworthy to be felt concerning the will of the stars? But if the stars are said rather to signify these things than to do them; so that that position should be as it were a certain speech, foretelling future things, not acting (for this was the sentiment of not moderately learned men): indeed mathematicians are not accustomed to speak thus, so that, for example's sake, they say, Mars thus positioned signifies a homicide; but, It makes a homicide: nevertheless so that we may concede that they do not speak as they ought, and that it is fitting to receive the rule of speech from philosophers for foretelling those things which they think they find in the position of the stars: how does it happen, that they were never able to say anything, why in the life of twins, in actions, in events, in professions, arts, honors, and other things pertaining to human life, and in death itself there is for the most part so great diversity, that many strangers are more similar to them, as much as pertains to these things, than the twins themselves among themselves, separated by a very small interval of time in being born, but in conception sown by one coitus at even one moment?

## Caput II.

*De geminorum simili dissimilique valetudine.*

Cicero dicit, Hippocratem, nobilissimum medicum, scriptum reliquisse quosdam fratres, cum simul aegrotare coepissent, et eorum morbus eodem tempore ingravesceret, eodem levaretur, geminos suspicatum. Quos Posidonius Stoicus, multum astrologiae deditus, eadem constitutione astrorum natos eademque conceptos solebat asserere. ita quod medicus pertinere credebat ad simillimam temperiem valetudinis, hoc philosophus astrologus ad vim constitutionemque siderum, quae fuerat quo tempore concepti natique sunt. In hac causa multo est acceptabilior et de proximo credibilior conjectura medicinalis: quoniam parentes ut erant corpore affecti, dum concumberent, ita primordia conceptorum affici potuerunt, ut consecutis ex materno corpore prioribus incrementis paris valetudinis nascerentur; deinde in una domo eisdem alimentis nutriti, ubi aerem et loci positionem et vim aquarum plurimum valere ad corpus vel bene vel male afficiendum, medicina testatur; eisdem etiam exercitationibus assuefacti tam similia corpora gererent, ut etiam ad aegrotandum uno tempore eisdem causis similiter moverentur. Constitutionem vero coeli ac siderum, quae fuit quando concepti sive nati sunt, velle trahere ad istam aegrotandi parilitatem, cum tam multa diversissimi generis diversissimorum affectuum et eventorum eodem tempore in unius regionis terra eidem coelo subdita potuerint concipi et nasci, nescio cujus sit insolentiae. Nos autem novimus geminos, non solum actus et peregrinationes habere diversas, verum etiam dispares aegritudines perpeti. De qua re facillimam, quantum mihi videtur, rationem redderet Hippocrates, diversis alimentis et exercitationibus, quae non de corporis temperatione, sed de animi voluntate veniunt, dissimiles eis accidere potuisse valetudines. Porro autem Posidonius, vel quilibet fatalium siderum assertor, mirum si potest hic invenire quid dicat, si nolit imperitorum mentibus in eis, quas nesciunt, rebus illudere. Quod enim conantur efficere de intervallo exiguo temporis, quod inter se gemini, dum nascerentur, habuerunt, propter coeli particulam, ubi ponitur horae notatio, quem horoscopum vocant; aut non tantum valet, quanta invenitur in geminorum voluntatibus, actibus, moribus, casibusque diversitas; aut plus etiam valet, quam est geminorum vel humilitas generis eadem, vel nobilitas, cujus maximam diversitatem nonnisi in hora, qua quisque nascitur, ponunt.

## Chapter II.

*Concerning the similar and dissimilar health of twins.*

Cicero says that Hippocrates, a most noble physician, left it written that he suspected certain brothers to be twins, when they had begun to be sick at the same time, and their disease would grow worse at the same time, and be lightened at the same time. Whom Posidonius the Stoic, much given to astrology, was accustomed to assert to have been born under the same constitution of the stars and conceived under the same. Thus what the physician believed to pertain to a most similar temper of health, this the philosopher astrologer [referred] to the force and constitution of the stars, which had been at what time they were conceived and born. In this cause the medicinal conjecture is much more acceptable and more credible from proximity: since as the parents were affected in body while they were cohabiting, so the primordia of those conceived were able to be affected, so that, the first increments from the maternal body having followed, they should be born of equal health; then nourished in one house with the same aliments, where medicine witnesses that the air and the position of the place and the force of the waters avail most for the body to be affected either well or ill; accustomed also to the same exercises, they should bear such similar bodies, that they should be moved similarly by the same causes even to being sick at one time. But to wish to draw to that parility of being sick the constitution of the heaven and stars, which was when they were conceived or born, when so many things of most diverse kind, of most diverse affects and events, were able to be conceived and born at the same time in the earth of one region subject to the same heaven, I know not of what insolence it should be. But we have known twins not only to have diverse acts and peregrinations, but even to suffer disparate sicknesses. Concerning which matter Hippocrates, as much as it seems to me, would render a most easy reason, that by diverse aliments and exercises, which do not come from the temperation of the body but from the will of the mind, dissimilar healths were able to happen to them. Furthermore, however, it is a wonder if Posidonius, or any asserter of fatal stars, can find here what he should say, if he should be unwilling to illude the minds of the unskilful in those things which they do not know. For what they endeavor to effect concerning the small interval of time, which twins had between themselves while they were being born, on account of the particle of heaven where the notation of the hour is placed, which they call the horoscope; either it does not avail so much as is found of diversity in the wills, acts, morals, and cases of twins; or it avails even more than is either the same humility of race of twins, or nobility, the greatest diversity of which they place in nothing but the hour in which each one is born.

Ac per hoc, si tam celeriter alter post alterum nascitur, ut eadem pars horoscopi maneat, cuncta paria quaero, quae in nullis possunt geminis inveniri: si autem sequentis tarditas horoscopum mutat, parentes diversos quaero, quos gemini habere non possunt.

## Caput III.

*De argumento quod ex rota figuli Nigidius mathematicus assumpsit in quaestione geminorum.*

Frustra itaque affertur nobile illud commentum de figuli rota, quod respondisse ferunt Nigidium hac quaestione turbatum, unde et Figulus appellatus est. Dum enim rotam figuli vi quanta potuit intorsisset, currente illa bis numero de atramento tanquam uno ejus loco summa celeritate percussit; deinde inventa sunt signa, quae fixerat, desistente motu, non parvo intervallo in rotae illius extremitate distantia. Sic, inquit, in tanta rapacitate coeli, etiamsi alter post alterum tanta celeritate nascatur, quanta rotam bis ipse percussi, in coeli spatio plurimum est: hinc sunt, inquit, quaecumque dissimillima perhibentur in moribus casibusque geminorum. Hoc figmentum fragilius est, quam vasa, quae illa rotatione finguntur. Nam si tam multum in coelo interest, quod constellationibus comprehendi non potest, ut alteri geminorum haereditas obveniat, alteri non obveniat; cur audent caeteris, qui gemini non sunt, cum inspexerint eorum constellationes, talia pronuntiare, quae ad illud secretum pertinent, quod nemo potest comprehendere, et momentis annotare nascentium? Si autem propterea talia dicunt in aliorum genituris, quia haec ad productiora spatia temporum pertinent; momenta vero illa partium minutarum, quae inter se gemini possunt habere nascentes, rebus minimis tribuuntur, de qualibus mathematici non solent consuli: (quis enim consulat quando sedeat, quando deambulet, quando vel quid prandeat?) numquid ista dicimus, quando in moribus, operibus, casibusque geminorum plurima plurimumque diversa monstramus?

## Caput IV.

*De Esau et Jacob geminis, multum inter se morum et actionum qualitate disparibus.*

Nati sunt duo gemini antiqua patrum memoria (ut de insignibus loquar) sic alter post alterum, ut posterior plantam prioris teneret. Tanta in eorum vita fuerunt moribusque diversa, tanta in actibus disparilitas, tanta in parentum amore dissimilitudo, ut etiam inimicos eos inter se faceret ipsa distantia (Gen. XXV, 24-34).

And through this, if one is born so quickly after the other that the same part of the horoscope remains, I seek all things equal, which can be found in no twins: but if the slowness of the following one changes the horoscope, I seek diverse parents, whom twins are not able to have.

## Chapter III.

*Of the argument which Nigidius the mathematician took from the potter's wheel in the question of twins.*

In vain, therefore, is brought forward that noble comment concerning the potter's wheel, which they say Nigidius answered when troubled by this question, whence also he was called Figulus (the Potter). For while he had twisted the potter's wheel with as much force as he could, while it was running he struck it with ink twice in number as if in one place of it with the greatest speed; then the marks which he had fixed were found, the motion ceasing, distant by no small interval in the extremity of that wheel. So, he says, in such rapacity of heaven, even if one is born after the other with as great speed as I myself struck the wheel twice, in the space of heaven there is very much: hence are, he says, whatever things are reported most dissimilar in the morals and cases of twins. This figment is more fragile than the vessels which are fashioned by that rotation. For if there is so much difference in heaven, which cannot be comprehended by constellations, that an inheritance should come to one of the twins, and not come to the other; why do they dare to pronounce such things to others, who are not twins, when they have inspected their constellations, which pertain to that secret, which no one can comprehend, and to note by the moments of those being born? But if for this reason they say such things in the nativities of others, because these pertain to more prolonged spaces of time; but those moments of minute parts, which twins being born can have between themselves, are attributed to minimal things, concerning which mathematicians are not accustomed to be consulted: (for who would consult when he should sit, when he should walk about, when or what he should dine?) do we say those things, when we show many and very diverse things in the morals, works, and cases of twins?

## Chapter IV.

*Of the twins Esau and Jacob, very much disparate between themselves in the quality of morals and actions.*

Two twins were born in the ancient memory of the fathers (that I may speak of notable ones) one so after the other, that the later one held the heel of the former. So great were the diversities in their life and morals, so great the disparity in their acts, so great the dissimilarity in the love of their parents, that even the distance itself made them enemies between themselves (Gen. XXV, 24-34).

Numquid hoc dicitur, quia uno ambulante alius sedebat, et alio dormiente alius vigilabat, alio loquente alius tacebat; quae pertinent ad illas minutias, quae non possunt ab eis comprehendi, qui constitutionem siderum, qua quisque nascitur, scribunt, unde mathematici consulantur? Unus duxit mercenariam servitutem, alius non servivit; unus a matre diligebatur, alius non diligebatur; unus honorem, qui magnus apud eos habebatur, amisit, alter indeptus est. Quid de uxoribus, quid de filiis, quid de rebus, quanta diversitas? Si ergo haec ad illas pertinent minutias temporum, quae inter se habent gemini, et constellationibus non adscribuntur; quare aliorum constellationibus inspectis ista dicuntur? Si autem ideo dicuntur, quia non ad minuta incomprehensibilia, sed ad temporum spatia pertinent, quae observari notarique possunt; quid hic agit rota illa figuli, nisi ut homines luteum cor habentes in gyrum mittantur, ne mathematicorum vaniloquia convincantur?

## Caput V.

*Quibus modis convincantur mathematici vanam scientiam profiteri.*

Quid iidem ipsi, quorum morbum, quod eodem tempore gravior leviorque apparebat amborum, medicinaliter inspiciens Hippocrates, geminos suspicatus est, nonne satis istos redarguunt, qui volunt sideribus dare, quod de corporum simili temperatione veniebat? Cur enim similiter eodemque tempore, non alter prior, alter posterior aegrotabant, sicut nati fuerant, quia utique simul nasci ambo non poterant? Aut si nihil momenti attulit, ut diversis temporibus aegrotarent, quod diversis temporibus nati sunt; quare tempus in nascendo diversum ad aliarum rerum diversitates valere contendunt? Cur potuerunt diversis temporibus peregrinari, diversis temporibus ducere uxores, diversis temporibus filios procreare, et multa alia, propterea quia diversis temporibus nati sunt, et non potuerunt eadem causa diversis etiam temporibus aegrotare? Si enim dispar nascendi mora mutavit horoscopum, et disparilitatem intulit caeteris rebus; cur illud in aegritudinibus mansit, quod habebat in temporis aequalitate conceptus? Aut si fata valetudinis in conceptu sunt, aliarum vero rerum in ortu esse dicuntur, non deberent inspectis natalium constellationibus de valetudine aliquid dicere, quando eis inspicienda conceptionalis hora non datur. Si autem ideo praenuntiant aegritudines, non inspecto conceptionis horoscopo, quia indicant eas momenta nascentium; quomodo dicerent cuilibet eorum geminorum ex nativitatis hora, quando aegrotaturus esset, cum et alter qui non habebat eamdem horam nativitatis, necesse haberet pariter aegrotare?

Is this said, because while one was walking the other was sitting, and while one was sleeping the other was waking, while one was speaking the other was silent; things which pertain to those minutiae, which cannot be comprehended by those who write the constitution of the stars, by which each one is born, whence mathematicians are consulted? One led a mercenary servitude, the other did not serve; one was beloved by his mother, the other was not beloved; one lost the honor, which was held great among them, the other obtained it. What concerning wives, what concerning children, what concerning things, how great a diversity? If therefore these pertain to those minutiae of times, which twins have between themselves, and are not ascribed to constellations; why are these things said when the constellations of others have been inspected? But if they are said for this reason, because they do not pertain to incomprehensible minutes, but to the spaces of times, which can be observed and noted; what does that potter's wheel do here, unless that men having a heart of clay should be sent into a whirl, lest the vain talk of mathematicians should be convinced?

## Chapter V.

*By what modes the mathematicians may be convinced to profess a vain science.*

What about these same men, whose disease, because it appeared heavier and lighter in both at the same time, Hippocrates inspecting medicinally, suspected them to be twins, do they not sufficiently refute those who want to give to the stars what came from a similar tempering of bodies? For why did they sicken similarly and at the same time, not one earlier and the other later, as they had been born, because certainly both were not able to be born together? Or if it brought nothing of a moment that they should sicken at diverse times, because they were born at diverse times; why do they contend that a diverse time in being born avails to the diversities of other things? Why were they able to travel at diverse times, to take wives at diverse times, to procreate children at diverse times, and many other things, because they were born at diverse times, and were not able for the same cause to sicken also at diverse times? For if the disparate delay of being born changed the horoscope, and brought in disparity to other things; why did that remain in sicknesses, which the conception had in the equality of time? Or if the fates of health are in conception, but of other things are said to be in the rising, they ought not to say anything concerning health from the inspected constellations of nativities, when the conceptional hour is not given to them to be inspected. But if they therefore announce sicknesses, the conceptional horoscope not having been inspected, because the moments of those being born indicate them; how would they say to any one of those twins from the hour of nativity when he would be about to sicken, when also the other, who did not have the same hour of nativity, would have a necessity to sicken likewise?

Deinde quaero, si tanta distantia est temporis in nativitate geminorum, ut per hanc oporteat eis constellationes fieri diversas, propter diversum horoscopum, et ob hoc diversos omnes cardines, ubi tanta vis ponitur, ut hinc etiam diversa sint fata; unde hoc accidere potuit, cum eorum conceptus diversum tempus habere non possit? Aut si duorum uno momento temporis conceptorum potuerunt esse ad nascendum fata disparia, cur non et duorum uno momento temporis natorum possint esse ad vivendum atque moriendum fata disparia? Nam si unum momentum, quo ambo concepti sunt, non impedivit, ut alter prior, alter posterior nasceretur; cur, uno momento si duo nascuntur, impediat aliquid, ut alter prior, alter posterior moriatur? Si conceptio momenti unius diversos casus in utero geminos habere permittit; cur nativitas momenti unius non etiam quoslibet duos in terra diversos casus habere permittat, ac sic omnia hujus artis vel potius vanitatis commenta tollantur? Quid est hoc quod uno tempore, uno momento, sub una eademque coeli positione concepti diversa habent fata, quae illos perducant ad diversarum horarum nativitatem, et uno momento temporis sub una eademque coeli positione de duabus matribus duo pariter nati, diversa fata habere non possunt, quae illos perducant ad diversam vivendi vel moriendi necessitatem? An concepti nondum habent fata, quae, nisi nascantur, habere non poterunt? Quid est ergo quod dicunt, si hora conceptionalis inveniatur, multa ab istis dici posse divinis? Unde etiam illud a nonnullis praedicatur, quod quidam sapiens horam elegit, qua cum uxore concumberet, unde filium mirabilem gigneret. Unde postremo et hoc est, quod de illis pariter aegrotantibus geminis Posidonius, magnus astrologus idemque philosophus, respondebat, ideo fieri, quod eodem tempore fuissent nati, eodemque concepti. Nam utique propter hoc addebat conceptionem, ne diceretur ei non ad liquidum eodem tempore potuisse nasci, quos constabat omnino eodem tempore fuisse conceptos; ut hoc, quod similiter simulque aegrotabant, non daret de proximo pari corporis temperamento, sed eamdem quoque valetudinis parilitatem sidereis nexibus alligaret. Si igitur in conceptu tanta vis est ad aequalitatem fatorum, non debuerunt nascendo eadem fata mutari. Aut si propterea mutantur fata geminorum, quia temporibus diversis nascuntur, cur non potius intelligamus jam fuisse mutata, ut diversis temporibus nascerentur? Itane non mutat fata nativitatis voluntas viventium, cum mutet fata conceptionis ordo nascentium?

## Caput VI.

*De geminis disparis sexus.*

Then I ask, if there is so great a distance of time in the nativity of twins, that through this it is necessary for diverse constellations to be made for them, on account of a diverse horoscope, and because of this all diverse angles, where so great force is placed, that from here also the fates are diverse; whence could this happen, since their conception could not have a diverse time? Or if of two conceived in one moment of time there could be disparate fates for being born, why can there not also be disparate fates for living and dying of two born in one moment of time? For if one moment, in which both were conceived, did not impede that one should be born earlier and the other later; why, if two are born in one moment, should anything impede that one should die earlier and the other later? If a conception of one moment permits twins to have diverse cases in the womb; why should a nativity of one moment not also permit any two on earth to have diverse cases, and thus all comments of this art, or rather vanity, be taken away? What is this, that conceived at one time, in one moment, under one and the same position of heaven, they have diverse fates, which lead them to a nativity of diverse hours, and two born together from two mothers in one moment of time under one and the same position of heaven, cannot have diverse fates, which lead them to a diverse necessity of living or dying? Or do those conceived not yet have fates, which, unless they are born, they will not be able to have? What is it therefore that they say, if the conceptional hour be found, many things can be said by these diviners? Whence also that is preached by some, that a certain wise man chose the hour in which he should lie with his wife, whence he should beget a wonderful son. Whence finally also this is, that concerning those twins sickening likewise, Posidonius, a great astrologer and the same a philosopher, answered, that it happened therefore, because they had been born at the same time, and conceived at the same time. For certainly because of this he added conception, lest it should be said to him that they could not have been born at the clearly same time, whom it was certain had been conceived at altogether the same time; so that this, that they sickened similarly and together, he should not give from a proximate equal temperament of the body, but should bind the same parility of health also by sidereal bonds. If therefore in conception there is so great force for the equality of fates, the same fates ought not to have been changed by being born. Or if for this reason the fates of twins are changed, because they are born at diverse times, why do we not rather understand that they had already been changed, so that they should be born at diverse times? Thus does the will of those living not change the fates of nativity, when the order of those being born changes the fates of conception?

## Chapter VI.

*Of twins of disparate sex.*

Quanquam et in ipsis geminorum conceptibus, ubi certe amborum eadem momenta sunt temporum, unde fit ut sub eadem constellatione fatali alter concipiatur masculus, altera femina? Novimus geminos diversi sexus, ambo adhuc vivunt, ambo aetate vigent adhuc; quorum cum sint inter se similes corporum species, quantum in diverso sexu potest; instituto tamen et proposito vitae ita sunt dispares, ut, praeter actus, quos necesse est a virilibus distare, femineos, quod ille in officio Comitis militat et a sua domo pene semper peregrinatur, illa de solo patrio et de rure proprio non recedit: insuper (quod est incredibilius, si astralia fata credantur; non autem mirum, si voluntates hominum et Dei munera cogitentur), ille conjugatus, illa virgo sacra est; ille numerosam prolem genuit, illa nec nupsit. At enim plurimum vis horoscopi valet? Hoc quam nihil sit, jam satis disserui. Sed qualecumque sit, in ortu valere dicunt: numquid et in conceptu? ubi et unum concubitum esse manifestum est; et tanta naturae vis est, ut cum conceperit femina, deinde alterum concipere omnino non possit: unde necesse est, eadem esse in geminis momenta conceptus. An forte, quia diverso horoscopo nati sunt, aut ille in masculum, dum nascerentur, aut illa in feminam commutata est? Cum igitur non usquequaque absurde dici posset, ad solas corporum differentias afflatus quosdam valere sidereos, sicut in solaribus accessibus et decessibus videmus etiam ipsius anni tempora variari, et lunaribus incrementis atque decrementis augeri et minui quaedam genera rerum, sicut echinos, et conchas, et mirabiles aestus oceani; non autem et animi voluntates positionibus siderum subdi: nunc isti, cum etiam nostros actus inde religare conantur, admonent ut quaeramus, unde ne in ipsis quidem corporibus eis possit ratio ista constare. Quid enim tam ad corpus pertinens, quam corporis sexus? et tamen sub eadem positione siderum diversi sexus gemini concipi potuerunt. Unde quid insipientius dici aut credi potest, quam siderum positionem, quae ad horam conceptionis eadem ambobus fuit, facere non potuisse, ut, cum quo habebat eamdem constellationem, sexum diversum a fratre non haberet; et positionem siderum, quae fuit ad horam nascentium, facere potuisse, ut ab eo tam multum virginali sanctitate distaret?

## Caput VII.

*De electione diei quo uxor ducitur, quove in agro aliquid plantatur aut seritur.*

Although even in those conceptions of twins, where certainly there are the same moments of times for both, whence does it happen that under the same fatal constellation one is conceived a male, the other a female? We know twins of diverse sex, both still live, both are still vigorous in age; since their species of bodies are similar between themselves, as much as is possible in diverse sex; yet in the institution and purpose of life they are so disparate, that, besides the acts which it is necessary should differ from the masculine, the feminine, because he serves in the office of Count and is almost always traveling from his home, she does not recede from her paternal soil and from her own countryside: moreover (which is more incredible, if astral fates are believed; but not a wonder, if the wills of men and the gifts of God are thought upon), he is married, she is a sacred virgin; he has begotten a numerous progeny, she has not even married. But forsooth, does the force of the horoscope avail very much? How this is nothing, I have already sufficiently discussed. But whatever it may be, they say it avails in the rising: does it also in conception? where it is manifest that there is even one coitus; and so great is the force of nature, that when a woman has conceived, she thereafter cannot conceive another at all: whence it is necessary that there be the same moments of conception in twins. Or perhaps, because they were born with a diverse horoscope, either he was changed into a male, while they were being born, or she into a female? Since therefore it could not be said altogether absurdly, that certain sidereal blasts avail to the differences of bodies alone, as we see in the solar accesses and recesses also the times of the year itself varied, and in the lunar increments and decrements certain kinds of things increased and diminished, as sea urchins, and shells, and the wonderful tides of the ocean; but not that the wills of the mind are subjected to the positions of the stars: now these, when they endeavor to bind even our acts from there, admonish us that we should seek, whence even in those bodies themselves that reason cannot stand to them. For what pertains so much to the body, as the sex of the body? and yet under the same position of the stars twins of diverse sex were able to be conceived. Whence what can be said or believed more foolish, than that the position of the stars, which at the hour of conception was the same for both, could not have caused, that she should not have a sex diverse from her brother, with whom she had the same constellation; and the position of the stars, which was at the hour of those being born, could have caused, that she should differ so much from him in virginal sanctity?

## Chapter VII.

*Of the election of the day on which a wife is taken, or on which anything in a field is planted or sown.*

Jam illud quis ferat, quod in eligendis diebus nova quaedam suis actibus fata moliuntur? Non erat videlicet ille ita natus, ut haberet admirabilem filium; sed ita potius, ut contemptibilem gigneret: et ideo vir doctus elegit horam qua misceretur uxori. Fecit ergo fatum, quod non habebat, et ex ipsius facto coepit esse fatale, quod in ejus nativitate non fuerat. O stultitiam singularem! Eligitur dies ut ducatur uxor: credo, propterea quia potest in diem non bonum, nisi exigatur, incurri, et infeliciter duci. Ubi est ergo quod nascenti jam sidera decreverunt? an potest homo, quod ei jam constitutum est, diei electione mutare, et quod ipse in eligendo die constituerit, non poterit ab alia potestate mutari? Deinde si soli homines, non autem omnia quae sub coelo sunt, constellationibus subjacent, cur alios eligunt dies accommodatos ponendis vitibus, vel arboribus, vel segetibus; alios dies pecoribus vel domandis, vel admittendis maribus, quibus equarum vel boum fetentur armenta, et caetera hujusmodi? Si autem propterea valent ad has res dies electi, quia terrenis omnibus corporibus, sive animantibus, sive non animantibus, secundum diversitates temporalium momentorum, siderum positio dominatur; considerent quam innumerabilia sub uno temporis puncto vel nascantur, vel oriantur, vel inchoentur, et tam diversos exitus habeant, ut istas observationes cuivis puero ridendas esse persuadeant. Quis enim est tam excors, ut audeat dicere, omnes arbores, omnes herbas, omnes bestias, serpentes, aves, pisces, vermiculos, momenta nascendi singillatim habere diversa? Solent tamen homines ad tentandam peritiam mathematicorum afferre ad eos constellationes mutorum animalium, quorum ortus propter hanc explorationem domi suae diligenter observant, eosque mathematicos praeferunt caeteris, qui constellationibus inspectis dicunt non esse hominem natum, sed pecus. Audent etiam dicere quale pecus, utrum aptum lanicio, an vectationi, an aratro, an custodiae domus. Nam et ad canina fata tentantur, et cum magnis admirantium clamoribus ista respondent. Sic desipiunt homines, ut existiment, cum homo nascitur, caeteros rerum ortus ita inhiberi, ut cum illo sub eadem coeli plaga nec musca nascatur. Nam si hanc admiserint, procedit ratiocinatio, quae gradatim accessibus modicis eos a muscis ad camelos elephantosque perducat. Nec illud volunt advertere, quod electo ad seminandum agrum die, tam multa grana in terram simul veniunt, simul germinant, exorta segete simul herbescunt, pubescunt, flavescunt; et tamen inde spicas caeteris coaevas, atque, ut ita dixerim, congerminales, alias rubigo interimit, alias aves depopulantur, alias homines avellunt. Quomodo istis alias constellationes fuisse dicturi sunt, quas tam diversos exitus habere conspiciunt?

Now who would bear that, that in choosing days they forge certain new fates for their own acts? That man, forsooth, was not so born that he should have a wonderful son; but rather so, that he should beget a contemptible one: and therefore the learned man chose the hour in which he should be joined to his wife. He made therefore a fate which he did not have, and from his own deed that began to be fatal which had not been in his nativity. O singular folly! A day is chosen so that a wife may be taken: I believe, for this reason, because it can be run into a not good day, unless it be avoided, and be taken unhappily. Where is it therefore that the stars already decreed for the one being born? or can a man change by the election of a day what has already been constituted for him, and what he himself shall have constituted in choosing the day, will not be able to be changed by another power? Then if men alone, but not all things which are under heaven, are subject to constellations, why do they choose some days accommodated for planting vines, or trees, or crops; other days for taming cattle, or for admitting males, by which the herds of mares or cows are made pregnant, and other things of this kind? But if for this reason chosen days avail to these things, because over all earthly bodies, whether animate or not animate, according to the diversities of temporal moments, the position of the stars dominates; let them consider how innumerable things either are born, or arise, or are begun under one point of time, and have such diverse exits, that they should persuade these observations to be laughed at by any boy. For who is so heartless, as to dare to say, that all trees, all herbs, all beasts, serpents, birds, fishes, little worms, have diverse moments of being born individually? Yet men are accustomed, for the sake of trying the skill of mathematicians, to bring to them the constellations of mute animals, whose risings they diligently observe at their home on account of this exploration, and they prefer those mathematicians to the rest, who, the constellations having been inspected, say that not a man was born, but a beast. They even dare to say what kind of beast, whether apt for wool-making, or for carrying, or for the plow, or for the guarding of the house. For they are tried even for canine fates, and with great shouts of those wondering they answer these things. Thus men are so foolish, that they think, when a man is born, other risings of things are so inhibited, that not even a fly is born with him under the same region of heaven. For if they admit this, a reasoning proceeds, which by small steps leads them from flies to camels and elephants. Nor do they wish to advert to that, that the day having been chosen for sowing a field, so many grains come into the earth together, germinate together, the crop having arisen they grow green together, reach puberty, turn yellow together; and yet from there, of the ears coeval with the rest, and, so to speak, congerminal, rust kills some, birds depopulate others, men pluck others. How are they about to say that there were other constellations for these, which they see have such diverse exits?

an eos poenitebit his rebus dies eligere, easque ad coeleste negabunt pertinere decretum, et solos sideribus subdent homines, quibus solis in terra Deus dedit liberas voluntates? His omnibus consideratis, non immerito creditur, cum astrologi mirabiliter multa vera respondent, occulto instinctu fieri spirituum non bonorum, quorum cura est has falsas et noxias opiniones de astralibus fatis inserere humanis mentibus atque firmare, non horoscopi notati et inspecti aliqua arte, quae nulla est.

## Caput VIII.

*De his qui non astrorum positionem, sed connexionem causarum ex Dei voluntate pendentem fati nomine appellant.*

Qui vero non astrorum constitutionem, sicuti est cum quidque concipitur, vel nascitur, vel inchoatur, sed omnium connexionem seriemque causarum, qua fit omne quod fit, fati nomine appellant; non multum cum eis de verbi controversia laborandum atque certandum est: quandoquidem ipsum causarum ordinem et quandam connexionem Dei summi tribuunt voluntati et potestati, qui optime et veracissime creditur et cuncta scire antequam fiant, et nihil inordinatum relinquere; a quo sunt omnes potestates, quamvis ab illo non sint omnium voluntates. Ipsam itaque praecipue Dei summi voluntatem, cujus potestas insuperabiliter per cuncta porrigitur, eos appellare fatum sic probatur. Annaei Senecae sunt, nisi fallor, hi versus: Duc, summe pater, altique dominator poli, Quocumque placuit, nulla parendi mora est. Adsum impiger: fac nolle, comitabor gemens, Malusque patiar facere quod licuit bono. Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt. Nempe evidentissime hoc ultimo versu ea fata appellavit, quam supra dixerat summi patris voluntatem: cui se paratum obedire dicit, ut volens ducatur, ne nolens trahatur; quoniam scilicet Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt. Illi quoque versus Homerici huic sententiae suffragantur, quos Cicero in latinum vertit: Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse Juppiter auctiferas lustravit lumine terras. Nec in hac quaestione auctoritatem haberet poetica sententia: sed quoniam Stoicos dicit, vim fati asserentes, istos ex Homero versus solere usurpare, non de illius poetae, sed de istorum philosophorum opinione tractatur, cum per istos versus, quos disputationi adhibent, quam de fato habent, quid sentiant esse fatum, apertissime declaratur, quoniam Jovem appellant, quem summum deum putant, a quo connexionem dicunt pendere fatorum.

or will it repent them to choose days for these things, and will they deny that they pertain to the celestial decree, and subject men alone to the stars, to whom alone on earth God gave free wills? These all having been considered, it is not undeservedly believed, when astrologers answer many true things wonderfully, that it happens by an occult instinct of spirits not good, whose care it is to insert and firm these false and noxious opinions concerning astral fates in human minds, not by any art of a noted and inspected horoscope, which is none.

## Chapter VIII.

*Of those who call the connection of causes depending on the will of God by the name of fate, and not the position of the stars.*

But those who call not the constitution of the stars, as it is when each thing is conceived, or born, or begun, but the connection and series of all causes, by which everything that is done is done, by the name of fate; one must not labor and contend much with them concerning the controversy of the word: since indeed they attribute that very order of causes and a certain connection to the will and power of the highest God, who most excellently and most truly is believed both to know all things before they are done, and to leave nothing inordinate; from whom are all powers, although from Him are not the wills of all. That they therefore especially call the will of the highest God, whose power is insurmountably extended through all things, fate, is thus proved. These verses are of Annaeus Seneca, unless I am mistaken: Lead, highest father, and ruler of the high pole, Whithersoever it has pleased, there is no delay in obeying. I am present unwearied: make me unwilling, I shall accompany groaning, And as a bad man I shall suffer to do what it was allowed to a good man. The fates lead the willing, they drag the unwilling. Certainly most evidently in this last verse he called those things fate, which above he had called the will of the highest father: to which he says he is prepared to obey, that he may be led willing, lest he be dragged unwilling; because namely, The fates lead the willing, they drag the unwilling. Those Homeric verses also support this opinion, which Cicero turned into Latin: Such are the minds of men, as father Jupiter himself has illumined the fruitful lands with light. Nor would the poetic opinion have authority in this question: but because he says that the Stoics, asserting the force of fate, are accustomed to use these verses from Homer, it is treated not concerning the opinion of that poet, but of those philosophers, since through those verses, which they apply to the disputation which they have concerning fate, what they think fate to be is most openly declared, since they call him Jupiter, whom they think the highest god, from whom they say the connection of fates depends.

## Caput IX.

*De praescientia Dei et libera hominis voluntate, contra Ciceronis definitionem.*

1. Hos Cicero ita redarguere nititur, ut non existimet aliquid se adversus eos valere, nisi auferat divinationem. Quam sic conatur auferre, ut neget esse scientiam futurorum, eamque omnibus viribus nullam esse omnino contendat, vel in Deo, vel in homine, nullamque rerum praedictionem. Ita et Dei praescientiam negat, et omnem prophetiam luce clariorem conatur evertere vanis argumentationibus, et opponendo sibi quaedam oracula, quae facile possunt refelli: quae tamen nec ipsa convincit. In his autem mathematicorum conjecturis refutandis ejus regnat oratio; quia vere tales sunt, ut se ipsae destruant et refellant. Multo sunt autem tolerabiliores qui vel siderea fata constituunt, quam iste, qui tollit praescientiam futurorum. Nam et confiteri esse Deum et negare praescium futurorum, apertissima insania est. Quod et ipse cum videret, etiam illud tentavit asserere, quod scriptum est, Dixit insipiens in corde suo, Non est Deus (Psal. XIII, 1): sed non ex sua persona. Vidit enim quam esset invidiosum et molestum: ideoque Cottam fecit disputantem de hac re adversum Stoicos in libris de deorum Natura (Libro 3), et pro Lucilio Balbo, cui Stoicorum partes defendendas dedit, maluit ferre sententiam, quam pro Cotta, qui nullam naturam divinam esse contendit. In libris vero de Divinatione ex se ipso apertissime oppugnat praescientiam futurorum. Hoc autem totum facere videtur, ne fatum esse consentiat, et perdat liberam voluntatem. Putat enim, concessa scientia futurorum, ita esse consequens fatum, ut negari omnino non possit. Sed quoquo modo se habeant tortuosissimae concertationes et disputationes philosophorum, nos ut confitemur summum et verum Deum, ita voluntatem summamque potestatem ac praescientiam ejus confitemur. Nec timemus ne ideo non voluntate faciamus, quod voluntate facimus, quia id nos facturos ille praescivit, cujus praescientia falli non potest. Quod Cicero timuit, ut oppugnaret praescientiam; et Stoici, ut non omnia necessitate fieri dicerent, quamvis omnia fato fieri contenderent.

## Chapter IX.

*Of the prescience of God and the free will of man, against the definition of Cicero.*

1. Cicero endeavors to refute these in such a way, that he does not think he avails anything against them, unless he takes away divination. Which he so endeavors to take away, that he denies there is knowledge of future things, and with all his forces contends that it is altogether none, either in God or in man, and that there is no prediction of things. Thus he both denies the prescience of God, and endeavors to overturn every prophecy clearer than light with vain argumentations, and by opposing to himself certain oracles, which can easily be refuted: which yet he does not even himself convince. But in refuting these conjectures of mathematicians his speech reigns; because they are truly such, that they destroy and refute themselves. But they are much more tolerable who even constitute sidereal fates, than this man, who takes away the prescience of future things. For both to confess that there is a God and to deny Him to be prescient of future things, is most open insanity. Which when he himself saw, he also attempted to assert that which is written: 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God' (Psalm XIII, 1): but not from his own person. For he saw how invidious and troublesome it would be: and therefore he made Cotta disputing concerning this matter against the Stoics in the books on the Nature of the Gods (Book 3), and for Lucilius Balbus, to whom he gave the parts of the Stoics to be defended, he preferred to bear sentence, than for Cotta, who contends that there is no divine nature. But in the books on Divination from himself he most openly opposes the prescience of future things. But he seems to do this whole thing, lest he should consent that there is fate, and lose free will. For he thinks, knowledge of future things being granted, that fate is so consequent, that it cannot be denied at all. But in whatever way the most tortuous concertations and disputations of philosophers have themselves, as we confess the highest and true God, so we confess His will and highest power and prescience. Nor do we fear lest we therefore do not do by will what we do by will, because He foreknew that we would do it, whose prescience cannot be deceived. Which Cicero feared, so that he opposed prescience; and the Stoics, so that they said not all things are done by necessity, although they contended that all things are done by fate.

2. Quid est ergo quod Cicero timuit in praescientia futurorum, ut eam labefactare disputatione detestabili niteretur? Videlicet quia si praescita sunt omnia futura, hoc ordine venient, quo ventura esse praescita sunt: et si hoc ordine venient, certus est ordo rerum praescienti Deo: et si certus est ordo rerum, certus est ordo causarum; non enim aliquid fieri potest, quod non aliqua efficiens causa praecesserit: si autem certus est ordo causarum, quo fit omne quod fit; fato, inquit, fiunt omnia quae fiunt. Quod si ita est, nihil est in nostra potestate, nullumque est arbitrium voluntatis: quod si concedimus, inquit, omnis humana vita subvertitur; frustra leges dantur; frustra objurgationes, laudes, vituperationes, exhortationes adhibentur; neque ulla justitia bonis praemia, et malis supplicia constituta sunt. Haec ergo ne consequantur indigna et absurda et perniciosa rebus humanis, non vult esse praescientiam futurorum: atque in has angustias coarctat animum religiosum, ut unum eligat e duobus, aut esse aliquid in nostra voluntate, aut esse praescientiam futurorum: quoniam utrumque arbitratur esse non posse, sed si alterum confirmabitur, alterum tolli; si elegerimus praescientiam futurorum, tolli voluntatis arbitrium; si elegerimus voluntatis arbitrium, tolli praescientiam futurorum. Ipse itaque ut vir magnus et doctus, et vitae humanae plurimum ac peritissime consulens, ex his duobus elegit liberum voluntatis arbitrium: quod ut confirmaretur, negavit praescientiam futurorum: atque ita, dum vult facere liberos, fecit sacrilegos. Religiosus autem animus utrumque eligit, utrumque confitetur, et fide pietatis utrumque confirmat. Quomodo, inquit? Nam si est praescientia futurorum, sequentur illa omnia, quae connexa sunt, donec eo perveniatur, ut nihil sit in nostra voluntate. Porro si est aliquid in nostra voluntate, eisdem recursis gradibus eo pervenitur, ut non sit praescientia futurorum. Nam per illa omnia sic recurritur: Si est voluntatis arbitrium, non omnia fato fiunt: si non omnia fato fiunt, non est omnium certus ordo causarum: si certus causarum ordo non est, nec rerum certus est ordo praescienti Deo, quae fieri non possunt, nisi praecedentibus et efficientibus causis: si rerum ordo praescienti Deo certus non est, non omnia sic veniunt, ut ea ventura praescivit: porro si non omnia sic veniunt, ut ab illo ventura praescita sunt, non est, inquit, in Deo praescientia omnium futurorum.

2. What is it, then, that Cicero feared in the prescience of future things, that he should strive to undermine it with such a detestable disputation? Evidently because if all future things are foreknown, they will come to pass in that order in which they have been foreknown to come; and if they come to pass in this order, the order of things is certain to the prescient God; and if the order of things is certain, the order of causes is certain; for nothing can happen unless some efficient cause has preceded it. But if the order of causes is certain, by which everything that happens is done, 'all things,' he says, 'which happen, happen by fate.' If this is so, nothing is in our power, and there is no choice of the will; 'which if we grant,' he says, 'all human life is subverted; laws are given in vain; reproofs, praises, vituperations, and exhortations are applied in vain; nor is any justice established for rewards for the good and punishments for the evil.' Lest, therefore, these unworthy, absurd, and pernicious consequences should follow for human affairs, he does not wish there to be prescience of future things: and he restricts the religious mind to these straits, that it must choose one of the two: either that there is something in our will, or that there is prescience of future things; since he thinks both cannot exist, but if one is confirmed, the other is taken away; if we choose the prescience of future things, the choice of the will is taken away; if we choose the choice of the will, the prescience of future things is taken away. He himself, therefore, as a great and learned man, and consulting most greatly and skillfully for human life, chose from these two the free choice of the will; which, that it might be confirmed, he denied the prescience of future things. And thus, while wishing to make men free, he made them sacrilegious. But the religious mind chooses both, confesses both, and confirms both by the faith of piety. 'How?' he asks. For if there is prescience of future things, all those things which are connected will follow, until it is reached that nothing is in our will. Furthermore, if there is something in our will, by the same steps retraced it is reached that there is no prescience of future things. For through all those things it is thus retraced: If there is choice of the will, not all things happen by fate; if not all things happen by fate, there is not a certain order of all causes; if the order of causes is not certain, neither is the order of things certain to the prescient God, which things cannot happen except by preceding and efficient causes; if the order of things is not certain to the prescient God, not all things come to pass as He foreknew they would come to pass; furthermore, if not all things come to pass as they were foreknown by Him to come to pass, there is not, he says, in God the prescience of all future things.

3. Nos adversus istos sacrilegos ausus atque impios, et Deum dicimus omnia scire antequam fiant, et voluntate nos facere, quidquid a nobis nonnisi volentibus fieri sentimus et novimus. Omnia vero fato fieri non dicimus, imo nulla fieri fato dicimus: quoniam fati nomen ubi solet a loquentibus poni, id est in constitutione siderum cum quisque conceptus aut natus est (quoniam res ipsa inaniter asseritur), nihil valere monstramus. Ordinem autem causarum, ubi voluntas Dei plurimum potest, neque negamus, neque fati vocabulo nuncupamus, nisi forte ut fatum a fando dictum intelligamus, id est a loquendo : non enim abnuere possumus esse scriptum in Litteris sanctis, Semel locutus est Deus, duo haec audivi; quoniam potestas Dei est, et tibi, Domine, misericordia, quia tu reddes unicuique secundum opera ejus (Psal. LXI, 12, 13). Quod enim dictum est, Semel locutus est, intelligitur, Immobiliter, hoc est incommutabiliter, est locutus, sicut novit incommutabiliter omnia quae futura sunt, et quae ipse facturus est. Hac itaque ratione possemus a fando fatum appellare, nisi hoc nomen jam in alia re soleret intelligi, quo corda hominum nolumus inclinari. Non est autem consequens, ut, si Deo certus est omnium ordo causarum, ideo nihil sit in nostrae voluntatis arbitrio. Et ipsae quippe nostrae voluntates in causarum ordine sunt, qui certus est Deo ejusque praescientia continetur; quoniam et humanae voluntates humanorum operum causae sunt. Atque ita qui omnes rerum causas praescivit, profecto in eis causis etiam nostras voluntates ignorare non potuit, quas nostrorum operum causas esse praescivit.

4. Nam et illud quod idem Cicero concedit nihil fieri si causa efficiens non praecedat (Libro de Fato, cap. 10, et seqq.), satis est ad eum in hac quaestione redarguendum. Quid enim eum adjuvat, quod dicit, nihil quidem fieri sine causa, sed non omnem causam esse fatalem; quia est causa fortuita, est naturalis, est voluntaria? Sufficit quia omne quod fit, nonnisi causa praecedente fieri confitetur. Nos enim eas causas, quae dicuntur fortuitae, unde etiam fortuna nomen accepit, non esse dicimus nullas, sed latentes; easque tribuimus vel Dei veri, vel quorumlibet spirituum voluntati: ipsasque naturales nequaquam ab illius voluntate sejungimus, qui est auctor omnis conditorque naturae. Jam vero causae voluntariae aut Dei sunt, aut Angelorum, aut hominum, aut quorumque animalium: si tamen appellandae sunt voluntates animalium rationis expertium motus illi, quibus aliqua faciunt secundum naturam suam, cum quid vel appetunt , vel evitant.

3. Against these sacrilegious and impious attempts, we say both that God knows all things before they happen, and that we do by our will whatever we feel and know is done by us only as willing it. But we do not say that all things happen by fate; rather, we say that nothing happens by fate, because we show that the name of fate, where it is usually placed by speakers—that is, in the constitution of the stars when each one is conceived or born (since the thing itself is asserted in vain)—avails nothing. But the order of causes, where the will of God is most powerful, we neither deny, nor do we call it by the name of fate, unless perhaps we understand fate to be said from *fando*, that is, from speaking; for we cannot deny that it is written in the Holy Scriptures: 'Once has God spoken, these two things have I heard; that power belongs to God, and to Thee, O Lord, is mercy, for Thou wilt render to every man according to his works' (Psalm LXI, 12, 13). For what was said, 'Once has He spoken,' is understood as: He has spoken immovably, that is, unchangeably, just as He unchangeably knows all things which are to be, and which He Himself is to do. For this reason we could call fate that which is from *fando*, unless this name were already accustomed to be understood in another thing, to which we do not wish the hearts of men to be inclined. It is not, however, a consequence that, if the order of all causes is certain to God, therefore nothing is in the choice of our will. For even our wills themselves are in the order of causes, which is certain to God and is contained by His prescience; since human wills are also causes of human works. And thus He who foreknew all the causes of things, surely among those causes could not have been ignorant of our wills also, which He foreknew to be the causes of our works.

4. For even that which the same Cicero concedes—that nothing happens if an efficient cause does not precede it—is sufficient for refuting him in this question. For what does it help him that he says nothing indeed happens without a cause, but not every cause is fatal; because there is a fortuitous cause, there is a natural one, there is a voluntary one? It is enough that he confesses that everything which happens happens only by a preceding cause. For we say that those causes which are called fortuitous, from which fortune also received its name, are not non-existent, but latent; and we attribute them either to the will of the true God or of any spirits whatsoever; and we by no means separate the natural causes themselves from the will of Him who is the author and founder of all nature. Now truly voluntary causes are either of God, or of Angels, or of men, or of any animals whatsoever—if, however, those movements are to be called the wills of animals devoid of reason, by which they do something according to their nature, when they either desire or avoid something.

Angelorum autem voluntates dico, sive bonorum, quos Angelos Dei dicimus; sive malorum, quos angelos diaboli vel etiam daemones appellamus: sic et hominum bonorum scilicet et malorum. Ac per hoc colligitur, non esse causas efficientes omnium quae fiunt, nisi voluntarias, illius naturae scilicet quae spiritus vitae est. Nam et aer iste seu ventus, dicitur spiritus: sed quoniam corpus est, non est spiritus vitae. Spiritus ergo vitae, qui vivificat omnia, creatorque est omnis corporis et omnis creati spiritus, ipse est Deus, spiritus utique non creatus. In ejus voluntate summa potestas est, quae creatorum spirituum voluntates bonas adjuvat, malas judicat, omnes ordinat; et quibusdam tribuit potestates , quibusdam non tribuit. Sicut enim omnium naturarum creator est, ita omnium potestatum dator, non voluntatum. Malae quippe voluntates ab illo non sunt; quoniam contra naturam sunt, quae ab illo est. Corpora igitur magis subjacent voluntatibus; quaedam nostris, id est omnium animantium mortalium, et magis hominum quam bestiarum; quaedam vero angelorum: sed omnia maxime Dei voluntati subdita sunt; cui etiam voluntates omnes subjiciuntur, quia non habent potestatem nisi quam ille concedit. Causa itaque rerum quae facit, nec fit, Deus est. Aliae vero causae et faciunt, et fiunt; sicut sunt omnes creati spiritus, maxime rationales. Corporales autem causae, quae magis fiunt, quam faciunt, non sunt inter causas efficientes annumerandae; quoniam hoc possunt, quod ex ipsis faciunt spirituum voluntates. Quomodo igitur ordo causarum, qui praescienti certus est Deo, id efficit, ut nihil sit in nostra voluntate, cum in ipso causarum ordine magnum habeant locum nostrae voluntates? Contendat ergo Cicero cum eis, qui hunc causarum ordinem dicunt esse fatalem, vel potius ipsum fati nomine appellant (Libro de Fato, capp. 11, 12); quod nos abhorremus, praecipue propter vocabulum, quod non in re vera consuevit intelligi. Quod vero negat ordinem omnium causarum esse certissimum et Dei praescientiae notissimum, plus eum quam Stoici detestamur. Aut enim Deum esse negat, quod quidem inducta alterius persona in libris de Deorum Natura facere molitus est: aut si esse confitetur Deum, quem negat praescium futurorum, etiam sic dicit nihil aliud, quam quod ille dixit insipiens in corde suo, Non est Deus (Psal. XIII, 1). Qui enim non est praescius omnium futurorum, non est utique Deus. Quapropter et voluntates nostrae tantum valent, quantum Deus eas valere voluit atque praescivit: et ideo quidquid valent, certissime valent; et quod facturae sunt, ipsae omnino facturae sunt: quia valituras atque facturas ille praescivit, cujus praescientia falli non potest. Quapropter si mihi fati nomen alicui rei adhibendum placeret, magis dicerem fatum esse infirmioris, potentioris voluntatem, qui eum habet in potestate, quam illo causarum ordine, quem non usitato, sed suo more Stoici fatum appellant, arbitrium nostrae voluntatis auferri.

But I speak of the wills of Angels, whether of the good, whom we call the Angels of God, or of the evil, whom we call the angels of the devil or even demons; so also of men, namely both the good and the evil. And by this it is gathered that there are no efficient causes of all things that happen, except voluntary ones—of that nature, namely, which is the spirit of life. For even this air or wind is called a spirit; but because it is a body, it is not the spirit of life. Therefore the spirit of life, which vivifies all things, and is the creator of every body and of every created spirit, is God Himself, the spirit certainly not created. In His will is the highest power, which helps the good wills of created spirits, judges the evil ones, ordains all; and to some He grants powers, to others He does not grant them. For as He is the creator of all natures, so is He the giver of all powers, not of all wills. For evil wills are not from Him; because they are against nature, which is from Him. Bodies, therefore, are more subject to wills; some to ours, that is, of all mortal living things, and more of men than of beasts; some indeed of angels; but all are especially subject to the will of God, to whom also all wills are subjected, because they have no power except what He grants. The cause of things, therefore, which makes and is not made, is God. But other causes both make and are made; such as are all created spirits, especially rational ones. But corporeal causes, which are made rather than make, are not to be numbered among efficient causes; since they can do only what the wills of spirits do from them. How, then, does the order of causes, which is certain to the prescient God, effect that nothing is in our will, when in that very order of causes our wills have a great place? Let Cicero, then, contend with those who say that this order of causes is fatal, or rather call it by the name of fate; which we abhor, especially on account of the word, which is not accustomed to be understood in its true reality. But that he denies the order of all causes to be most certain and most known to God's prescience, we detest him more than the Stoics. For he either denies that God exists—which indeed he endeavored to do by introducing the person of another in the books on the Nature of the Gods—or if he confesses that God exists, whom he denies to be prescient of future things, even so he says nothing else than what that fool said in his heart: 'There is no God' (Psalm XIII, 1). For He who is not prescient of all future things is certainly not God. Wherefore also our wills avail as much as God willed and foreknew they would avail; and therefore whatever they avail, they avail most certainly; and what they are to do, they themselves are altogether to do; because He foreknew that they would avail and would act, whose prescience cannot be deceived. Wherefore if it pleased me to apply the name of fate to anything, I would rather say that fate is the will of the weaker for the more powerful, who has him in his power, than that by that order of causes, which the Stoics call fate not in a usual but in their own manner, the choice of our will is taken away.

## Caput X.

*An voluntatibus hominum aliqua dominetur necessitas.*

1. Unde nec illa necessitas formidanda est, quam formidando Stoici laboraverunt causas rerum ita distinguere, ut quasdam subtraherent necessitati, quasdam subderent: atque in his quas esse sub necessitate noluerunt, posuerunt etiam nostras voluntates, ne videlicet non essent liberae, si subderentur necessitati. Si enim necessitas nostra illa dicenda est, quae non est in nostra potestate, sed, etiamsi nolimus, efficit quod potest, sicut est necessitas mortis; manifestum est voluntates nostras, quibus recte vel perperam vivitur, sub tali necessitate non esse. Multa enim facimus, quae, si nolemus, non utique faceremus. Quo primitus pertinet ipsum velle: nam, si volumus, est; si nolumus, non est: non enim vellemus, si nolemus. Si autem illa definitur esse necessitas, secundum quam dicimus necesse esse ut ita sit aliquid, vel ita fiat; nescio cur eam timeamus, ne nobis libertatem auferat voluntatis. Neque enim et vitam Dei et praescientiam Dei sub necessitate ponimus, si dicamus necesse esse Deum semper vivere, et cuncta praescire: sicut nec potestas ejus minuitur, cum dicitur mori fallique non posse. Sic enim hoc non potest, ut potius, si posset, minoris esset utique potestatis. Recte quippe omnipotens dicitur, qui tamen mori et falli non potest. Dicitur enim omnipotens faciendo quod vult, non patiendo quod non vult: quod ei si accideret, nequaquam esset omnipotens. Unde propterea quaedam non potest, quia omnipotens est. Sic etiam, cum dicimus necesse esse ut, cum volumus, libero velimus arbitrio; et verum procul dubio dicimus, et non ideo ipsum liberum arbitrium necessitati subjicimus, quae adimit libertatem. Sunt igitur nostrae voluntates, et ipsae faciunt quidquid volendo facimus, quod non fieret, si nollemus. Quidquid autem aliorum hominum voluntate nolens quisque patitur, etiam sic voluntas valet; etsi non illius tamen hominis voluntas, sed potestas Dei . Nam si voluntas tantum esset, nec posset quod vellet, potentiore voluntate impediretur: nec sic tamen voluntas, nisi voluntas esset; nec alterius, sed ejus esset, qui vellet, etsi non posset implere quod vellet. Unde quidquid praeter suam voluntatem patitur homo, non debet tribuere humanis vel angelicis vel cujusquam creati spiritus voluntatibus, sed ejus potius, qui dat potestatem volentibus.

## Chapter X.

*Whether any necessity dominates the wills of men.*

1. Wherefore neither is that necessity to be feared, which the Stoics, by fearing, labored to distinguish the causes of things in such a way that they withdrew some from necessity and subjected others to it; and among those which they did not wish to be under necessity, they placed also our wills, lest, evidently, they should not be free if they were subjected to necessity. For if that is to be called our necessity which is not in our power, but, even if we are unwilling, effects what it can, such as is the necessity of death; it is manifest that our wills, by which we live rightly or perversely, are not under such necessity. For we do many things which, if we were unwilling, we would certainly not do. To which primarily belongs the very act of willing; for if we will, it is; if we are unwilling, it is not; for we would not will if we were unwilling. But if that is defined to be necessity according to which we say it is necessary that something be so, or so be done; I know not why we should fear it, lest it should take away from us the freedom of the will. For neither do we place both the life of God and the prescience of God under necessity, if we say it is necessary that God always live and foreknow all things; just as His power is not diminished when He is said to be unable to die or be deceived. For He cannot do this in such a way that rather, if He could, He would certainly be of less power. For He is rightly called omnipotent, who yet cannot die or be deceived. For He is called omnipotent by doing what He wills, not by suffering what He does not will; which if it happened to Him, He would by no means be omnipotent. Wherefore He cannot do certain things for the very reason that He is omnipotent. So also, when we say it is necessary that, when we will, we will with free choice; we both speak the truth beyond doubt, and we do not therefore subject that very free choice to a necessity which takes away freedom. Therefore our wills exist, and they themselves do whatever we do by willing, which would not happen if we were unwilling. But whatever anyone suffers unwillingly by the will of other men, even so a will prevails; although not the will of that man, yet the power of God. For if it were only a will, and could not do what it willed, it would be hindered by a more powerful will; yet even so it would not be a will unless it were a will; nor would it be of another, but of him who willed, even if he could not fulfill what he willed. Wherefore whatever a man suffers contrary to his own will, he ought not to attribute to human or angelic wills, or those of any created spirit, but rather to His who gives power to those who will.

2. Non ergo propterea nihil est in nostra voluntate, quia Deus praescivit quid futurum esset in nostra voluntate: non enim qui hoc praescivit, nihil praescivit. Porro si ille, qui praescivit quid futurum esset in nostra voluntate, non utique nihil, sed aliquid praescivit; profecto et illo praesciente est aliquid in notra voluntate. Quocirca nullo modo cogimur, aut retenta praescientia Dei tollere voluntatis arbitrium, aut retento voluntatis arbitrio Deum (quod nefas est) negare praescium futurorum: sed utrumque amplectimur, utrumque fideliter et veraciter confitemur; illud, ut bene credamus; hoc, ut bene vivamus. Male autem vivitur, si de Deo non bene creditur. Unde absit a nobis ejus negare praescientiam, ut liberi esse velimus , quo adjuvante sumus liberi, vel erimus. Proinde non frustra sunt leges, objurgationes, exhortationes, laudes et vituperationes: quia et ipsas futuras esse praescivit, et valent plurimum, quantum eas valituras esse praescivit; et preces valent ad ea impetranda, quae se precantibus concessurum esse praescivit: et juste praemia bonis factis, et peccatis supplicia constituta sunt. Neque enim ideo peccat homo , quia Deus illum peccaturum esse praescivit: imo ideo non dubitatur ipsum peccare, cum peccat, quia ille, cujus praescientia falli non potest, non fatum, non fortunam, non aliquid aliud, sed ipsum peccaturum esse praescivit. Qui si nolit, utique non peccat: sed si peccare noluerit, etiam hoc ille praescivit.

## Caput XI.

*De universali providentia Dei, cujus legibus omnia continentur.*

Deus itaque summus et verus cum Verbo suo et Spiritu sancto, quae tria unum sunt, Deus unus omnipotens, creator et factor omnis animae atque omnis corporis: cujus sunt participatione felices, quicumque sunt veritate, non vanitate felices: qui fecit hominem rationale animal ex anima et corpore; qui eum peccantem nec impunitum esse permisit, nec sine misericordia dereliquit; qui bonis et malis essentiam etiam cum lapidibus, vitam seminalem etiam cum arboribus, vitam sensualem etiam cum pecoribus, vitam intellectualem cum solis Angelis dedit: a quo est omnis modus, omnis species, omnis ordo; a quo est mensura, numerus, pondus; a quo est quidquid naturaliter est, cujuscumque generis est, cujuslibet aestimationis est; a quo sunt semina formarum, formae seminum, motus seminum atque formarum: qui dedit et carni originem, pulchritudinem, valetudinem, propagationis fecunditatem, membrorum dispositionem, salutem concordiae: qui et animae irrationali dedit memoriam, sensum, appetitum; rationali autem insuper mentem, intelligentiam, voluntatem:

2. Therefore it is not because God foreknew what would be in our will that there is nothing in our will; for He who foreknew this did not foreknow nothing. Furthermore, if He who foreknew what would be in our will foreknew not indeed nothing, but something; surely even with Him foreknowing, there is something in our will. Wherefore we are in no way compelled either to take away the choice of the will while retaining the prescience of God, or to deny (which is nefas) that God is prescient of future things while retaining the choice of the will; but we embrace both, we faithfully and truly confess both; the former, that we may believe well; the latter, that we may live well. But one lives ill if one does not believe well concerning God. Wherefore far be it from us to deny His prescience, that we may wish to be free, by whose help we are free, or shall be. Accordingly, laws, reproofs, exhortations, praises, and vituperations are not in vain; because He also foreknew that they would be, and they avail as much as He foreknew they would avail; and prayers avail for obtaining those things which He foreknew He would grant to those who pray; and rewards were justly established for good deeds, and punishments for sins. For a man does not therefore sin because God foreknew that he would sin; on the contrary, it is therefore not doubted that he himself sins when he sins, because He, whose prescience cannot be deceived, foreknew not fate, not fortune, not anything else, but that he himself would sin. Who, if he should be unwilling, certainly does not sin; but if he should be unwilling to sin, even this He foreknew.

## Chapter XI.

*Of the universal providence of God, by whose laws all things are contained.*

The supreme and true God, therefore, with His Word and the Holy Spirit, which three are one, the one omnipotent God, creator and maker of every soul and of every body: by whose participation those are happy, whoever are happy in truth, not in vanity: who made man a rational animal from soul and body; who permitted him neither to be unpunished when sinning, nor left him without mercy; who gave to the good and the evil essence even with stones, seminal life even with trees, sensual life even with beasts, intellectual life with the Angels alone: from whom is every mode, every species, every order; from whom is measure, number, weight; from whom is whatever naturally exists, of whatever genus it is, of whatever estimation it is; from whom are the seeds of forms, the forms of seeds, the movements of seeds and of forms: who gave also to the flesh its origin, beauty, health, the fecundity of propagation, the disposition of members, the health of harmony: who gave also to the irrational soul memory, sense, appetite; but to the rational soul, moreover, mind, intelligence, will:

qui non solum coelum et terram, nec solum angelum et hominem; sed nec exigui et contemptibilis animantis viscera, nec avis pennulam , nec herbae flosculum, nec arboris folium sine suarum partium convenientia, et quadam veluti pace dereliquit: nullo modo est credendus regna hominum eorumque dominationes et servitutes a suae providentiae legibus alienas esse voluisse.

## Caput XII.

*Quibus moribus antiqui Romani meruerint ut Deus verus, quamvis non eum colerent, eorum augeret imperium.*

1. Proinde videamus quos Romanorum mores, et quam ob causam Deus verus ad augendum imperium adjuvare dignatus est, in cujus potestate sunt etiam regna terrena. Quod ut absolutius disserere possemus, ad hoc pertinentem et superiorem librum conscripsimus, quod in hac re potestas nulla sit eorum deorum, quos etiam rebus nugatoriis colendos putarunt; et praesentis voluminis partes superiores, quas huc usque perduximus, de fati quaestione tollenda: ne quisquam, cui jam persuasum esset non illorum deorum cultu Romanum imperium propagatum atque servatum, nescio cui fato potius id tribueret, quam Dei summi potentissimae voluntati. Veteres igitur primique Romani, quantum eorum docet et commendat historia, quamvis ut aliae gentes, excepta una populi Hebraeorum, deos falsos colerent, et non Deo victimas, sed daemoniis immolarent. tamen laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant, gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant (Sallust. in Catil., cap. 7): hanc ardentissime dilexerunt, propter hanc vivere voluerunt, pro hac emori non dubitaverunt . Caeteras cupiditates hujus unius ingenti cupiditate presserunt. Ipsam denique patriam suam, quoniam servire videbatur inglorium, dominari vero atque imperare gloriosum, prius omni studio liberam, deinde dominam esse concupierunt. Hinc est quod regalem dominationem non ferentes, annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecerunt, qui consules appellati sunt a consulendo, non reges aut domini a regnando atque dominando: cum et reges utique a regendo dicti melius videantur, ut regnum a regibus, reges autem, ut dictum est, a regendo; sed fastus regius non disciplina putata est regentis, vel benevolentia consulentis, sed superbia dominantis. Expulso itaque rege Tarquinio, et consulibus institutis, secutum est quod idem auctor in Romanorum laudibus posuit, quod civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate quantum brevi creverit, tanta cupido gloriae incesserat (Sallust. in Catil. cap. 7). Ista ergo laudis aviditas et cupido gloriae multa illa miranda fecit, laudabilia scilicet atque gloriosa secundum hominum existimationem.

who left not only the heaven and the earth, nor only the angel and man; but not even the entrails of the smallest and most contemptible animal, nor the feather of a bird, nor the little flower of an herb, nor the leaf of a tree, without the harmony of their parts, and as it were a certain peace: it is by no means to be believed that He willed the kingdoms of men, and their dominations and servitudes, to be alien from the laws of His providence.

## Chapter XII.

*By what manners the ancient Romans merited that the true God, although they did not worship Him, should increase their empire.*

1. Accordingly, let us see what manners of the Romans, and for what cause, the true God, in whose power are also earthly kingdoms, deigned to help for the increasing of their empire. That we might be able to discuss this more fully, we have written the previous book pertaining to this, showing that in this matter there is no power of those gods whom they thought should be worshipped even for trifling things; and the earlier parts of the present volume, which we have brought thus far, concerning the removal of the question of fate: lest anyone, who had already been persuaded that the Roman empire was not propagated and preserved by the worship of those gods, should attribute it rather to some fate or other, than to the most powerful will of the supreme God. The ancient and earliest Romans, therefore, as much as their history teaches and commends, although like other nations, except for the one people of the Hebrews, they worshipped false gods, and offered sacrifices not to God but to demons, yet they were greedy of praise, liberal of money, they wished for great glory and honest riches (Sallust, In Catil., cap. 7): this they loved most ardently, for this they wished to live, for this they did not hesitate to die. Other desires they suppressed by the immense desire for this one thing. Finally, their own country itself, since it seemed inglorious to serve, but glorious to dominate and command, they first desired with all zeal to be free, and then to be mistress. Hence it is that, not bearing royal domination, they created for themselves annual powers and pairs of commanders, who were called consuls from consulting, not kings or lords from reigning and dominating: since kings are indeed seen to be better named from ruling, as kingdom from kings, and kings, as has been said, from ruling; but royal pride was thought to be not the discipline of one ruling, or the benevolence of one consulting, but the pride of one dominating. Therefore, King Tarquin having been expelled and consuls instituted, there followed what the same author placed among the praises of the Romans, that "it is incredible to relate how much the city increased in a short time after liberty was attained, so great a desire for glory had come upon them" (Sallust, In Catil., cap. 7). This greediness for praise, therefore, and desire for glory, performed many of those marvelous things, laudable and glorious indeed according to the estimation of men.

2. Laudat idem Sallustius temporibus suis magnos et praeclaros viros, Marcum Catonem et Caium Caesarem, dicens quod diu illa respublica non habuit quemquam virtute magnum, sed sua memoria fuisse illos duos ingenti virtute, diversis moribus. In laudibus autem Caesaris posuit, quod sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset (Ibid., capp. 53, 54). Ita fiebat in votis virorum virtute magnorum, ut excitaret in bellum miseras gentes, et flagello agitaret Bellona sanguineo, ut esset ubi virtus eorum enitesceret. Hoc illa profecto laudis aviditas et gloriae cupido faciebat. Amore itaque primitus libertatis, post etiam dominationis, et cupiditate laudis et gloriae, multa magna fecerunt. Reddit eis utriusque rei testimonium etiam poeta insignis illorum: inde quippe ait, Necnon Tarquinium ejectum Porsenna jubebat, Accipere, ingentique urbem obsidione premebat: Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant. (Virgil. Aeneid. lib. 8, vers. 646-648.) Tunc itaque magnum illis fuit aut fortiter emori, aut liberos vivere. Sed cum esset adepta libertas, tanta cupido gloriae incesserat, ut parum esset sola libertas, nisi et dominatio quaereretur, dum pro magno haberetur quod, velut loquente Jove, idem poeta dicit, Quin aspera Juno, Quae mare nunc terrasque metu coelumque fatigat, Consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam. Sic placitum. Veniet lustris labentibus aetas, Cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenas Servitio premet, ac victis dominabitur Argis. (Aeneid. lib. 1, vers. 279-285.) Quae quidem Virgilius, Jovem inducens tanquam futura praedicentem, ipse jam facta recolebat, cernebatque praesentia: verum propterea commemorare illa volui, ut ostenderem dominationem post libertatem sic habuisse Romanos, ut in eorum magnis laudibus poneretur. Hinc est et illud ejusdem poetae, quod, cum aliarum gentium artibus eas ipsas proprias Romanorum artes regnandi atque imperandi et subigendi ac debellandi populos anteponeret, ait, Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera: Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus: Orabunt causas melius; coelique meatus Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent. Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento. Hae tibi erunt artes, pacique imponere morem, Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos. (Aeneid. lib. 6, vers. 847-853.)

2. The same Sallust praises in his own times great and illustrious men, Marcus Cato and Caius Caesar, saying that for a long time that republic did not have anyone great in virtue, but that in his memory those two were of immense virtue, though of diverse manners. Among the praises of Caesar, he placed this, that he wished for himself a great empire, an army, and a new war, where his virtue might be able to shine forth (Sallust, In Catil., capp. 53, 54). Thus it happened in the prayers of men great in virtue, that they might stir up miserable nations to war, and Bellona might drive them with a bloody scourge, so that there might be a place where their virtue might shine forth. This, surely, that greediness for praise and desire for glory performed. By the love, therefore, first of liberty, and afterwards also of domination, and by the desire for praise and glory, they performed many great things. Their own illustrious poet also gives testimony to them concerning both matters: hence he says, "Moreover, Porsenna commanded that the expelled Tarquin should be received, and pressed the city with a huge siege: the descendants of Aeneas rushed upon the iron for liberty" (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 8, vers. 646-648). Then, therefore, it was a great thing for them either to die bravely or to live free. But when liberty had been attained, such a desire for glory had come upon them, that liberty alone was too little, unless domination also were sought, while it was held as a great thing that which the same poet says, as if Jupiter were speaking: "Nay, harsh Juno, who now fatigues sea and lands and heaven with fear, shall bring back her counsels for the better, and with me shall cherish the Romans, lords of affairs and the toga-clad nation. So it has pleased. An age shall come as the lustres glide by, when the house of Assaracus shall press Phthia and clear Mycenae with servitude, and shall dominate over conquered Argos" (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 1, vers. 279-285). These things Virgil indeed, bringing in Jupiter as if foretelling future things, himself was already recollecting as facts, and was beholding as present: but for this reason I wished to commemorate them, that I might show that after liberty the Romans so held domination, that it was placed among their great praises. Hence is also that other saying of the same poet, in which, when he preferred those very proper arts of the Romans of reigning and commanding and subduing and warring down peoples to the arts of other nations, he says: "Others shall forge more softly the breathing bronzes: I believe indeed, they shall lead living countenances from marble; they shall plead causes better; and shall describe with a rod the movements of the heaven, and tell of the rising stars. Do thou, O Roman, remember to rule the peoples with empire. These shall be thy arts, and to impose the custom of peace, to spare the subjected, and to war down the proud" (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 6, vers. 847-853).

3. Has artes illi tanto peritius exercebant, quanto minus se voluptatibus dabant, et enervationi animi et corporis in concupiscendis et augendis divitiis, et per illas moribus corrumpendis, rapiendo miseris civibus, largiendo scenicis turpibus. Unde qui tales jam morum labes superabant atque abundabant, quando scribebat ista Sallustius, canebatque Virgilius, non illis artibus ad honores et gloriam, sed dolis atque fallaciis ambiebant. Unde idem dicit: Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus et ignavus aeque sibi exoptant: sed ille, inquit, vera via nititur; huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit (Sallust. in Catil., c. 11). Hae sunt illae bonae artes, per virtutem scilicet, non per fallacem ambitionem ad honorem et gloriam et imperium pervenire; quae tamen bonus et ignavus aeque sibi exoptant: sed ille, id est bonus, vera via nititur. Via virtus est, qua nititur tanquam ad possessionis finem, id est ad gloriam, honorem, imperium. Hoc insitum habuisse Romanos, etiam deorum apud illos aedes indicant, quas conjunctissimas constituerunt, Virtutis et Honoris , pro diis habentes quae dantur a Deo. Unde intelligi potest quem finem volebant esse virtutis, et quo eam referebant, qui boni erant, ad honorem scilicet: nam mali nec habebant eam, quamvis honorem habere cuperent, quem malis artibus conabantur adipisci, id est dolis atque fallaciis.

4. Melius laudatus est Cato. De illo quippe ait, Quo minus petebat gloriam, eo illum magis sequebatur (Ibid., cap. 54). Quandoquidem gloria est, cujus illi cupiditate flagrabant, judicium hominum bene de hominibus opinantium. Et ideo melior est virtus, quae humano testimonio contenta non est, nisi conscientiae suae. Unde dicit Apostolus, Nam gloria nostra haec est, testimonium conscientiae nostrae (II Cor. I, 12). Et alio loco, Opus autem suum probet unusquisque, et tunc in semetipso tantum gloriam habebit, et non in altero (Galat. VI, 4). Gloriam ergo et honorem et imperium, quae sibi exoptant, et quo bonis artibus pervenire nitebantur boni, non debet sequi virtus, sed ipsa virtutem. Neque enim est vera virtus, nisi quae ad eum finem tendit, ubi est bonum hominis, quo melius non est. Unde et honores quos petivit Cato, petere non debuit, sed eos civitas ob ejus virtutem non petenti dare .

3. These arts they exercised the more skillfully, as they gave themselves less to pleasures, and to the enervation of mind and body in desiring and increasing riches, and through them corrupting manners, by robbing miserable citizens, and by bestowing upon base actors. Whence those who were already surpassing and abounding in such stains of manners, when Sallust was writing those things and Virgil was singing them, did not seek honors and glory by those arts, but canvassed by deceits and fallacies. Whence the same says: "But at first ambition rather than avarice exercised the minds of men, which vice however was nearer to virtue. For the good and the slothful equally wish for themselves glory, honor, and empire: but the former," he says, "strives by the true way; because good arts are lacking to the latter, he contends with deceits and fallacies" (Sallust, In Catil., c. 11). These are those good arts, namely, to arrive at honor and glory and empire through virtue, not through fallacious ambition; which however the good and the slothful equally wish for themselves: but the former, that is the good man, strives by the true way. The way is virtue, by which he strives as if towards the end of possession, that is to glory, honor, and empire. That the Romans had this implanted in them, even the temples of the gods among them indicate, which they established most closely joined, those of Virtue and Honor, holding as gods what are given by God. Whence it can be understood what end they wished to be that of virtue, and to what they referred it, those who were good, namely to honor: for the evil did not even have it, although they desired to have honor, which they endeavored to attain by evil arts, that is by deceits and fallacies.

4. Cato was better praised. For concerning him he says, "The less he sought glory, the more it followed him" (Sallust, In Catil., cap. 54). Since indeed glory is that for which they were burning with desire, the judgment of men thinking well of men. And therefore virtue is better which is not content with human testimony, except that of its own conscience. Whence the Apostle says, "For our glory is this, the testimony of our conscience" (2 Cor. 1:12). And in another place, "But let every man prove his own work, and then he shall have glory in himself alone, and not in another" (Galat. 6:4). Glory, therefore, and honor, and empire, which they wished for themselves, and to which the good strived to arrive by good arts, virtue ought not to follow, but they virtue. For there is no true virtue, except that which tends to that end where the good of man is, than which there is none better. Whence also the honors which Cato sought, he ought not to have sought, but the city ought to have given them for his virtue to him not seeking them.

5. Sed cum illa memoria duo Romani essent virtute magni, Caesar et Cato, longe virtus Catonis veritati videtur propinquior fuisse, quam Caesaris. Proinde qualis esset illo tempore civitas, et antea qualis fuisset, videamus in ipsa sententia Catonis: Nolite, inquit, existimare, majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita esset, multo pulcherrimam eam nos haberemus. Quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum et equorum major copia nobis quam illis est. Sed alia fuere quae illos magnos fecerunt, quae nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque libidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam: laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam: inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum: ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut gratiae servitis, eo fit ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam (Sallust. in Catilin., c. 52).

6. Qui audit haec Catonis verba sive Sallustii, putat quales laudantur Romani veteres, omnes eos tales tunc fuisse, vel plures. Non ita est: alioquin vera non essent quae ipse item scribit, ea quae commemoravi in secundo libro hujus operis (Cap. 18), ubi dicit, injurias validiorum, et ob eas discessionem plebis a patribus, aliasque dissensiones domi fuisse jam inde a principio, neque amplius aequo et modesto jure actum, quam expulsis regibus, quam diu metus a Tarquinio fuit, donec bellum grave, quod propter ipsum cum Etruria susceptum fuerat, finiretur: postea vero servili imperio patres exercuisse plebem, regio more verberasse, agro pepulisse, et, caeteris expertibus, solos egisse in imperio; quarum discordiarum, dum illi dominari vellent, illi servire nollent, finem fuisse bellum Punicum secundum : quia rursus gravis metus coepit urgere, atque ab illis perturbationibus, alia majore cura cohibere animos inquietos, et ad concordiam revocare civilem. Sed per quosdam paucos, qui pro suo modo boni erant, magna administrabantur, atque, illis toleratis ac temperatis malis, paucorum bonorum providentia res illa crescebat, sicut idem historicus dicit, multa sibi legenti et audienti, quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terra praeclara facinora fecerit, libuisse se attendere quae res maxime tanta negotia sustinuisset;

5. But since in that memory there were two Romans great in virtue, Caesar and Cato, the virtue of Cato seems to have been much nearer to the truth than that of Caesar. Accordingly, let us see what the city was like at that time, and what it had been before, in the very sentence of Cato: "Do not," he says, "think that our ancestors made the republic great from small by arms. If it were so, we should have it much more beautiful. For indeed we have a greater supply of allies and citizens, and besides of arms and horses, than they had. But there were other things which made them great, which are nothing to us; industry at home, a just empire abroad, a mind free in consulting, obnoxious neither to crime nor to lust. Instead of these we have luxury and avarice, publicly poverty, privately opulence: we praise riches, we follow sloth: there is no distinction between the good and the evil; ambition possesses all the rewards of virtue. Nor is it strange: since you each separately take counsel for yourselves, since at home you are slaves to pleasures, here to money or favor, hence it happens that an attack is made upon an empty republic (Sallust, In Catil., c. 52).

6. He who hears these words of Cato or of Sallust, thinks that such as the ancient Romans are praised, all of them were then such, or at least many. It is not so: otherwise those things would not be true which he himself likewise writes, those which I commemorated in the second book of this work (Cap. 18), where he says that the injuries of the more powerful, and because of them the secession of the plebs from the fathers, and other dissensions were at home even from the beginning, nor was it acted with equal and modest law more than after the kings were expelled, as long as there was fear of Tarquin, until the grave war, which had been undertaken because of him with Etruria, was finished: but that afterwards the fathers exercised the plebs with servile empire, scourged them in royal fashion, drove them from the field, and, others being excluded, they alone acted in the empire; of which discords, while the former wished to dominate and the latter were unwilling to serve, the end was the second Punic war: because again a grave fear began to urge, and to restrain restless minds from those perturbations by another greater care, and to recall them to civil concord. But by some few, who were good according to their own mode, great things were administered, and, those evils being tolerated and tempered, that state increased by the providence of a few good men, as the same historian says, that to him reading and hearing many things, what illustrious deeds the Roman people performed at home and in service, by sea and by land, it pleased him to attend to what thing especially had sustained such great business;

quoniam sciebat saepenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse Romanos, cognoverat parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; sibique multa agitanti constare dixit, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse, eoque factum ut divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sea postquam luxu atque desidia, inquit, civitas corrupta est, rursus respublica magnitudine sui imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat. Paucorum igitur virtus ad gloriam, honorem, imperium, vera via, id est virtute ipsa, nitentium, etiam a Catone laudata est. Hinc erit domi industria, quam commemoravit Cato, ut aerarium esset opulentum, tenues res privatae. Unde corruptis moribus vitium e contrario posuit, publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam.

## Caput XIII.

*De amore laudis, qui cum sit vitium, ob hoc virtus putatur, quia per ipsum vitia majora cohibentur.*

Quamobrem cum diu fuissent regna Orientis illustria , voluit Deus et occidentale fieri, quod tempore esset posterius, sed imperii latitudine et magnitudine illustrius. Idque talibus potissimum concessit hominibus ad domanda gravia mala multarum gentium, qui causa honoris, laudis et gloriae consuluerunt patriae, in qua ipsam gloriam requirebant, salutemque ejus saluti suae praeponere non dubitaverunt, pro isto uno vitio, id est amore laudis, pecuniae cupiditatem et multa alia vitia comprimentes. [XIII.] Nam sanius videt, qui et amorem laudis vitium esse cognoscit: quod nec poetam fugit Horatium, qui ait: Laudis amore tumes, sunt certa piacula quae te Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello. (Epistolarum lib. 1, epist. 1, vers. 36, 37.) Idemque in carmine lyrico, ad reprimendam dominandi libidinem ita cecinit: Latius regnes avidum domando Spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis Gadibus jungas, et uterque Poenus Serviat uni (Carmin. lib. 2, carm. 2, vers. 9-12.) Verumtamen qui libidines turpiores, fide pietatis impetrato Spiritu sancto, et amore intelligibilis pulchritudinis non refrenant, melius saltem cupiditate humanae laudis et gloriae, non quidem jam sancti, sed minus turpes sunt. Etiam Tullius hinc dissimulare non potuit , in eisdem libris quos de Republica scripsit, ubi loquitur de instituendo principe civitatis, quem dicit alendum esse gloria; et consequenter commemorat majores suos multa mira atque praeclara gloriae cupiditate fecisse.

since he knew that the Romans had often contended with a small hand against great legions of enemies, he had known that wars were waged with small forces against opulent kings; and he said that to him agitating many things it was clear that the egregious virtue of a few citizens had performed all things, and hence it happened that poverty overcame riches, and paucity multitude. But after the city was corrupted by luxury and sloth, he says, "again the republic by its own magnitude sustained the vices of generals and magistrates." The virtue of a few, therefore, striving towards glory, honor, and empire by the true way, that is by virtue itself, was praised even by Cato. Hence will be the industry at home, which Cato commemorated, so that the treasury might be opulent, and private means slender. Whence, with corrupted manners, he placed the opposite vice, publicly poverty, privately opulence.

## Chapter XIII.

*Of the love of praise, which, though it be a vice, is for this reason thought a virtue, because by it greater vices are restrained.*

Wherefore, since the kingdoms of the East had been long illustrious, God willed that there should also be one in the West, which in time should be later, but more illustrious in the breadth and magnitude of its empire. And He granted this especially to such men for taming the grave evils of many nations, who for the cause of honor, praise, and glory consulted for their country, in which they sought that very glory, and did not hesitate to prefer its safety to their own safety, suppressing the desire for money and many other vices for this one vice, that is, the love of praise. [XIII.] For he sees more soundly, who also recognizes the love of praise to be a vice: which did not escape the poet Horace, who says: "Thou swellest with the love of praise; there are certain expiations which will be able to restore thee, the little book having been read purely thrice" (Epistles, lib. 1, ep. 1, vers. 36, 37). And the same in a lyric poem, for reprimanding the lust of dominating, sang thus: "Thou wouldst reign more widely by taming a greedy spirit, than if thou shouldst join Libya to remote Gades, and both Carthaginians should serve one" (Odes, lib. 2, ode 2, vers. 9-12). Nevertheless, those who do not refrain from viler lusts by the faith of piety, having obtained the Holy Spirit and the love of intelligible beauty, are at least less vile by the desire for human praise and glory, though not indeed already holy. Even Tully here could not dissemble, in those same books which he wrote concerning the Republic, where he speaks of instituting the prince of a city, whom he says ought to be nourished by glory; and consequently he commemorates that his ancestors performed many marvelous and illustrious things from the desire for glory.

Huic ergo vitio non solum non resistebant, verum etiam id excitandum et accendendum esse censebant, putantes hoc utile esse reipublicae. Quanquam nec in ipsis philosophiae libris Tullius ab hac peste dissimulet, ubi eam luce clarius confitetur. Cum enim de studiis talibus loqueretur, quae utique sectanda sunt fine veri boni, non ventositate laudis humanae, hanc intulit universalem generalemque sententiam: Honos alit artes omnesque accenduntur ad studia gloria, jacentque ea semper quae apud quosque improbantur (Tuscul. Quaest. lib. 1, cap. 2).

## Caput XIV.

*De resecando amore laudis humanae, quoniam justorum gloria omnis in Deo sit.*

Huic igitur cupiditati melius resistitur sine dubitatione, quam ceditur. Tanto enim quisque est Deo similior, quanto est ab hac immunditia mundior. Quae in hac vita etsi non funditus eradicatur ex corde, quia etiam bene proficientes animos tentare non cessat; saltem cupiditas gloriae superetur dilectione justitiae : ut si alicubi jacent, quae apud quosque improbantur, si bona, si recta sunt, etiam ipse amor humanae laudis erubescat, et cedat amori veritatis. Tam enim est hoc vitium inimicum piae fidei, si major in corde sit cupiditas gloriae quam Dei timor vel amor, ut Dominus diceret, Quomodo potestis credere, gloriam ab invicem exspectantes, et gloriam quae a solo Deo est non quaerentes (Joan. V, 44)? Item de quibusdam, qui in eum crediderant, et verebantur palam confiteri, ait Evangelista: Dilexerunt gloriam hominum magis quam Dei (Id. XII, 43). Quod sancti Apostoli non fecerunt: qui cum in his locis praedicarent Christi nomen, ubi non solum improbabatur (sicut ille ait, Jacentque ea semper, quae apud quosque improbantur),) verum etiam summae detestationis habebatur; tenentes quod audierant a bono Magistro eodemque medico mentium, Si quis me negaverit coram hominibus, negabo eum coram Patre meo, qui in coelis est, et coram Angelis Dei (Matth. X, 33; Luc. XII, 9); inter maledicta et opprobria, inter gravissimas persecutiones crudelesque poenas non sunt deterriti a praedicatione salutis humanae tanto fremitu offensionis humanae. Et quod eos divina facientes atque dicentes divineque viventes, debellatis quodammodo cordibus duris, atque introducta pace justitiae, ingens in Ecclesia Christi gloria consecuta est; non in ea tanquam in suae virtutis fine quieverunt: sed eam quoque ipsam ad Dei gloriam referentes, cujus gratia tales erant, isto quoque fomite eos, quibus consulebant, ad amorem illius, a quo et ipsi tales fierent, accendebant.

To this vice, therefore, they not only did not resist, but even thought that it should be excited and kindled, thinking this useful to the republic. Although even in those books of philosophy Tully does not dissemble from this pest, where he confesses it clearer than light. For when he was speaking of such studies, which surely are to be followed for the end of the true good, not for the windiness of human praise, he brought in this universal and general sentence: "Honor nourishes the arts, and all are kindled to studies by glory, and those things always lie low which are disapproved among any people" (Tuscul. Quaest., lib. 1, cap. 2).

## Chapter XIV.

*Of cutting back the love of human praise, since all the glory of the just is in God.*

To this desire, therefore, it is better resisted without doubt, than yielded. For each one is so much more similar to God, as he is cleaner from this uncleanness. Which in this life although it be not fundamentally eradicated from the heart, because it does not cease to tempt even minds proficient in good; at least let the desire for glory be overcome by the love of justice: so that if anywhere those things lie low which are disapproved among any people, if they are good, if they are right, let even the love of human praise itself be ashamed, and yield to the love of truth. For so much is this vice inimical to pious faith, if there be a greater desire for glory in the heart than fear or love of God, as the Lord said, "How can ye believe, who expect glory from one another, and seek not the glory which is from God alone?" (John 5:44). Likewise concerning some, who had believed in Him, and feared to confess openly, the Evangelist says: "They loved the glory of men more than of God" (John 12:43). Which the holy Apostles did not: who, when they were preaching the name of Christ in those places where it was not only disapproved (as he says, "and those things always lie low which are disapproved among any people"), but was even held in the highest detestation; holding what they had heard from the good Master and the same physician of minds, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father who is in heaven, and before the Angels of God" (Matt. 10:33; Luke 12:9); among maledictions and reproaches, among the gravest persecutions and cruel punishments, they were not deterred from the preaching of human salvation by so great a din of human offense. And because an immense glory followed them in the Church of Christ as they were doing and saying divine things and living divinely, hard hearts being in a manner subdued and the peace of justice introduced; they did not rest in it as in the end of their virtue: but referring even that itself to the glory of God, by whose grace they were such, they kindled also by that fuel those for whom they consulted to the love of Him, by whom they themselves also should become such.

Namque ne propter humanam gloriam boni essent, docuerat eos Magister illorum, dicens: Cavete facere justitiam vestram coram hominibus, ut videamini ab eis; alioquin mercedem non habebitis apud Patrem vestrum, qui in coelis est (Matth. VI, 1). Sed rursus ne hoc perverse intelligentes hominibus placere metuerent, minusque prodessent latendo quod boni sunt, demonstrans quo fine innotescere deberent, Luceant, inquit, opera vestra coram hominibus, ut videant bona facta vestra, et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in coelis est (Id. V, 16). Non ergo, ut videamini ab eis, id est hac intentione ut eos ad vos converti velitis, quia non per vos aliquid estis: sed ut glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in coelis est, ad quem conversi fiant quod estis . Hos secuti sunt martyres, qui Scaevolas, et Curtios, et Decios, non sibi inferendo poenas, sed illatas ferendo, et virtute vera, quoniam vera pietate, et innumerabili multitudine superarunt. Sed cum illi essent in civitate terrena, quibus propositus erat omnium pro illa officiorum finis, incolumitas ejus, et regnum non in coelo, sed in terra; non in vita aeterna; sed in decessione morientium et successione morituroum: quid aliud amarent quam gloriam, qua volebant etiam post mortem tanquam vivere in ore laudantium?

## Caput XV.

*De mercede temporali, quam Deus reddidit bonis moribus Romanorum.*

Quibus ergo non erat Deus daturus vitam aeternam cum sanctis Angelis suis in civitate sua coelesti, ad cujus societatem pietas vera perducit, quae non exhibet servitutem religionis, quam λατρείαν Graeci vocant, nisi uni vero Deo; si neque hanc eis terrenam gloriam excellentissimi imperii concederet, non redderetur merces bonis artibus eorum, id est virtutibus, quibus ad tantam gloriam pervenire nitebantur. De talibus enim, qui propter hoc boni aliquid facere videntur, ut glorificentur ab hominibus, etiam Dominus ait, Amen dico vobis, perceperunt mercedem suam (Matth. VI, 2). Sic et isti privatas res suas pro re communi, hoc est republica, et pro ejus aerario contempserunt, avaritiae restiterunt, consuluerunt patriae consilio libero; neque delicto secundum suas leges, neque libidini obnoxii: his omnibus artibus tanquam vera via nisi sunt ad honores, imperium, gloriam: honorati sunt in omnibus fere gentibus; imperii sui leges imposuerunt multis gentibus; hodieque litteris et historia gloriosi sunt pene in omnibus gentibus. Non est quod de summi et veri Dei justitia conquerantur: perceperunt mercedem suam.

For lest they should be good on account of human glory, their Master had taught them, saying: "Take heed that ye do not your justice before men, to be seen of them; otherwise ye shall have no reward with your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 6:1). But again, lest understanding this perversely they should fear to please men, and profit less by hiding that they are good, demonstrating for what end they ought to become known, "Let your light," He says, "so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 5:16). Not therefore, "to be seen of them," that is with this intention that you should wish them to be converted to you, because you are not anything by yourselves: but "that they may glorify your Father who is in heaven," converted to whom they may become what you are. These the martyrs followed, who surpassed the Scaevolas, and Curtii, and Decii, not by bringing punishments upon themselves, but by bearing those brought upon them, and by true virtue, since by true piety, and in an innumerable multitude. But since they were in an earthly city, to whom the end of all duties for it was proposed, its safety, and a kingdom not in heaven, but on earth; not in eternal life, but in the departure of the dying and the succession of those who are to die: what else should they love than glory, by which they wished even after death as it were to live in the mouth of those praising them?

## Chapter XV.

*Of the temporal reward which God rendered to the good manners of the Romans.*

To those, therefore, to whom God was not to give eternal life with His holy Angels in His celestial city, to the society of which true piety leads, which exhibits the servitude of religion, which the Greeks call latreia, to none but the one true God; if He did not grant to them also this earthly glory of a most excellent empire, the reward would not be rendered to their good arts, that is, to the virtues by which they strived to arrive at so great glory. For concerning such, who are seen to do something good for this purpose, that they may be glorified by men, the Lord also says, "Verily I say unto you, they have received their reward" (Matt. 6:2). Thus also these contemned their private affairs for the common affair, that is the republic, and for its treasury, they resisted avarice, they consulted for their country with free counsel; being obnoxious neither to crime according to their laws, nor to lust: by all these arts as by a true way they strived for honors, empire, glory: they have been honored in almost all nations; they imposed the laws of their empire upon many nations; and today they are glorious in letters and history among almost all nations. There is no reason why they should complain of the justice of the supreme and true God: "they have received their reward."

## Caput XVI.

*De mercede sanctorum civium civitatis aeternae, quibus utilia sunt Romanorum exempla virtutum.*

Merces autem sanctorum longe alia est etiam hic opprobria sustinentium pro civitate Dei, quae mundi hujus dilectoribus odiosa est. Illa civitas sempiterna est: ibi nullus oritur, quia nullus moritur: ibi est vera et plena felicitas, non dea, sed donum Dei: inde fidei pignus accepimus, quamdiu peregrinantes ejus pulchritudini suspiramus: ibi non oritur sol super bonos et malos (Matth. V, 45), sed sol justitiae solos protegit bonos: ibi non erit magna industria, ditare aerarium publicum privatis rebus angustis, ubi thesaurus communis est veritatis. Proinde non solum ut talis merces talibus hominibus redderetur, Romanum imperium ad humanam gloriam dilatatum est; verum etiam ut cives aeternae illius civitatis, quamdiu hic peregrinantur (II Cor. V, 6.), diligenter et sobrie illa intueantur exempla, et videant quanta dilectio debeatur supernae patriae propter vitam aeternam, si tantum a suis civibus terrena dilecta est propter hominum gloriam.

## Caput XVII.

*Quo fructu Romani bella gesserint, et quantum his quos vicere, contulerint.*

1. Quantum enim pertinet ad hanc vita mortalium, quae paucis diebus ducitur et finitur, quid interest sub cujus imperio vivat homo moriturus, si illi qui imperant, ad impia et iniqua non cogant? Aut vero aliquid nocuerunt Romani gentibus, quibus subjugatis imposuerunt leges suas, nisi quia id factum est ingenti strage bellorum? Quod si concorditer fieret, idipsum fieret meliore successu: sed nulla esset gloria triumphantium. Neque enim et Romani non vivebant sub legibus suis, quas caeteris imponebant. Hoc si fieret sine Marte et Bellona , ut nec victoria locum haberet, nemine vincente ubi nemo pugnaverat, nonne Romanis et caeteris gentibus una esset eademque conditio? praesertim si mox fieret, quod postea gratissime atque humanissime factum est, ut omnes ad Romanum imperium pertinentes societatem acciperent civitatis et Romani cives essent; ac sic esset omnium, quod erat ante paucorum: tantum, quod plebs illa, quae suos agros non haberet, de publico viveret: qui pastus ejus per bonos administratores reipublicae gratius a concordibus praestaretur, quam victis extorqueretur.

## Chapter XVI.

*Of the reward of the holy citizens of the eternal city, to whom the examples of the virtues of the Romans are useful.*

But the reward of the saints is far other, even of those sustaining reproaches here for the city of God, which is odious to the lovers of this world. That city is everlasting: there no one is born, because no one dies: there is true and full happiness, not a goddess, but a gift of God: thence we have received the pledge of faith, as long as, sojourning, we sigh for its beauty: there the sun does not rise over the good and the evil (Matt. 5:45), but the sun of justice protects the good alone: there there will be no great industry, to enrich the public treasury with narrow private means, where the common treasury is of truth. Accordingly, not only that such a reward should be rendered to such men was the Roman empire dilated to human glory; but also that the citizens of that eternal city, as long as they are sojourning here (2 Cor. 5:6), should diligently and soberly intuit those examples, and see how much love is owed to the supernal country on account of eternal life, if the earthly was so much loved by its citizens on account of the glory of men.

## Chapter XVII.

*With what fruit the Romans waged wars, and how much they conferred upon those whom they conquered.*

1. For as much as pertains to this life of mortals, which is led and finished in a few days, what does it matter under whose empire a man about to die lives, if those who command do not force him to impious and iniquitous things? Or did the Romans indeed harm in anything the nations to whom, having been subjugated, they imposed their laws, except because that was done with a huge slaughter of wars? Which if it were done harmoniously, that same thing would be done with better success: but there would be no glory of those triumphing. For neither did the Romans not live under their own laws, which they imposed upon the rest. If this were done without Mars and Bellona, so that neither victory should have a place, no one conquering where no one had fought, would there not be one and the same condition for the Romans and the other nations? especially if that were soon done which was afterwards most gratefully and humanely done, that all pertaining to the Roman empire should receive the society of the city and be Roman citizens; and thus that should be of all which was before of a few: only that that plebs, which did not have its own fields, should live from the public: which feeding of it would be more gratefully provided by harmonious people through good administrators of the republic, than extorted from the conquered.

2. Nam quid intersit ad incolumitatem bonosque mores, ipsas certe hominum dignitates, quod alii vicerunt, alii victi sunt, omnino non video, praeter illum gloriae humanae inanissimum fastum, in quo perceperunt mercedem suam, qui ejus ingenti cupidine arserunt, et ardentia bella gesserunt. Numquid enim illorum agri tributa non solvunt? numquid eis licet discere, quod aliis non licet? numquid non multi senatores sunt in aliis terris, qui Romam ne facie quidem norunt ? Tolle jactantiam, et omnes homines quid sunt nisi homines? Quod si perversitas saeculi admitteret, ut honoratiores essent quique meliores; nec sic pro magno habereri debuit honor humanus, quia nullius est ponderis fumus. Sed utamur etiam in his rebus beneficio Domini Dei nostri: consideremus quanta contempserint, quae pertulerint, quas cupiditates subegerint pro humana gloria, qui eam tanquam mercedem talium virtutum accipere meruerunt: et valeat nobis etiam hoc ad opprimendam superbiam; ut cum illa civitas, in qua nobis regnare promissum est, tantum ab hac distet, quantum distat coelum a terra, a temporali laetitia vita aeterna, ab inanibus laudibus solida gloria, a societate mortalium societas Angelorum, a lumine solis et lunae lumen ejus qui fecit solem et lunam, nihil sibi magnum fecisse videantur tantae patriae cives, si pro illa adipiscenda fecerint boni operis aliquid, vel mala aliqua sustinuerint; cum illi pro hac terrena jam adepta tanta fecerint, tanta perpessi sint. Praesertim quia remissio peccatorum, quae cives ad aeternam colligit patriam, habet aliquid, cui per umbram quamdam simile fuit asylum illud Romuleum, quo multitudinem, qua illa civitas conderetur, quorumlibet delictorum congregavit impunitas.

CAPUT XVIII.---Quam alieni a jactantia esse debeant Christiani, si aliquid fecerint pro dilectione aeternae patriae, cum tanta Romani gesserint pro humana gloria et civitate terrena.

1. Quid ergo magnum est pro illa aeterna coelestique patria, cuncta saeculi hujus quamlibet jucunda blandimenta contemnere, si pro hac temporali atque terrena filios Brutus potuit et occidere , quod illa facere neminem cogit? Sed certe difficilius est filios interimere, quam quod pro ista faciendum est, ea quae filiis congreganda videbantur atque servanda, vel donare pauperibus, vel, si existat tentatio quae id pro fide atque justitia fieri compellat, amittere.

2. For what it matters to safety and good manners, certainly the very dignities of men, that some conquered and others were conquered, I do not see at all, except that most empty pride of human glory, in which they received their reward, who burned with a huge desire for it and waged ardent wars. For do their fields not pay tributes? is it permitted to them to learn what is not permitted to others? are there not many senators in other lands who do not even know Rome by face? Take away boasting, and what are all men but men? Which if the perversity of the age admitted, that those who were better should be more honored; not even so ought human honor to be held as great, because it is smoke of no weight. But let us use also in these things the benefit of the Lord our God: let us consider how great things they contemned, what things they bore, what desires they subdued for human glory, who merited to receive it as the reward of such virtues: and let this also avail us for overwhelming pride; so that when that city, in which it is promised to us to reign, differs as much from this one as heaven differs from earth, eternal life from temporal joy, solid glory from empty praises, the society of Angels from the society of mortals, the light of Him who made the sun and moon from the light of the sun and moon, the citizens of so great a country should seem to have done nothing great for themselves, if for the sake of attaining it they have performed something of a good work, or sustained some evils; since the former performed such great things, and suffered such great things, for this earthly one already attained. Especially because the remission of sins, which collects citizens to the eternal country, has something to which that asylum of Romulus was similar through a certain shadow, in which the impunity of whatever crimes gathered the multitude by which that city should be founded.

CHAPTER XVIII.---How far from boasting Christians ought to be, if they have performed anything for the love of the eternal country, when the Romans performed such great things for human glory and an earthly city.

1. What great thing, therefore, is it for that eternal and celestial country, to contemn all the allurements of this age, however pleasant, if for this temporal and earthly one Brutus was able even to kill his sons, which that other city forces no one to do? But certainly it is more difficult to kill sons than that which is to be performed for the former, either to give to the poor those things which seemed to be gathered and kept for sons, or, if a temptation should exist which compels that to be done for faith and justice, to lose them.

Felilices enim vel nos vel filios nostros non divitiae terrenae faciunt, aut nobis viventibus amittendae, aut, nobis mortuis, a quibus nescimus, vel forte a quibus nolumus, possidendae: sed Deus felices facit, qui est mentium vera opulentia. Bruto autem, quia filios occidit, infelicitatis perhibet testimonium etiam poeta laudator. Ait enim: Natosque pater nova bella moventes Ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit, Infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores Sed versu sequenti consolatus est infelicem Vincit amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido. (Aeneid. lib. 6, vers. 820-823.) Haec sunt duo illa, libertas et cupiditas laudis humanae, quae ad facta compulere miranda Romanos. Si ergo pro libertate morituroruм et cupiditate laudum, quae a mortalibus expetuntur, occidi filii a patre potuerunt; quid magnum est, si pro vera libertate, quae nos ab iniquitatis et mortis et diaboli dominatu liberos facit, nec cupiditate humanarum laudum, sed charitate liberandorum hominum, non a Tarquinio rege, sed a daemonibus et daemonum principe, non filii occiduntur, sed Christi pauperes inter filios computantur?

2. Si alius etiam Romanus princeps, cognomine Torquatus, filium, non quia contra patriam, sed etiam pro patria, tamen quia contra imperium suum, id est contra quod imperaverat pater imperator, ab hoste provocatus juvenili ardore pugnaverat, licet vicisset, occidit; ne plus mali esset in exemplo imperii contempti, quam boni in gloria hostis occisi: utquid se jactent, qui pro immortalis patriae legibus omnia, quae multo minus quam filii diliguntur, bona terrena contemnunt? Si Furius Camillus etiam ingratam patriam, a cujus cervicibus acerrimorum hostium Veientium jugum depulerat, damnatusque ab aemulis fuerat, a Gallis iterum liberavit, quia non habebat potiorem ubi posset vivere gloriosus: cur extollatur velut grande aliquid fecerit, qui forte in Ecclesia ab inimicis carnalibus gravissimam exhonorationis passus injuriam, non se ad ejus hostes haereticos transtulit, aut aliquam contra illam ipse haeresim condidit, sed eam potius quantum valuit ab haereticorum perniciosissima pravitate defendit; cum alia non sit, non ubi vivatur in hominum gloria, sed ubi vita acquiratur aeterna? Si Mucius, ut cum Porsenna rege pax fieret, qui gravissimo bello Romanos premebat, quia Porsennam ipsum occidere non potuit, et pro eo alterum deceptus occidit, in ardentem aram ante oculos ejus dexteram extendit, dicens multos tales, qualem illum videret, in ejus exitium conjurasse; cujus ille fortitudinem et conjurationem talium perhorrescens, sine ulla dilatione se ab illo bello facta pace compescuit: quis regno coelorum imputaturus est merita sua, si pro illo non unam manum, neque hoc sibi ultro faciens, sed persequente aliquo patiens, totum flammis corpus impenderit?

For neither do earthly riches make either us or our sons happy, being either to be lost while we live, or, after we are dead, to be possessed by those we know not, or perhaps by those we wish not: but God makes happy, who is the true opulence of minds. Concerning Brutus, however, because he killed his sons, even a praising poet gives testimony of unhappiness. For he says: "And the father shall call to punishment his sons stirring up new wars for the sake of beautiful liberty, unhappy, however posterity shall bear those deeds." But in the following verse he consoled the unhappy man: "The love of country and an immense desire for praises overcomes" (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 6, vers. 820-823). These are those two things, liberty and the desire for human praise, which compelled the Romans to marvelous deeds. If therefore for the liberty of those about to die and the desire for praises, which are sought from mortals, sons could be killed by a father; what great thing is it, if for true liberty, which makes us free from the dominion of iniquity and death and the devil, and not from the desire for human praises, but from the charity of liberating men, not from King Tarquin, but from demons and the prince of demons, sons are not killed, but the poor of Christ are counted among sons?

2. If another Roman leader also, surnamed Torquatus, killed his son—not because he acted against his country, but even for his country, yet because he acted against his own command, that is, against what his father the general had commanded—when, provoked by the enemy, he had fought with youthful ardor, even though he had conquered; lest there be more evil in the example of a command despised than good in the glory of an enemy slain: why should they boast of themselves, who for the laws of an immortal country contemn all earthly goods, which are loved much less than sons? If Furius Camillus, even after being condemned by his rivals, delivered from the Gauls that ungrateful country from whose neck he had driven the yoke of the most fierce enemies, the Veientes, because he had no better place where he could live gloriously: why should he be extolled as if he had done something great, who perhaps having suffered in the Church a most grave injury of dishonor from carnal enemies, did not transfer himself to its heretical enemies, or himself found some heresy against it, but rather defended it as much as he was able from the most pernicious depravity of heretics; since there is no other place, not where one may live in the glory of men, but where eternal life may be acquired? If Mucius, that peace might be made with King Porsenna, who was pressing the Romans with a most grave war, because he could not kill Porsenna himself, and deceived killed another in his place, extended his right hand into a burning altar before his eyes, saying that many such as he saw him to be had conspired for his destruction; at whose fortitude and the conspiracy of such men he, trembling with fear, without any delay restrained himself from that war, peace having been made: who is to impute his merits to the kingdom of heaven, if for its sake he should spend not one hand, and this not doing of his own accord to himself, but suffering it at the hands of some persecutor, his whole body in the flames?

Si Curtius armatus equo concito in abruptum hiatum terrae se praecipitem dedit, deorum suorum oraculis serviens, quoniam jusserant ut illuc id, quod Romani haberent optimum, mitteretur, nec aliud intelligere potuerunt, quam viris armisque se excellere, unde videlicet oportebat ut deorum jussis in illum interitum vir praecipitaretur armatus: quid se magnum pro aeterna patria fecisse dicturus est, qui aliquem fidei suae passus inimicum, non se ultro in talem mortem mittens, sed ab illo missus obierit; quandoquidem a Domino suo eodemque rege patriae suae certius oraculum accepit, Nolite timere eos qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere (Matth. X, 28)? Si se occidendos certis verbis quodammodo consecrantes Decii devoverunt, ut illis cadentibus et iram deorum sanguine suo placantibus Romanus liberaretur exercitus; nullo modo superbient sancti martyres tanquam dignum aliquid pro illius patriae participatione fecerint, ubi aeterna est et vera felicitas, si usque ad sui sanguinis effusionem, non solum suos fratres pro quibus fundebatur, verum et ipsos inimicos, a quibus fundebatur, sicut eis praeceptum est, diligentes, charitatis fide et fidei charitate certarunt? Si Marcus Pulvillus dedicans aedem Jovis, Junonis, Minervae, falso sibi ab invidis morte filii nuntiata, ut illo nuntio perturbatus abscederet, atque ita dedicationis gloriam collega ejus consequeretur, ita contempsit, ut eum etiam projici insepultum juberet; et sic in ejus corde orbitatis dolorem gloriae cupiditas vicerat: quid magnum se pro Evangelii sancti praedicatione, qua cives supernae patriae de diversis liberantur et colliguntur erroribus, fecisse dicturus est, cui Dominus de sepultura patris sui sollicito ait, Sequere me, et sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos (Id. VIII, 22)? Si M. Regulus, ne crudelissimos hostes jurando falleret, ad eos ab ipsa Roma reversus est, quoniam, sicut Romanis eum tenere volentibus respondisse fertur, posteaquam Afris servierat, dignitatem illic honesti civis habere non posset; eumque Carthaginenses, quoniam contra eos in Romano senatu egerat, gravissimis suppliciis necaverunt: qui cruciatus non sunt pro fide illius patriae contemnendi, ad cujus beatitudinem fides ipsa perducit? aut quid retribuetur Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit (Psal. CXV, 12), si pro fide quae illi debetur talia fuerit homo passus, qualia pro fide quam perniciosissimis inimicis debebat passus est Regulus?

If Curtius, armed and on a swift horse, gave himself headlong into a deep hiatus of the earth, serving the oracles of his gods, since they had ordered that whatever the Romans had that was best should be sent thither, nor could they understand anything else than that they excelled in men and arms, whence forsooth it was fitting that at the commands of the gods an armed man should be precipitated into that destruction: what great thing will he say he has done for the eternal country, who having suffered some enemy of his faith, not sending himself of his own accord into such a death, but sent by him, shall have died; since indeed he received from his Lord and the same King of his country a more certain oracle, "Fear not those who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul" (Matt. X, 28)? If the Decii, as it were consecrating themselves with certain words to be killed, devoted themselves, that by their falling and by their appeasing the wrath of the gods with their own blood the Roman army might be delivered; in no way will the holy martyrs be proud as if they have done something worthy for the participation of that country, where there is eternal and true happiness, if even to the shedding of their own blood, loving not only their brothers for whom it was shed, but even those very enemies by whom it was shed, as it was commanded them, they have contended by the faith of charity and the charity of faith? If Marcus Pulvillus, dedicating the temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, when the death of his son was falsely announced to him by envious men, that being perturbed by that news he might withdraw, and so his colleague might obtain the glory of the dedication, so contemned it that he even ordered him to be cast out unburied; and thus in his heart the desire for glory had overcome the grief of bereavement: what great thing will he say he has done for the preaching of the holy Gospel, by which the citizens of the supernal country are delivered and gathered from diverse errors, to whom the Lord says, being solicitous about the burial of his father, "Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead" (Id. VIII, 22)? If M. Regulus, lest he should deceive most cruel enemies by swearing, returned to them from Rome itself, since, as he is reported to have answered the Romans wishing to hold him back, after he had served the Africans, he could not have the dignity of an honorable citizen there; and the Carthaginians, because he had acted against them in the Roman senate, killed him with most grave torments: what tortures are not to be contemned for the faith of that country, to whose beatitude faith itself leads? or "what shall be rendered to the Lord for all that he has rendered" (Ps. CXV, 12), if for the faith which is owed to Him a man shall have suffered such things as Regulus suffered for the faith which he owed to most pernicious enemies?

Quomodo autem se audebit extollere de voluntaria paupertate christianus, ut in hujus vitae peregrinatione expeditior ambulet viam, quae perducit ad patriam, ubi verae divitiae ipse Deus est, cum audiat vel legat L. Valerium, qui in suo defunctus est consulatu, usque adeo fuisse pauperem, ut nummis a populo collatis ejus sepultura curaretur? audiat vel legat Quintium Cincinnatum, cum quatuor jugera possideret, et ea suis manibus coleret, ab aratro esse abductum, ut dictator fieret, major utique honore quam consul; victisque hostibus ingentem gloriam consecutum in eadem paupertate mansisse? Aut quid se magnum fecisse praedicabit, quod nullo praemio mundi hujus fuerit ab aeternae illius patriae societate seductus, cum Fabricium didicerit tantis muneribus Pyrrhi, regis Epirotarum, promissa etiam quarta parte regni, a Romana civitate non potuisse divelli, ibique in sua paupertate privatum manere maluisse? Nam illud quod rempublicam, id est rem populi, rem patriae, rem communem, cum haberent opulentissimam atque ditissimam, sic ipsi in suis domibus pauperes erant, ut quidam eorum, qui jam bis consul fuisset, ex illo senatu pauperum hominum pelleretur notatione censoria, quod decem pondo argenti in vasis habere compertus est; ita iidem ipsi pauperes erant, quorum triumphis publicum ditabatur aerarium: nonne omnes Christiani, qui excellentiore proposito divitias suas communes faciunt, secundum id quod scriptum est in Actibus Apostolorum, ut distribuatur unicuique, sicut cuique opus est; et nemo dicat aliquid proprium, sed sint illis omnia communia (Act. II, 45; et IV, 32); intelligunt se nulla ob hoc ventilari oportere jactantia, id faciendo pro obtinenda societate Angelorum, cum pene tale aliquid illi fecerint pro conservanda gloria Romanorum?

3. Haec et alia, si qua hujuscemodi reperiuntur in litteris corum, quando sic innotescerent, quando tanta fama praedicarentur, nisi Romanum imperium longe lateque porrectum, magnificis successibus augeretur? Proinde per illud imperium tam latum tamque diuturnum, virorumque tantorum virtutibus praeclarum atque gloriosum, et illorum intentioni merces quam quaerebant est reddita, et nobis proposita necessariae commonitionis exempla: ut si virtutes, quarum istae utcumque sunt similes, quas isti pro civitatis terrenae gloria tenuerunt, pro Dei gloriosissima civitate non tenuerimus, pudore pungamur; si tenuerimus, superbia non extollamur: quoniam, sicut dicit Apostolus, indignae sunt passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam, quae revelabitur in nobis (Rom. VIII, 18). Ad humanam vero gloriam praesentisque temporis satis digna vita aestimabatur illorum.

How, moreover, will a Christian dare to extol himself concerning voluntary poverty, that in the pilgrimage of this life he may walk more expeditiously the way which leads to the country where God Himself is true riches, when he hears or reads that L. Valerius, who died in his consulship, was so poor that his burial was provided for by coins collected from the people? let him hear or read that Quintius Cincinnatus, when he possessed four acres and cultivated them with his own hands, was taken from the plow that he might become dictator, an honor certainly greater than that of consul; and having obtained great glory by conquering the enemies, remained in the same poverty? Or what great thing will he proclaim he has done, because he was seduced by no reward of this world from the society of that eternal country, when he shall have learned that Fabricius could not be torn away from the Roman state by so great gifts of Pyrrhus, king of the Epirotes, even with the promise of a fourth part of the kingdom, and preferred to remain there as a private man in his poverty? For as to that fact that while they had a most opulent and wealthy republic, that is, the property of the people, the property of the country, the common property, they themselves were so poor in their own houses that one of them, who had already been twice consul, was expelled from that senate of poor men by censorial notation because he was found to have ten pounds of silver in vessels; thus those same men were poor by whose triumphs the public treasury was enriched: do not all Christians, who with a more excellent purpose make their riches common, according to that which is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that "it was distributed to each as each had need," and "no one said anything was his own, but all things were common to them" (Acts II, 45; and IV, 32); understand that they ought to be tossed by no boasting on this account, doing this for the obtaining of the society of the Angels, when those men did almost such a thing for preserving the glory of the Romans?

3. These and other things, if any of this kind are found in their writings, when would they have become so known, when would they have been proclaimed with such great fame, unless the Roman Empire, stretched far and wide, were increased by magnificent successes? Therefore, through that empire so wide and so long-lasting, and illustrious and glorious by the virtues of such great men, both the reward which they sought was rendered to their intention, and examples of necessary admonition are proposed to us: that if we have not held the virtues, to which those are in some way similar, which they held for the glory of the earthly city, for the most glorious city of God, we may be pricked by shame; if we have held them, we may not be extolled by pride: since, as the Apostle says, "the sufferings of this time are unworthy of the future glory which shall be revealed in us" (Rom. VIII, 18). But for human glory and of the present time, their life was estimated to be sufficiently worthy.

Unde etiam Judaei, qui Christum occiderunt, revelante Testamento Novo, quod in Vetere velatum fuit, ut non pro terrenis et temporalibus beneficis, quae divina providentia permixte bonis malisque concedit, sed pro aeterna vita muneribusque perpetuis et ipsius supernae civitatis societate colatur Deus unus et verus, rectissime istorum gloriae donati sunt; ut hi qui qualibuscumque virtutibus terrenam gloriam quaesierunt et acquisiverunt, vincerent eos qui magnis vitiis datorem verae gloriae et civitatis aeternae occiderunt atque respuerunt.

## Caput XIX.

*Quo inter se differant cupiditas gloriae, et cupiditas dominationis.*

Interest sane inter cupiditatem humanae gloriae, et cupiditatem dominationis. Nam licet proclive sit, ut qui humana gloria nimium delectatur, etiam dominari ardenter affectet; tamen qui veram licet humanarum laudum gloriam concupiscunt, dant operam bene judicantibus non displicere. Sunt enim multa in moribus bona, de quibus multi bene judicant, quamvis ea multi non habeant: per ea bona morum nituntur ad gloriam et imperium vel dominationem, de quibus ait Sallustius, Sed ille vera via nititur. Quisquis autem sine cupiditate gloriae, qua veretur homo bene judicantibus displicere, dominari atque imperare desiderat, etiam per a pertissima scelera quaerit plerumque obtinere quod diligit. Proinde qui gloriam concupiscit, aut vera via nititur, aut certe dolis atque fallaciis contendit, volens bonus videri esse, quod non est (Sallust. in Catil.). Et ideo virtutes habenti magna virtus est contemnere gloriam; quia contemptus ejus in conspectu Dei est, judicio autem non aperitur humano. Quidquid enim fecerit ad oculos hominum, quo gloriae contemptor appareat, ad majorem laudem, hoc est ad majorem gloriam, facere si credatur, non est unde se suspicantium sensibus aliter esse, quam suspicantur, ostendat. Sed qui contemnit judicia laudantium, contemnit etiam suspicantium temeritatem: quorum tamen, si vere bonus est, non contemnit salutem; quoniam tantae justitiae est qui de Spiritu Dei virtutes habet, ut etiam ipsos diligat inimicos; et ita diligat, ut suos osores vel detractores velit correctos habere consortes; non in terrena patria, sed superna: in laudatoribus autem suis quamvis parvipendat quod cum laudant, non tamen parvipendit quod amant; nec eos vult fallere laudantes, ne decipiat diligentes: ideoque instat ardenter, ut potius ille laudetur, a quo habet homo quidquid in eo jure laudatur. Qui autem contemptor gloriae, dominationis est avidus, bestias superat sive crudelitatis vitiis, sive luxuriae. Tales quidam Romani fuerunt: non enim, cura existimationis amissa, dominationis cupiditate caruerunt.

Whence also the Jews, who killed Christ, the New Testament revealing what was veiled in the Old, that the one and true God might be worshipped, not for earthly and temporal benefits, which divine providence grants mixedly to the good and the evil, but for eternal life and perpetual gifts and the society of the supernal city itself, were most rightly given over to the glory of those men; that those who by whatever virtues sought and acquired earthly glory, might overcome those who by great vices killed and rejected the giver of true glory and of the eternal city.

## Chapter XIX.

*Of the difference between the desire for glory and the desire for domination.*

There is indeed a difference between the desire for human glory and the desire for domination. For although it is easy for one who is excessively delighted by human glory to also ardently affect to dominate; yet those who desire the true glory, though of human praises, take care not to displease those who judge well. For there are many good things in morals, concerning which many judge well, although many do not possess them: through those good things of morals they strive for glory and command or domination, concerning which Sallust says, "But he strives by the true way." Whoever, however, without the desire for glory, by which a man fears to displease those who judge well, desires to dominate and command, seeks for the most part to obtain what he loves even through most open crimes. Therefore, he who desires glory either strives by the true way, or certainly contends by deceits and fallacies, wishing to seem to be good, which he is not (Sallust in Catil.). And therefore for one possessing virtues it is a great virtue to contemn glory; because the contempt of it is in the sight of God, but is not open to human judgment. For whatever he shall have done before the eyes of men, by which he may appear a contemnor of glory, if it be believed that he does it for greater praise, that is, for greater glory, there is no way for him to show to the senses of those suspecting that it is otherwise than they suspect. But he who contemns the judgments of those praising, contemns also the temerity of those suspecting: whose salvation, however, if he is truly good, he does not contemn; since he who has virtues from the Spirit of God is of such great justice that he loves even his enemies; and so loves them that he wishes to have his haters or detractors as corrected associates; not in an earthly country, but a supernal one: in those praising him, however, although he may value little that they praise him, yet he does not value little that they love; nor does he wish to deceive those praising him, lest he should deceive those who love: and therefore he insists ardently that He rather may be praised, from whom a man has whatever is justly praised in him. But he who, being a contemnor of glory, is greedy for domination, surpasses the beasts either in the vices of cruelty or of luxury. Such certain Romans were: for they did not, having lost the care for reputation, lack the desire for domination.

Multos tales fuisse, prodit historia: sed hujus vitii summitatem et quasi arcem quamdam Nero Caesar primus obtinuit; cujus fuit tanta luxuries, ut nihil ab eo putaretur virile metuendum; tanta crudelitas, ut nihil molle habere crederetur, si nesciretur. Etiam talibus tamen dominandi potestas non datur nisi summi Dei providentia, quando res humanas judicat talibus dominis dignas. Aperta de hac re vox divina est, loquente Dei sapientia: Per me reges regnant, et tyranni per me tenent terram (Prov. VIII, 15). Sed ne tyranni non pessimi atque improbi reges, sed vetere nomine fortes dicti existimentur, unde ait Virgilius, Pars mihi pacis erit, dextram tetigisse tyranni: (Aeneid. lib. 7, vers. 266.) apertissime alio loco de Deo dictum est, Qui regnare facit hominem hypocritam propter perversitatem populi (Job XXXIV, 30). Quamobrem, quamvis, ut potui, satis exposuerim qua causa Deus unus verus et justus Romanos secundum quamdam formam terrenae civitatis bonos adjuverit ad tanti imperii gloriam consequendam: potest tamen et alia causa esse latentior, propter diversa merita generis humani, Deo magis nota quam nobis; dum illud constet inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem sine vera pietate, id est veri Dei vero cultu, veram posse habere virtutem; nec eam veram esse, quando gloriae servit humanae. Eos tamen qui cives non sint civitatis aeternae, quae in sacris Litteris nostris dicitur civitas Dei (Psal. XLV, 5; et XLVII, 3 et 9, etc.), utiliores esse terrenae civitati, quando habent virtutem vel ipsam, quam si nec ipsam. Illi autem qui vera pietate praediti bene vivunt, si habent scientiam regendi populos, nihil est felicius rebus humanis, quam si Deo miserante habeant potestatem. Tales autem homines virtutes suas, quantascumque in hac vita possunt habere, non tribuunt nisi gratiae Dei, quod eas volentibus, credentibus, petentibus dederit; simulque intelligunt, quantum sibi desit ad perfectionem justitiae, qualis est in illorum sanctorum Angelorum societate, cui se nituntur aptare. Quantumlibet autem laudetur atque praedicetur virtus, quae sine vera pietate servit hominum gloriae, nequaquam sanctorum exiguis initiis comparanda est, quorum spes posita est in gratia et misericordia veri Dei.

## Caput XX.

*Tam turpiter servire virtutes humanae gloriae, quam corporis voluptati.*

History reveals that many such existed: but Nero Caesar first obtained the summit and, as it were, a certain citadel of this vice; whose luxury was so great that nothing manly was thought to be feared from him; his cruelty so great that nothing soft was believed to be in him, if it were not known. Yet even to such the power of dominating is not given except by the providence of the most high God, when He judges human affairs worthy of such masters. The divine voice is open concerning this matter, the wisdom of God speaking: "Through me kings reign, and tyrants through me hold the earth" (Prov. VIII, 15). But lest tyrants should be thought not to be the worst and most wicked kings, but called strong by an old name, whence Virgil says, "A part of peace to me will be to have touched the right hand of the tyrant" (Aeneid, lib. 7, vers. 266): most openly in another place it is said of God, "Who makes a hypocrite man to reign on account of the perversity of the people" (Job XXXIV, 30). Wherefore, although I have sufficiently explained, as I was able, for what cause the one true and just God helped the Romans, good according to a certain form of an earthly city, to obtain the glory of so great an empire: there can, however, be another more latent cause, on account of the diverse merits of the human race, better known to God than to us; while it is certain among all truly pious men, that no one without true piety, that is, the true worship of the true God, can have true virtue; nor is it true virtue when it serves human glory. Those, however, who are not citizens of the eternal city, which in our sacred Scriptures is called the City of God (Ps. XLV, 5; and XLVII, 3 and 9, etc.), are more useful to the earthly city when they have even that virtue itself, than if they had not even that. Those, moreover, who endowed with true piety live well, if they have the science of ruling peoples, nothing is more happy for human affairs than if they should have power by the mercy of God. Such men, however, do not attribute their virtues, however many they are able to have in this life, except to the grace of God, because He has given them to those willing, believing, and asking; and at the same time they understand how much is lacking to them for the perfection of justice, such as is in the society of those holy Angels, to which they strive to adapt themselves. However much, moreover, that virtue is praised and proclaimed, which without true piety serves the glory of men, it is by no means to be compared to the small beginnings of the saints, whose hope is placed in the grace and mercy of the true God.

## Chapter XX.

*That human virtues serve human glory as basely as they serve the pleasure of the body.*

Solent philosophi, qui finem boni humani in ipsa virtute constituunt, ad ingerendum pudorem quibusdam philosophis, qui virtutes quidem probant, sed eas voluptatis corporalis fine metiuntur, et illam per se ipsam putant appetendam, istas propter ipsam, tabulam quamdam verbis pingere, ubi voluptas in sella regali quasi delicata quaedam regina considat; eique virtutes famulae subjiciantur, observantes ejus nutum, ut faciant quod illa imperaverit: quae prudentiae jubeat, ut vigilanter inquirat, quomodo voluptas regnet, et salva sit; justitiae jubeat, ut praestet beneficia quae potest ad comparandas amicitias corporalibus commodis necessarias; nulli faciat injuriam, ne offensis legibus voluptas vivere secura non possit; fortitudini jubeat, ut, si dolor corpori acciderit, qui non compellat in mortem, teneat dominam suam, id est voluptatem, fortiter in animi cogitatione, ut per pristinarum deliciarum suarum recordationem mitiget praesentis doloris aculeos; temperantiae jubeat, ut tantum capiat alimentorum, et, si qua delectant, ne per immoderationem noxium aliquid valetudinem turbet, et voluptas, quam etiam in corporis sanitate Epicurei maximam ponunt, graviter offendatur. Ita virtutes cum tota suae gloriae dignitate tanquam imperiosae cuidam et inhonestae mulierculae servient voluptati. Nihil hac pictura dicunt esse ignominiosius et deformius, et quod minus ferre bonorum possit aspectus: et verum dicunt. Sed non existimo satis debiti decoris esse picturam, si etiam talis fingatur, ubi virtutes humanae gloriae serviant. Licet enim ista gloria delicata mulier non sit, inflata tamen est, et multum inanitatis habet. Unde non ei digne servit soliditas quaedam firmitasque virtutum, ut nihil provideat prudentia, nihil distribuat justitia, nihil toleret fortitudo, nihil temperantia moderetur, nisi unde placeatur hominibus et ventosae gloriae serviatur. Nec illi se ab ista foeditate defenderint, qui, cum aliena spernant judicia velut gloriae contemptores, sibi sapientes videntur et sibi placent. Nam eorum virtus, si tamen ulla est, alio modo quodam humanae subditur laudi: neque enim ipse qui sibi placet, homo non est. Qui autem vera pietate in Deum, quem diligit, credit et sperat, plus intendit in ea, in quibus sibi displicet, quam in ea, si qua in illo sunt, quae non tam ipsi quam veritati placent: neque id tribuit, unde jam potest placere, nisi ejus misericordiae, cui metuit displicere; de his sanatis gratias agens, de illis sanandis preces fundens.

The philosophers who constitute the end of human good in virtue itself, are accustomed, for the purpose of bringing shame upon certain philosophers who indeed approve of the virtues but measure them by the end of bodily pleasure, and think that that is to be sought for its own sake, but the virtues on account of it, to paint as it were a certain picture in words, where pleasure sits on a royal throne like some delicate queen; and to her the virtues are subjected as handmaids, observing her nod, that they may do what she has commanded: who commands prudence that she may vigilantly inquire how pleasure may reign and be safe; she commands justice that she may provide whatever benefits she can for acquiring friendships necessary for bodily advantages; that she may do injury to no one, lest by offending the laws pleasure should not be able to live secure; she commands fortitude that, if pain should happen to the body, which does not compel unto death, she may hold her mistress, that is, pleasure, strongly in the thought of the mind, that through the recollection of her former delights she may mitigate the stings of present pain; she commands temperance that she may take only so much of food, and if there are any things that delight, lest through immoderation any harmful thing should disturb the health, and pleasure, which the Epicureans place as the greatest even in the health of the body, should be gravely offended. Thus the virtues with all the dignity of their glory will serve pleasure as if some imperious and dishonorable little woman. They say that nothing is more ignominious and deformed than this picture, and which the sight of good men could less bear: and they say the truth. But I do not think the picture is of sufficient becoming decorum, if it be also so imagined where human virtues serve human glory. For although that glory is not a delicate woman, yet it is inflated, and has much of vanity. Whence a certain solidity and firmness of the virtues does not worthily serve it, so that prudence provides nothing, justice distributes nothing, fortitude tolerates nothing, temperance moderates nothing, except whence men may be pleased and a windy glory may be served. Nor will they have defended themselves from this foulness who, while they spurn the judgments of others as if contemnors of glory, seem wise to themselves and please themselves. For their virtue, if indeed there is any, is in another certain way subjected to human praise: for he who pleases himself is not a man who is not a man. But he who by true piety believes and hopes in God, whom he loves, intends more those things in which he displeases himself, than those, if there are any in him, which please not so much himself as the truth: nor does he attribute that whence he is already able to please, except to His mercy, whom he fears to displease; giving thanks for those things healed, pouring out prayers for those to be healed.

## Caput XXI.

*Romanum regnum a Deo vero esse dispositum, a quo est omnis potestas, et cujus providentia reguntur universa.*

Quae cum ita sint, non tribuamus dandi regni atque imperii potestatem, nisi Deo vero, qui dat felicitatem in regno coelorum solis piis; regnum vero terrenum et piis et impiis, sicut ei placet, cui nihil injuste placet. Quamvis enim aliquid dixerimus, quod apertum nobis esse voluit; tamen multum est ad nos, et valde superat vires nostras, hominum occulta discutere, et liquido examine merita dijudicare regnorum. Ille igitur unus verus Deus, qui nec judicio, nec adjutorio deserit genus humanum, quando voluit, et quantum voluit, Romanis regnum dedit: qui dedit Assyriis, vel etiam Persis, a quibus solos duos deos coli, unum bonum, alterum malum continent litterae istorum: ut taceam de populo Hebraeo, de quo jam dixi, quantum satis visum est, qui praeter unum Deum non coluit et quando regnavit. Qui ergo Persis dedit segetes sine cultu deae Segetiae, qui alia dona terrarum sine cultu tot deorum, quos isti rebus singulis singulos, vel etiam rebus singulis plures praeposuerunt; ipse etiam regnum dedit sine cultu eorum, per quorum cultum se isti regnasse crediderunt. Sic etiam hominibus; qui Mario, ipse Caio Caesari; qui Augusto, ipse et Neroni; qui Vespasianis, vel patri vel filio, suavissimis imperatoribus, ipse et Domitiano crudelissimo: et ne per singulos ire necesse sit, qui Constantino christiano, ipse apostatae Juliano: cujus egregiam indolem decepit amore dominandi sacrilega et detestanda curiositas, cujus vanis deditus oraculis erat, quando fretus securitate victoryae, naves, quibus victus necessarius portabatur, incendit; deinde fervide instans immodicis ausibus, et mox merito temeritatis occisus, in locis hostilibus egenum reliquit exercitum, ut aliter inde non posset evadi, nisi contra illud auspicium dei Termini, de quo superiore libro diximus (Cap. 29), Romani imperii termini moverentur. Cessit enim Terminus deus necessitati, qui non cesserat Jovi. Haec plane Deus unus et verus regit et gubernat ut placet: et si occultis causis, numquid injustis?

## Caput XXII.

*Tempora exitusque bellorum ex Dei pendere judicio.*

## Chapter XXI.

*That the Roman kingdom was disposed by the true God, from whom is all power, and by whose providence all things are ruled.*

Since these things are so, let us not attribute the power of giving kingdom and empire except to the true God, who gives happiness in the kingdom of heaven to the pious alone; but an earthly kingdom to both the pious and the impious, as it pleases Him, to whom nothing pleases unjustly. For although we have said something which He wished to be open to us, yet it is much for us, and far surpasses our strength, to discuss the secrets of men, and to judge the merits of kingdoms by a clear examination. Therefore that one true God, who deserts the human race neither by judgment nor by aid, when He wished and as much as He wished, gave the kingdom to the Romans: who gave it to the Assyrians, or even to the Persians, by whom their writings contain that only two gods are worshipped, one good, the other evil: to say nothing of the Hebrew people, of whom I have already said as much as seemed sufficient, who worshipped none but the one God even when they reigned. He, therefore, who gave to the Persians harvests without the worship of the goddess Segetia, who gave other gifts of the lands without the worship of so many gods, whom those men set over single things, single ones, or even several over single things; He Himself also gave the kingdom without the worship of those through whose worship those men believed themselves to have reigned. So also to men; He who gave to Marius, He Himself gave to Gaius Caesar; He who gave to Augustus, He Himself gave also to Nero; He who gave to the Vespasians, either the father or the son, most pleasant emperors, He Himself gave also to Domitian, the most cruel: and lest it be necessary to go through single ones, He who gave to Constantine the Christian, He Himself gave to the apostate Julian: whose excellent character was deceived by a sacrilegious and detestable curiosity from the love of dominating, to whose vain oracles he was given over, when relying on the security of victory, he burned the ships by which necessary food was carried; then fervidly insisting on immoderate darings, and soon killed by the merit of his temerity, he left a needy army in hostile places, so that there was no other way of escape thence, unless against that auspice of the god Terminus, of which we spoke in the preceding book (Cap. 29), the boundaries of the Roman empire should be moved. For the god Terminus yielded to necessity, who had not yielded to Jupiter. Clearly the one and true God rules and governs these things as it pleases: and if for hidden causes, are they therefore unjust?

## Chapter XXII.

*That the times and issues of wars depend on the judgment of God.*

Sic etiam tempora ipsa bellorum, sicut in ejus arbitrio est justoque judicio et misericordia, vel atterere, vel consolari genus humanum, ut alia citius, alia tardius finiantur. Bellum Piratarum a Pompeio, bellum Punicum tertium a Scipione incredibili celeritate et temporis brevitate confecta sunt. Bellum quoque fugitivorum gladiatorum, quamvis multis Romanis ducibus et duobus consulibus victis, Italiaque horribiliter contrita atque vastata, tertio tamen anno post multa consumpta consumptum est. Picentes, Marsi et Peligni, gentes non exterae, sed Italicae, post diuturnam et devotissimam sub Romano jugo servitutem, in libertatem caput erigere tentaverunt, jam multis nationibus Romano imperio subjugatis, deletaque Carthagine: in quo bello Italico Romanis saepissime victis, ubi et duo consules perierunt, et alii nobilissimi senatores: non diuturno tamen tempore tractum est hoc malum; nam quintus ei annus finem dedit. Sed bellum Punicum secundum cum maximis detrimentis et calamitate reipublicae per annos decem et octo Romanas vires extenuavit, et pene consumpsit: duobus praeliis ferme septuaginta Romanorum millia ceciderunt. Bellum Punicum primum per viginti et tres annos peractum est: bellum Mithridaticum quadraginta annis. Ac ne quisquam arbitretur rudimenta Romanorum fuisse fortiora ad bella citius peragenda, superioribus temporibus, multum in omni virtute laudatis, bellum Samniticum annis tractum est ferme quinquaginta: in quo bello ita Romani victi sunt, ut sub jugum etiam mitterentur. Sed quia non diligebant gloriam propter justitiam, sed justitiam propter gloriam diligere videbantur, pacem factam foedusque ruperunt. Haec ideo commemoro, quoniam multi praeteritarum rerum ignari, quidam etiam dissimulatores suae scientiae, si temporibus christianis aliquod bellum paulo diutius trahi vident, illico in nostram religionem protervissime insiliunt, exclamantes, quod, si ipsa non esset, et vetere ritu numina colerentur, jam Romana illa virtute, quae adjuvante Marte et Bellona tanta celeriter bella confecit, id quoque celerrime finiretur. Recolant igitur qui legerunt quam diuturna bella, quam variis eventis, quam luctuosis cladibus a veteribus sint gesta Romanis, sicut solet orbis terrarum velut procellosissimum pelagus varia talium malorum tempestate jactari: et, quod nolunt, aliquando fateantur, nec insanis adversus Deum linguis se interimant, et decipiant imperitos.

## Caput XXIII.

*De bello in quo Rhadagaisus rex Gothorum, daemonum cultor, uno die cum ingentibus copiis suis victus est.*

So also the times themselves of wars, as it is in His arbitrament and just judgment and mercy, either to wear out or to console the human race, so that some are finished more quickly, others more slowly. The war of the Pirates by Pompey, the third Punic war by Scipio were concluded with incredible celerity and brevity of time. The war also of the fugitive gladiators, although many Roman leaders and two consuls were conquered, and Italy horribly worn down and wasted, yet in the third year after many things consumed was consumed. The Picentes, Marsi, and Peligni, nations not foreign, but Italian, after a long and most devoted servitude under the Roman yoke, attempted to raise their head unto liberty, when already many nations had been subjugated to the Roman empire, and Carthage destroyed: in which Italian war the Romans were very often conquered, where also two consuls perished, and other most noble senators: yet this evil was not protracted for a long time; for the fifth year gave an end to it. But the second Punic war with the greatest losses and calamity of the republic attenuated and almost consumed the Roman strength through eighteen years: in two battles nearly seventy thousand Romans fell. The first Punic war was carried on through twenty-three years: the Mithridatic war for forty years. And lest any one should think that the beginnings of the Romans were stronger for carrying on wars more quickly, in former times, much praised in all virtue, the Samnite war was protracted for nearly fifty years: in which war the Romans were so conquered that they were even sent under the yoke. But because they did not love glory on account of justice, but seemed to love justice on account of glory, they broke the peace and the treaty that had been made. These things I therefore commemorate, since many ignorant of past things, some even dissemblers of their own knowledge, if in Christian times they see any war protracted a little longer, immediately leap forth most petulantly against our religion, exclaiming that, if it were not itself, and the deities were worshipped in the old rite, already by that Roman virtue, which with the aid of Mars and Bellona concluded so many wars quickly, that also would be most quickly finished. Let them therefore recall who have read how long-lasting wars, with how varying events, with how mournful slaughters were carried on by the ancient Romans, just as the world is accustomed to be tossed like a most tempestuous sea by the varying storm of such evils: and let them at length confess what they are unwilling to, and not destroy themselves with insane tongues against God, and deceive the unskilful.

## Chapter XXIII.

*Concerning the war in which Rhadagaisus, king of the Goths, a worshipper of demons, was conquered in one day with his huge forces.*

Quod tamen nostra memoria recentissimo tempore Deus mirabiliter et misericorditer fecit, non cum gratiarum actione commemorant; sed quantum in ipsis est, omnium, si fieri potest, hominum oblivione sepelire conantur: quod a nobis si tacebitur, similiter erimus ingrati. Cum Rhadagaisus rex Gothorum agmine ingenti et immani jam in Urbis vicinia constitutus, Romanis cervicibus immineret, uno die tanta celeritate sic victus est, ut ne uno quidem, non dicam exstincto, sed vulnerato Romanorum, multo amplius quam centum millium prosterneretur ejus exercitus, atque ipse cum filiis mox captus poena debita necaretur. Nam si ille tam impius cum tantis et tam impiis copiis Romam fuisset ingressus, cui pepercisset? quibus honorem locis martyrum detulisset? in qua persona Deum timeret? cujus non sanguinem fusum, cujus pudicitiam vellet intactam? Quas autem isti pro diis suis voces haberent, quanta insultatione jactarent, quod ille ideo vicisset, ideo tanta potuisset, quia quotidianis sacrificiis placabat atque invitabat deos, quod Romanos facere christiana religio non sinebat? Nam propinquante jam illo his locis, ubi nutu summae majestatis oppressus est, cum ejus fama ubique crebresceret, nobis apud Carthaginem dicebatur, hoc credere, spargere, jactare Paganos, quod ille diis amicis protegentibus et opitulantibus, quibus immolare quotidie ferebatur, vinci omnino non posset ab eis, qui talia diis Romanis sacra non facerent, nec fieri a quoquam permitterent. Et non agunt miseri gratias tantae misericordiae Dei, qui, cum statuisset irruptione barbarica graviora pati dignos mores hominum castigare, indignationem suam tanta mansuetudine temperavit, ut illum primo faceret mirabiliter vinci, ne ad infirmorum animos evertendos gloria daretur daemonibus, quibus eum supplicare constabat; deinde ab his Barbaris Roma caperetur, qui contra omnem consuetudinem bellorum ante gestorum ad loca sancta confugientes christianae religionis reverentia tuerentur, ipsisque daemonibus atque impiorum sacrificiorum ritibus, de quibus ille praesumpserat, sic adversarentur pro nomine christiano, ut longe atrocius bellum cum eis quam cum hominibus gerere viderentur: ita verus Dominus gubernatorque rerum et Romanos cum misericordia flagellavit, et tam incredibiliter victis supplicatoribus daemonum, nec saluti rerum praesentium necessaria esse sacrificia illa monstravit; ut ab his, qui non pervicaciter contendunt, sed prudenter attendunt, nec propter praesentes necessitates religio vera deseratur, et magis aeternae vitae fidelissima exspectatione teneatur.

Yet that which in our memory God did wonderfully and mercifully in very recent time, they do not commemorate with thanksgiving; but as much as is in them, they endeavor to bury it in the oblivion of all men, if it can be done: which if it be kept silent by us, we shall be similarly ungrateful. When Rhadagaisus, king of the Goths, with a huge and immense army already stationed in the vicinity of the City, was imminent over Roman necks, in one day with such great celerity he was so conquered, that not even one of the Romans was, I do not say killed, but wounded, while much more than a hundred thousand of his army were prostrated, and he himself with his sons soon captured was killed with due punishment. For if that so impious man with so great and so impious forces had entered Rome, whom would he have spared? to what places of the martyrs would he have deferred honor? in what person would he fear God? whose blood would he not wish poured out, whose chastity would he wish intact? Moreover, what voices would those men have for their gods, with what great insultation would they boast, that he had therefore conquered, therefore had been able to do so much, because by daily sacrifices he was appeasing and inviting the gods, which the Christian religion did not permit the Romans to do? For when he was already approaching these places where he was oppressed by the nod of the supreme majesty, when his fame was increasing everywhere, it was said to us at Carthage that the Pagans believed, spread, and boasted, that he, his friend-gods protecting and helping him, to whom he was reported to sacrifice daily, could not be conquered at all by those who did not perform such sacrifices to the Roman gods, nor permitted them to be performed by any one. And the miserable men do not give thanks for so great mercy of God, who, when He had determined to chastise the manners of men worthy of suffering more grave things by a barbarian irruption, tempered His indignation with such great mildness, that He first caused him to be wonderfully conquered, lest for the overturning of the minds of the infirm glory should be given to the demons, to whom it was certain that he supplicated; then Rome was captured by those barbarians who, against all custom of wars previously carried on, flying to the holy places were protected by the reverence of the Christian religion, and were so opposed to the demons themselves and the rites of impious sacrifices, concerning which he had presumed, for the Christian name, that they seemed to carry on a far more atrocious war with them than with men: thus the true Lord and governor of things both scourged the Romans with mercy, and by the so incredibly conquered supplicators of demons, showed that those sacrifices are not necessary even for the safety of present things; so that by those who do not pertinaciously contend, but prudently attend, true religion may not be deserted on account of present necessities, and may rather be held by a most faithful expectation of eternal life.

## Caput XXIV.

*Quae sit christianorum imperatorum, et quam vera felicitas.*

Neque enim nos christianos quosdam imperatores ideo felices dicimus, quia vel diutius imperarunt, vel imperantes filios morte placida reliquerunt, vel hostes reipublicae domuerunt, vel inimicos cives adversus se insurgentes et cavere et opprimere potuerunt. Haec et alia vitae hujus aerumnosae vel munera, vel solatia, quidam etiam cultores daemonum accipere meruerunt, qui non pertinent ad regnum Dei, quo pertinent isti: et hoc ipsius misericordia factum est, ne ab illo ista, qui in eum crederent, velut summa bona desiderarent. Sed felices eos dicimus, si juste imperant, si inter linguas sublimiter honorantium et obsequia nimis humiliter salutantium non extolluntur, sed se homines esse meminerunt; si suam potestatem ad Dei cultum maxime dilatandum majestati ejus famulam faciunt; si Deum timent, diligunt, colunt; si plus amant illud regnum, ubi non timent habere consortes; si tardius vindicant, facile ignoscunt; si eamdem vindictam pro necessitate regendae tuendaeque reipublicae, non pro saturandis inimicitiarum odiis exserunt; si eamdem veniam non ad impunitatem iniquitatis, sed ad spem correctionis indulgent; si, quod aspere coguntur plerumque decernere, misericordiae lenitate et beneficiorum largitate compensant; si luxuria tanto eis est castigatior, quanto posset esse liberior; si malunt cupiditatibus pravis, quam quibuslibet gentibus imperare: et si haec omnia faciunt, non propter ardorem inanis gloriae, sed propter charitatem felicitatis aeternae; si pro suis peccatis, humilitatis et miserationis et orationis sacrificium Deo suo vero immolare non negligunt. Tales christianos imperatores dicimus esse felices interim spe, postea re ipsa futuros, cum id, quod exspectamus, advenerit.

## Caput XXV.

*De prosperitatibus, quas Constantino imperatori christiano Deus contulit.*

Nam bonus Deus, ne homines, qui eum crederent propter aeternam vitam colendum, has sublimitates et regna terrena existimarent possse neminem consequi, nisi daemonibus supplicet, quod hi spiritus in talibus multum valerent, Constantinum imperatorem non supplicantem daemonibus, sed ipsum verum Deum colentem, tantis terrenis implevit muneribus, quanta optare nullus auderet: cui etiam condere civitatem Romano imperio sociam, velut ipsius Romae filiam, sed sine aliquo daemonum templo simulacroque concessit.

## Chapter XXIV.

*What is the true happiness of Christian emperors.*

For neither do we say that certain Christian emperors are happy because they have either reigned longer, or when reigning have left sons by a peaceful death, or have subdued the enemies of the republic, or have been able both to beware of and to oppress the inimical citizens rising up against them. These and other gifts or solaces of this laborious life, even some worshippers of demons have deserved to receive, who do not belong to the kingdom of God, to which these belong: and this was done by His mercy, lest those who should believe in Him should desire these things as the supreme goods. But we say they are happy if they reign justly; if they are not extolled among the tongues of those sublimely honoring them and the services of those saluting them too humbly, but remember that they are men; if they make their power a handmaid to His majesty for the purpose of greatly extending the worship of God; if they fear, love, and worship God; if they love more that kingdom where they do not fear to have associates; if they are slow to punish, ready to forgive; if they exert the same punishment for the necessity of ruling and protecting the republic, not for satisfying the hatreds of enmities; if they indulge the same pardon not for the impunity of iniquity, but for the hope of correction; if, what they are often compelled to decree harshly, they compensate with the mildness of mercy and the largess of benefits; if luxury is so much more restrained by them as it could be more free; if they prefer to rule over evil desires than over any nations whatever: and if they do all these things, not on account of the ardor of empty glory, but on account of the charity of eternal happiness; if they do not neglect to immolate to their true God the sacrifice of humility and of commiseration and of prayer for their sins. Such Christian emperors we say are happy in the meantime in hope, and afterwards to be so in reality, when that which we expect shall have arrived.

## Chapter XXV.

*Of the prosperities which God conferred on Constantine the Christian emperor.*

For the good God, lest men who believed that He was to be worshipped on account of eternal life, should think that these sublimities and earthly kingdoms could be attained by no one unless he supplicated the demons, because those spirits could do much in such things, filled the emperor Constantine, not supplicating demons, but worshipping the true God Himself, with such great earthly gifts as no one would dare to wish for: to whom He even granted to found a city as an associate to the Roman empire, as if the daughter of Rome herself, but without any temple or idol of demons.

Diu imperavit, universum orbem Romanum unus Augustus tenuit et defendit; in administrandis et gerendis bellis victoriosissimus fuit; in tyrannis opprimendis per omnia prosperatus est; grandaevus aegritudine et senectute defunctus est; filios imperantes reliquit. Sed rursus ne imperator quisquam ideo christianus esset, ut felicitatem Constantini mereretur, cum propter vitam aeternam quisque debeat esse christianus; Jovianum multo citius quam Julianum abstulit; Gratianum ferro tyrannico permisit interimi; longe quidem mitius, quam Magnum Pompeium, colentem velut Romanos deos. Nam ille vindicari a Catone non potuit, quem civilio belli quodammodo haeredem reliquerat: iste autem, quamvis piae animae solatia talia non requirant, a Theodosio vindicatus est, quem regni participem fecerat, cum parvulum haberet fratrem; avidior fidae societatis, quam nimiae potestatis.

## Caput XXVI.

*De fide et pietate Theodosii Augusti.*

1. Unde et ille non solum vivo servavit quam debebat fidem, verum etiam post ejus mortem pulsum ab ejus interfectore Maximo Valentinianum, ejus parvulum fratrem, in sui partes imperii tanquam christianus excepit pupillum, paterno custodivit affectu, quem destitutum omnibus opibus nullo negotio posset auferre, si latius regnandi cupiditate magis quam bene faciendi charitate flagraret: unde potius eum, servata ejus imperatoria dignitate susceptum, ipsa humanitate et gratia consolatus est. Deinde cum Maximum terribilem faceret ille successus, hic in angustiis curarum suarum non est lapsus ad curiositates sacrilegas atque illicitas, sed ad Joannem in Aegypti eremo constitutum, quem Dei servum prophetandi spiritu praeditum fama crebrescente didicerat, misit; atque ab eo nuntium victoriae certissimum accepit. Mox tyranni Maximi exstinctor Valentinianum puerum imperii sui partibus, unde fugatus fuerat, cum misericordissima veneratione restituit: eoque sive per insidias, sive quo alio pacto vel casu proxime exstincto, alium tyrannum Eugenium, qui in illius imperatoris locum non legitime fuerat subrogatus, accepto rursus prophetico responso, fide certus oppressit, contra cujus robustissimum exercitum magis orando, quam feriendo pugnavit.

He reigned long, alone as one Augustus he held and defended the whole Roman world; in administering and carrying on wars he was most victorious; in oppressing tyrants he prospered through all things; being very aged he died of sickness and old age; he left his sons reigning. But again, lest any emperor should be a Christian for this reason, that he might merit the happiness of Constantine, since every one ought to be a Christian on account of eternal life; He took away Jovian much more quickly than Julian; He permitted Gratian to be killed by the tyrannical sword; much more mildly indeed than Magnus Pompey, worshipping as it were the Roman gods. For he could not be vindicated by Cato, whom he had left as it were the heir of the civil war: but this one, although pious souls do not require such solaces, was vindicated by Theodosius, whom he had made a partner of the kingdom, when he had a very small brother; being more greedy of faithful society than of excessive power.

## Chapter XXVI.

*Of the faith and piety of Augustus Theodosius.*

1. Whence also he not only preserved the faith he owed while he was alive, but even after his death, when Valentinian, his little brother, was driven out by his slayer Maximus, he received him as a Christian ward into his own parts of the empire, and guarded him with paternal affection, whom, destitute of all resources, he could have removed with no trouble, if he had burned with the desire of reigning more widely rather than with the charity of doing well: whence rather he, having received him and preserved his imperial dignity, comforted him with that very humanity and grace. Then, when that success made Maximus terrible, he in the straits of his cares did not fall into sacrilegious and illicit curiosities, but sent to John, established in the desert of Egypt, whom he had learned by increasing fame to be a servant of God endowed with the spirit of prophesying; and from him he received a most certain message of victory. Soon, as the extinguisher of the tyrant Maximus, he restored the boy Valentinian with most merciful veneration to the parts of his empire from which he had been routed: and when he was extinguished shortly after, whether by snares or by some other agreement or accident, he oppressed another tyrant Eugenius, who had not legitimately been substituted in the place of that emperor, having again received a prophetic response, being certain in faith, against whose most robust army he fought more by praying than by striking.

Milites nobis, qui aderant, retulerunt, extorta sibi esse de manibus quaecumque jaculabantur, cum a Theodosii partibus in adversarios vehemens ventus iret, et non solum, quaecumque in eos jaciebantur, concitatissime raperet, verum etiam ipsorum tela in eorum corpora retorqueret. Unde et poeta Claudianus, quamvis a Christi nomine alienus, in ejus tamen laudibus dixit: O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris Aeolus armatas hiemes ; cui militat aether, Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti! (In Panegyrico de tertio Honorii consulatu, vers. 96-98.) Victor autem, sicut crediderat et praedixerat, Jovis simulacra, quae adversus eum fuerant nescio quibus ritibus velut consecrata, et in Alpibus constituta, deposuit: eorumque fulmina, quod aurea fuissent, jocantibus (quod illa laetitia permittebat) Cursoribus, et se ab eis fulminari velle dicentibus, hilariter benigneque donavit. Inimicorum suorum filios, quos non ipsius jussus, sed belli abstulerat impetus , etiam nondum christianos ad ecclesiam confugientes, christianos hac occasione fieri voluit, et christiana charitate dilexit; nec privavit rebus, et auxit honoribus. In neminem post victoriam privatas inimicitias valere permisit. Bella civilia, non sicut Cinna et Marius et Sylla et alii tales nec finita finire voluerunt, sed magis doluit exorta quam cuiquam nocere voluit terminata. Inter haec omnia ex ipso initio imperii sui non quievit justissimis et misericordissimis legibus adversus impios laboranti Ecclesiae subvenire, quam Valens haereticus favens Arianis vehementer afflixerat: cujus Ecclesiae se membrum esse magis quam in terris regnare gaudebat. Simulacra Gentilium ubique evertenda praecepit, satis intelligens nec terrena munera in daemoniorum, sed in Dei veri esse posita potestate. Quid autem fuit ejus religiosa humilitate mirabilius, quando in Thessalonicensium gravissimum scelus, cui jam, episcopis intercedentibus, promiserat indulgentiam, tumultu quorumdam, qui ei cohaerebant, vindicare compulsus est, et ecclesiastica coercitus disciplina, sic egit poenitentiam, ut imperatoriam celsitudinem pro illo populus orans magis fieret videndo prostratam, quam peccando timeret iratam? Haec ille secum, et si qua similia, quae commemorare longum est, bona opera tulit, ex isto temporali vapore cujuslibet culminis et sublimitatis humanae; quorum operum merces est aeterna felicitas, cujus dator est Deus solis veraciter piis. Caetera vero vitae hujus vel fastigia vel subsidia, sicut ipsum mundum, lucem, auras, terras, aquas, fructus, ipsiusque hominis animam, corpus, sensus, mentem, vitam, bonis malisque largitur: in quibus est etiam quaelibet imperii magnitudo, quam pro temporum gubernatione dispensat .

The soldiers who were present reported to us that whatever they were throwing was extorted from their hands, since a vehement wind went from the parts of the Theodosius against the adversaries, and not only snatched away whatever was thrown at them most excitedly, but even turned back their own weapons into their own bodies. Whence also the poet Claudian, although alienated from the name of Christ, yet said in his praises: O too much beloved of God, for whom Aeolus pours forth armed winters from his caves; for whom the ether fights, and the conspirator winds come to the trumpets! (In the Panegyric on the third consulship of Honorius, verses 96-98.) But as victor, as he had believed and foretold, he threw down the idols of Jupiter, which had been as it were consecrated by I know not what rites against him and established in the Alps: and their thunderbolts, because they had been of gold, he cheerfully and kindly gave to the Couriers who were joking (which that joy permitted) and saying that they wished to be struck by thunderbolts by them. The sons of his enemies, whom not his own command but the impetus of war had taken away, even while not yet Christians fleeing to the church, he wished to become Christians by this occasion, and loved with Christian charity; nor did he deprive them of their property, and he increased them with honors. He permitted private enmities to prevail against no one after victory. Civil wars, not as Cinna and Marius and Sulla and other such who did not wish to finish them even when finished, but he rather grieved that they had arisen than wished to harm anyone when terminated. Among all these things, from the very beginning of his empire, he did not rest from succoring with most just and most merciful laws the Church laboring against the impious, which the heretic Valens favoring the Arians had vehemently afflicted: in being a member of which Church he rejoiced more than in reigning on earth. He commanded the idols of the Gentiles to be overturned everywhere, understanding well enough that not even earthly gifts were placed in the power of demons, but in that of the true God. But what was more wonderful than his religious humility, when for the most grave crime of the Thessalonians, to which he had already promised indulgence through the intercession of the bishops, he was compelled to vindicate by the tumult of some who were clinging to him, and being restrained by ecclesiastical discipline, he so did penance that the people praying for that imperial height was made more by seeing it prostrated than they feared it angry by sinning? These good works he carried with him, and if there are any similar ones which it is long to commemorate, out of that temporal vapor of any human summit and sublimity; the reward of which works is eternal happiness, the giver of which is God to those truly pious alone. But the other heights or subsidies of this life, as the world itself, light, airs, lands, waters, fruits, and the soul, body, senses, mind, and life of man himself, He bestows on the good and the bad: among which is also any greatness of empire, which He dispenses for the government of the times.

2.---[XXVII.] Proinde jam etiam illis respondendum esse video, qui manifestissimis documentis, quibus ostenditur quod ad ista temporalia, quae sola stulti habere concupiscunt, nihil deorum falsorum numerositas prosit, confutati atque convicti conantur asserere, non propter vitae praesentis utilitatem, sed propter eam quae post mortem futura est, colendos deos. Nam istis qui propter amicitias mundi hujus volunt vana colere, et non se permitti puerilibus sensibus conqueruntur, his quinque libris satis arbitror esse responsum. Quorum tres priores cum edidissem, et in multorum manibus esse coepissent, audivi quosdam nescio quam adversus eos responsionem scribendo praeparare. Deinde ad me perlatum est, quod jam scripserint, sed tempus quaerant, quo sine periculo possint edere. Quos admoneo, non optent quod eis non expedit. Facile est enim cuiquam videri respondisse, qui tacere noluerit. Aut quid est loquacius vanitate? quae non ideo potest quod veritas, quia, si voluerit, etiam plus potest clamare quam veritas. Sed considerent omnia diligenter: et si forte, sine studio partium judicantes, talia esse perspexerint, quae potius exagitari quam convelli possint garrulitate impudentissima et quasi satirica vel mimica levitate, cohibeant suas nugas; et potius a prudentibus emendari, quam laudari ab imprudentibus eligant. Nam si non ad libertatem vera dicendi, sed ad licentiam maledicendi tempus exspectant, absit ut eis eveniat quod ait Tullius de quodam, qui peccandi licentia felix appellabatur: O miserum, cui peccare licebat ! Unde quisquis est, qui maledicendi licentia felicem se putat, multo erit felicior, si hoc illi omnino non liceat: cum possit deposita inanitate jactantiae etiam isto tempore, tanquam studio consulendi, quidquid voluerit, contradicere; et quantum possunt , ab eis, quos consulit amica disputatione, honeste, graviter, libere quod oportet audire.

2.---[XXVII.] Furthermore, I see that an answer must now also be given to those who, being refuted and convicted by the most manifest proofs by which it is shown that the multitude of false gods is of no use for those temporal things which fools alone desire to have, attempt to assert that the gods are to be worshipped not for the utility of the present life, but for that which is to come after death. For to those who wish to worship vanities on account of the friendships of this world, and complain that they are not permitted their childish senses, I think enough has been answered in these five books. When I had published the first three of these, and they had begun to be in the hands of many, I heard that some were preparing I know not what response in writing against them. Then it was brought to me that they have already written it, but are seeking a time when they can publish it without danger. I admonish them not to wish for what is not expedient for them. For it is easy for anyone who is unwilling to be silent to seem to have answered. Or what is more loquacious than vanity? which cannot do what truth can, because, if it wishes, it can even cry out more than truth. But let them consider all things diligently: and if perchance, judging without party zeal, they shall perceive that such things are as can rather be tossed about than torn up by most impudent talkativeness and as it were satirical or mimetic levity, let them restrain their trifles; and let them choose rather to be corrected by the prudent than to be praised by the imprudent. For if they are waiting for a time not for the liberty of speaking true things, but for the license of speaking evil, far be it that it should happen to them what Tullius says of a certain one who was called happy by the license of sinning: O wretched man, to whom it was permitted to sin! Whence whoever he is who thinks himself happy by the license of speaking evil, he will be much happier if this is not permitted to him at all: since, having laid aside the inanity of boasting, he can even at this time, as if with the desire of consulting, contradict whatever he wishes; and hear what is proper, honestly, gravely, and freely from those whom he consults in friendly disputation, as much as they are able.

# LIBER SEXTUS.

Hactenus contra eos qui propter hanc temporalem vitam colendos deos putant: nunc autem adversus eos qui cultum ipsis credunt propter vitam aeternam exhibendum: quos Augustinus libris quinque sequentibus confutaturus, ostendit hic in primis epinionem de diis quam abjectam habuerit ipsemet Varro theologiae gentilis scriptor commendatissimus. Affert theologiae istius genera secundum eumdem tria, fabulosum, naturale et civile: ac mox de fabuloso et de civili demonstrat, nihil haec genera ad futurae vitae felicitatem conferre.

## PRAEFATIO.

Quinque superioribus libris satis mihi adversus eos videor disputasse, qui multos deos et falsos, quos esse inutilia simulacra, vel immundos spiritus et perniciosa daemonia, vel certe creaturas, non Creatorem, veritas christiana convincit, propter vitae hujus mortalis rerumque terrenarum utilitatem, eo ritu ac servitute, quae graece λατρεία dicitur, et uni vero Deo debetur, venerandos et colendos putant. Et nimiae quidem stultitiae vel pertinaciae, nec istos quinque, nec ullos alios quanticumque numeri libros satis esse posse, quis nesciat? quando ea putatur gloria vanitatis, nullis cedere viribus veritatis; in perniciem utique ejus, cui vitium tam immane dominatur. Nam et contra omnem curantis industriam, non malo medici, sed aegroti insanabilis, morbus invictus est. Hi vero qui ea quae legunt, vel sine ulla, vel non cum magna ac nimia veteris erroris obstinatione, intellecta et considerata perpendunt, facilius nos isto numero terminatorum quinque voluminum plus, quam quaestionis ipsius necessitas postulabat, satisfecisse, quam minus disseruisse judicabunt; totamque invidiam, quam christianae religioni de hujus vitae cladibus terrenarumque contritione ac mutatione rerum imperiti facere conantur, non solum dissimulantibus, sed contra suam conscientiam faventibus etiam doctis, quos impietas vesana possedit, omnino esse inanem rectae cogitationis atque rationis, plenamque levissimae temeritatis et perniciosissimae animositatis, dubitare non poterunt.

# BOOK SIXTH.

Hitherto against those who think that the gods are to be worshipped for the sake of this temporal life: now, however, against those who believe that worship is to be exhibited to them for the sake of eternal life: whom Augustine, about to refute in the five following books, shows here first of all how abject an opinion of the gods Varro himself, the most commended writer of Gentile theology, held. He adduces, according to the same, three kinds of this theology, fabulous, natural, and civil: and soon demonstrates concerning the fabulous and the civil, that these kinds confer nothing to the happiness of the future life.

## PREFACE.

In the five preceding books, I think I have disputed enough against those who think that many gods and false ones—whom Christian truth convicts of being useless idols, or unclean spirits and pernicious demons, or certainly creatures, not the Creator—are to be venerated and worshipped for the utility of this mortal life and of earthly things, with that rite and service which in Greek is called latreia, and is owed to the one true God. And who does not know that neither these five, nor any other books of whatever number, can be enough for excessive folly or pertinacity? when that is thought to be the glory of vanity, to yield to no powers of truth; to the destruction, surely, of him whom so immense a vice dominates. For also against all the industry of the one curing, a disease is unvanquished, not by the fault of the physician, but of the incurable sick man. But those who weigh what they read, understood and considered either without any, or not with a great and excessive obstacy of old error, will more easily judge that we have satisfied them in this number of five volumes terminated, more than the necessity of the question itself demanded, than that we have discussed less; and they will not be able to doubt that the whole envy, which the unskillful attempt to bring upon the Christian religion concerning the calamities of this life and the attrition and mutation of earthly things—not only while the learned are dissembling, but even while they are favoring against their own conscience, whom a mad impiety has possessed—is altogether void of right thought and reason, and full of most light temerity and most pernicious animosity.

## Caput Primum.

*De his qui dicunt deos a se non propter praesentem vitam coli, sed propter aeternam.*

1. Nunc ergo quoniam deinceps, ut promissus ordo expetit, etiam hi refellendi et docendi sunt, qui non propter istam vitam, sed propter illam quae post mortem futura est, deos Gentium, quos christiana religio destruit, colendos esse contendunt; placet a veridico oraculo sancti Psalmi sumere exordium disputationis meae: Beatus cujus est Dominus Deus spes ipsius, et non respexit in vanitates et insanias mendaces (Psal. XXXIX, 5). Verumtamen in omnibus vanitatibus insaniisque mendacibus longe tolerabilius philosophi audiendi sunt, quibus displicuerunt istae opiniones erroresque populorum: qui populi constituerunt simulacra numinibus, multaque de eis, quos deos immortales vocant, falsa atque indigna sive finxerunt, sive ficta crediderunt, et credita eorum cultui sacrorumque ritibus miscuerunt. Cum his hominibus, qui, etsi non libere praedicando, saltem utcumque in disputationibus mussitando, talia se improbare testati sunt, non usque adeo inconvenienter quaestio ista tractatur: utrum non unum Deum, qui fecit omnem spiritualem corporalemque creaturam, propter vitam quae post mortem futura est, coli oporteat; sed multos deos, quos ab illo uno factos et sublimiter collocatos quidam eorumdem philosophorum caeteris excellentiores nobilioresque senserunt .

2. Caeterum quis ferat dici atque contendi, deos illos, quorum in quarto libro quosdam commemoravi (Capp. 11 et 21), quibus rerum exiguarum singulis singula distribuuntur officia, vitam aeternam cuiquam praestare? An vero illi peritissimi et acutissimi viri, qui se pro magno beneficio conscripta docuisse gloriantur, ut sciretur quare cuique deo supplicandum esset, quid a quoque esset petendum, ne absurditate turpissima, qualis joculariter in mimo fieri solet, peteretur a Libero aqua, a Lymphis vinum ; auctores erunt cuipiam hominum diis immortalibus supplicanti, ut cum a Lymphis petierit vinum, eique responderint, Nos aquam habemus, hoc a Libero pete; possit recte dicere, Si vinum non habetis, saltem date mihi vitam aeternam? Quid hac absurditate monstrosius ? Nonne illae cachinnantes (solent enim esse ad risum faciles ) si non affectent fallere ut daemones, supplici respondebunt, O homo, putasne in potestate nos habere vitam, quas audis non habere vel vitem? Impudentissimae igitur stultitiae est, vitam aeternam a talibus diis petere vel sperare, qui vitae hujus aerumnosissimae atque brevissimae, et si qua ad eam pertinent adminiculandam atque fulciendam, ita singulas particulas tueri asseruntur, ut si id quod sub alterius tutela ac potestate est, petatur ab altero, tam sit inconveniens et absurdum, ut mimicae scurrilitati videatur esse simillimum.

## Chapter First.

*Of those who say that the gods are worshipped by them not on account of the present life, but on account of the eternal.*

1. Now therefore, since henceforth, as the promised order requires, those also are to be refuted and taught who contend that the gods of the Gentiles, whom the Christian religion destroys, are to be worshipped not on account of this life, but on account of that which is to come after death; it pleases me to take the beginning of my disputation from the true oracle of the holy Psalm: Blessed is he whose hope is the Lord God, and who has not regarded vanities and lying follies (Psal. XXXIX, 5). Nevertheless, in all vanities and lying follies, the philosophers are to be heard far more tolerably, to whom those opinions and errors of the peoples were displeasing: which peoples established idols for deities, and either feigned or believed feigned things about those whom they call immortal gods, many things false and unworthy, and mixed believed things with their worship and the rites of their sacrifices. With these men, who, if not by preaching freely, at least in some way by muttering in disputations, have testified that they disapprove such things, this question is not so inconveniently treated: whether one God, who made every spiritual and corporal creature, ought not to be worshipped on account of the life which is to come after death; but many gods, whom some of the same philosophers, more excellent and noble than the rest, perceived to have been made by that one and sublimely placed.

2. But who can bear it to be said and contended, that those gods, some of whom I commemorated in the fourth book (Chapters 11 and 21), to each of whom single duties of small things are distributed, afford eternal life to anyone? Or indeed, will those most skillful and acute men, who boast that they have taught recorded things for a great benefit, so that it might be known for what each god was to be supplicated, what was to be sought from each, lest by a most foul absurdity, such as is wont to be done jocularly in a mime, water should be sought from Liber, wine from the Lymphae; be authors to any man supplicating the immortal gods, that when he has sought wine from the Lymphae, and they have answered him, We have water, seek this from Liber; he could rightly say, If you have not wine, at least give me eternal life? What is more monstrous than this absurdity? Will not those laughing ones (for they are wont to be easy to laughter) if they do not affect to deceive as demons, answer the suppliant, O man, do you think that we have life in our power, whom you hear not to have even a vine? It is therefore of most impudent folly to seek or hope for eternal life from such gods, who are asserted so to protect single particles of this most calamitous and shortest life, and whatever things pertain to aiding and supporting it, that if that which is under the protection and power of one be sought from another, it is so inconvenient and absurd that it seems most similar to mimetic scurrility.

Quod cum fit a scientibus mimis, digne ridentur in theatro; cum vero a nescientibus stultis, dignius irridentur in mundo. Cui ergo deo vel deae, propter quid supplicaretur, quantum ad illos deos attinet, quos instituerunt civitates, a doctis solerter inventum memoriaeque mandatum est; quid a Libero, verbi gratia, quid a Lymphis, quid a Vulcano, ac sic a caeteris, quos partim commemoravi in quarto libro, partim praetereundos putavi. Porro si a Cerere vinum, a Libero panem, a Vulcano aquam, a Lymphis ignem petere erroris est; quanto majoris deliramenti esse intelligi debet, si cuiquam istorum pro vita supplicetur aeterna?

3. Quamobrem, si, cum de regno terreno quaereremus, quosnam illud deos vel deas hominibus credendum esset posse conferre, discussis omnibus longe alienum a veritate monstratum est, a quoquam istorum multorum numinum atque falsorum saltem regna terrena existimare constituit: nonne insanissimae impietatis est, si aeterna vita, quae terrenis omnibus regnis sine ulla dubitatione vel comparatione praeferenda est, ab istorum quoquam dari cuiquam posse credatur? Neque enim propterea dii tales vel terrenum regnum dare non posse visi sunt, quia illi magni et excelsi sunt, hoc quiddam parvum et abjectum, quod non dignarentur in tanta sublimitate curare. Sed quantumlibet consideratione fragilitatis humanae caducos apices terreni regni merito quisque contemnat; illi dii tales apparuerunt, ut indignissimi viderentur, quibus danda atque servanda deberent vel ista committi. Ac per hoc, si (ut superiora proximis duobus libris pertractata docuerunt) nullus deus ex illa turba, vel quasi plebeiorum, vel quasi procerum deorum, idoneus est regna mortalia mortalibus dare, quanto minus potest immortales ex mortalibus facere?

4. Huc accedit quia, si jam cum illis agimus, qui non propter istam, sed propter vitam quae post mortem futura est, existimant colendos deos; jam nec propter illa saltem, quae deorum talium potestati tanquam dispartita et propria, non ratione veritatis, sed vanitatis opinione tribuuntur, omnino colendi sunt; sicut credunt hi qui cultum eorum vitae hujus mortalis utilitatibus necessarium esse contendunt: contra quos jam quinque praecedentibus voluminibus satis, quantum potui, disputavi. Quae cum ita sint, si eorum qui colerent deam Juventatem, aetas ipsa floreret insignius; contemptores autem ejus, vel intra annos occumberent juventutis, vel in ea tanquam senili torpore frigescerent: si malas cultorum suorum speciosius et festivius Fortuna barbata vestiret; a quibus autem sperneretur, glabros aut male barbatos videremus: etiam sic rectissime diceremus, huc usque istas deas singulas posse, suis officiis quodammodo limitatas ;

Which when it is done by skillful mimes, they are worthily laughed at in the theatre; but when by unskillful fools, they are more worthily mocked in the world. To what god or goddess, therefore, for what reason each should be supplicated, as far as pertains to those gods whom the cities instituted, was skillfully found by the learned and committed to memory; what from Liber, for example, what from the Lymphae, what from Vulcan, and so from the others, some of whom I commemorated in the fourth book, some of whom I thought should be passed over. Furthermore, if it is of error to seek wine from Ceres, bread from Liber, water from Vulcan, fire from the Lymphae; how much greater madness ought it to be understood to be, if eternal life be supplicated from any of these?

3. Wherefore, if, when we were seeking concerning the earthly kingdom, which of those gods or goddesses it was to be believed could confer it on men, it was shown, after all had been discussed, to be far from the truth that anyone should determine that even earthly kingdoms are to be esteemed from any of those many and false deities: is it not of the most insane impiety if eternal life, which without any doubt or comparison is to be preferred to all earthly kingdoms, should be believed to be able to be given to anyone by any of those? For neither for this reason did such gods seem not to be able to give even an earthly kingdom, because they are great and lofty, and this is something small and abject, which they would not deign to care for in so great sublimity. But however much anyone by consideration of human fragility may worthily despise the falling peaks of an earthly kingdom; those gods appeared such that they seemed most unworthy that even these things should be committed to them to be given and preserved. And through this, if (as the things treated in the two preceding books taught) no god from that crowd, either as it were of plebeian or as it were of noble gods, is fit to give mortal kingdoms to mortals, how much less can he make immortals out of mortals?

4. To this is added that, if now we deal with those who think the gods are to be worshipped not on account of this life, but on account of that which is to come after death; they are not at all to be worshipped even on account of those things which are attributed to the power of such gods as distributed and proper, not by reason of truth, but by the opinion of vanity; as those believe who contend that their worship is necessary for the utilities of this mortal life: against whom I have already disputed enough, as much as I was able, in the five preceding volumes. Which things being so, if the age itself of those who worshipped the goddess Juventas flourished more signily; but her despisers either fell within the years of youth, or in it grew cold as if with senile torpor: if the bearded Fortune clothed the cheeks of her worshippers more speciously and festively; but those by whom she was spurned we saw smooth or ill-bearded: even so we would most rightly say, that these single goddesses were able thus far, limited in a way by their duties;

ac per hoc nec a Juventate oportere peti vitam aeternam, quae non daret barbam; nec a Fortuna barbata boni aliquid post hanc vitam esse sperandum, cujus in hac vita potestas nulla esset, ut eamdem saltem aetatem, quae barba induitur, ipsa praestaret. Nunc vero, cum earum cultus nec propter ista ipsa, quae putant eis subdita, sit necessarius; quia et multi colentes Juventatem deam minime in illa aetate viguerunt, et multi non eam colentes gaudent robore juventutis; itemque multi Fortunae barbatae supplices ad nullam vel deformem barbam pervenire potuerunt, et si qui eam pro barba impetranda venerantur, a barbatis ejus contemptoribus irridentur: itane desipit cor humanum, ut, quorum deorum cultum propter ista ipsa temporalia et cito praetereuntia munera, quibus singulis singuli praeesse perhibentur, inanem ludibriosumque cognoscit, propter vitam aeternam credat esse fructuosum? Hanc dare illos posse nec hi dicere ausi sunt, qui eis, ut ab insipientibus populis colerentur, ista opera temporalia, quoniam nimis multos putaverunt, ne quisquam eorum sederet otiosus, minutatim divisa tribuerunt.

## Caput II.

*Quid Varronem de diis Gentium sensisse credendum sit, quorum talia et genera et sacra detexit, ut reverentius cum eis ageret, si de illis omnino reticeret.*

Quis Marco Varrone curiosius ista quaesivit? quis invenit doctius? quis consideravit attentius? quis distinxit acutius? quis diligentius pleniusque conscripsit? Qui tametsi minus est suavis eloquio, doctrina tamen atque sententiis ita refertus est, ut in omni eruditione, quam nos saecularem, illi autem liberalem vocant, studiosum rerum tantum iste doceat, quantum studiosum verborum Cicero delectat. Denique et ipse Tullius huic tale testimonium perhibet, ut in libris Academicis dicat eam, quae ibi versatur, disputationem, se habuisse cum Marco Varrone, homine inquit, omnium facile acutissimo, et sine ulla dubitatione doctissimo. Non ait, Eloquentissimo, vel, facundissimo; quoniam revera in hac facultate multum impar est: sed, omnium, inquit, facile acutissimo. Et in eis libris, id est Academicis, ubi cuncta dubitanda esse contendit, addidit, sine ulla dubitatione doctissimo. Profecto de hac re sic erat certus, ut auferret dubitationem, quam solet in omnibus adhibere, tanquam de hoc uno etiam pro Academicorum dubitatione disputaturus, se Academicum fuisset oblitus. In primo autem libro cum ejusdem Varronis litteraria opera praedicaret, Nos, inquit, in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque, tanquam hospites, tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere.

and through this, that neither eternal life ought to be sought from Juventas, who would not give a beard; nor anything of good after this life to be hoped from the bearded Fortune, whose power in this life was none, so that she herself should afford even that same age which is clothed with a beard. Now indeed, since their worship is not necessary even on account of those very things which are thought to be subject to them; because both many worshipping the goddess Juventas have by no means flourished in that age, and many not worshipping her rejoice in the strength of youth; and likewise many suppliants of the bearded Fortune have been able to attain to no beard or a deformed one, and if any venerate her for the sake of impetrating a beard, they are mocked by her bearded despisers: does the human heart thus dote, that it should believe to be fruitful for the sake of eternal life the worship of those gods whose worship on account of those very temporal and quickly passing gifts, over each of which they are reported single to preside, it knows to be void and ludicrous? These to be able to give this, not even they have dared to say, who to them, so that they might be worshipped by the foolish peoples, attributed these temporal works, because they thought them too many, lest anyone of them should sit idle, divided into small parts.

## Chapter II.

*What it is to be believed that Varro felt concerning the gods of the Gentiles, whose such kinds and sacred things he detected, that he would have dealt more reverently with them if he had been altogether silent about them.*

Who has sought those things more curiously than Marcus Varro? who has found them more learnedly? who has considered them more attentively? who has distinguished them more acutely? who has written them more diligently and fully? Who, although he is less sweet in eloquence, yet is so stuffed with learning and opinions, that in all erudition, which we call secular, but they call liberal, he teaches as much the student of things, as Cicero delights the student of words. Finally, Tullius himself offers such testimony to him, that in the Academic books he says that he had that disputation which is conducted there with Marcus Varro, a man, he says, easily the most acute of all, and without any doubt the most learned. He does not say, Most eloquent, or, most facund; since in truth in this faculty he is much unequal: but, of all, he says, easily the most acute. And in those books, that is the Academics, where he contends that all things are to be doubted, he added, without any doubt the most learned. Truly concerning this thing he was so certain, that he took away the doubt which he is wont to apply in all things, as if about this one thing even against the doubt of the Academics he were about to dispute, having forgotten that he was an Academic. But in the first book, when he was praising the literary works of the same Varro, he says: We, wandering and straying in our city as if guests, your books as it were brought back home, so that we could at length recognize who and where we were.

Tu aetatem patriae, tu descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum jura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam, tu publicam disciplinae, tu sedem regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti (Cicero lib. 1, c. 3, de Quaest. Acad.). Iste igitur vir tam insignis excellentisque peritiae, et quod de illo etiam Terentianus elegantissimo versiculo breviter ait, Vir doctissimus undecumque Varro; (De metris, in sectione de versibus phalaeciis.) qui tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei scribere vacasse miremur; tam multa scripsit, quam multa vix quemquam legere potuisse credamus: iste, inquam, vir tantus ingenio, tantusque doctrina, si rerum velut divinarum, de quibus scribit, oppugnator esset atque destructor, easque non ad religionem, sed ad superstitionem diceret pertinere, nescio utrum tam multa in eis ridenda, contemnenda, detestanda conscriberet. Cum vero Deos eosdem ita coluerit, colendosque censuerit, ut in eo ipso opere litterarum suarum dicat se timere ne pereant, non incursu hostili, sed civium negligentia, de qua illos velut ruina liberari a se dicit, et in memoria bonorum per hujusmodi libros recondi atque servari utiliore cura, quam Metellus de incendio sacra Vestalia, et Aeneas de Trojano excidio penates liberasse praedicantur; et tamen ea legenda saeculis prodit, quae a sapientibus et insipientibus merito abjicienda, et veritati religionis inimicissima judicentur: quid existimare debemus, nisi hominem acerrimum ac peritissimum, non tamen sancto Spiritu liberum, oppressum fuisse suae civitatis consuetudine ac legibus; et tamen ea, quibus movebatur, sub specie commendandae religionis tacere noluisse?

## Caput III.

*Quae sit partitio Varronis librorum suorum, quos de Antiquitatibus rerum humanarum divinarumque composuit.*

Quadraginta et unum libros scripsit Antiquitatum: hos in res humanas divinasque divisit, rebus humanis viginti quinque, divinis sedecim tribuit: istam secutus in ea partitione rationem, ut rerum humanarum libros senos quatuor partibus daret. Intendit enim qui agant, ubi agant, quando agant, quid agant. In sex itaque primis de hominibus scripsit, in secundis sex de locis, sex tertios de temporibus, sex quartos eosdemque postremos de rebus absolvit. Quater autem seni, viginti et quatuor fiunt. Sed unum singularem, qui communiter prius de omnibus loqueretur, in capite posuit.

You the age of the fatherland, you the descriptions of times, you the laws of sacred things, you of priests, you domestic, you public discipline, you the seat of regions and places, you the names, kinds, duties, causes of all divine and human things have opened (Cicero lib. 1, c. 3, de Quaest. Acad.). This man, therefore, of so signal and excellent skill, and what Terentianus also briefly says of him in a most elegant versicle, The most learned man from everywhere Varro; (De metris, in the section on phalaecian verses.) who read so many things, that we wonder that he had leisure to write anything; wrote so many things, as we believe scarcely anyone could have read: this man, I say, so great in genius, and so great in learning, if he were an assaulter and destroyer of as it were divine things about which he writes, and said that they pertained not to religion but to superstition, I know not whether he would write so many things in them to be laughed at, despised, and detested. But when he so worshipped the same Gods, and thought them to be worshipped, that in that very work of his letters he says that he fears lest they perish, not by hostile incursion, but by the negligence of the citizens, from which he says they are delivered by him as if from ruin, and are laid up and preserved in the memory of the good through books of this kind with a more useful care than Metellus is reported to have delivered the Vestal sacred things from burning, and Aeneas the household gods from the Trojan destruction; and yet he brings forth those things to be read to the ages, which by the wise and the foolish are worthily to be rejected and judged most hostile to the truth of religion: what ought we to think, except that a most sharp and skillful man, yet not free by the Holy Spirit, was oppressed by the custom and laws of his city; and yet was unwilling to be silent about those things by which he was moved, under the appearance of commending religion?

## Chapter III.

*What is the partition of Varro's books, which he composed concerning the Antiquities of human and divine things.*

He wrote forty-one books of Antiquities: these he divided into human and divine things, he attributed twenty-five to human things, sixteen to divine: following that reason in that partition, that he should give six books to four parts of human things. For he intends who act, where they act, when they act, what they act. In the first six, therefore, he wrote of men, in the second six of places, the third six of times, the fourth six and the same last ones he finished of things. But four times six make twenty-four. But one singular one, which should speak commonly of all first, he placed at the head.

In divinis identidem rebus eadem ab illo divisionis forma servata est, quantum attinet ad ea quae diis exhibenda sunt: exhibentur enim ab hominibus in locis et temporibus sacra. Haec quatuor, quae dixi, libris complexus est ternis: nam tres priores de hominibus scripsit, sequentes de locis, tertios de temporibus, quartos de sacris; etiam hic qui exhibeant, ubi exhibeant, quando exhibeant, quid exhibeant, subtilissima distinctione commendans. Sed quia oportebat dicere, et maxime id exspectabatur, quibus exhibeant, de ipsis quoque diis tres conscripsit extremos, ut quinquies terni quindecim fierent. Sunt autem omnes, ut diximus, sedecim: quia et istorum exordio unum singularem, qui prius de omnibus loqueretur, apposuit: quo absoluto, consequenter ex illa quinquepartita distributione tres praecedentes, qui ad homines pertinent, ita subdivisit, ut primus sit de pontificibus, secundus de auguribus, tertius de quindecimviris sacrorum . Secundos tres ad loca pertinentes; ita ut in uno eorum de sacellis, altero de sacris aedibus diceret, tertio de locis religiosis. Tres porro qui istos sequuntur, et ad tempora pertinent, id est ad dies festos; ita ut unum eorum faceret de feriis, alterum de ludis circensibus, de scenicis tertium. Quartorum trium ad sacra pertinentium uni dedit consecrationes, alteri sacra privata, ultimo publica. Hanc velut pompam obsequiorum in tribus, qui restant, dii ipsi sequuntur extremi, quibus iste universus cultus impensus est: in primo dii certi, in secundo incerti, in tertio cunctorum novissimo dii praecipui atque selecti.

## Caput IV.

*Quod ex disputatione Varronis apud cultores deorum antiquiores res humanae quam divinae reperiantur.*

1. In hac tota serie pulcherrimae ac subtilissimae distributionis et distinctionis vitam aeternam frustra quaeri et sperari impudentissime vel optari, ex his quae jam diximus, et quae deinceps dicenda sunt, cuivis hominum, qui corde obstinato sibi non fuerit inimicus, facillime apparet. Vel hominum enim sunt ista instituta, vel daemonum: non quales vocant illi daemones bonos; sed, ut loquar apertius, immundorum spirituum et sine controversia malignorum, qui noxias opiniones, quibus anima humana magis magisque vanescat, et incommutabili aeternaeque veritati coaptari atque inhaerere non possit, invidentia mirabili et occulte inserunt cogitationibus impiorum, et aperte aliquando ingerunt sensibus, et qua possunt fallaci attestatione confirmant.

In divine things likewise the same form of division was preserved by him, as far as pertains to those things which are to be exhibited to the gods: for sacred things are exhibited by men in places and times. These four which I have said, he embraced in three books each: for the first three he wrote of men, the following of places, the third of times, the fourth of sacred things; also here commending with most subtle distinction who exhibit, where they exhibit, when they exhibit, what they exhibit. But because it was necessary to say, and that was most expected, to whom they exhibit, he also wrote the three last concerning the gods themselves, so that five times three should be fifteen. But they are all, as we have said, sixteen: because he also placed at the beginning of these one singular one, which should speak of all first: which being finished, consequently from that five-part distribution he so subdivided the three preceding ones, which pertain to men, that the first is of pontiffs, the second of augurs, the third of the fifteen-men of sacred things. The second three pertaining to places; so that in one of them he spoke of shrines, in another of sacred houses, in the third of religious places. Furthermore, the three which follow these, and pertain to times, that is to feast days; so that he made one of them of festivals, another of circensian games, the third of scenic ones. To one of the fourth three pertaining to sacred things he gave consecrations, to another private sacred things, to the last public. These as it were the pomp of services, the gods themselves follow last in the three which remain, to whom this whole worship was expended: in the first certain gods, in the second uncertain, in the third last of all the principal and select gods.

## Chapter IV.

*That from Varro's disputation human things are found older than divine things among the worshippers of the gods.*

1. In this whole series of most beautiful and subtle distribution and distinction, that eternal life is in vain sought and hoped for, or most impudently desired, is most easily apparent to any man who is not an enemy to himself with an obstinate heart, from those things which we have already said, and which are henceforth to be said. For either these are institutes of men, or of demons: not such as they call good demons; but, that I may speak more openly, of unclean spirits and without controversy malignant ones, who with wonderful envy both secretly insert noxious opinions into the thoughts of the impious, by which the human soul may more and more vanish, and cannot be coadapted to and inhere in the unchangeable and eternal truth, and sometimes openly thrust them upon the senses, and confirm them by what fallacious attestation they can.

Iste ipse Varro propterea se prius de rebus humanis, de divinis autem postea scripsisse testatur, quod prius exstiterint civitates, deinde ab eis haec instituta sint. Vera autem religio non a terrena aliqua civitate instituta est; sed plane coelestem ipsa instituit civitatem: eam vero inspirat et docet verus Deus, dator vitae aeternae, veris cultoribus suis.

2. [IV.] Varronis igitur, confitentis ideo se prius de rebus humanis scripsisse, postea de divinis, quia divinae istae ab hominibus institutae sunt, haec ratio est: Sicut prior est, inquit, pictor quam tabula picta, prior faber quam aedificium; ita priores sunt civitates, quam ea quae a civitatibus sunt instituta. Dicit autem se prius scripturum fuisse de diis, postea de hominibus, si de omni natura deorum scriberet. Quasi hic de aliqua scribat, et non de omni; aut vero etiam aliqua, licet non omnis, deorum natura non prior debeat esse, quam hominum? Quid quod in illis tribus novissimis libris, deos certos et incertos et selectos diligenter explicans, nullam deorum naturam praetermittere videtur? Quid est ergo quod ait, Si de omni natura deorum et hominum scriberemus, prius divina absolvissemus, quam humana attigissemus? Aut enim de omni natura deorum scribit, aut de aliqua, aut omnino de nulla. Si de omni, praeponenda est utique rebus humanis: si de aliqua, cur non etiam ipsa res praecedat humanas? an indigna est praeferri etiam universae naturae hominum pars aliqua deorum? Quod si multum est ut aliqua pars divina praeponatur universis rebus humanis, saltem digna est vel Romanis: rerum quippe humanarum libros, non quantum ad orbem terrarum, sed quantum ad solam Romam pertinet, scripsit. Quos tamen rerum divinarum libris se dixit scribendi ordine merito praetulisse, sicut pictorem tabulae pictae, sicut fabrum aedificio; apertissime confitens quod etiam istae res divinae, sicut pictura, sicut structura, ab hominibus institutae sint. Restat ut de nulla deorum natura scripsisse intelligatur; neque hoc aperte dicere voluisse, sed intelligentibus reliquisse. Ubi enim dicitur, Non omnis, usitate quidem intelligitur aliqua: sed potest intelligi et nulla; quoniam quae nulla est, nec omnis, nec aliqua est. Nam, ut ipse dicit, si omnis esset natura deorum de qua scriberet, scribendi ordine rebus humanis praeponenda esset: ut autem et ipso tacente veritas clamat, praeponenda esset certe rebus Romanis, etiam si non omnis, sed saltem aliqua esset: recte autem postponitur; ergo nulla est. Non itaque rebus divinis anteferre voluit res humanas, sed rebus veris noluit anteferre res falsas.

This Varro himself testifies that for this reason he wrote first concerning human things, and concerning divine things afterwards, because cities existed first, then by them these things were instituted. But true religion was not instituted by any earthly city; but plainly it instituted the celestial city: but it the true God, the giver of eternal life, inspires and teaches to His true worshippers.

2. [IV.] Of Varro, therefore, confessing that for this reason he wrote first concerning human things, afterwards concerning divine, because those divine things were instituted by men, this is the reason: Just as the painter, he says, is prior to the painted tablet, the smith prior to the building; so cities are prior to those things which are instituted by cities. But he says that he would have written first concerning the gods, afterwards concerning men, if he were writing concerning the whole nature of the gods. As if he here writes concerning some, and not concerning all; or indeed even some nature of the gods, although not all, ought not to be prior to that of men? What of the fact that in those three last books, diligently explaining certain and uncertain and select gods, he seems to pass over no nature of the gods? What is it, therefore, that he says: If we were writing concerning the whole nature of gods and men, we would have finished divine things before we had touched human things? For either he writes concerning the whole nature of the gods, or concerning some, or altogether concerning none. If concerning the whole, it is surely to be set before human things: if concerning some, why should not that very thing precede human things? is some part of the gods unworthy to be preferred even to the universal nature of men? But if it is much that some divine part be set before all human things, at least it is worthy even of the Roman: for he wrote the books of human things, not as far as pertains to the whole world, but as far as pertains to Rome alone. Which yet he said that he worthily preferred in the order of writing to the books of divine things, just as the painter to the painted tablet, just as the smith to the building; most openly confessing that even these divine things, just as a picture, just as a structure, were instituted by men. It remains that he be understood to have written concerning no nature of the gods; nor did he wish to say this openly, but left it to the intelligent. For where it is said, Not all, usually indeed some is understood: but none can also be understood; since that which is none, is neither all nor some. For, as he himself says, if it were the whole nature of the gods concerning which he wrote, it would be to be set before human things in the order of writing: but as truth cries out even while he is silent, it would certainly be to be set before Roman things, even if it were not all, but at least some: but it is rightly postponed; therefore it is none. He did not therefore wish to prefer human things to divine things, but he did not wish to prefer false things to true things.

In his enim, quae scripsit de rebus humanis, secutus est historiam rerum gestarum: quae autem de his, quas divinas vocat, quid nisi opiniones rerum vanarum? Hoc est nimirum, quod voluit subtili significatione monstrare; non solum scribens de his posterius quam de illis, sed etiam rationem reddens cur id fecerit. Quam si tacuisset, aliter hoc factum ejus ab aliis fortasse defenderetur. In ea vero ipsa ratione, quam reddidit, nec aliis quidquam reliquit pro arbitrio suspicari, et satis probavit homines se praeposuisse institutis hominum, non naturam hominum naturae deorum. Ita se libros rerum divinarum, non de veritate quae pertinet ad naturam, sed de falsitate quae pertinet ad errorem, scripsisse confessus est. Quod apertius alibi posuit, sicut in quarto libro commemoravi (Cap. 31, n. 1), ex naturae formula se scripturum fuisse, si novam ipse conderet civitatem; quia vero jam veterem invenerat, non se potuisse nisi ejus consuetudinem sequi.

## Caput V.

*De tribus generibus theologiae secundum Varronem, scilicet uno fabuloso, altero naturali, tertioque civili.*

1. Deinde illud quale est, quod tria genera theologiae dicit esse, id est rationis quae de diis explicatur, eorumque unum mythicon appellari , alterum physicon, tertium civile? Latine si usus admitteret, genus quod primum posuit, fabulare appellaremus; sed fabulosum dicamus: a fabulis enim mythicon dictum est; quoniam μῦθος graece fabula dicitur. Secundum autem ut naturale dicatur, jam et consuetudo locutionis admittit. Tertium etiam ipse latine enuntiavit, quod civile appellatur. Deinde ait: Mythicon appellant, quo maxime utuntur poetae; physicon, quo philosophi; civile, quo populi. Primum, inquit, quod dixi, in eo sunt multa contra dignitatem et naturam immortalium ficta. In hoc enim est, ut deus alius ex capite, alius ex femore sit, alius ex guttis sanguinis natus: in hoc, ut dii furati sint, ut adulteraverint, ut servierint homini: denique in hoc omnia diis attribuuntur, quae non modo in hominem, sed etiam quae in contemptissimum hominem cadere possunt. Hic certe ubi potuit, ubi ausus est, ubi impunitum putavit, quanta mendacissimis fabulis naturae deorum fieret injuria, sine caligine ullius ambiguitatis expressit. Loquebatur enim, non de naturali theologia, non de civili, sed de fabulosa, quam libere a se putavit esse culpandam.

For in those things which he wrote concerning human things, he followed the history of things done: but what concerning these, which he calls divine, what except the opinions of vain things? This is undoubtedly what he wished to show by subtle significance; not only writing concerning these later than concerning those, but also giving the reason why he did it. Which if he had kept silent, this deed of his would perhaps be defended otherwise by others. But in that very reason which he gave, he neither left anything for others to suspect at their will, and enough proved that he set men before the institutes of men, not the nature of men before the nature of the gods. Thus he confessed that he wrote the books of divine things, not concerning the truth which pertains to nature, but concerning the falsity which pertains to error. Which he placed more openly elsewhere, as I commemorated in the fourth book (Chapter 31, n. 1), that he would have written according to the formula of nature, if he himself were founding a new city; but because he had already found an old one, he could not but follow its custom.

## Chapter V.

*Of the three kinds of theology according to Varro, namely one fabulous, another natural, and the third civil.*

1. Then what is that, that he says there are three kinds of theology, that is, of the reason which is explained concerning the gods, and that one of them is called mythicon, another physicon, the third civil? If Latin usage admitted, we would call the genus which he placed first fabulare; but let us say fabulous: for mythicon was so called from fables (fabulae); since mythos in Greek is called fable. But that the second should be called natural, the custom of speech already admits. The third also he himself enunciated in Latin, which is called civil. Then he says: They call mythicon that which the poets chiefly use; physicon, which the philosophers; civil, which the peoples. The first, he says, which I said, in it are many things feigned against the dignity and nature of the immortals. For in this it is, that one god is born from the head, another from the thigh, another from drops of blood: in this, that the gods have stolen, that they have committed adultery, that they have served man: finally in this all things are attributed to the gods, which can fall not only upon man, but even upon the most contemptible man. Here certainly where he was able, where he dared, where he thought it unpunished, he expressed without the mist of any ambiguity how great injury was done to the nature of the gods by most lying fables. For he was speaking, not of natural theology, nor of civil, but of fabulous, which he thought was freely to be blamed by him.

2. Videamus quid de altera dicat. Secundum genus est, inquit, quod demonstravi, de quo multos libros philosophi reliquerunt: in quibus est, dii qui sint, ubi, quod genus, quale; a quodam tempore, an a sempiterno fuerint dii; ex igne sint , ut credit Heraclitus; an ex numeris, ut Pythagoras; an ex atomis, ut ait Epicurus. Sic alia, quae facilius intra parietes in schola, quam extra in foro ferre possunt aures. Nihil in hoc genere culpavit, quod physicon vocant, et ad philosophos pertinet: tantum quod eorum inter se controversias commemoravit, per quos facta est dissidentium multitudo sectarum. Removit tamen hoc genus a foro, id est a populis; scholis vero et parietibus clausit: illud autem primum mendacissimum atque turpissimum a civitatibus non removit. O religiosas aures populares, atque in his etiam Romanas! Quod de diis immortalibus philosophi disputant, ferre non possunt: quod vero poetae canunt, et histriones agunt, quia contra dignitatem ac naturam immortalium ficta sunt, quia non modo in hominem, sed etiam in contemptissimum hominem cadere possunt, non solum ferunt, sed etiam libenter audiunt. Neque id tantum, sed diis quoque ipsis haec placere, et per haec eos placandos esse decernunt.

3. Dixerit aliquis, Haec duo genera, mythicon et physicon, id est fabulosum atque naturale, discernamus ab hoc civili, de quo nunc agitur; unde illa et ipse discrevit: jamque ipsum civile videamus qualiter explicet. Video quidem, cur debeat discerni fabulosum: quia falsum, quia turpe, quia indignum est. Naturale autem a civili velle discernere, quid est aliud, quam etiam ipsum civile fateri esse mendosum? Si enim illud naturale est, quid habet reprehensionis, ut excludatur? si autem hoc quod civile dicitur, naturale non est, quid habet meriti, ut admittatur? Haec nempe illa causa est, quare prius scripserit de rebus humanis, posterius de divinis; quoniam in divinis rebus non naturam, sed hominum instituta secutus est. Intueamur sane et civilem theologiam. Tertiam genus est, inquit, quod in urbibus cives, maxime sacerdotes, nosse atque administrare debent. In quo est, quos deos publice colere, [quae] sacra ac sacrificia facere quemque par sit. Adhuc quod sequitur attendamus. Prima, inquit, theologia maxime accommodata est ad theatrum, secunda ad mundum, tertia ad urbem. Quis non videat, cui palmam dederit?

2. Let us see what he says of the second. The second kind is, he says, that which I have shown, concerning which the philosophers have left many books: in which is, who the gods are, where, of what kind, what quality; whether the gods have been from a certain time, or from eternity; whether they are from fire, as Heraclitus believes; or from numbers, as Pythagoras; or from atoms, as Epicurus says. Thus other things, which ears can more easily bear within the walls in the school, than without in the forum. He blamed nothing in this kind, which they call physicon, and pertains to philosophers: only that he commemorated their controversies among themselves, through which a multitude of dissenting sects was made. He removed this kind, however, from the forum, that is, from the peoples; but closed it within schools and walls: but that first most lying and most foul one he did not remove from the cities. O religious popular ears, and among these even Roman ones! What the philosophers dispute concerning the immortal gods, they cannot bear: but what the poets sing, and the actors act, because they are feigned against the dignity and nature of the immortals, because they can fall not only upon man, but even upon the most contemptible man, they not only bear, but even willingly hear. Nor that only, but they decree that these things also please the gods themselves, and that through these they are to be appeased.

3. Some one may say, Let us distinguish these two kinds, the mythic and the physic, that is, the fabulous and the natural, from this civil one, of which we are now treating; whence also he himself distinguished them: and now let us see how he explains the civil itself. I see indeed, why the fabulous ought to be distinguished: because it is false, because it is foul, because it is unworthy. But to wish to distinguish the natural from the civil, what else is it, than to confess that the civil itself is faulty? For if that is natural, what has it of blame, that it should be excluded? but if this which is called civil is not natural, what has it of merit, that it should be admitted? This namely is the cause, why he wrote first concerning human things, and afterwards concerning divine things; since in divine things he followed not nature, but the institutes of men. Let us look surely also at the civil theology. The third kind is, he says, that which the citizens in the cities, especially the priests, ought to know and to administer. In which is, which gods it is fit that each one should worship publicly, and what rites and sacrifices he should perform. Let us attend yet to what follows. The first theology, he says, is chiefly accommodated to the theatre, the second to the world, the third to the city. Who does not see to which he gave the palm?

Utique secundae, quam supra dixit esse philosophorum. Hanc enim pertinere testatur ad mundum, quo isti nihil esse excellentius opinantur in rebus. Duas vero illas theologias, primam et tertiam, theatri scilicet atque urbis, distinxit, an junxit? Videmus enim non continuo quod est urbis, pertinere posse et ad mundum; quamvis urbes esse videamus in mundo: fieri enim potest ut in urbe, secundum falsas opiniones, ea colantur et ea credantur, quorum in mundo vel extra mundum natura sit nusquam: theatrum vero ubi est, nisi in urbe? quis theatrum instituit, nisi civitas? propter quid instituit, nisi propter ludos scenicos? ubi sunt ludi scenici, nisi in rebus divinis, de quibus hi libri tanta solertia conscribuntur?

## Caput VI.

*De theologia mythica, id est fabulosa, et de civili, contra Varronem.*

1. O Marce Varro, cum sis homo omnium acutissimus et sine ulla dubitatione doctissimus, sed tamen homo, non Deus, nec Spiritu Dei ad videnda et annuntianda divina in veritatem libertatemque subvectus, cernis quidem quam sint res divinae ab humanis nugis atque mendaciis dirimendae: sed vitiosissimas populorum opiniones et consuetudines in superstitionibus publicis vereris offendere, quas a deorum natura abhorrere, vel talium, quales in hujus mundi elementis humani animi suspicatur infirmitas, et sentis ipse, cum eas usquequaque consideras, et omnis vestra litteratura circumsonat. Quid hic agit humanum quamvis excellentissimum ingenium? quid tibi humana licet multiplex ingensque doctrina in his angustiis suffragatur? Naturales deos colere cupis, civiles cogeris: invenisti alios fabulosos, in quos liberius quod sentis evomas, unde et istos civiles velis nolisve perfundas. Dicis quippe fabulosos accommodatos esse ad theatrum, naturales ad mundum, civiles ad urbem: cum mundus opus sit divinum, urbes vero et theatra opera sint hominum; nec alii dii rideantur in theatris, quam qui adorantur in templis; nec aliis ludos exhibeatis, quam quibus victimas immolatis. Quanto liberius subtiliusque ista divideres, dicens alios esse deos naturales, alios ab hominibus institutos; sed de institutis aliud habere litteras poetarum, aliud sacerdotum; utrasque tamen ita esse inter se amicas consortio falsitatis, ut gratae sint utraeque daemonibus, quibus inimica est doctrina veritatis?

Surely to the second, which he said above was that of the philosophers. For he testifies that this pertains to the world, than which they think nothing is more excellent in things. But these two theologies, the first and the third, namely of the theatre and of the city, did he distinguish them, or join them? For we see that not immediately what is of the city, can also pertain to the world; although we see that cities are in the world: for it can happen that in the city, according to false opinions, those things are worshipped and those things are believed, the nature of which is nowhere in the world or outside the world: but where is the theatre, except in the city? who instituted the theatre, except the state? for what did it institute it, except for the scenic games? where are the scenic games, except in divine things, concerning which these books are written with such great skill?

## Chapter VI.

*Of mythic theology, that is fabulous, and of civil, against Varro.*

1. O Marcus Varro, since you are of all men most acute and without any doubt most learned, but yet a man, not God, nor borne up by the Spirit of God to the truth and liberty of seeing and announcing divine things, you discern indeed how divine things are to be separated from human trifles and lies: but you fear to offend the most vicious opinions and customs of the peoples in public superstitions, which you yourself feel to be abhorrent from the nature of the gods, or even such as the infirmity of the human mind suspects in the elements of this world, both when you consider them everywhere, and all your literature rings around. What does human genius, although most excellent, do here? what does human doctrine, although manifold and huge, support you in these straits? You desire to worship natural gods, you are compelled to worship civil ones: you have found others fabulous, against whom you may more freely vomit what you feel, whence also you may besprinkle these civil ones, whether you will or no. For you say that the fabulous are accommodated to the theatre, the natural to the world, the civil to the city: since the world is a divine work, but cities and theatres are works of men; nor are other gods laughed at in the theatres, than those who are adored in the temples; nor do you exhibit games to others, than to those to whom you immolate victims. How much more freely and subtly would you divide those things, saying that some gods are natural, others instituted by men; but concerning those instituted, that the letters of the poets have one thing, those of the priests another; yet that both are so friendly to each other by a consortship of falsehood, that both are pleasing to the demons, to whom the doctrine of truth is inimical?

2. Sequestrata igitur paululum theologia, quam naturalem vocant, de qua postea disserendum est, placetne tandem vitam aeternam peti aut sperari a diis poeticis, theatricis, ludicris, scenicis? Absit: imo avertat Deus verus tam immanem sacrilegamque dementiam. Quid, ab eis diis, quibus haec placent, et quos haec placant, cum eorum illic crimina frequententur, vita aeterna poscenda est? Nemo, ut arbitror, usque ad tantum praecipitium furiosissimae impietatis insanit. Nec fabulosa igitur, nec civili theologia sempiternam quisquam adipiscitur vitam. Illa enim de diis turpia fingendo seminat, haec favendo metit: illa mendacia spargit, haec colligit: illa res divinas falsis criminibus insectatur, haec eorum criminum ludos in divinis rebus amplectitur: illa de diis nefanda figmenta hominum carminibus personat, haec ea deorum ipsorum festivitatibus consecrat: facinora et flagitia numinum illa cantat, haec amat: illa prodit, aut fingit; haec autem aut attestatur veris, aut oblectatur et falsis. Ambae turpes, ambaeque damnabiles: sed illa, quae theatrica est, publicam turpitudinem profitetur; ista, quae urbana est, illius turpitudine ornatur. Hinccine vita aeterna sperabitur, unde ista brevis temporalisque polluitur? an vero vitam polluit consortium nefariorum hominum, si se inserant affectionibus et assensionibus nostris, et vitam non polluit societas daemonum, qui coluntur criminibus suis? Si veris, quam mali? si falsis, quam male?

3. Haec cum dicimus, videri fortasse cuipiam nimis harum rerum ignaro potest ea sola de diis talibus majestati indigna divinae, et ridicula, detestabilia celebrari, quae poeticis cantantur carminibus, et ludis scenicis actitantur; sacra vero illa, quae non histriones, sed sacerdotes agunt, ab omni esse dedecore purgata et aliena. Hoc si ita esset, nunquam theatricas turpitudines in eorum honorem quisquam celebrandas esse censeret, nunquam eas ipsi dii praeciperent sibimet exhiberi. Sed ideo nihil pudet ad obsequium deorum talia gerere in theatris, quia similia geruntur in templis. Denique cum memoratus auctor civilem theologiam a fabulosa et naturali, tertiam quamdam sui generis, distinguere conaretur, eam magis ex utraque temperatam, quam ab utraque separatam intelligi voluit. Ait enim, ea quae scribunt poetae, minus esse quam ut populi sequi debeant; quae autem philosophi, plus quam ut ea vulgum scrutari expediat. Quae sic abhorrent, inquit, ut tamen ex utroque genere ad civiles rationes assumpta sint non pauca. Quare quae sunt communia cum poetis, una cum civilibus scribemus: e quibus major societas debet esse nobis cum philosophis, quam cum poetis.

2. Having set aside, therefore, for a little while the theology which they call natural, concerning which we must discourse afterwards, is it pleasing at length that eternal life be sought or hoped for from the poetic, theatrical, ludicrous, scenic gods? Far be it: nay, let the true God avert such great and sacrilegious madness. What, is eternal life to be asked from those gods, whom these things please, and whom these things placate, since their crimes are frequent there? No one, as I think, is insane to such a great precipice of most furious impiety. Neither by fabulous, therefore, nor by civil theology does any one obtain eternal life. For the one sows by feigning foul things concerning the gods, the other reaps by favoring them: the one scatures lies, the other gathers them: the one pursues divine things with false crimes, the other embraces the games of those crimes in divine things: the one resounds the unspeakable figments of men in songs concerning the gods, the other consecrates them in the festivities of the gods themselves: the one sings the deeds and flagitious acts of the deities, the other loves them: the one produces, or feigns; but the other either attests them if true, or is delighted even if false. Both are foul, and both are damnable: but that which is theatrical, professes public foulness; that which is urban, is adorned with its foulness. Will eternal life be hoped for from hence, whence this brief and temporal life is polluted? Or indeed does a consortship of nefarious men pollute life, if they insert themselves into our affections and assents, and does not the society of demons, who are worshipped by their own crimes, pollute life? If by true crimes, how evil they are! if by false ones, how evilly they are worshipped!

3. When we say these things, it can perhaps seem to some one too ignorant of these things, that those things alone are celebrated as unworthy of the divine majesty, and ridiculous, and detestable, which are sung in poetic songs, and are frequently acted in scenic games; but that those rites, which not the actors, but the priests perform, are purged from and alien to all disgrace. If this were so, no one would ever think that theatrical foulnesses were to be celebrated in their honor, nor would the gods themselves ever command them to be exhibited to themselves. But therefore it is not at all shaming to carry on such things in the theatres for the service of the gods, because similar things are carried on in the temples. Finally, when the mentioned author endeavored to distinguish civil theology from the fabulous and the natural, as a certain third kind of its own, he wished it to be understood rather as tempered from both, than as separated from both. For he says, that those things which the poets write, are less than what the peoples ought to follow; but those which the philosophers write, are more than it is expedient for the vulgar to scrutinize. "Which so abhor," he says, "that yet not a few things are assumed from both kinds for civil reasons. Wherefore what things are common with the poets, we shall write together with the civil ones: from which we ought to have a greater society with the philosophers, than with the poets."

Non ergo nulla cum poetis. Et tamen alio loco dicit de generationibus deorum magis ad poetas quam ad physicos fuisse populos inclinatos. Hic enim dixit quid fieri debeat; ibi, quid fiat. Physicos dixit utilitatis causa scripsisse; poetas, delectationis. Ac per hoc ea quae a poetis conscripta populi sequi non debent, crimina sunt deorum: quae tamen delectant et populos et deos. Delectationis enim causa, sicut dicit, scribunt poetae, non utilitatis: ea tamen scribunt, quae dii expetant, populi exhibeant.

## Caput VII.

*De fabulosae et civilis theologiae similitudine atque concordia.*

1. Revocatur igitur ad theologiam civilem theologia fabulosa, theatrica, scenica, indignitatis et turpitudinis plena: et haec tota, quae merito culpanda et respuenda judicatur, pars hujus est, quae colenda et observanda censetur; non sane pars incongrua, sicut ostendere institui, et quae ab universo corpore aliena importune illi connexa atque suspensa sit, sed omnino consona, et tanquam ejusdem corporis membrum convenientissime copulata. Quid enim aliud ostendunt illa simulacra, formae, aetates, sexus, habitus deorum? numquid barbatum Jovem, imberbem Mercurium poetae habent, pontifices non habent? numquid Priapo mimi, non etiam sacerdotes enormia pudenda fecerunt? an aliter stat adorandus in locis sacris, quam procedit ridendus in theatris? num Saturnus senex, Apollo ephebus, ita personae sunt histrionum, ut non sint statuae delubrorum? cur Forculus, qui Foribus praeest, et Limentinus, qui limini, dii sunt masculi, atque inter hos Cardea femina est, quae cardinem servat? Nonne ista in rerum divinarum libris reperiuntur, quae graves poetae suis carminibus indigna duxerunt? numquid Diana theatrica portat arma, et urbana simpliciter virgo est? numquid scenicus Apollo citharista est, et ab hac arte Delphicus vacat? Sed haec honestiora sunt in comparatione turpiorum. Quid de ipso Jove senserunt, qui ejus nutricem in Capitolio posuerunt? Nonne attestati sunt Euhemero, qui omnes tales deos non fabulosa garrulitate, sed historica diligentia homines fuisse mortalesque conscripsit? Epulones etiam deos, parasitos Jovis, ad ejus mensam qui constituerunt, quid aliud quam mimica sacra esse voluerunt? Nam parasitos Jovis ad ejus convivium adhibitos si mimus dixisset, risum utique quaesisse videretur. Varro dixit; non cum irrideret deos, sed cum commendaret, hoc dixit: divinarum, non humanarum rerum libri, hoc eum scripsisse testantur; nec ubi ludos scenicos exponebat, sed ubi Capitolina jura pandebat. Denique a talibus vincitur, et fatetur, sicut forma humana deos fecerunt, ita eos delectari humanis voluptatibus credidisse.

Not no society, therefore, with the poets. And yet in another place he says that concerning the generations of the gods the peoples have been more inclined to the poets than to the physics (natural philosophers). For here he said what ought to be done; there, what is done. He said that the physics wrote for the sake of utility; the poets, for the sake of delight. And through this those things which being written by the poets the peoples ought not to follow, are the crimes of the gods: which yet delight both the peoples and the gods. For for the sake of delight, as he says, the poets write, not of utility: yet they write those things, which the gods expect, and the peoples exhibit.

## Chapter VII.

*Of the similitude and concord of fabulous and civil theology.*

1. Fabulous, theatrical, scenic theology, full of indignity and foulness, is therefore recalled to civil theology: and this whole thing, which is judged deservedly to be blamed and rejected, is a part of this which is thought to be worshipped and observed; not indeed an incongruous part, as I have instituted to show, and which, being alien from the whole body, is importunely connected and suspended to it, but altogether consonant, and most conveniently coupled as a member of the same body. For what else do those images, forms, ages, sexes, habits of the gods show? do the poets have a bearded Jupiter, an unbearded Mercury, and the pontiffs not have them? did the mimes make enormous shameful parts for Priapus, and not also the priests? or does he stand otherwise to be adored in sacred places, than he proceeds to be laughed at in the theatres? Is the old Saturn, the youth Apollo, so the persons of actors, as they are not the statues of the shrines? why are Forculus, who is set over the doors, and Limentinus, who is set over the threshold, male gods, and among these is Cardea a female, who keeps the hinge? Are not those things found in the books of divine things, which grave poets thought unworthy of their songs? does the theatrical Diana carry arms, and the urban one is simply a virgin? is the scenic Apollo a citharist, and the Delphic one free from this art? But these things are more honest in comparison of more foul things. What did they think concerning Jupiter himself, who placed his nurse in the Capitol? Did they not attest to Euhemerus, who wrote that all such gods were not of fabulous garrulity, but of historical diligence, were men and mortals? They also who constituted the banquetting gods, the parasites of Jupiter, at his table, what else did they wish than that the rites be mimic? For if a mime had said that the parasites of Jupiter were admitted to his banquet, he would surely seem to have sought a laugh. Varro said it; not when he was mocking the gods, but when he was commending them, he said this: the books of divine, not human things, testify that he wrote this; nor where he was exposing scenic games, but where he was opening Capitoline laws. Finally he is conquered by such things, and confesses, as they made the gods in human form, so they believed them to be delighted with human pleasures.

2. Non enim et maligni spiritus suo negotio defuerunt, ut has noxias opiniones humanarum mentium ludificatione firmarent. Unde etiam illud est, quod Herculis aedituus otiosus atque feriatus lusit tesseris secum, utraque manu alternante, in una constituens Herculem, in altera se ipsum; sub ea conditione, ut, si ipse vicisset, de stipe templi sibi coenam pararet, amicamque conduceret; si autem victoria Herculis fieret, hoc idem de pecunia sua voluptati Herculis exhiberet: deinde cum a se ipso tanquam ab Hercule victus esset, debitam coenam et nobilissimam meretricem Larentinam deo Herculi dedit. At illa cum dormivisset in templo, vidit in somnis Herculem sibi esse commixtum, sibique dixisse, quod inde discedens cui primum juveni obvia fieret, apud illum esset inventura mercedem, quam sibi credere deberet ab Hercule persolutam. Ac si abeunti cum primus juvenis ditissimus Tarutius occurrisset, eamque dilectam secum diutius habuisset, illa haerede relicta defunctus est. Quae amplissimam adepta pecuniam, ne divinae mercedi videretur ingrata, quod acceptissimum putavit esse numinibus, populum Romanum etiam ipsa scripsit haeredem; atque illa non comparente, inventum est testamentum: quibus meritis eam ferunt etiam honores meruisse divinos.

3. Haec si poetae fingerent, si mimi agerent, ad fabulosam theologiam dicerentur procul dubio pertinere, et a civilis theologiae dignitate separanda judicarentur. Cum vero haec dedecora, non poetarum, sed populorum; non mimorum, sed sacrorum; non theatrorum, sed templorum; id est non fabulosae, sed civilis theologiae, a tanto auctore produntur; non frustra histriones ludicris artibus fingunt deorum, quae tanta est, turpitudinem, sed plane frustra sacerdotes velut sacris ritibus conantur fingere deorum, quae nulla est, honestatem. Sacra sunt Junonis, et haec in ejus dilecta insula Samo celebrantur, ubi nuptum data est Jovi. Sacra sunt Cereris, ubi a Plutone rapta Proserpina quaeritur. Sacra sunt Veneris, ubi amatus ejus Adonis aprino dente exstinctus juvenis formosissimus plangitur. Sacra sunt Matris deûm, ubi Atys pulcher adolescens ab ea dilectus et muliebri zelo abscisus, etiam hominum abscisorum, quos Gallos vocant, infelicitate deploratur.

2. For neither were the malignant spirits wanting to their own business, that they might confirm these noxious opinions by the ludification of human minds. Whence also is that, that the idle and holiday-keeping sexton of Hercules played with dice with himself, alternating with each hand, in one constituting Hercules, in the other himself; under this condition, that, if he himself should win, he should prepare a supper for himself from the money of the temple, and should hire a mistress; but if the victory should be of Hercules, he should exhibit this same thing from his own money for the pleasure of Hercules: then when he had been conquered by himself as if by Hercules, he gave the due supper and a most noble harlot Larentina to the god Hercules. but she when she had slept in the temple, saw Hercules in her dreams being mixed with her, and saying to her, that departing thence to whatever youth she should first meet, she would find a reward with him, which she ought to believe was paid to her by Hercules. And thus when the first youth the most wealthy Tarutius had occurred to her going away, and had had her for a longer time beloved with him, he died having left her as heir. She having obtained very ample money, lest she should seem ungrateful to the divine reward, wrote also the Roman people herself as heir, because she thought it was most accepted by the deities; and she not appearing, the testament was found: for which merits they say that she also merited divine honors.

3. If the poets should feign these things, if the mimes should act them, they would be said without doubt to pertain to fabulous theology, and would be judged to be separated from the dignity of civil theology. But when these disgraces, not of poets, but of peoples; not of mimes, but of sacred things; not of theatres, but of temples; that is, not of fabulous, but of civil theology, are produced by so great an author; not in vain do the actors feign the foulness of the gods, which is so great, by ludicrous arts, but plainly in vain do the priests endeavor to feign the honesty of the gods, which is none, as if by sacred rites. There are sacred things of Juno, and these are celebrated in her beloved island Samos, where she was given in marriage to Jupiter. There are sacred things of Ceres, where Proserpine being ravished by Pluto is sought. There are sacred things of Venus, where her beloved Adonis, a most beautiful youth extinct by the tusk of a boar, is bewailed. There are sacred things of the Mother of the gods, where the beautiful youth Atys, beloved by her and cut off by feminine zeal, is deplored also with the unhappiness of the cut off men, whom they call Galli.

Haec cum deformiora sint omni scenica foeditate, quid est quod fabulosa de diis figmenta poetarum ad theatrum videlicet pertinentia velut secernere nituntur a civili theologia, quam pertinere ad urbem volunt, quasi ab honestis et dignis indigna et turpia? Itaque potius est unde gratiae debeantur histrionibus, qui oculis hominum pepercerunt, nec omnia spectaculis nudaverunt, quae sacrarum aedium parietibus occuluntur. Quid de sacris eorum boni sentiendum est, quae tenebris operiuntur, cum tam sint detestabilia, quae proferuntur in lucem? Et certe quid in occulto agant per abscisos et molles, ipsi viderit: eosdem tamen homines infeliciter ac turpiter enervatos atque corruptos minime occultare potuerunt. Persuadeant cui possunt, se aliquid sanctum per tales agere homines; quos inter sua sancta numerari atque versari negare non possunt. Nescimus quid agant, sed scimus per quales agant. Novimus enim quae agantur in scena, quo nunquam, vel in choro meretricum, abscisus aut mollis intravit: et tamen etiam ipsa turpes et infames agunt; neque enim ab honestis agi debuerunt. Quae sunt ergo illa sacra, quibus agendis tales elegit sanctitas, quales nec thymelica in se admittit obscenitas?

## Caput VIII.

*De interpretationibus naturalium rationum, quas doctores pagani pro diis suis conantur ostendere.*

1. At enim habent ista physiologicas quasdam, sicut aiunt, id est naturalium rationum, interpretationes. Quasi vero nos in hac disputatione physiologiam quaeramus, et non theologiam; id est rationem, non naturae, sed Dei. Quamvis enim qui verus Deus est, non opinione, sed natura sit Deus: non tamen omnis natura deus est; quia et hominis, et pecoris, et arboris, et lapidis utique natura est, quorum nihil est Deus. Si autem interpretationis hujus, quando agitur de sacris Matris deûm, caput est certe quod mater deûm terra est, quid ultra quaerimus, quid caetera perscrutamur? Quid evidentius suffragatur eis, qui dicunt, omnes istos deos homines fuisse? Sicut enim sunt terrigenae, sic eis mater est terra. In vera autem theologia opus Dei est terra, non mater. Verumtamen quoquo modo sacra ejus interpretentur, et referant ad rerum naturam; viros muliebria pati, non est secundum naturam, sed contra naturam. Hic morbus, hoc crimen, hoc dedecus habet inter illa sacra professionem, quod in vitiosis hominum moribus vix habet inter tormenta confessionem.

Since these things are more deformed than all scenic filthiness, what is it that they strive to distinguish as it were the fabulous figments of the poets concerning the gods, pertaining namely to the theatre, from civil theology, which they wish to pertain to the city, as if unworthy and foul things from honest and worthy ones? Therefore it is rather whence thanks ought to be owed to the actors, who spared the eyes of men, nor bared all those things to spectacles, which are hidden by the walls of the sacred edifices. What is to be thought of good concerning their sacred things, which are covered with darkness, since those things are so detestable, which are brought forth into light? And certainly what they carry on in secret through the cut off and soft ones, let them see themselves: yet they were by no means able to hide those same men unhappily and foully enervated and corrupted. Let them persuade whom they can, that they carry on something holy through such men; whom they cannot deny to be numbered and to converse among their own holy things. We do not know what they carry on, but we know through what kind of persons they carry on. For we know what things are carried on on the stage, where never, even in the chorus of harlots, did a cut off or soft one enter: and yet even they themselves carry on foul and infamous things; for neither ought they to have been carried on by honest ones. What are therefore those sacred things, for the carrying on of which holiness chose such as even the thymelic obscenity does not admit into itself?

## Chapter VIII.

*Of the interpretations of natural reasons, which the pagan doctors endeavor to show for their gods.*

1. But for those things have certain physiological, as they say, that is, of natural reasons, interpretations. As if indeed we sought physiology in this disputation, and not theology; that is, the reason, not of nature, but of God. For although he who is the true God, is God not by opinion, but by nature: yet not every nature is god; because there is certainly a nature of man, and of beast, and of tree, and of stone, of which none is God. But if of this interpretation, when it is treated concerning the sacred things of the Mother of the gods, the head is surely that the mother of the gods is the earth, what do we seek further, why do we scrutinize the rest? What more evidently supports those, who say, that all these gods were men? For as they are earth-born, so the earth is their mother. But in true theology the earth is the work of God, not the mother. Yet in whatever way her sacred things are interpreted, and referred to the nature of things; for men to suffer womanish things, is not according to nature, but against nature. This disease, this crime, this disgrace has a profession among those sacred things, which among the vicious manners of men scarcely has a confession among tortures.

Deinde si ista sacra, quae scenicis turpitudinibus convincuntur esse foediora, hinc excusantur atque purgantur, quod habent interpretationes suas, quibus ostendantur rerum significare naturam; cur non etiam poetica similiter excusentur atque purgentur? Multi enim et ipsa ad eumdem modum interpretati sunt: usque adeo ut quod ab eis immanissimum et infandissimum dicitur, Saturnum suos filios devorasse, ita nonnulli interpretentur, quod longinquitas temporis, quae Saturni nomine significatur, quidquid gignit ipsa consumat: vel, sicut idem opinatur Varro, quod pertineat Saturnus ad semina, quae in terram, de qua oriuntur, iterum recidunt. Etiamque alii alio modo, et similiter caetera.

2. Et tamen theologia fabulosa dicitur, et cum omnibus hujuscemodi interpretationibus suis reprehenditur, abjicitur, improbatur; nec solum a naturali, quae philosophorum est, verum etiam ab ista civili, de qua agimus, quae ad urbes populosque pertinere asseritur, eo quod de diis indigna confinxerit, merito repudianda discernitur: eo nimirum consilio, ut quoniam acutissimi homines atque doctissimi, a quibus ista conscripta sunt, ambas improbandas intelligebant, et illam scilicet fabulosam et istam civilem, illam vero audebant improbare, hanc non audebant; illam culpandam proposuerunt, hanc ejus similem comparandam exposuerunt; non ut haec prae illa tenenda eligeretur, sed ut cum illa respuenda intelligeretur; atque ita sine periculo eorum qui civilem theologiam reprehendere metuebant, utraque contempta, ea quam naturalem vocant, apud meliores animos inveniret locum. Nam et civilis et fabulosa ambae fabulosae sunt ambaeque civiles: ambas inveniet fabulosas qui vanitates et obscenitates ambarum prudenter inspexerit; ambas civiles qui scenicos ludos pertinentes ad fabulosam in deorum civilium festivitatibus et in urbium divinis rebus adverterit. Quomodo igitur vitae aeternae dandae potestas cuiquam deorum istorum tribuitur, quos sua simulacra et sacra convincunt, diis fabulosis apertissime reprobatis esse simillimos formis, aetatibus, sexu, habitu, conjugiis, generationibus, ritibus, in quibus omnibus aut homines fuisse intelliguntur, et pro uniuscujusque vita vel morte sacra eis et solemnia constituta, hunc errorem insinuantibus firmantibusque daemonibus, aut certe ex qualibet occasione immundissimi spiritus fallendis humanis mentibus irrepsisse?

## Caput IX.

*De officiis singulorum deorum.*

Then if these sacred things, which are convinced to be more foul than scenic foulnesses, are excused and purged from hence, because they have their own interpretations, by which they may be shown to signify the nature of things; why are not the poetic things also similarly excused and purged? For many have also interpreted them after the same manner: even so far that what is said by them as most monstrous and unspeakable, that Saturn devoured his own sons, some so interpret, that the length of time, which is signified by the name of Saturn, consumes whatever it generates: or, as the same Varro opines, that Saturn pertains to seeds, which fall back again into the earth, from which they arise. And others in another way, and similarly the rest.

And yet fabulous theology is said, and with all these kind of its own interpretations it is blamed, rejected, disapproved; nor only from the natural, which is of the philosophers, but even from this civil one, of which we treat, which is asserted to pertain to cities and peoples, in that it has feigned unworthy things concerning the gods, it is discerned as deservedly to be repudiated: namely by this counsel, that since the most acute and most learned men, by whom these things were written, understood both were to be disapproved, namely both that fabulous one and this civil one, but they dared to disapprove the former, they dared not the latter; they proposed the former as to be blamed, they exposed the latter as to be compared as similar to it; not that this should be chosen to be held before that, but that it should be understood as to be rejected with that; and thus without danger of those who feared to blame civil theology, both being contemned, that which they call natural, might find a place among better minds. For both the civil and the fabulous are both fabulous and both civil: he will find both fabulous who will prudently inspect the vanities and obscenities of both; both civil who will advert to the scenic games pertaining to the fabulous in the festivities of the civil gods and in the divine things of the cities. How therefore is the power of giving eternal life attributed to any of these gods, whom their own images and sacred things convince, the fabulous gods being most openly reprobated, to be most similar in forms, ages, sex, habit, marriages, generations, rites, in all which they are either understood to have been men, and sacred and solemn things constituted for them according to the life or death of each, the demons insinuating and confirming this error, or certainly from whatever occasion the most unclean spirits crept in for the sake of deceiving human minds?

## Chapter IX.

*Of the offices of the individual gods.*

1. Quid ipsa numinum officia tam viliter minutatimque concisa, propter quod eis dicunt pro uniuscujusque proprio munere supplicari oportere, unde non quidem omnia, sed multa jam diximus, nonne scurrilitati mimicae, quam divinae consonant dignitati? Si duas quisquam nutrices adhiberet infanti, quarum una nihil nisi escam, altera nihil nisi potum daret, sicut isti ad hoc duas adhibuerunt deas, Educam et Potinam; nempe desipere, et aliquid mimo simile in sua domo agere videretur. Liberum a liberamento appellatum volunt, quod mares in coeundo per ejus beneficium emissis seminibus liberentur: hoc idem in feminis agere Liberam, quam etiam Venerem putant, quod et ipsas perhibeant semina emittere; et ob hoc Libero eamdem virilem corporis partem in templo poni, femineam Liberae. Ad haec addunt mulieres attributas Libero, et vinum propter libidinem concitandam. Sic Bacchanalia summa celebrabantur insania. Ubi Varro ipse confitetur a Bacchantibus talia fieri non potuisse, nisi mente commota. Haec tamen postea displicuerunt senatui saniori, et ea jussit auferri. Saltem hic tandem forsitan senserunt quid immundi spiritus, dum pro diis habentur, in hominum possint mentibus. Haec certe non fierent in theatris. Ludunt quippe ibi, non furunt: quamvis deos habere, qui etiam ludis talibus delectentur, simile sit furoris.

2. Quale autem illud est, quod cum religiosum a superstitioso ea distinctione discernat, ut a superstitioso dicat timeri deos, a religioso autem tantum vereri ut parentes, non ut hostes timeri; atque omnes ita bonos dicat, ut facilius sit eos nocentibus parcere, quam laedere quemquam innocentem: tamen mulieri fetae post partum tres deos custodes commemorat adhiberi, ne Silvanus deus per noctem ingrediatur et vexet; eorumque custodum significandorum causa tres homines noctu circumire limina domus, et primo limen securi ferire, postea pilo, tertio deverrere scopis, ut his datis culturae signis, deus Silvanus prohibeatur intrare; quod neque arbores caeduntur ac putantur sine ferro, neque far conficitur sine pilo, neque fruges coacervantur sine scopis; ab his autem tribus rebus tres nuncupatos deos, Intercidonam a securis intercisione, Pilumnum a pilo, Deverram a scopis, quibus diis custodibus contra vim dei Silvani feta conservaretur? Ita contra dei nocentis saevitiam non valeret custodia bonorum, nisi plures essent adversus unum, eique aspero, horrendo, inculto, utpote silvestri, signis culturae tanquam contrariis repugnarent. Itane ista est innocentia deorum, ista concordia?

1. What of the offices of the deities themselves so vilely and minutely divided, on account of which they say it is necessary to supplicate them for the proper gift of each, concerning which we have already said many things, though not indeed all, do they not resonate with mimic scurrility, than with divine dignity? If any one should employ two nurses for an infant, of whom one should give nothing but food, the other nothing but drink, as these have employed for this two goddesses, Educa and Potina; surely he would seem to be unwise, and to carry on something similar to a mime in his own house. They wish Liber to be called from deliverance (liberamento), because males in copulating are delivered by his benefit from the emitted seeds: that Libera does this same thing in females, whom also they think is Venus, because they assert that they also emit seeds; and for this cause the same male part of the body is placed for Liber in the temple, the female part for Libera. To these they add women attributed to Liber, and wine on account of inciting lust. Thus the Bacchanalia were celebrated with the highest madness. Where Varro himself confesses that such things could not be done by the Bacchants, unless the mind was moved. Yet these things afterwards displeased the sounder senate, and it ordered them to be removed. At least here at length they perhaps felt what unclean spirits can do in the minds of men, while they are held for gods. These things certainly would not be done in the theatres. For they play there, they do not rage: although to have gods, who are even delighted with such games, is similar to madness.

But of what kind is that, that since he discerns the religious from the superstitious by that distinction, that he says the gods are feared by the superstitious, but by the religious only revered as parents, not feared as enemies; and says that all are so good, that it is easier for them to spare the hurtful, than to harm any innocent person: yet he commemorates that for a woman who has brought forth, after the birth three guardian gods are employed, lest the god Silvanus should enter through the night and vex her; and for the sake of signifying those guardians, that three men go around the thresholds of the house by night, and first strike the threshold with an axe, afterwards with a pestle, thirdly sweep it with brooms, that these signs of culture being given, the god Silvanus may be prohibited from entering; because neither are trees cut and pruned without iron, nor is corn made without a pestle, nor are the fruits heaped together without brooms; but from these three things three gods are named, Intercidona from the intercision of the axe, Pilumnum from the pestle, Deverra from the brooms, by which guardian gods the woman who has brought forth is preserved against the force of the god Silvanus? Thus against the savageness of a hurtful god the guardianship of the good ones would not avail, unless there were more against one, and they should resist him, as rough, horrible, uncultivated, as being silvan, by signs of culture as if contrary ones. Is that the innocence of the gods, that the concord?

haeccine sunt numina salubria urbium, magis ridenda quam ludibria theatrorum?

3. Cum mas et femina conjunguntur, adhibetur deus Jugatinus: sit hoc ferendum. Sed domum est ducenda quae nubit, adhibetur et deus Domiducus; ut in domo sit, adhibetur deus Domitius; ut maneat cum viro, additur dea Manturna. Quid ultra quaeritur? Parcatur humanae verecundiae: peragat caetera concupiscentia carnis et sanguinis, procurato secreto pudoris. Quid impletur cubiculum turba numinum, quando et paranymphi inde discedunt? Et ad hoc impletur, non ut eorum praesentia cogitata major sit cura pudicitiae, sed ut feminae, sexu infirmae, novitate pavidae, illis cooperantibus sine ulla difficultate virginitas auferatur: adest enim dea Virginiensis, et deus pater Subigus, et dea mater Prema, et dea Pertunda, et Venus, et Priapus. Quid est hoc? Si omnino laborantem in illo opere virum ab diis adjuvari oportebat, non sufficeret aliquis unus, aut aliqua una? Numquid Venus sola parum esset, quae ob hoc etiam dicitur nuncupata, quod sine ejus vi femina virgo esse non desinat? Si ulla est frons in hominibus, quae non est in numinibus, nonne cum credunt conjugati tot deos utriusque sexus esse praesentes, et huic operi instantes, ita pudore afficiuntur, ut et ille minus moveatur, et illa plus reluctetur? Et certe si adest Virginiensis dea, ut virgini zona solvatur; si adest deus Subigus, ut viro subigatur; si adest dea Prema, ut subacta, ne se commoveat, comprimatur; dea Pertunda ibi quid facit? Erubescat, eat foras: agat aliquid et maritus. Valde inhonestum est, ut quod vocatur illa, impleat quisquam nisi ille. Sed forte ideo toleratur, quia dea dicitur esse, non deus. Nam si masculus crederetur, et Pertundus vocaretur, magis contra eum pro uxoris pudicitia posceret maritus auxilium, quam feta contra Silvanum. Sed quid hoc dicam, cum ibi sit et Priapus nimius masculus, super cujus immanissimum et turpissimum fascinum sedere nova nupta jubebatur, more honestissimo et religiosissimo matronarum?

4. Eant adhuc, et civilem theologiam a theologia fabulosa, urbes a theatris, templa a scenis, sacra pontificum a carminibus poetarum, velut res honestas a turpibus, veraces a fallacibus, graves a leves, serias a ludicris, appetendas a respuendis, qua possunt quasi conentur subtilitate discernere.

are these the salutary deities of the cities, more to be laughed at than the mockeries of the theatres?

3. When male and female are joined, the god Jugatinus is employed: let this be bearable. But she who marries must be led home, and the god Domiducus is also employed; that she may be in the house, the god Domitius is employed; that she may remain with her husband, the goddess Manturna is added. What further is sought? Let human modesty be spared: let the concupiscence of flesh and blood perform the rest, the secret of shame being provided for. Why is the bedchamber filled with a crowd of deities, when even the paranymphs depart thence? And for this it is filled, not that the thought of their presence should be a greater care for chastity, but that for the females, weak in sex, fearful by novelty, their virginity should be taken away without any difficulty by those cooperating: for the goddess Virginiensis is present, and the god father Subigus, and the goddess mother Prema, and the goddess Pertunda, and Venus, and Priapus. What is this? If it was altogether necessary that the man laboring in that work should be helped by the gods, would not some one god, or some one goddess, suffice? Would not Venus alone be too little, who for this cause also is said to be named, because without her force a female does not cease to be a virgin? If there is any brow in men, which is not in the deities, do they not, when married people believe so many gods of each sex to be present, and instant upon this work, are they not so affected with shame, that both he is less moved, and she more reluctant? And certainly if the goddess Virginiensis is present, that the girdle may be loosed for the virgin; if the god Subigus is present, that she may be subjected to the man; if the goddess Prema is present, that being subjected, lest she should move herself, she may be pressed down; what does the goddess Pertunda do there? Let her blush, let her go out: let the husband also do something. It is very dishonest, that what she is called, any one should fill except he. But perhaps therefore it is tolerated, because she is said to be a goddess, not a god. For if he were believed to be a male, and were called Pertundus, the husband would rather ask help against him for the chastity of his wife, than a woman who has brought forth against Silvanus. But why should I say this, when Priapus is there also, an excessive male, upon whose most immense and most foul phallus the new bride was commanded to sit, by the most honest and most religious custom of matrons?

4. Let them go still, and let them endeavor to discern by what subtlety they can civil theology from fabulous theology, cities from theatres, temples from stages, the sacred things of the pontiffs from the songs of the poets, as honest things from foul ones, true from fallacious ones, grave from light ones, serious from ludicrous ones, things to be sought from those to be rejected.

Intelligimus quid agant: illam theatricam et fabulosam theologiam ab ista civili pendere noverunt, et ei de carminibus poetarum tanquam de speculo resultare; et ideo ista exposita, quam damnare non audent, illam ejus imaginem liberius arguunt et reprehendunt, ut qui agnoscunt quid velint, et hanc ipsam faciem, cujus illa imago est, detestentur; quam tamen dii ipsi tanquam in eodem speculo se intuentes ita diligunt, ut qui qualesque sint in utraque melius videantur. Unde etiam cultores suos terribilibus imperiis compulerunt, ut immunditiam theologiae fabulosae sibi dicarent, in suis solemnitatibus ponerent, in rebus divinis haberent; atque ita et se ipsos immundissimos spiritus manifestius esse docuerunt, et hujus urbanae theologiae velut electae et probatae illam theatricam, abjectam atque reprobatam, membrum partemque fecerunt; ut cum sit universa turpis et fallax, atque in se contineat commentitios deos, una pars ejus sit in litteris sacerdotum, altera in carminibus poetarum. Utrum habeat et alias partes, alia quaestio est: nunc propter divisionem Varronis, et urbanam et theatricam theologiam ad unam civilem pertinere, satis, ut opinor, ostendi. Unde, quia sunt ambae similis turpitudinis, absurditatis, indignitatis, falsitatis, absit a viris religiosis ut sive ab hac, sive ab illa vita speretur aeterna.

5. Denique et ipse Varro commemorare et enumerare deos coepit a conceptione hominis, quorum numerum exorsus est a Jano; eamque seriem perduxit usque ad decrepiti hominis mortem, et deos ad ipsum hominem pertinentes clausit ad Naeniam deam, quae in funeribus senum cantatur: deinde coepit deos alios ostendere, qui pertinerent, non ad ipsum hominem, sed ad ea quae sunt hominis, sicuti est victus, vestitus, et quaecumque alia huic vitae sunt necessaria; ostendens in omnibus quod sit cujusque munus; et propter quid cuique debeat supplicari: in qua universa diligentia nullos demonstravit vel nominavit deos, a quibus vita aeterna poscenda sit, propter quam unam proprie nos christiani sumus. Quis ergo usque adeo tardus sit, ut non intelligat istum hominem civilem theologiam tam diligenter exponendo et aperiendo, eamque illi fabulosae, indignae atque probrosae similem demonstrando, atque ipsam fabulosam partem esse hujus satis evidenter docendo, nonnisi illi naturali, quam dicit ad philosophos pertinere, in animis hominum moliri locum, ea subtilitate, ut fabulosam reprehendat, civilem vero reprehendere quidem non audeat, sed prodendo reprehensibilem ostendat, atque ita utraque judicio recte intelligentium reprobata, sola naturalis remaneat eligenda? De qua suo loco in adjutorio Dei veri diligentius disserendum est.

We understand what they do: they knew that that theatrical and fabulous theology depends from this civil one, and results from it as from a mirror concerning the songs of the poets; and therefore this being exposed, which they dare not damn, they more freely argue and reprehend that image of it, so that they who acknowledge what they wish, may detest even this face itself, of which that is the image; which yet the gods themselves beholding themselves as if in the same mirror so love, that they are better seen who and what kind they are in both. Whence also they compelled their worshippers by terrible commands, that they should dedicate to them the uncleanness of fabulous theology, should place it in their solemnities, should have it in divine things; and thus they more manifestly taught that they themselves are most unclean spirits, and made that theatrical one, cast off and reprobated, a member and part of this urban theology as if elected and approved; so that since the whole is foul and fallacious, and contains in itself counterfeit gods, one part of it is in the letters of the priests, the other in the songs of the poets. Whether it has also other parts, is another question: now on account of the division of Varro, I think it has been sufficiently shown that both the urban and the theatrical theology pertain to one civil one. Whence, because both are of similar foulness, absurdity, indignity, falsehood, far be it from religious men that eternal life should be hoped for either from this or from that.

5. Finally also Varro himself began to commemorate and enumerate the gods from the conception of man, the number of whom he began from Janus; and he led that series through even to the death of a decrepit man, and closed the gods pertaining to man himself at the goddess Naenia, who is sung in the funerals of old men: then he began to show other gods, who should pertain, not to man himself, but to those things which are of man, such as is food, clothing, and whatever other things are necessary to this life; showing in all what is the office of each; and for the sake of what one ought to supplicate each: in which universal diligence he demonstrated or named no gods, from whom eternal life is to be asked, for the sake of which one alone we properly are Christians. Who therefore should be so slow, as not to understand that this man, by so diligently exposing and opening civil theology, and demonstrating it to be similar to that fabulous, unworthy and reproachful one, and teaching clearly enough that fabulous one itself to be a part of this, was laboring for a place in the minds of men for nothing else than that natural one, which he says pertains to the philosophers, by that subtlety, that he should reprehend the fabulous, but should not indeed dare to reprehend the civil, but by producing it should show it to be reprehensible, and thus both being reprobated by the judgment of those rightly understanding, the natural one alone should remain to be chosen? Concerning which we must discourse more diligently in its own place by the help of the true God.

## Caput X.

*De libertate Senecae, qui vehementius civilem theologiam reprehendit, quam Varro fabulosam.*

1. Libertas sane, quae huic defuit, ne istam urbanam theologiam, theatricae simillimam, aperte sicut illam reprehendere auderet, Annaeo Senecae, quem nonnullis indiciis invenimus Apostolorum nostrorum claruisse temporibus, non quidem ex toto, verum ex aliqua parte non defuit. Adfuit enim scribenti, viventi defuit. Nam in eo libro quem contra superstitiones condidit, multo copiosius atque vehementius reprehendit ipse civilem istam et urbanam theologiam, quam Varro theatricam atque fabulosam. Cum enim de simulacris ageret, Sacros, inquit, immortales, inviolabiles in materia vilissima atque immobili dedicant, habitus illis hominum ferarumque et piscium, quidam vero mixto sexu diversis corporibus induunt: numina vocant, quae si spiritu accepto subito occurrerent, monstra haberentur. Deinde aliquanto post, cum theologiam naturalem praedicans, quorumdam philosophorum sententias digessisset, opposuit sibi quaestionem, et ait: Hoc loco dicit aliquis, Credam ego coelum et terram deos esse, et supra lunam alios, infra alios? Ego feram aut Platonem, aut Peripateticum Stratonem, quorum alter fecit deum sine corpore, alter sine animo? Et ad hoc respondens, Quid ergo tandem, inquit, veriora tibi videntur T. Tatii, aut Romuli, aut Tulli Hostilii somnia? Cloacinam Tatius dedicavit deam, Picum Tiberinumque Romulus, Hostilius Pavorem atque Pallorem teterrimos hominum affectus, quorum alter mentis territae motus est, alter corporis, nec morbus quidem, sed color. Haec numina potius credes, et coelo recipies? De ipsis vero ritibus crudeliter turpibus quam libere scripsit? Ille, inquit, viriles sibi partes amputat, ille lacertos secat. Ubi iratos deos timent, qui sic propitios merentur? Dii autem nullo debent coli genere, si et hoc volunt. Tantus est perturbatae mentis et sedibus suis pulsae furor; ut sic dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem saeviunt teterrimi et in fabulas traditae crudelitatis. Tyranni laceraverunt aliquorum membra, neminem sua lacerare jusserunt. In regiae libidinis voluptatem castrati sunt quidam: sed nemo sibi, ne vir esset, jubente domino, manus intulit. Se ipsi in templis contrucidant, vulneribus suis ac sanguine supplicant. Si cui intueri vacet, quae faciunt, quaeque patiuntur, inveniet tam indecora honestis, tam indigna liberis, tam dissimilia sanis, ut nemo fuerit dubitaturus furere eos, si cum paucioribus furerent: nunc sanitatis patrocinium insanientium turba est.

## Chapter X.

*Of the liberty of Seneca, who more vehemently reprehended civil theology, than Varro fabulous.*

1. Liberty indeed, which was wanting to this man, lest he should dare to reprehend this urban theology, most similar to the theatrical one, as openly as that one, was not indeed altogether, but from some part not wanting to Annaeus Seneca, whom we find by some indications to have flourished in the times of our Apostles. For it was present to him writing, it was wanting to him living. For in that book which he composed against superstitions, he himself reprehended this civil and urban theology much more copiously and vehemently, than Varro the theatrical and fabulous. For when he was treating of images, "They dedicate," he says, "sacred, immortal, inviolable things in the most vile and immobile matter, they put upon them the habits of men and wild beasts and fishes, and some indeed of mixed sex with diverse bodies: they call them deities, which if having received a spirit they should suddenly occur, they would be held for monsters." Then a little after, when preaching natural theology, he had digested the sentences of certain philosophers, he opposed a question to himself, and says: "In this place some one says, Shall I believe that heaven and earth are gods, and some above the moon, others below? Shall I bear either Plato, or the Peripatetic Strato, of whom one made a god without a body, the other without a mind?" And responding to this, "What therefore at length," he says, "do the dreams of T. Tatius, or of Romulus, or of Tullus Hostilius seem to you more true? Tatius dedicated the goddess Cloacina, Romulus Picus and Tiberinus, Hostilius Fear and Pallor, the most foul affections of men, of which one is the motion of a terrified mind, the other of the body, nor indeed a disease, but a color." Will you rather believe these deities, and receive them into heaven?" But concerning the rites themselves cruelly foul how freely he wrote! "That one," he says, "amputates his own male parts, that one cuts his arms. Where do they fear angry gods, who thus merit propitious ones? But the gods ought to be worshipped in no kind, if they also want this. So great is the madness of a perturbed mind and driven from its own seats; that the gods are thus placated, in the same way as not even the most foul men and of a cruelty delivered into fables rage. Tyrants have lacerated the members of some, they have commanded no one to lacerate his own. For the pleasure of royal lust some have been castrated: but no one, that he might not be a man, laid hands upon himself, the master commanding. They slaughter themselves in the temples, they supplicate with their own wounds and blood. If it were vacant to any one to behold what things they do, and what things they suffer, he would find them so indecorous to honest ones, so unworthy of free ones, so dissimilar to sane ones, that no one would have been about to doubt that they were mad, if they were mad with fewer: now the crowd of those being insane is the patronage of sanity."

2. Jam illa quae in ipso Capitolio fieri solere commemorat, et intrepide omnino coarguit, quis credat nisi ab irridentibus aut furentibus fieri? Nam cum in sacris Aegyptiis Osirim lugeri perditum, mox autem inventum magno esse gaudio derisisset, cum perditio ejus inventioque fingatur, dolor tamen ille atque laetitia ab eis, qui nihil perdiderunt nihilque invenerunt, veraciter exprimatur, «Huic tamen,» inquit «furori certum tempus est. Tolerabile est, semel in anno insanire. In Capitolium perveni, pudebit publicatae dementiae, quod sibi vanus furor attribuit officii. Alius nomina deo subjicit, alius horas Jovi nuntiat; alius lictor est, alius unctor, qui vano motu brachiorum imitatur ungentem. Sunt quae Junoni ac Minervae capillos disponant, longe a templo, non tantum a simulacro stantes, digitos movent ornantium modo. Sunt quae speculum teneant: sunt quae ad vadimonia sua deos advocent: sunt qui libellos offerant, et illos causam suam doceant. Doctus archimimus, senex jam decrepitus, quotidie in Capitolio mimum agebat, quasi dii libenter spectarent, quem illi homines desierant. Omne illic artificum genus operatum diis immortalibus desidet.» Et paulo post: «Hi tamen,» inquit, «etiamsi supervacuum usum, non turpem nec infamem deo promittunt. Sedent quaedam in Capitolio, quae se a Jove amari putant: ne Junonis quidem, si credere poetis velis, iracundissimae, respectu terrentur.»

3. Hanc ille libertatem Varro non habuit: tantummodo de fabulosa theologia fateri ausus est; de civili autem, quam iste deiecit, siluit. Sed si verum attendamus, gravius ista deliquerunt, quibus Seneca haec ascribit, quam quibus theatrici illi ludi turpitudinem deo adfingunt. In illis enim, hoc est, in fabulosis, turpia numinum fingunt poetae: in istis autem civilibus, turpius ipsi numinibus exhibent. Poetae per ludum fingunt Iovem adulterum: qui autem colunt, eum in ipso Capitolio, in ipsius Capitolii ludi scaenis, adulterum exhibent. Et Seneca ipse dicit: «Sedent quaedam in Capitolio, quae se a Iove amari putant: ne Iunonis quidem respectu terrentur». In scaenis fabulosa, in Capitolio civilia sunt: in scaenis ficta, in Capitolio facta sunt. Quid ergo ibi Iuppiter magis adulter est, quam in Capitolio ubi ab his, qui eum colunt, pro adultero habetur? Et in Aegypti sacris ubi non poetae, sed ipsi colentes Osiris perditionem et inventionem fingunt, ibi non ludi, sed sacra sunt. Ibi autem, inquit, non turpia, sed supervacua.

2. Now those things which he commemorates to be accustomed to be done in the Capitol itself, and coargues altogether intrepidly, who would believe they were done unless by those mocking or raging? For when he had mocked that in the Egyptian sacred things Osiris is bewailed as lost, but soon being found is of great joy, when his loss and finding is feigned, yet that grief and joy is truly expressed by those, who lost nothing and found nothing, "To this madness however," he says "there is a certain time. It is tolerable to be insane once in a year. Come to the Capitol, it will shame of published madness, what a vain rage attributed to itself of office. One subjects names to the god, another announces the hours to Jupiter; another is a lictor, another an anointer, who by a vain motion of the arms imitates an anointer. There are those who dispose the hair for Juno and Minerva, standing far from the temple, not only from the image, they move their fingers in the manner of those adorning. There are those who hold a mirror: there are those who call the gods to their bail-bonds: there are those who offer libels, and teach them their cause. A learned arch-mime, an old man now decrepit, daily acted a mime in the Capitol, as if the gods willingly beheld him, whom those men had ceased to. Every kind of artisans there sits idle for the immortal gods." And a little after: "These however," he says, "although they promise a superfluous use, not a foul nor an infamous one to the god. There sit certain ones in the Capitol, who think themselves beloved by Jupiter: nor indeed are they terrified by the respect of Juno, if you will believe the poets, the most irascible."

3. This liberty Varro did not have: he only dared to confess concerning the fabulous theology; but concerning the civil one, which this man [Seneca] cast down, he was silent. But if we attend to the truth, those things committed more grievous faults to which Seneca ascribes these things, than those to which those theatrical games feign foulness for a god. For in those, that is, in the fabulous ones, the poets feign the foul things of the deities: but in these civil ones, they themselves exhibit more foul things to the deities. The poets through a game feign Jupiter an adulterer: but those who worship him exhibit him as an adulterer in the Capitol itself, in the scenic games of the Capitol itself. And Seneca himself says: "There sit certain ones in the Capitol, who think themselves beloved by Jupiter: nor indeed are they terrified by the respect of Juno." In the scenes are fabulous things, in the Capitol are civil things: in the scenes are things feigned, in the Capitol are things done. Why therefore is Jupiter more an adulterer there, than in the Capitol where he is held for an adulterer by those who worship him? And in the sacred things of Egypt where not the poets, but the worshippers themselves feign the loss and the finding of Osiris, there are not games, but sacred rites. But there, he says, they are not foul things, but superfluous.

Quid est autem, oro te, supervacuum in re divina, nisi quod sit inanissimum et stultissimum, id est, vanissimum? Vanitas autem quid est aliud, nisi quod sit contra veritatem? Sed Seneca addit: «Hi tamen etiamsi supervacuum usum, non turpem nec infamem deo promittunt».

## Caput XI.

*Quid de Judaeis Seneca senserit.*

Hic inter alias civilis theologiae superstitiones reprehendit etiam sacramenta Judaeorum, et maxime sabbata; inutiliter eos facere affirmans, quod per illos singulos septem interpositos dies, septimam fere partem aetatis suae perdant vacando, et multa in tempore urgentia non agendo laedantur. Christianos tamen jam tunc Judaeis inimicissimos, in neutram partem commemorare ausus est, ne vel laudaret contra suae patriae veterem consuetudinem, vel reprehenderet contra propriam forsitan voluntatem. De illis sane Judaeis cum loqueretur, ait: «Cum interim usque eo sceleratissimae gentis consuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes jam terras recepta sit: victi victoribus leges dederunt.» Mirabatur haec dicens, et quid divinitus ageretur ignorans, subjecit plane sententiam, qua significaret quid de illorum sacramentorum ratione sentiret. Ait enim: «Illi tamen causas ritus sui noverunt; major pars populi facit, quod cur faciat ignorat.» Sed de sacramentis Judaeorum, vel cur, vel quatenus instituta sint auctoritate divina, ac postmodum a populo Dei, cui vitae aeternae mysterium revelatum est, tempore quo oportuit eadem auctoritate sublata sint, et alias diximus, maxime cum adversus Manichaeos ageremus, et in hoc opere loco opportuniore dicendum est.

## Caput XII.

*Quod Gentilium deorum vanitate detecta, nequeat dubitari aeternam eos vitam nemini posse praestare, qui nec ipsam adjuvent temporalem.*

Nunc propter tres theologias, quas Graeci dicunt mythicen, physicen, politicen, latine autem dici possunt, fabulosa, naturalis, civilis; quod neque de fabulosa, quam et ipsi multorum falsorumque deorum cultores liberrime reprehenderunt, neque de civili, cujus illa pars esse convincitur, ejusque et ista simillima vel etiam deterior invenitur, speranda est aeterna vita; si cui satis non sunt quae in hoc volumine dicta sunt, adjungat etiam illa quae in superioribus libris, et maxime quarto de felicitatis datore Deo plurima disputata sunt.

But what, I pray you, is superfluous in a divine matter, unless what is most empty and most foolish, that is, most vain? But what else is vanity, unless what is against the truth? But Seneca adds: "These however, although they promise a superfluous use, not a foul nor an infamous one to the god."

## Chapter XI.

*What Seneca thought concerning the Jews.*

Here among other superstitions of civil theology he reprehended also the sacraments of the Jews, and especially the sabbaths; affirming that they act uselessly, because through those single seven days interposed, they lose almost a seventh part of their age by being idle, and are harmed by not doing many urgent things in time. However, the Christians, already then most inimical to the Jews, he dared to commemorate in neither part, lest either he should praise against the ancient custom of his country, or reprehend against perhaps his own will. Concerning those Jews indeed when he was speaking, he says: "When meanwhile the custom of a most wicked nation has so far prevailed, that it is now received through all lands: the conquered gave laws to the conquerors." He wondered saying these things, and ignorant of what was being acted divinely, he subjected plainly a sentence, by which he might signify what he thought concerning the reason of their sacraments. For he says: "They however knew the causes of their rite; the greater part of the people does, what it is ignorant of why it does." But concerning the sacraments of the Jews, either why, or how far they were instituted by divine authority, and afterwards from the people of God, to whom the mystery of eternal life has been revealed, in the time in which it behooved they were taken away by the same authority, we have said elsewhere, especially when we acted against the Manichaeans, and it is to be said in a more opportune place in this work.

## Chapter XII.

*That the vanity of the Gentile gods being detected, it cannot be doubted that they can afford eternal life to no one, who do not even aid that temporal life.*

Now on account of the three theologies, which the Greeks call *mythice*, *physice*, *politice*, but in Latin can be called, fabulous, natural, civil; that eternal life is to be hoped for neither from the fabulous, which even the worshippers themselves of many and false gods most freely reprehended, nor from the civil, of which that part is convinced to be, and this is found most similar to it or even worse; if to anyone those things are not enough which have been said in this volume, let him join also those which were disputed most fully in the superior books, and especially in the fourth concerning God the giver of happiness.

Nam cui nisi uni felicitati propter aeternam vitam consecrandi homines essent, si dea felicitas esset? Quia vero non dea, sed munus est Dei; cui Deo nisi datori felicitatis consecrandi sumus, qui aeternam vitam, ubi vera est et plena felicitas, pia charitate diligimus? Non autem datorem esse felicitatis quemquam istorum deorum, qui tanta turpitudine coluntur, et nisi ita colantur, multo turpius irascuntur, atque ob hoc se spiritus immundissimos confitentur, puto ex his quae dicta sunt, neminem dubitare oportere. Porro qui non dat felicitatem, vitam quomodo possit dare aeternam? eam quippe vitam aeternam dicimus, ubi est sine fine felicitas. Nam si anima in poenis vivit aeternis, quibus et ipsi spiritus cruciabuntur immundi, mors est illa potius aeterna, quam vita. Nulla quippe major et pejor est mors, quam ubi non moritur mors. Sed quod animae natura, per id quod immortalis creata est, sine qualicumque vita esse non potest, summa mors ejus est alienatio a vita Dei in aeternitate supplicii. Vitam igitur aeternam, id est sine ullo fine felicem, solus ille dat, qui dat veram felicitatem. Quam quoniam illi, quos colit theologia ista civilis, dare non posse convicti sunt; non solum propter ista temporalia atque terrena, quod superioribus quinque libris ostendimus, sed multo magis propter vitam aeternam, quae post mortem futura est, quod isto uno etiam illis cooperantibus egimus, colendi non sunt. Sed quoniam veternosae consuetudinis vis nimis in alto radices habet, si cui de ista civili theologia respuenda atque vitanda parum videor disputasse, in aliud volumen, quod huic, opitulante Deo, conjungendum est, animum intendat.

For to what one thing unless to happiness on account of eternal life would men have to be consecrated, if happiness were a goddess? But because she is not a goddess, but a gift of God; to what God unless to the giver of happiness are we to be consecrated, who love eternal life with pious charity, where there is true and full happiness? But that any of these gods, who are worshipped with such great foulness, and unless they are thus worshipped, are much more foully angry, and on this account confess themselves most unclean spirits, is the giver of happiness, I think from these things which have been said, no one ought to doubt. Furthermore, how can he give eternal life, who does not give happiness? for we call that eternal life, where there is happiness without end. For if the soul lives in eternal pains, by which also the unclean spirits themselves will be tortured, that is rather an eternal death, than life. For there is no greater and worse death, than where death does not die. But because the nature of the soul, through that which it was created immortal, cannot be without some kind of life, its highest death is alienation from the life of God in the eternity of punishment. Therefore only He gives eternal life, that is happy without any end, who gives true happiness. Which since those, whom this civil theology worships, are convicted not to be able to give; not only on account of these temporal and earthly things, which we showed in the superior five books, but much more on account of eternal life, which is about to be after death, which we have acted in this one volume even with those [previous books] cooperating, they are not to be worshipped. But since the force of inveterate custom has roots too deep, if to anyone I seem to have disputed too little concerning this civil theology to be rejected and avoided, let him intend his mind into another volume, which, God helping, is to be joined to this one.

# LIBER SEPTIMUS.

De diis selectis civilis theologiae, Jano, Jove, Saturno, et caeteris, quod nec eorum cultu perveniatur ad aeternae vitae felicitatem.

## PRAEFATIO.

Diligentius me pravas et veteres opiniones, veritati pietatis inimicas, quas tenebrosis animis altius et tenacius diuturnus humani generis error infixit, evellere atque exstirpare conantem, et illius gratiae, qui hoc ut verus Deus potest, pro meo modulo in ejus adjutorio cooperantem, ingenia celeriora atque meliora, quibus ad hanc rem superiores libri satis superque sufficiunt, patienter et aequanimiter ferre debebunt; et propter alios non putare superfluum, quod jam sibi sentiunt non necessarium. Multum magna res agitur, cum vera et vere sancta divinitas, quamvis ab ea nobis etiam huic, quam nunc gerimus, fragilitati necessaria subsidia praebeantur, non tamen propter mortalis vitae transitorium vaporem, sed propter vitam beatam, quae nonnisi aeterna est, quaerenda et colenda praedicatur.

## Caput Primum.

*An, cum in theologia civili deitatem non esse constiterit, in selectis diis eam inveniri posse credendum sit.*

Hanc divinitatem, vel, ut sic dixerim, deitatem; nam et hoc verbo uti jam nostros non piget, ut de graeco expressius transferant id quod illi θεότητα appellant: hanc ergo divinitatem sive deitatem non esse in ea theologia, quam civilem vocant, quae a Marco Varrone sedecim voluminibus explicata est, id est, non perveniri ad aeternae vitae felicitatem talium deorum cultu, quales a civitatibus qualiterque colendi instituti sunt, cui nondum persuasit sextus liber, quem proxime absolvimus, cum istum forsitan legerit, quid de hac quaestione expedienda ulterius desideret, non habebit.

# BOOK SEVENTH.

Concerning the select gods of civil theology, Janus, Jupiter, Saturn, and the rest, that neither by their worship is reached the happiness of eternal life.

## PREFACE.

Me, more diligently endeavoring to pluck up and extirpate the depraved and ancient opinions, inimical to the truth of piety, which the long-lasting error of the human race has fixed more deeply and tenaciously in dark minds, and for my small measure cooperating in His aid of that grace, who as the true God can do this, the quicker and better wits, for whom the superior books suffice enough and more for this matter, ought to bear patiently and equanimously; and on account of others not to think superfluous, what they now feel not necessary for themselves. A much great matter is being acted, when the true and truly holy divinity, although from it also necessary subsidies are afforded to us for this fragility which we now bear, yet is preached to be sought and worshipped not on account of the transitory vapor of mortal life, but on account of the blessed life, which is only eternal.

## Chapter First.

*Whether, since it has been established that divinity is not in civil theology, it is to be believed that it can be found in the select gods.*

This divinity, or, as I might say, deity; for now our people are not reluctant to use also this word, that they may translate more expressively from the Greek that which those call *theoteta*: this divinity therefore or deity not to be in that theology, which they call civil, which was explained by Marcus Varro in sixteen volumes, that is, that the happiness of eternal life is not reached by the worship of such gods, as have been instituted by the cities and in what manner they are to be worshipped, he whom the sixth book, which we recently finished, has not yet persuaded, when he will have read this one perhaps, will not have what he may further desire for expediting this question.

Fieri enim potest ut saltem deos selectos atque praecipuos, quos Varro volumine complexus est ultimo, de quibus parum diximus, quisquam colendos propter vitam beatam, quae nonnisi aeterna est, opinetur. Qua in re non dico quod facetius ait Tertullianus fortasse quam verius: Si dii seliguntur ut bulbi, utique caeteri reprobi judicantur. Non hoc dico: video enim etiam ex selectis seligi aliquos ad aliquid majus atque praestantius; sicut in militia, cum tirones electi fuerint, ex his quoque eliguntur ad opus aliquod majus armorum. Et cum eliguntur in Ecclesia qui fiant praepositi, non utique caeteri reprobantur, cum omnes boni fideles electi merito nuncupentur. Eliguntur in aedificio lapides angulares, non reprobatis caeteris, qui structurae partibus aliis deputantur. Eliguntur uvae ad vescendum, nec reprobantur aliae, quos relinquimus ad bibendum. Non opus est multa percurrere, cum res in aperto sit. Quamobrem non ex hoc, quod dii ex multis quidam selecti sunt, vel is qui scripsit, vel eorum cultores, vel dii ipsi vituperandi sunt: sed advertendum potius quinam isti sint, et ad quam rem selecti videantur.

## Caput II.

*Qui sint dii selecti, et an ab officiis viliorum deorum habeantur excepti.*

Hos certe deos selectos Varro unius libri contextione commendat, Janum, Jovem, Saturnum, Genium, Mercurium, Apollinem, Martem, Vulcanum, Neptunum, Solem, Orcum, Liberum patrem, Tellurem, Cererem, Junonem, Lunam, Dianam, Minervam, Venerem, Vestam: in quibus omnibus ferme viginti, duodecim mares, octo sunt feminae. Haec numina utrum propter majores in mundo administrationes selecta dicuntur, an quod populis magis innotuerunt, majorque est eis cultus exhibitus? Si propterea, quia opera majora ad his administrantur in mundo, non eos invenire debuimus inter illam quasi plebeiam numinum multitudinem minutis opusculis deputatam. Nam ipse primum Janus, cum puerperium concipitur, unde cuncta opera illa sumunt exordium, minutatim minutis distributa numinibus, aditum aperit recipiendo semini: ibi est et Saturnus propter ipsum semen: ibi Liber, qui marem effuso semine liberat: ibi Libera, quam et Venerem volunt, quae hoc idem beneficium conferat feminae, ut etiam ipsa emisso semine liberetur. Omnes hi ex illis sunt, qui selecti appellantur.

For it can be that at least the select and principal gods, whom Varro comprised in the last volume, concerning whom we have said little, someone may think are to be worshipped on account of the blessed life, which is only eternal. In which matter I do not say what Tertullian said perhaps more facetiously than truly: *If gods are selected like bulbs, certainly the rest are judged reprobate*. I do not say this: for I see even from the select some are selected for something greater and more excellent; as in military service, when recruits have been chosen, from these also some are chosen for some greater work of arms. And when they are chosen in the Church who may become those set over, certainly the rest are not reprobated, since all good faithful ones are deservedly called elect. Corner-stones are chosen in a building, the rest not being reprobated, which are deputed to other parts of the structure. Grapes are chosen for eating, nor are the others reprobated, which we leave for drinking. There is no need to run through many things, since the matter is in the open. Wherefore not from this, that certain gods are select out of many, either he who wrote, or their worshippers, or the gods themselves are to be vituperated: but rather it is to be adverted who these are, and for what matter they seem to be select.

## Chapter II.

*Who the select gods are, and whether they are held excepted from the offices of the viler gods.*

These select gods indeed Varro commends by the contexture of one book, Janus, Jupiter, Saturn, Genius, Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Vulcan, Neptune, Sol, Orcus, Liber the father, Tellus, Ceres, Juno, Luna, Diana, Minerva, Venus, Vesta: in all which almost twenty, twelve are males, eight are females. Are these deities called select on account of greater administrations in the world, or because they became more known to the peoples, and a greater worship was exhibited to them? If on this account, because greater works are administered by them in the world, we ought not to have found them among that quasi plebeian multitude of deities deputed to minute little works. For Janus himself first, when a child-bearing is conceived, whence all those works take their beginning, distributed minutely to minute deities, opens the access for receiving the seed: there is also Saturn on account of the seed itself: there is Liber, who liberates the male the seed being poured out: there is Libera, whom they also want to be Venus, who may confer this same benefit on the female, that she also the seed being emitted may be liberated. All these are from those who are called select.

Sed ibi est et dea Mena, quae menstruis fluoribus praeest, quamvis Jovis filia, tamen ignobilis. Et hanc provinciam fluorum menstruorum in libro selectorum deorum ipsi Junoni idem auctor assignat, quae in diis selectis etiam regina est: et hic tanquam Juno Lucina cum eadem Mena, privigna sua, eidem cruori praesidet. Ibi sunt et duo, nescio qui obscurissimi, Vitumnus et Sentinus; quorum alter vitam, alter sensus puerperio largiuntur. Et nimirum multo plus praestant, cum sint ignobilissimi, quam tot illi proceres et selecti. Nam profecto sine vita et sensu, quid est illud totum, quod muliebri utero geritur, nisi nescio quid abjectissimum limo ac pulveri comparandum?

## Caput III.

*Quam nulla sit ratio, quae de selectione quorumdam deorum possit ostendi, cum multis inferioribus excellentior administratio deputetur.*

1. Quae igitur causa tot selectos deos ad haec opera minima compulit, ubi a Vitumno et Sentino, quos fama obscura recondit, in hujus munificentiae partitione superentur? Confert enim selectus Janus aditum et quasi januam semini; confert selectus Saturnus semen ipsum; confert selectus Liber ejusdem seminis emissionem viris; confert hoc idem Libera, quae Ceres seu Venus est feminis; confert selecta Juno, et haec non sola, sed cum Mena, filia Jovis, fluores menstruos ad ejus, quod conceptum est, incrementum: et confert Vitumnus obscurus et ignobilis vitam; confert Sentinus obscurus et ignobilis sensum: quae duo tanto illis rebus praestantiora sunt, quanto et ipsa intellectu ac ratione vincuntur. Sicut enim quae ratiocinantur et intelligunt, profecto potiora sunt his quae sine intellectu atque ratione, ut pecora, vivunt et sentiunt: ita et illa quae vita sensuque sunt praedita, his quae nec vivunt nec sentiunt, merito praeferuntur. Inter selectos itaque deos Vitumnus vivificator et Sentinus sensificator magis haberi debuerunt, quam Janus seminis admissor et Saturnus seminis dator vel sator, et Liber et Libera seminum commotores vel emissores; quae semina indignum est cogitare, nisi ad vitam sensumque pervenerint. Quae munera selecta non dantur a diis selectis, sed a quibusdam incognitis et prae istorum dignitate neglectis.

But there is also the goddess Mena, who is set over the menstrual flows, although the daughter of Jupiter, yet ignoble. And this province of the menstrual flows the same author assigns to Juno herself in the book of the select gods, who in the select gods is also queen: and here as Juno Lucina with the same Mena, her step-daughter, she is set over the same blood. There are also two, I know not who most obscure, Vitumnus and Sentinus; of whom one bestows life, the other senses on the child-bearing. And doubtless they afford much more, although they are most ignoble, than all those chiefs and select ones. For surely without life and sense, what is that whole thing which is carried in the womanly womb, unless I know not what most abject to be compared to slime and dust?

## Chapter III.

*How no reason can be shown concerning the selection of certain gods, since a more excellent administration is deputed to many inferior ones.*

1. What cause therefore compelled so many select gods to these minimal works, where they are surpassed in the partition of this munificence by Vitumnus and Sentinus, whom an obscure fame hides? For the select Janus affords the access and as it were the door to the seed; the select Saturn affords the seed itself; the select Liber affords the emission of the same seed to the males; Libera, who is Ceres or Venus, affords this same to the females; the select Juno, and she not alone, but with Mena, the daughter of Jupiter, affords the menstrual flows for the increment of that which has been conceived: and the obscure and ignoble Vitumnus affords life; the obscure and ignoble Sentinus affords sense: which two things are so much more excellent than those things, as also they themselves are surpassed by intellect and reason. For as those things which ratiocinate and understand, are surely better than these which live and feel without intellect and reason, as cattle: so also those things which are endowed with life and sense, are deservedly preferred to these which neither live nor feel. Among the select gods therefore Vitumnus the vivifier and Sentinus the sensificator ought rather to have been held, than Janus the admitter of the seed and Saturn the giver or sower of the seed, and Liber and Libera the movers or emitters of seeds; which seeds it is unworthy to think of, unless they shall have come to life and sense. Which select gifts are not given by select gods, but by certain ones unknown and neglected in comparison of the dignity of these [select ones].

Quod si respondetur, omnium initiorum potestatem habere Janum, et ideo illi etiam quod aperitur conceptui, non immerito attribui; et omnium seminum Saturnum, et ideo seminationem quoque hominis non posse ab ejus operatione sejungi; omnium seminum emittendorum Liberum et Liberam, et ideo his etiam praeesse, quae ad substituendos homines pertinent; omnium purgandorum et pariendorum Junonem, et ideo eam non deesse purgationibus feminarum et partubus hominum: quaerant quid respondeant de Vitumno et Sentino, utrum et ipsos velint habere omnium quae vivunt et sentiunt potestatem. Quod si concedunt, attendant quam eos sublimius locaturi sint. Nam seminibus nasci, in terra et ex terra est; vivere autem atque sentire etiam deos sidereos opinantur. Si autem dicunt Vitumno atque Sentino haec sola attributa, quae in carne vivescunt et sensibus adminiculantur; cur non deus ille, qui facit omnia vivere atque sentire, etiam carni vitam praebet et sensum, universali opere hoc munus etiam partubus tribuens? Et quid opus est Vitumno atque Sentino? Quod si ab illo qui vitae et sensibus universaliter praesidet, his quasi famulis ista carnalia velut extrema et ima commissa sunt; itane sunt illi selecti destituti familia, ut non invenirent quibus etiam ipsi ista committerent, sed cum tota sua nobilitate, qua visi sunt seligendi, opus facere cum ignobilibus cogerentur? Juno selecta et regina Jovisque soror et conjux, haec tamen Iterduca est pueris, et opus facit cum deabus ignobilissimis Abeona et Adeona. Ibi posuerunt et Mentem deam, quae faciat pueris bonam mentem, et inter selectos ista non ponitur, quasi quidquam majus praestari homini possit: ponitur autem Juno, quia Iterduca est et Domiduca, quasi quidquam prosit iter carpere et domum duci, si mens non est bona: cujus muneris deam selectores isti inter selecta numina minime posuerunt. Quae profecto et Minervae fuerat praeferenda, cui per ista minuta opera puerorum memoriam tribuerunt. Quis enim dubitet multo esse melius habere bonam mentem, quam memoriam quantumlibet ingentem? Nemo enim malus est, qui bonam habet mentem: quidam vero pessimi memoria sunt mirabili, tanto pejores quanto minus possunt, quod male cogitant, oblivisci. Et tamen Minerva est inter selectos deos; Mentem autem deam turba vilis operuit. Quid de Virtute dicam? quid de Felicitate? de quibus in quarto libro plura jam diximus: quas cum deas haberent, nullum eis locum inter selectos deos dare voluerunt, ubi dederunt Marti et Orco, uni effectori mortium, alteri receptori.

But if it is responded, that Janus has the power of all beginnings, and therefore to him also that which is opened for conception, not unworthily is attributed; and Saturn of all seeds, and therefore the semination also of man cannot be separated from his operation; Liber and Libera of all seeds to be emitted, and therefore they also are set over these things, which pertain to substituting men; Juno of all things to be purged and brought forth, and therefore she is not wanting to the purgations of women and the births of men: let them seek what they may respond concerning Vitumnus and Sentinus, whether they also wish them to have the power of all things which live and feel. Which if they concede, let them attend how much more sublimely they are about to place them. For to be born from seeds is in the earth and from the earth; but to live and to feel even the sidereal gods they think [to do]. But if they say that these things only were attributed to Vitumnus and Sentinus, which live in the flesh and are aided by senses; why does not that god, who makes all things to live and to feel, also afford life and sense to the flesh, attributing this gift also to births by a universal work? And what need is there for Vitumnus and Sentinus? But if by him who is set over life and senses universally, these carnal things as it were extreme and lowest were committed to these as it were servants; are those select ones so destitute of a family, that they did not find to whom they also might commit these things, but with all their nobility, by which they seemed to be selected, they were compelled to work with the ignoble? Juno the select and queen and sister and spouse of Jupiter, she however is Iterduca to boys, and does work with the most ignoble goddesses Abeona and Adeona. They placed there also the goddess Mind, who may make a good mind for boys, and she is not placed among the select, as if anything greater could be afforded to man: but Juno is placed, because she is Iterduca and Domiduca, as if it should profit anything to take a journey and to be led home, if the mind is not good: of which gift those selectors placed the goddess minutely among the select deities. Which surely ought even to have been preferred to Minerva, to whom they attributed the memory of boys through these minute works. For who would doubt that it is much better to have a good mind, than a memory howsoever immense? For no one is bad, who has a good mind: but certain ones are most bad with a wonderful memory, so much worse as they can less forget what they think badly. And yet Minerva is among the select gods; but the goddess Mind a vile crowd has covered. What shall I say of Virtue? what of Happiness? concerning whom we have already said many things in the fourth book: whom since they held as goddesses, they wished to give them no place among the select gods, where they gave it to Mars and Orcus, one the effector of deaths, the other the receptor.

2. Cum igitur in his minutis operibus, quae minutatim diis pluribus distributa sunt, etiam ipsos selectos videamus tanquam senatum cum plebe pariter operari; et inveniamus a quibusdam diis, qui nequaquam seligendi putati sunt, multo majora atque meliora administrari, quam ab illis qui selecti vocantur: restat arbitrari, non propter praestantiores in mundo administrationes, sed quia provenit eis ut populis magis innotescerent, selectos eos et praecipuos nuncupatos. Unde dicit etiam ipse Varro, quod diis quibusdam patribus et deabus matribus, sicut hominibus, ignobilitas accidisset. Si ergo Felicitas ideo fortasse inter selectos deos esse non debuit, quod ad istam nobilitatem non merito, sed fortuitu pervenerunt; saltem inter illos, vel potius prae illis Fortuna poneretur, quam dicunt deam non rationabili dispositione, sed, ut temere acciderit, sua cuique dona conferre. Haec in diis selectis tenere apicem debuit, in quibus maxime quid posset ostendit: quando eos videmus non praecipua virtute, non rationabili felicitate, sed temeraria, sicut eorum cultores de illa sentiunt, Fortunae potestate selectos. Nam et vir disertissimus Sallustius etiam ipsos deos fortassis attendit, cum diceret: «Sed profecto Fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque.» Non enim possunt invenire causam cur celebrata sit Venus, et obscurata sit Virtus; cum ambarum ab istis consecrata sint numina, nec comparanda sint merita. Aut si hoc nobilitari meruit, quod plures appetunt; plures enim Venerem quam Virtutem; cur celebrata est dea Minerva, et obscurata est dea Pecunia? cum in genere humano plures alliciat avaritia quam peritia; et in eis ipsis qui sunt artificiosi, raro invenias hominem, qui non habeat artem suam pecuniaria mercede venalem; plurisque pendatur semper propter quod aliquid fit, quam id quod propter aliud fit. Si ergo insipientis judicio multitudinis facta est deorum ista selectio, cur dea Pecunia Minervae praelata non est, cum propter pecuniam sint artifices multi? Si autem paucorum sapientium est ista distinctio, cur non praelata est Veneri Virtus, cum eam longe ratio praeferat? Saltem certe, ut dixi, ipsa Fortuna, quae, sicut putant qui ei plurimum tribuunt, in omni re dominatur, et res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque; si tantum et in deos valuit, ut temerario judicio suo quos vellet celebraret, obscuraretque quos vellet, praecipuum locum haberet in selectis, quae in ipsos quoque deos tam praecipuae est potestatis. An ut illic esse non posset, nihil aliud etiam ipsa Fortuna, nisi adversam putanda est habuisse fortunam? Sibi ergo adversata est, quae alios nobiles faciens nobilitata non est.

2. Since therefore in these minute works, which are distributed minutely to more gods, we see even the select themselves work equally as a senate with the plebeians; and we find that by certain gods, who were by no means thought to be selected, much greater and better things are administered, than by those who are called select: it remains to be arbitrated, that not on account of more excellent administrations in the world, but because it happened to them that they became more known to the peoples, they were named select and principal. Whence Varro himself also says, that to certain gods fathers and goddesses mothers, just as to men, ignobility had happened. If therefore Happiness on this account perhaps ought not to have been among the select gods, because they arrived at that nobility not by merit, but by chance; at least Fortune would be placed among them, or rather before them, whom they say is a goddess conferring her own gifts on each one not by a reasonable disposition, but as it may have happened rashly. This one ought to have held the apex among the select gods, in whom she showed especially what she could do: when we see them selected not by a principal virtue, nor by a reasonable happiness, but by the rash power of Fortune, as their worshippers feel concerning her. For also the most eloquent man Sallust perhaps attended to the gods themselves, when he said: "But surely Fortune dominates in every thing; she celebrates and obscures all things from lust more than from truth." For they cannot find a cause why Venus was celebrated, and Virtue was obscured; since the deities of both were consecrated by those, nor are their merits to be compared. Or if this deserved to be ennobled, which more people appetite; for more [appetite] Venus than Virtue; why was the goddess Minerva celebrated, and the goddess Money obscured? since in the human race avarice allures more than skill; and in those themselves who are artificial [skillful], you may rarely find a man, who does not have his own art venal for a pecuniary reward; and that on account of which something is done is always weighed more, than that which is done on account of another thing. If therefore this selection of gods was made by the judgment of the foolish multitude, why was the goddess Money not preferred to Minerva, since on account of money there are many artisans? But if that distinction is of a few wise men, why was Virtue not preferred to Venus, since reason prefers her by far? At least certainly, as I said, Fortune herself, who, as those think who attribute most to her, dominates in every thing, and celebrates and obscures all things from lust more than from truth; if she also so far prevailed in the gods, that by her own rash judgment she might celebrate whom she would, and obscure whom she would, she would have a principal place in the select, who is of so principal a power even in the gods themselves. Or that she could not be there, is Fortune herself also to be thought to have had nothing else unless an adverse fortune? She therefore was adverse to herself, who making others noble was not ennobled.

## Caput IV.

*Melius actum cum diis inferioribus, qui nullis infamentur opprobriis, quam cum selectis, quorum tantae turpitudines celebrentur.*

Gratularetur autem diis istis selectis quisquam nobilitatis et claritudinis appetitor, et eos diceret fortunatos, si non eos magis ad injurias quam ad honores selectos videret. Nam illam infimam turbam ipsa ignobilitas texit, ne obrueretur opprobriis. Ridemus quidem, cum eos videmus figmentis humanarum opinionum partitis inter se operibus distributos, tanquam minuscularios vectigalium conductores, vel tanquam opifices in vico argentario, ubi unum vasculum ut perfectum exeat, per multos artifices transit, cum ab uno perfecto perfici posset. Sed aliter non putatum est operantium multitudini consulendum, nisi ut singulas artis partes cito ac facile discerent singuli, ne omnes in arte una tarde ac difficile cogerentur esse perfecti. Verumtamen vix quisquam reperitur deorum non selectorum, qui aliquo crimine famam traxit infamem; vix autem selectorum quispiam, qui non in se notam contumeliae insignis acceperit. Illi ad istorum humilia opera descenderunt, isti in illorum sublimia crimina non venerunt. De Jano quidem non mihi facile quidquam occurrit, quod ad probrum pertineat: et fortasse talis fuerit, innocentius vixerit et a facinoribus flagitiisque remotius. Saturnum fugientem benignus excepit: cum hospite partitus est regnum, ut etiam civitates singulas conderent; iste Janiculum, ille Saturniam. Sed isti in cultu deorum omnis dedecoris appetitores, cujus vitam minus turpem invenerunt, eum simulacri monstrosa deformitate turparunt; nunc eum bifrontem, nunc etiam quadrifrontem, tanquam geminum, facientes. An forte voluerunt, ut, quoniam plurimi dii selecti erubescenda perpetrando amiserant frontem, quanto iste innocentior esset, tanto frontosior appareret?

## Caput V.

*De Paganorum secretiore doctrina physicisque rationibus.*

Sed ipsorum potius interpretationes physicas audiamus, quibus turpitudinem miserrimi erroris, velut altioris doctrinae specie, colorare conantur. Primum eas interpretationes sic Varro commendat, ut dicat antiquos simulacra deorum et insignia ornatusque finxisse; quae cum oculis animadvertissent hi qui adissent doctrinae mysteria, possent animam mundi ac partes ejus, id est deos veros, animo videre: quorum qui simulacra specie hominis fecerunt, hoc videri secutos quod mortalium animus qui est in corpore humano, simillimus est immortalis animi :

## Chapter IV.

*That it was acted better with the inferior gods, who are defamed by no reproaches, than with the select, whose so great foulnesses are celebrated.*

Any craver of nobility and clarity would congratulate these select gods, and would call them fortunate, if he did not see them selected more for injuries than for honors. For that lowest crowd their own ignobility has covered, lest it should be overwhelmed with reproaches. We laugh indeed, when we see them distributed in their works partitioned by the figments of human opinions, as if small collectors of taxes, or as if artisans in the silver street, where one vessel, that it may go out as perfect, passes through many artists, when it could be perfected by one perfect [artist]. But otherwise it was not thought that the multitude of those working was to be consulted, unless that each might learn each single part of an art quickly and easily, lest all should be compelled to be perfect in one art slowly and difficultly. But nevertheless scarcely anyone is found of the non-select gods, who has drawn an infamous fame by some crime; but scarcely any one of the select, who has not received upon himself a mark of signal contumely. Those [the select] descended to the humble works of these; these [the non-select] did not come into the sublime crimes of those. Concerning Janus indeed nothing easily occurs to me, which pertains to reproach: and perhaps he was such, he lived more innocently and more remote from crimes and flagitious acts. He benignly received Saturn fleeing: he parted the kingdom with his guest, so that they also founded single cities; this one Janiculum, that one Saturnia. But those cravers of all disgrace in the worship of the gods, whose life they found less foul, they defiled him with the monstrous deformity of an image; making him now double-faced, now also four-faced, as if twin. Or perhaps they wished, that, since very many select gods by perpetrating shameful things had lost their face [shame], by how much this one was more innocent, by so much more faced he should appear?

## Chapter V.

*Concerning the more secret doctrine of the Pagans and their physical reasons.*

But let us rather hear their physical interpretations, by which they attempt to color the foulness of their most wretched error, as if with the appearance of a higher doctrine. First Varro so commends these interpretations, that he says the ancients fashioned the images of the gods and their insignia and ornaments; so that when those who had approached the mysteries of the doctrine had perceived them with their eyes, they might be able to see the soul of the world and its parts, that is, the true gods, with their mind: of whom those who made images in the form of man, seemed to have followed this, that the mind of mortals which is in the human body, is most like the immortal mind:

tanquam si vasa ponerentur causa notandorum deorum, et in Liberi aede oenophorum sisteretur, quod significaret vinum, per id quod continet id quod continetur: ita per simulacrum quod formam haberet humanam, significari animam rationalem, quod eo velut vase natura ista soleat contineri, cujus naturae deum volunt esse, vel deos. Haec sunt mysteria doctrinae, quae iste vir doctissimus penetraverat, unde in lucem ista proferret. Sed, o homo acutissime, num in istis doctrinae mysteriis illam prudentiam perdidisti, qua tibi sobrie visum est, quod hi qui primi populis simulacra constituerunt, et metum dempserunt civibus suis, et errorem addiderunt, castiusque deos sine simulacris veteres observasse Romanos? hi enim tibi fuerunt auctores, ut haec contra posteriores Romanos dicere auderes. Nam si et illi antiquissimi simulacra coluissent, fortassis totum istum sensum de simulacris non constituendis, interim verum , timoris silentio premeres, et in hujuscemodi perniciosis vanisque figmentis mysteria ista doctrinae loquacius et elatius praedicares. Anima tamen tua tam docta et ingeniosa (ubi te multum dolemus) per haec mysteria doctrinae ad Deum suum , id est a quo facta est, non cum quo facta est; nec cujus portio, sed cujus conditio est; nec qui est omnium anima, sed qui fecit omnem animam, quo solo illustrante fit anima beata, si ejus gratiae non sit ingrata, nullo modo potuit pervenire. Verum ista mysteria doctrinae qualia sint, quantique pendenda, quae sequuntur ostendent. Fatetur interim vir iste doctissimus, animam mundi ac partes ejus esse veros deos: unde intelligitur totam ejus theologiam, eam ipsam scilicet naturalem, cui plurimum tribuit, usque ad animae rationalis naturam se extendere potuisse. De naturali enim paucissima praeloquitur in hoc libro: in quo videbimus utrum per interpretationes physiologicas ad hanc naturalem possit referre civilem, quam de diis selectis ultimam scripsit. Quod si potuerit, tota naturalis erit: et quid opus erat ab ea civilem tanta cura distinctionis adjungere? Si autem recto discrimine separata est; quando nec ista vera est quae illi naturalis placet; pervenit enim usque ad animam, non usque ad verum Deum qui fecit et animam: quanto est abjectior et falsior ista civilis, quae maxime circa corporum est occupata naturam; sicut ipsae interpretationes ejus, ex quibus quaedam necessario commemorare me oportet, tanta ab ipsis exquisitae et enucleatae diligentia demonstrabunt?

## Caput VI.

*De opinione Varronis, qua arbitratus est Deum animam esse mundi, qui tamen in partibus suis habeat animas multas, quarum divina natura sit.*

as if vessels were placed for the sake of noting the gods, and in the temple of Liber a wine-vessel were set up, which would signify wine, through that which contains that which is contained: so through the image which has a human form, the rational soul is signified, because by it, as if by a vessel, that nature is accustomed to be contained, of which nature they wish the god to be, or the gods. These are the mysteries of doctrine, which that most learned man had penetrated, whence he would bring these things forth into the light. But, O most acute man, have you lost in those mysteries of doctrine that prudence, by which it seemed to you soberly, that those who first established images for the peoples, both took away fear from their citizens, and added error, and that the ancient Romans observed the gods more chastely without images? for these were your authors, that you should dare to say these things against the later Romans. For if those most ancient ones also had worshipped images, perhaps you would suppress that whole sense of yours about not establishing images, in the meantime true, in the silence of fear, and you would preach those mysteries of doctrine more loquaciously and more loftily in pernicious and vain figments of this kind. Yet your soul, so learned and ingenious (wherein we grieve much for you), through these mysteries of doctrine could by no means reach to its God, that is, by whom it was made, not with whom it was made; nor whose portion it is, but whose creation (conditio) it is; nor who is the soul of all, but who made every soul, by whose illumination alone the soul becomes blessed, if it be not ungrateful for His grace. But of what kind those mysteries of doctrine are, and how much they are to be weighed, the things which follow will show. In the meantime, that most learned man confesses that the soul of the world and its parts are the true gods: whence it is understood that his whole theology, namely that very natural one, to which he attributes most, was able to extend itself even to the nature of the rational soul. For concerning the natural he speaks very few things beforehand in this book: in which we shall see whether through physiological interpretations he can refer to this natural [theology] the civil one, which he wrote last concerning the select gods. Because if he could, the whole will be natural: and what need was there to add to it the civil with such care of distinction? But if it is separated by a right discrimination; when not even that one is true which pleases him as natural; for it reaches even to the soul, not even to the true God who made the soul also: how much more abject and false is that civil one, which is chiefly occupied about the nature of bodies; as his own interpretations, from which it is necessary for me to commemorate some, will demonstrate with so much exquisite and enucleated diligence?

## Chapter VI.

*Concerning the opinion of Varro, by which he thought God to be the soul of the world, who yet has in his parts many souls, whose nature is divine.*

Dicit ergo idem Varro adhuc de naturali theologia praeloquens, deum se arbitrari esse animam mundi, quem Graeci vocant κόσμον, et hunc ipsum mundum esse deum: sed sicut hominem sapientem, cum sit ex corpore et animo, tamen ab animo dici sapientem; ita mundum deum dici ab animo, cum sit ex animo et corpore. Hic videtur quoquo modo confiteri unum Deum; sed ut plures etiam introducat, adjungit mundum dividi in duas partes, coelum et terram; et coelum bifariam, in aethera et aera; terram vero in aquam et humum: e quibus summum esse aethera, secundum aera, tertiam aquam, infimam terram: quas omnes partes quatuor animarum esse plenas, in aethere et aere immortalium, in aqua et terra mortalium; ab summo autem circuitu coeli ad circulum lunae aethereas animas esse astra ac stellas, eos coelestes deos non modo intelligi esse, sed etiam videri: inter lunae vero gyrum et nimborum ac ventorum cacumina aereas esse animas, sed eas animo, non oculis videri; et vocari heroas, et lares, et genios. Haec est videlicet breviter in ista praelocutione proposita theologia naturalis, quae non huic tantum, sed multis philosophis placuit: de qua tunc diligentius disserendum est, cum de civili, quantum ad deos selectos attinet, opitulante Deo vero, quod restat implevero.

## Caput VII.

*An rationabile fuerit, Janum et Terminum in duo numina separari.*

Janus igitur, a quo sumpsit exordium, quaero quisnam sit? Respondetur, Mundus est. Brevis haec plane est atque aperta responsio. Cur ergo ad eum dicuntur rerum initia pertinere, fines vero ad alterum, quem Terminum vocant? Nam propter initia et fines duobus istis diis duos menses perhibent dedicatos , praeter illos decem quibus usque ad Decembrem caput est Martius; Januarium Jano, Februarium Termino. Ideo Terminalia eodem mense Februario celebrari dicunt, cum fit sacrum purgatorium, quod vocant Februum ; unde mensis nomen accepit . Numquid ergo ad mundum, qui Janus est, initia rerum pertinent, et fines non pertinent, ut alter illis deus praeficeretur? Nonne omnia quae in hoc mundo fieri dicunt, in hoc etiam mundo terminari fatentur? Quae est ista vanitas, in opere illi dare potestatem dimidiam, in simulacro faciem duplam? Nonne istum bifrontem multo elegantius interpretarentur, si eumdem et Janum et Terminum dicerent; atque initiis unam faciem, finibus alteram darent? quoniam qui operatur, utrumque debet intendere. In omni enim motu actionis suae qui non respicit initium, non prospicit finem.

The same Varro, therefore, still speaking beforehand concerning natural theology, says that he thinks God to be the soul of the world, which the Greeks call kosmos, and this world itself to be God: but as a wise man, although he consists of body and mind, yet is called wise from the mind; so the world is called God from the mind, although it consists of mind and body. Here he seems in some way to confess one God; but that he may also introduce many, he adds that the world is divided into two parts, heaven and earth; and heaven twofold, into ether and air; but the earth into water and soil: of which the highest is ether, the second air, the third water, the lowest earth: all which four parts are full of souls, in the ether and air of immortal ones, in the water and earth of mortal ones; but from the highest circuit of heaven to the circle of the moon there are ethereal souls, the stars and planets, and that these are not only understood to be celestial gods, but are also seen: but between the gyre of the moon and the summits of clouds and winds there are aerial souls, but these are seen with the mind, not with the eyes; and are called heroes, and lares, and genii. This, forsooth, is the natural theology briefly proposed in that prolusion, which pleased not only this man, but many philosophers: concerning which it is then to be more diligently discussed, when I shall have fulfilled, with the help of the true God, what remains concerning the civil [theology], as far as pertains to the select gods.

## Chapter VII.

*Whether it were reasonable that Janus and Terminus should be separated into two deities.*

Janus, therefore, from whom he took the beginning, I ask who he is? It is answered, He is the world. This is plainly a brief and open response. Why then are the beginnings of things said to pertain to him, but the ends to another, whom they call Terminus? For on account of beginnings and ends they peradventure have two months dedicated to these two gods, besides those ten of which March is the head as far as December; January to Janus, February to Terminus. Therefore they say that the Terminalia are celebrated in the same month of February, when the purgatory sacrifice is made, which they call Februum; whence the month received its name. Does it not then pertain to the world, which is Janus, the beginnings of things, and the ends not pertain, so that another god should be set over them? Do they not confess that all things which they say are done in this world, are also terminated in this world? What is that vanity, to give him half power in the work, and a double face in the image? Would they not interpret that double-faced one much more elegantly, if they called the same both Janus and Terminus; and gave one face to the beginnings, and the other to the ends? since he who works, ought to intend both. For in every motion of his action he who does not respect the beginning, does not prospect the end.

Unde necesse est a memoria respiciente prospiciens connectatur intentio. Nam cui exciderit quod coeperit, quomodo finiat non inveniet. Quod si vitam beatam in hoc mundo inchoari putarent, extra mundum perfici, et ideo Jano, id est mundo, solam initiorum tribuerent potestatem; profecto ei praeponerent Terminum, eumque a diis selectis non alienarent. Quanquam etiam nunc cum in istis duobus diis initia rerum temporalium finesque tractantur, Termino dari debuit plus honoris. Major enim laetitia est, cum res quaeque perficitur: sollicitudinis autem plena sunt coepta, donec perducantur ad finem, quem qui aliquid incipit, maxime appetit, intendit, exspectat, exoptat; nec de re inchoata, nisi terminetur, exsultat.

## Caput VIII.

*Ob quam causam cultores Jani bifrontem imaginem ipsius finxerint, quam tamen etiam quadrifrontem videri volunt.*

Sed jam bifrontis simulacri interpretatio proferatur. Duas eum facies ante et retro habere dicunt, quod hiatus noster, cum os aperimus, mundo similis videatur: unde et palatum Graeci οὐρανὸν appellant; et nonnulli, inquit, poetae Latini coelum vocaverunt palatum: a quo hiatu oris, et foras esse aditum ad dentes versus, et introrsus ad fauces . Ecce quo perductus est mundus propter palati nostri vocabulum, vel graecum, vel poeticum. Quid autem hoc ad animam, quid ad vitam aeternam? Propter solas salivas colatur hic deus, quibus partim glutiendis, partim exspuendis, sub coelo palati utraque panditur janua. Quid est porro absurdius, quam in ipso mundo non invenire duas januas ex adverso sitas, per quas vel admittat ad se aliquid intro, vel emittat a se foras; et de nostro ore et gutture, quorum similitudinem mundus non habet, velle mundi simulacrum componere in Jano, propter solum palatum, cujus similitudinem Janus non habet? Cum vero eum faciunt quadrifrontem et Janum geminum appellant, ad quatuor mundi partes hoc interpretantur, quasi aliquid spectet mundus foras, sicut per omnes facies Janus. Deinde, si Janus est mundus, et mundus quatuor partibus constat, falsum est simulacrum Jani bifrontis : aut si propterea verum est, quia etiam nomine Orientis et Occidentis totus solet mundus intelligi, numquid cum duas partes alias nominamus Septemtrionis et Austri, sicut illum quadrifrontem dicunt geminum Janum, ita quisquam geminum dicturus est mundum?

Whence it is necessary that from the memory respecting, the intention prospecting should be connected. For he to whom it shall have escaped what he began, will not find how he may finish. But if they thought the blessed life to be commenced in this world, and to be perfected outside the world, and therefore attributed to Janus, that is, to the world, the only power of beginnings; certainly they would prefer Terminus to him, and would not alienate him from the select gods. Although even now when in these two gods the beginnings and ends of temporal things are treated, more honor ought to be given to Terminus. For greater is the joy, when each thing is perfected: but the beginnings are full of solicitude, until they be led through to the end, which he who begins anything, chiefly craves, intends, expects, wishes; nor does he exult over a thing begun, unless it be terminated.

## Chapter VIII.

*For what cause the worshippers of Janus fashioned a double-faced image of him, which yet they wish to be seen as four-faced.*

But now let the interpretation of the double-faced image be brought forth. They say he has two faces, before and behind, because our opening, when we open the mouth, seems like to the world: whence also the Greeks call the palate ouranos [heaven]; and some, he says, of the Latin poets have called the palate heaven: from which opening of the mouth, there is both an exit outwards towards the teeth, and an entrance inwards to the throat. Behold to what the world has been led on account of the name of our palate, whether Greek or poetic. But what is this to the soul, what to eternal life? For the sake of spittle alone let this god be worshipped, for swallowing partly, and for spitting out partly, which beneath the heaven of the palate both gates of Janus are opened. What is more absurd, moreover, than not to find in the world itself two gates situated opposite, through which it may either admit something into itself, or emit something from itself; and from our mouth and throat, whose likeness the world does not have, to wish to compose an image of the world in Janus, on account of the palate alone, whose likeness Janus does not have? When indeed they make him four-faced and call him twin Janus, they interpret this to the four parts of the world, as if the world looks out at something, as Janus through all his faces. Then, if Janus is the world, and the world consists of four parts, the image of the double-faced Janus is false: or if it is therefore true, because by the name of East and West the whole world is accustomed to be understood, when we name two other parts, of North and South, as they call that four-faced one twin Janus, is anyone going to call the world twin?

Non habent omnino unde quatuor januas, quae intrantibus et exeuntibus pateant, interpretentur ad mundi similitudinem; sicut de bifronte quod dicerent saltem in ore hominis invenerunt; nisi Neptunus forte subveniat et porrigat piscem, cui praeter hiatum oris et gutturis etiam dextra et sinistra fauces patent. Et tamen hanc vanitatem per tot januas nulla effugit anima, nisi quae audit Veritatem dicentem, Ego sum janua . (Joan. X, 9).

## Caput IX.

*De Jovis potestate, atque ejusdem cum Jano comparatione.*

1. Jovem autem, qui etiam Jupiter dicitur , quem velint intelligi, exponant. Deus est, inquiunt, habens potestatem causarum, quibus aliquid fit in mundo. Hoc quam magnum sit, nobilissimus Virgilii versus ille testatur: Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. (Georg. lib. 2, vers. 490.) Sed cur ei praeponitur Janus, hoc nobis vir ille acutissimus doctissimusque respondeat. Quoniam penes Janum, inquit, sunt prima, penes Jovem summa. Merito ergo rex omnium Jupiter habetur. Prima enim vincuntur a summis: quia licet prima praecedant tempore, summa superant dignitate. Sed recte hoc diceretur, si factorum prima discernerentur et summa: sicut initium facti est proficisci, summum pervenire; initium facti incoeptio discendi, summum perceptio doctrinae: ac sic in omnibus prima sunt initia, summique sunt fines. Sed jam hoc negotium inter Janum Terminumque discussum est. Causae autem quae dantur Jovi, efficientia sunt, non effecta: neque ullo modo fieri potest, ut vel tempore praeveniantur a factis initiisve factorum. Semper enim prior est res quae facit, quam illa quae fit. Quapropter si ad Janum pertinent initia factorum, non ideo priora sunt efficientibus causis, quas Jovi tribuunt. Sicut enim nihil fit, ita nihil inchoatur ut fiat, quod non faciens causa praecesserit. Hunc sane deum, penes quem sunt omnes causae factarum omnium naturarum naturaliumque rerum, si Jovem populi appellant, et tantis contumeliis tamque scelestis criminationibus colunt, tetriore sacrilegio sese obstringunt, quam si prorsus nullum putarent deum. Unde satius esset eis alium aliquem Jovis nomine nuncupare, dignum turpibus et flagitiosis honoribus, supposito vano figmento quod potius blasphemarent (sicut Saturno dicitur suppositus lapis, quem pro filio devoraret), quam istum deum dicere et tonantem et adulterantem, et totum mundum regentem et per tot stupra diffluentem, et naturarum omnium naturaliumque rerum causas summas habentem et suas causas bonas non habentem.

They have not at all whence they may interpret four gates, which are open to those entering and exiting, to the likeness of the world; as they found at least in the mouth of man what they might say concerning the double-faced one; unless Neptune perhaps should assist and reach out a fish, to which besides the opening of the mouth and throat, also the right and left gills are open. And yet through so many gates no soul escapes this vanity, unless that which hears the Truth saying, I am the door. (John x. 9).

## Chapter IX.

*Concerning the power of Jove, and the comparison of the same with Janus.*

1. But let them explain whom they wish to be understood by Jove, who is also called Jupiter. He is the God, they say, having power of the causes, by which anything is made in the world. How great this is, that most noble verse of Virgil testifies: Happy he who was able to know the causes of things. (Georg. lib. 2, ver. 490.) But why Janus is preferred to him, let that most acute and most learned man answer us. "Since with Janus," he says, "are the first things, with Jove the highest. Merely therefore is Jove held the king of all. For first things are conquered by the highest: because although first things precede in time, highest things surpass in dignity." But this would be rightly said, if the first and highest of things done were discerned: as the beginning of a deed is to set out, the highest to arrive; the beginning of a deed the inception of learning, the highest the perception of doctrine: and thus in all things the beginnings are first, and the highest are the ends. But already this business has been discussed between Janus and Terminus. But the causes which are given to Jove, are efficient, not effects: nor in any way can it be, that even in time they should be preceded by things done or the beginnings of things done. For always the thing which makes is prior to that which is made. Wherefore if the beginnings of things done pertain to Janus, they are not therefore prior to efficient causes, which they attribute to Jove. For as nothing is made, so nothing is commenced that it may be made, which a making cause has not preceded. This God indeed, with whom are all the causes of all made natures and natural things, if the peoples call Him Jove, and worship Him with such contumelies and such wicked criminations, they bind themselves with a more foul sacrilege than if they thought there were no God at all. Whence it would be better for them to call some other one by the name of Jove, worthy of foul and flagitious honors, a vain figment being substituted which they might rather blaspheme (as a stone is said to have been substituted to Saturn, which he would devour for his son), than to say that this God is both thundering and adulterating, and ruling the whole world and flowing through so many debaucheries, and having the highest causes of all natures and natural things and not having his own good causes.

2. Deinde quaero, quem jam locum inter deos huic Jovi tribuant, si Janus est mundus. Deos enim veros animam mundi ac partes ejus iste definivit: ac per hoc quidquid hoc non est, non est utique secundum istos verus deus. Num igitur ita dicturi sunt Jovem animam mundi, ut Janus sit corpus ejus, id est iste visibilis mundus? Hoc si dicunt, non erit quemadmodum Janum deum dicant; quoniam mundi corpus non est deus vel secundum ipsos, sed anima mundi ac partes ejus. Unde apertissime idem dicit, deum se arbitrari esse animam mundi, et hunc ipsum mundum esse deum: sed sicut hominem sapientem, cum sit ex animo et corpore, tamen ex animo dici sapientem; ita mundum deum dici ab animo, cum sit ex animo et corpore. Solum itaque mundi corpus non est deus: sed aut sola anima ejus, aut simul corpus et animus; ita tamen ut non sit a corpore, sed ab animo deus. Si ergo Janus est mundus, et deus est Janus, numquid Jovem ut deus esse possit, aliquam partem Jani esse dicturi sunt? Magis enim Jovi universum solent tribuere: unde est, Jovis omnia plena . Ergo et Jovem, ut deus sit, et maxime rex deorum, non alium possunt existimare quam mundum; ut diis caeteris secundum istos suis partibus regnet. In hanc sententiam etiam quosdam versus Valerii Sorani exponit idem Varro, in eo libro quem seorsum ab istis de cultu deorum scripsit; qui versus hi sunt. Juppiter omnipotens, regum rerumque deûmque Progenitor, genitrixque deûm, deus unus, et omnes. Exponuntur autem in eodem libro, ita ut cum marem existimarent, qui semen emitteret, feminam quae acciperet; Jovemque esse mundum, et eum omnia semina ex se emittere, et in se recipere: Qua causa, inquit, scripsit Soranus, Jupiter progenitor genitrixque: nec minus cum causa unum et omnia idem esse; mundus enim unus, et in eo uno omnia sunt.

## Caput X.

*An Jani et Jovis recta discretio sit.*

Cum ergo et Janus mundus sit, et Jupiter mundus sit, unusque sit mundus, quare duo dii sunt, Janus et Jupiter? quare seorsus habent templa, seorsus aras, diversa sacra, dissimilia simulacra? Si propterea quod alia vis est primordiorum, alia causarum, et illa Jani, illa Jovis nomen accepit; numquid si unus homo in diversis rebus duas habeat potestates aut duas artes, quia singularum diversa vis est, ideo duo judices aut duo dicuntur artifices?

2. Then I ask, what place now they attribute to this Jove among the gods, if Janus is the world. For that learned man defined the true gods as the soul of the world and its parts: and by this whatever this is not, is certainly not a true god according to them. Are they therefore going to say Jove is the soul of the world in such a way, that Janus is its body, that is, this visible world? If they say this, there will be no way how they may call Janus a god; since the body of the world is not a god even according to them, but the soul of the world and its parts. Whence most openly the same man says, that he thinks God is the soul of the world, and this world itself is God: but as a wise man, although he is from mind and body, yet from the mind is called wise; so the world is called God from the mind, although it is from mind and body. The body of the world alone, therefore, is not God: but either its soul alone, or body and mind together; yet so that it is not a god from the body, but from the mind. If therefore Janus is the world, and Janus is a god, are they going to say Jove is some part of Janus, that he may be able to be a god? For they are accustomed rather to attribute the universe to Jove: whence is, all things are full of Jove. Therefore also Jove, that he may be a god, and especially the king of gods, they can think to be no other than the world; that he may reign over the other gods, his own parts according to them. Into this opinion also the same Varro expounds certain verses of Valerius Soranus, in that book which he wrote separately from these concerning the worship of the gods; which verses are these: Almighty Jupiter, progenitor of kings and things and gods, and mother of gods, one god, and all things. But they are expounded in the same book, so that since they thought him a male, who would emit seed, a female who would receive it; and that Jove is the world, and that he emits all seeds from himself, and receives them in himself: "For which cause," he says, "Soranus wrote, Jupiter progenitor and mother: nor less with cause that he is one and all things; for the world is one, and in that one are all things."

## Chapter X.

*Whether the distinction between Janus and Jove be correct.*

When therefore both Janus is the world, and Jupiter is the world, and the world is one, why are there two gods, Janus and Jupiter? why do they have separate temples, separate altars, diverse sacrifices, dissimilar images? If on account of this, that there is one power of primordia, another of causes, and that one received the name of Janus, that the name of Jove; if one man in diverse things should have two powers or two arts, because the power of each is diverse, are therefore two judges or two artisans spoken of?

Sic ergo et unus Deus, cum ipse habeat potestatem primordiorum, ipse causarum, num propterea illum duos deos esse necesse est putari, quia primordia causaeque res duae sunt? Quod si hoc justum putant, etiam ipsum Jovem tot deos esse dicant, quotquot ei cognomina propter multas potestates dederunt: quoniam res omnes, ex quibus illa cognomina sunt adhibita, multae atque diversae sunt; ex quibus pauca commemoro.

## Caput XI.

*De cognominibus Jovis, quae non ad multos deos, sed ad unum eumdemque referuntur.*

Dixerunt eum Victorem, Invictum, Opitulum, Impulsorem, Statorem, Centumpedam, Supinalem, Tigillum, Almum, , Ruminum, et alia quae persequi longum est . Haec autem cognomina imposuerunt uni deo propter causas potestatesque diversas, non tamen propter tot res etiam tot deos cum esse coegerunt: quod omnia vinceret, quod a nemine vinceretur, quod opem indigentibus ferret, quod haberet impellendi, statuendi, stabiliendi, resupinandi potestatem, quod tanquam tigillus mundum contineret ac sustineret, quod aleret omnia, quod ruma, id est mamma, aleret animalia. In his, ut advertimus, quaedam magna sunt, quaedam exigua; et tamen unus utraque facere perhibetur. Puto inter se propinquiora esse causas rerum atque primordia, propter quas res unum mundum duos deos esse voluerunt, Jovem atque Janum, quam continere mundum et mammam dare animalibus: nec tamen propter haec duo opera tam longe inter se vi et dignitate diversa, duo dii esse compulsi sunt; sed unus Jupiter, propter illud Tigillus, propter illud Ruminus appellatus est. Nolo dicere, quod animalibus mammam praebere sugentibus magis Junonem potuit decere, quam Jovem: praesertim cum esset etiam diva Rumina, quae in hoc opus adjutorium illi famulatumve praeberet. Cogito enim posse responderi, et ipsam Junonem nihil aliud esse quam Jovem, secundum illos Valerii Sorani versus, ubi dictum est: Juppiter omnipotens, regum rerumque deûmque Progenitor, genitrixque deûm. Quare ergo dictus est et Ruminus, cum diligentius fortasse quaerentibus ipse inveniatur esse etiam illa diva Rumina. Si enim majestate deorum recte videbatur indignum, ut in una spica alter ad curam geniculi, altera ad folliculi pertineret; quanto est indignius unam rem infimam, id est ut mammis alantur animalia, duorum deorum potestate curari, quorum sit unus Jupiter, rex ipse cunctorum; et hoc agat non saltem cum conjuge sua, sed cum ignobili nescio qua Rumina, nisi quia ipse est etiam ipsa Rumina ; Ruminus fortasse pro sugentibus maribus, Rumina pro feminis?

So therefore also one God, since He Himself has the power of primordia, Himself of causes, is it therefore necessary that He be thought to be two gods, because primordia and causes are two things? But if they think this just, let them also say that Jove himself is as many gods as the cognomens they have given him on account of many powers: since all the things from which those cognomens are applied, are many and diverse; of which I commemorate a few.

## Chapter XI.

*Concerning the cognomens of Jove, which are referred not to many gods, but to one and the same.*

They called him Victor, Invictus, Opitulus, Impulsor, Stator, Centumpeda, Supinalis, Tigillus, Almus, Ruminus, and others which it is long to pursue. But these cognomens they imposed on one god on account of diverse causes and powers, not however on account of so many things did they compel there to be also so many gods: because he conquered all things, because he was conquered by no one, because he brought aid to the indigent, because he had the power of impelling, of establishing, of stabilizing, of throwing back on the back, because as if a beam (tigillus) he contained and sustained the world, because he nourished all things, because with the ruma, that is, the breast, he nourished animals. In these, as we notice, some are great, some small; and yet one is perhibited to do both. I think the causes of things and the primordia, on account of which things they wished one world to be two gods, Jove and Janus, are nearer to each other than to contain the world and to give the breast to animals: nor yet on account of these two works so far diverse from each other in power and dignity, were they compelled to be two gods; but one Jove, on account of that called Tigillus, on account of that Ruminus. I am unwilling to say, that to provide the breast to sucking animals could more become Juno than Jove: especially when there was also the goddess Rumina, who would provide aid or service to him in this work. For I think it can be answered, that Juno herself is nothing else than Jove, according to those verses of Valerius Soranus, where it was said: Almighty Jupiter, progenitor of kings and things and gods, and mother of gods. Why therefore was he also called Ruminus, when to those seeking more diligently he himself may be found to be even that goddess Rumina? For if it rightly seemed unworthy of the majesty of the gods, that in one ear of corn one [goddess] should pertain to the care of the joint, another to the follicle; how much more unworthy is it that one most low thing, that is, that animals be nourished by breasts, be cared for by the power of two gods, of whom one is Jove, the king himself of all; and that he do this not at least with his own spouse, but with some ignoble Rumina, unless because he is himself also that Rumina; Ruminus perhaps for sucking males, Rumina for females?

Dicerem quippe noluisse illos Jovi femininum nomen imponere, nisi et in illis versibus Progenitor genitrixque diceretur; et inter alia ejus cognomina legerem, quod etiam Pecunia vocaretur, quam deam inter illos minuscularios invenimus, et in quarto libro commemoravimus (cap. 21). Sed cum et mares et feminae habeant pecuniam, cur non et Pecunia et Pecunius appellatus sit, sicut Rumina et Ruminus, ipsi viderint.

## Caput XII.

*Quod Jupiter etiam Pecunia nuncupetur.*

Quam vero eleganter rationem hujus nominis reddiderunt! Et Pecunia, inquiunt, vocatur, quod ejus sunt omnia . O magnam rationem divini nominis! Imo vero ille, cujus sunt omnia, vilissime et contumeliosissime Pecunia nuncupatur. Ad omnia enim, quae coelo et terra continentur, quid est pecunia in omnibus omnino rebus, quae ab hominibus nomine pecuniae possidentur? Sed nimirum hoc avaritia Jovi nomen imposuit, ut quisquis amat pecuniam, non quemlibet deum, sed ipsum regem omnium sibi amare videatur. Longe autem aliud esset, si divitiae vocaretur: aliud namque sunt divitiae, aliud pecunia. Nam dicimus divites, sapientes, justos, bonos, quibus pecunia vel nulla, vel parva est; magis enim sunt virtutibus divites, per quas eis etiam in ipsis corporalium rerum necessitatibus sat est quod adest: pauperes vero avaros, semper inhiantes et egentes; quamlibet enim magnas pecunias habere possunt, sed in earum quantacumque abundantia non egere non possunt. Et Deum ipsum verum recte dicimus divitem, non tamen pecunia, sed omnipotentia. Dicuntur itaque et divites pecuniosi; sed interius egeni, si cupidi. Item dicuntur pauperes pecunia carentes; sed interius divites, si sapientes. Qualis ergo ista theologia debet esse sapienti, ubi rex deorum ejus rei nomen accepit, quam nemo sapiens concupivit ? Quanto enim facilius, si aliquid hac doctrina quod ad vitam pertineret aeternam salubriter disceretur, deus mundi rector non ab eis pecunia, sed sapientia vocaretur, cujus amor purgat a sordibus avaritiae, hoc est ab amore pecuniae?

## Caput XIII.

*Ob quam causam cultores Saturni et Genii unum Jovem esse doceantur.*

I would indeed say that they were unwilling to impose a feminine name on Jove, unless in those verses he were called progenitor and mother; and among other of his cognomens I read, that he was also called Pecunia [Money], which goddess we found among those small collectors, and in the fourth book we commemorated (chap. 21). But since both males and females have money, why he was not called both Pecunia and Pecunius, as Rumina and Ruminus, let them see.

## Chapter XII.

*That Jupiter is also named Pecunia [Money].*

How elegantly indeed they have rendered the reason of this name! "And Pecunia," they say, "he is called, because all things are his." O great reason of a divine name! Nay, rather, He whose all things are, is most vilely and most contumeliously named Pecunia. For to all things which are contained by heaven and earth, what is money among all things whatever, which are possessed by men under the name of money? But doubtless avarice imposed this name on Jove, so that whoever loves money, may seem to himself to love not some ordinary god, but the king himself of all. But it would be far otherwise, if he were called riches: for riches are one thing, money another. For we call the wise, the just, the good rich, to whom there is either no money, or little; for they are more rich in virtues, through which even in the necessities of corporal things that which is present is enough for them: but the avaricious poor, always gaping and indigent; for they can have money however great, but in however much abundance of it they cannot not be in want. And the true God Himself we rightly call rich, yet not in money, but in omnipotence. Rich people are also called pecuniosi [monied]; but interiorly they are needy, if they are covetous. Likewise those lacking money are called poor; but interiorly they are rich, if they are wise. Of what kind therefore ought this theology to be to a wise man, where the king of the gods received the name of that thing which no wise man has craved? For how much more easily, if something which pertained to eternal life were healthfully learned by this doctrine, would the god, the ruler of the world, be called by them not money, but wisdom, the love of which purges from the filth of avarice, that is, from the love of money?

## Chapter XIII.

*That while it is explained what Saturn is, or what Genius is, both are taught to be one Jove.*

Sed quid de hoc Jove plura, ad quem fortasse caeteri referendi sunt, ut inanis remaneat deorum opinio plurimorum, cum hic ipse sit omnes ; sive quando partes ejus vel potestates existimantur, sive cum vis animae, quam putant per cuncta diffusam, ex partibus molis hujus, in quas visibilis mundus iste consurgit, et multiplici administratione naturae, quasi plurium deornm nomina accepit? Quid est enim et Saturnus? Unus, inquit, de principibus deus, penes quem sationum omnium dominatus est. Nonne expositio versuum illorum Valerii Sorani sic se habet, Jovem esse mundum, et eum omnia semina ex se emittere, et in se recipere? Ipse est igitur penes quem sationum omnium dominatus est. Quid est Genius? Deus, inquit, qui praepositus est ac vim habet omnium rerum gignendarum. Quem alium hanc vim habere credunt, quam mundum, cui dictum est, Jupiter progenitor genitrixque? Et cum alio loco Genium dicit esse uniuscujusque animum rationalem, et ideo esse singulos singulorum, talem autem mundi animum deum esse; ad hoc idem utique revocat, ut tanquam universalis genius ipse mundi animus esse credatur. Hic est igitur quem appellant Jovem. Nam si omnis genius deus, et omnis viri animus genius, sequitur ut sit omnis viri animus deus: quod si et ipsos abhorrere absurditas ipsa compellit, restat ut eum singulariter et excellenter dicant deum genium, quem dicunt mundi animum, ac per hoc Jovem.

## Caput XIV.

*De Mercurii et Martis officiis.*

Mercurium vero et Martem quomodo referrent ad aliquas partes mundi et opera Dei, quae sunt in elementis, non invenerunt; et ideo eos saltem operibus hominum praeposuerunt, sermocinandi et belligerandi administros . Quorum Mercurius si sermonis etiam deorum potestatem gerit, ipsi quoque regi deorum dominatur, si secundum ejus arbitrium Jupiter loquitur, aut loquendi ab illo accepit facultatem: quod utique absurdum est. Si autem illi humani tantum sermonis postestas tributa perhibetur, non est credibile ad lactandos mamma, non solum pueros, sed etiam pecora, unde Ruminus cognominatus est, Jovem descendere voluisse, et curam nostri sermonis, quo pecoribus antecellimus, ad se pertinere noluisse: ac per hoc idem ipse est Jovis atque Mercurius.

But why more concerning this Jove, to whom perhaps the rest are to be referred, so that the opinion of very many gods may remain empty, since he himself is all of them; whether when they are thought parts of him or his powers, or when the force of the soul, which they think diffused through all things, from the parts of this mass, into which this visible world rises up, and by the manifold administration of nature, has received as it were the names of many gods? For what also is Saturn? "One," he says, "of the principal gods, with whom is the dominion of all sowings." Does not the exposition of those verses of Valerius Soranus hold thus, that Jove is the world, and that he emits all seeds from himself, and receives them in himself? He therefore is the one with whom is the dominion of all sowings. What is Genius? "The god," he says, "who is set over and has the power of all things to be generated." Whom else do they believe to have this power, than the world, to which it was said, Jupiter progenitor and mother? And when in another place he says that Genius is the rational mind of each one, and therefore that there are single ones for single [persons], but that such a mind of the world is God; he certainly recalls to this same thing, so that the mind itself of the world may be believed to be as it were the universal genius. This is he, therefore, whom they call Jove. For if every genius is a god, and every man's mind is a genius, it follows that every man's mind is a god: which if even the absurdity itself compels them to abhor, it remains that they should singularly and excellently call that genius a god, which they call the mind of the world, and by this Jove.

## Chapter XIV.

*Concerning the offices of Mercury and Mars.*

But how they might refer Mercury and Mars to some parts of the world and works of God, which are in the elements, they did not find; and therefore they set them over at least the works of men, as administrators of discoursing and of warring. Of whom if Mercury also bears the power of the speech of the gods, he also dominates the king of the gods himself, if Jove speaks according to his arbitrament, or received the faculty of speaking from him: which indeed is absurd. But if the power of human speech only is perhibited to be attributed to him, it is not credible that Jove should have wished to descend to suckling with the breast, not only boys, but even cattle, whence he was named Ruminus, and should have been unwilling that the care of our speech, by which we excel the cattle, should pertain to himself: and by this the same himself is Jove and Mercury.

Quod si sermo ipse dicitur esse Mercurius, sicut ea quae de illo interpretantur, ostendunt: (nam ideo Mercurius, quasi medius currens dicitur appellatus, quod sermo currat inter homines medius ; ideo Ἑρμῆς graece, quod sermo vel interpretatio, quae utique ad sermonem pertinet, ἑρμηνεία dicitur; ideo et mercibus praeesse, quia inter vendentes et ementes sermo fit medius; alas ejus in capite et pedibus significare volucrem ferri per aera sermonem; nuntium dictum, quoniam per sermonem omnia cogitata enuntiantur): si ergo Mercurius ipse sermo est, etiam ipsis confitentibus, deus non est. Sed cum sibi deos faciunt eos, qui nec daemones sunt, immundis supplicando spiritibus, possidentur ab eis qui non dii, sed daemones sunt. Item quia nec Marti aliquod elementum vel partem mundi invenire potuerunt, ubi ageret opera qualiacumque naturae, deum belli esse dixerunt, quod opus est hominum, et optabile eis non est. Si ergo pacem perpetuam Felicitas daret, Mars quid ageret non haberet. Si autem ipsum bellum est Mars, sicut sermo Mercurius; utinam quam manifestum est quod non sit deus, tam non sit et bellum quod vel falso vocetur deus.

## Caput XV.

*De stellis quibusdam, quas Pagani deorum suorum nominibus nuncuparunt.*

Nisi forte illae stellae sunt hi dii, quas eorum appellavere nominibus: nam stellam quamdam vocant Mercurium, quamdam itidem Martem. Sed ibi est et illa quam vocant Jovem; et tamen eis mundus est Jovis: ibi quam vocant Saturnum; et tamen ei praeterea dant non parvam substantiam, omnium videlicet seminum: ibi est et illa omnium clarissima, quae ab eis appellatur Venus; et tamen eamdem Venerem esse etiam Lunam volunt: quamvis de illo fulgentissimo sidere apud eos tanquam de malo aureo Juno Venusque contendant. Luciferum enim quidam Veneris, quidam dicunt esse Junonis: sed, ut solet, Venus vincit. Nam multo plures eam stellam Veneri tribuunt, ita ut vix eorum quisquam reperiatur, qui aliud opinetur. Quis autem non rideat, cum regem omnium Jovem dicant, quod stella ejus ab stella Veneris tanta vincitur claritate? tanto enim esse debuit caeteris illa fulgentior, quanto est ipse potentior. Respondent ideo sic videri, quia illa quae putatur obscurior, superior est atque a terris longe remotior. Si ergo superiorem locum major dignitas meruit, quare Saturnus ibi est Jove superior?

Because if speech itself is said to be Mercury, as those things which they interpret concerning him show: (for therefore he is said to have been called Mercury, as if running in the middle (medius currens), because speech runs in the middle between men; therefore Hermes in Greek, because speech or interpretation, which certainly pertains to speech, is called hermeneia; therefore also he is set over merchandise, because between sellers and buyers speech becomes the middle; his wings on head and feet signify that speech is carried through the air as a winged thing; he is called a messenger, because through speech all thoughts are enunciated): if therefore Mercury is speech itself, even by their own confession, he is not a god. But when they make gods for themselves those who are not even demons, by supplicating unclean spirits, they are possessed by those who are not gods, but demons. Likewise because they could not find for Mars any element or part of the world where he might perform any works whatever of nature, they said he is the god of war, which is a work of men, and not desirable to them. If therefore Felicity gave perpetual peace, Mars would not have what he might do. But if war itself is Mars, as speech is Mercury; would that as it is manifest that he is not a god, so war also might not be that which is even falsely called a god.

## Chapter XV.

*Concerning certain stars, which the Pagans called by the names of their gods.*

Unless perchance those stars are these gods, which they have called by their names: for they call a certain star Mercury, and likewise a certain one Mars. But there is also that one which they call Jove; and yet the world is Jove's to them: there is that one which they call Saturn; and yet besides they give to him no small substance, namely, of all seeds: there is also that clearest one of all, which is called by them Venus; and yet they wish the same Venus also to be the Moon: although concerning that most shining star Juno and Venus contend among them as if concerning a golden apple. For some say the morning star (Lucifer) belongs to Venus, some to Juno: but, as is wont, Venus conquers. For many more attribute that star to Venus, so that scarcely anyone of them is found who opines otherwise. But who would not laugh, when they say Jove is the king of all, because his star is surpassed by the star of Venus by such great clarity? For that one ought to have been so much more refulgent than the rest, by as much as he himself is more powerful. They respond that it thus seems to be, because that which is thought more obscure is higher and far more remote from the earth. If therefore a higher place merited a greater dignity, why is Saturn higher there than Jove?

an vanitas fabulae, quae regem Jovem facit, non potuit usque ad sidera pervenire; et quod non valuit Saturnus in regno suo, neque in Capitolio, saltem est permissus obtinere in coelo? Quare autem Janus non accepit aliquam stellam? Si propterea quia mundus est, et omnes in illo sunt; et Jovis mundus est, et habet tamen. An iste causam suam composuit ut potuit, et pro una stella quam non habet inter sidera, tot facies accepit in terra? Deinde si propter solas stellas Mercurium et Martem partes mundi putant, ut eos deos habere possint, quia utique sermo et bellum non sunt partes mundi, sed actus hominum; cur Arieti et Tauro et Cancro et Scorpioni caeterisque hujusmodi, quae coelestia signa numerant, et stellis non singulis, sed singula pluribus constant, superiusque istis in summo coelo perhibent collocata, ubi constantior motus inerrabilem meatum sideribus praebet, nullas aras, nulla sacra, nulla templa fecerunt; nec deos, non dico inter hos selectos, sed ne inter illos quidem quasi plebeios habuerunt?

## Caput XVI.

*De Apolline et Diana caeterisque selectis diis, quos partes mundi esse voluerunt.*

Apollinem quamvis divinatorem et medicum velint, tamen ut in aliqua parte mundi statuerent, ipsum etiam solem esse dixerunt; Dianamque germanam ejus similiter lunam et viarum praesidem. Unde et virginem volunt, quod via nihil pariat: et ideo ambos sagittas habere, quod ipsa duo sidera de coelo radios terras usque pertendant. Vulcanum volunt ignem mundi, Neptunum aquas mundi, Ditem patrem, hoc est Orcum, terrenam et infimam partem mundi. Liberum et Cererem praeponunt seminibus, vel illum masculinis, illam femininis; vel illum liquori, illam vero ariditati seminum. Et hoc utique totum refertur ad mundum, id est ad Jovem, qui propterea dictus est Progenitor genitrixque, quod omnia semina ex se emitteret, et in se reciperet. Quandoquidem etiam Matrem magnam eamdem Cererem volunt, quam nihil aliud dicunt esse quam terram, eamque perhibent et Junonem. Et ideo ei secundas causas rerum tribuunt: cum tamen Jovi sit dictum, Progenitor genitrixque deûm: quia secundum eos totus ipse mundus est Jovis. Minervam etiam, quia eam humanis artibus praeposuerunt, nec invenerunt vel stellam ubi eam ponerent, eamdem vel summum aethera vel etiam lunam esse dixerunt.

Or could the vanity of the fable, which makes Jove king, not reach as far as the stars; and that which Saturn could not avail in his own kingdom, nor in the Capitol, was he at least permitted to obtain in heaven? But why did Janus not receive some star? If for this reason because he is the world, and all are in him; Jove's also is the world, and he has one nevertheless. Or did he compose his cause as he could, and for one star which he does not have among the stars, did he receive so many faces on earth? Then if on account of the stars alone they think Mercury and Mars parts of the world, so that they may be able to have them as gods, because certainly speech and war are not parts of the world, but acts of men; why to Aries and Taurus and Cancer and Scorpio and the rest of this kind, which they number as celestial signs, and consist not of single stars, but each of many, and are perhibited to be placed above these in the highest heaven, where a more constant motion affords an unerring passage to the stars, have they made no altars, no sacred things, no temples; nor have they had them as gods, I do not say among these select ones, but not even among those as it were plebeian ones?

## Chapter XVI.

*Concerning Apollo and Diana and the other select gods, whom they wished to be parts of the world.*

Although they wish Apollo to be a diviner and a physician, nevertheless that they might station him in some part of the world, they said that he himself is also the sun; and likewise Diana his sister to be the moon and the guardian of roads. Whence also they wish her to be a virgin, because a road brings forth nothing: and therefore they both have arrows, because those two stars extend their rays from heaven even to the lands. They wish Vulcan to be the fire of the world, Neptune the waters of the world, Father Dis, that is Orcus, the earthly and lowest part of the world. They set Liber and Ceres over seeds, either him over the masculine, her over the feminine; or him indeed over the liquid, but her over the aridity of seeds. And this indeed is all referred to the world, that is to Jove, who for this reason was called "Progenitor and mother," because he would emit all seeds from himself, and receive them into himself. Since indeed they also wish the Great Mother to be the same Ceres, whom they say to be nothing else than the earth, and they perhibit her also to be Juno. And therefore they attribute to her the secondary causes of things: although nevertheless it was said to Jove, "Progenitor and mother of the gods": because according to them the whole world itself is Jove's. Minerva also, because they set her over human arts, and did not find even a star where they might place her, they said she is either the highest ether or even the moon.

Vestam quoque ipsam propterea dearum maximam putaverunt, quod ipsa sit terra; quamvis ignem mundi leviorem qui pertinet ad usus hominum faciles, non violentiorem qualis Vulcani est, ei deputandum esse crediderunt. Ac per hoc omnes istos selectos deos hunc esse mundum volunt, in quibusdam universum, in quibusdam partes ejus: universum sicut Jovem; partes ejus, ut Genium, ut Matrem magnam, ut Solem et Lunam, vel potius Apollinem et Dianam. Et aliquando unum deum res plures, aliquando unam rem deos plures faciunt. Nam unus deus res plures sunt, sicut ipse Jupiter: et mundus enim totus Jupiter, et solum coelum Jupiter, et sola stella Jupiter habetur et dicitur. Itemque Juno secundarum causarum domina, et Juno aer, et Juno terra, et si Venerem vinceret, Juno stella. Similiter Minerva summus aether, et Minerva itidem luna, quam esse in aetheris infimo limite existimant. Unam vero rem deos plures ita faciunt. Et Janus est mundus, et Jupiter: sic et Juno est terra, et Mater magna, et Ceres.

## Caput XVII.

*Quod etiam ipse Varro opiniones suas de diis pronuntiarit ambiguas.*

Et sicut haec, quae exempli gratia commemoravi, ita caetera non explicant, sed potius implicant; sicut impetus errabundae opinionis impulerit, ita huc atque illuc, hinc atque illinc insiliunt et resiliunt: ut ipse Varro de omnibus dubitare, quam aliquid affirmare maluerit. Nam trium extremorum primum cum de diis certis absolvisset librum, in altero de diis incertis dicere ingressus, ait: Cum in hoc libello dubias de diis opiniones posuero, reprehendi non debeo. Qui enim putabit judicari oportere et posse, cum audierit, faciet ipse: ego citius perduci possum, ut in primo libro quae dixi in dubitationem revocem, quam in hoc quae perscribam omnia ut ad aliquam dirigam summam. Ita non solum istum de diis incertis, sed etiam illum de certis fecit incertum. In tertio porro isto de diis selectis, posteaquam praelocutus est quod ex naturali theologia praeloquendum putavit, ingressurus hujus civilis theologiae vanitates et insanias mendaces, ubi eum non solum non ducebat rerum veritas, sed etiam majorum premebat auctoritas: De diis, inquit, populi Romani publicis, quibus aedes dedicaverunt, eosque pluribus signis ornatos notaverunt, in hoc libro scribam; sed, ut Xenophanes Colophonius scribit, quid putem, non quid contendam, ponam. Hominis est enim haec opinari, Dei scire.

They thought Vesta also herself for this reason the greatest of the goddesses, because she is the earth; although they believed that the lighter fire of the world, which pertains to the easy uses of men, not the more violent kind such as Vulcan's is, was to be deputed to her. And by this they wish all these select gods to be this world, in some things the whole, in some its parts: the whole as Jove; its parts, as Genius, as the Great Mother, as the Sun and Moon, or rather Apollo and Diana. And sometimes they make one god many things, sometimes one thing many gods. For one god is many things, as Jove himself: for the whole world is Jove, and the heaven alone is Jove, and the star alone is held and called Jove. And likewise Juno is the mistress of secondary causes, and Juno is air, and Juno is earth, and if she conquered Venus, Juno would be a star. Similarly Minerva is the highest ether, and Minerva likewise the moon, which they think to be in the lowest limit of the ether. But they thus make one thing many gods. Both Janus is the world, and Jove: so also Juno is the earth, and the Great Mother, and Ceres.

## Chapter XVII.

*That even Varro himself pronounced his opinions concerning the gods to be ambiguous.*

And as these things, which I have commemorated for the sake of example, so they do not explain the rest, but rather implicate them; as the impetus of an erring opinion has impelled them, so they leap in and leap back hither and thither, hence and thence: so that Varro himself preferred to doubt concerning all things, than to affirm anything. For when he had finished the first of the three last books concerning the certain gods, having entered upon speaking in the second concerning the uncertain gods, he says: "When in this little book I shall have placed doubtful opinions concerning the gods, I ought not to be reprehended." For he who shall think it ought to be and can be judged, when he has heard it, will do so himself: I can be more quickly led to recall into doubt those things which I said in the first book, than in this to describe all things so as to direct them to some sum. Thus he made not only that one concerning the uncertain gods, but even that one concerning the certain ones, uncertain. Furthermore in this third one concerning the select gods, after he has prefaced what he thought ought to be prefaced from natural theology, being about to enter upon the vanities and mendacious insanities of this civil theology, where not only the truth of things did not lead him, but also the authority of his ancestors pressed upon him: "Concerning the public gods of the Roman people," he says, "to whom they have dedicated temples, and have noted them adorned with many signs, I shall write in this book; but, as Xenophanes of Colophon writes, I shall set down what I think, not what I contend for." For it is the part of man to opine these things, of God to know them."

Rerum igitur non comprehensarum, nec firmissime creditarum, sed opinatarum et dubitandarum sermonem trepidus pollicetur, dicturus ea quae ab hominibus instituta sunt. Neque enim, sicut sciebat esse mundum, esse coelum et terram, coelum sideribus fulgidum, terram seminibus fertilem, atque hujusmodi caetera, sicut hanc totam molem atque naturam vi quadam invisibili ac praepotenti regi atque administrari certa animi stabilitate credebat; ita poterat affirmare de Jano, quod mundus ipse esset; aut de Saturno invenire, quomodo et Jovis pater esset et Jovi regnanti subditus factus esset, et caetera talia.

## Caput XVIII.

*Quae credibilior causa sit, qua error Paganitatis inoleverit.*

De quibus credibilior redditur ratio, cum perhibentur homines fuisse, et unicuique eorum ab his qui eos adulando deos esse voluerunt, ex ejus ingenio, moribus, actibus, casibus, sacra et solemnia constituta, atque haec paulatim per animas hominum daemonibus similes et ludicrarum rerum avidas irrependo, longe lateque vulgata, ornantibus ea mendaciis poetarum, et ad ea fallacibus spiritibus seducentibus. Facilius enim fieri potuit, ut juvenis impius vel ab impio patre interfici metuens et avidus regni patrem pelleret regno, quam id, quod iste interpretatur, ideo Saturnum patrem a Jove filio superatum, quod ante est causa quae pertinet ad Jovem, quam semen quod pertinet ad Saturnum. Si enim hoc ita esset, nunquam Saturnus prior fuisset, nec pater Jovis esset. Semper enim semen causa praecedit, nec unquam generatur ex semine. Sed cum conantur vanissimas fabulas sive hominum res gestas velut naturalibus interpretationibus honorare, etiam homines acutissimi tantas patiuntur angustias, ut eorum quoque vanitatem dolere cogamur.

## Caput XIX.

*De interpretationibus, quibus colendi Saturni ratio concinnatur.*

Saturnum, inquit, dixerunt, quae nata ex eo essent, solitum devorare; quod eo semina, unde nascerentur, redirent. Et quod illi pro Jove gleba objecta est devoranda, significat, inquit, manibus humanis obrui coeptas serendo fruges, antequam utilitas arandi esset inventa. Saturnus ergo dici debuit ipsa terra, non semina: ipsa enim quodammodo devorat quae genuerit, cum ex ea nata semina in eam rursus recipienda redierint. Et quod pro Jove accepisse dicitur glebam, quid hoc ad id valet, quod manibus hominum semen gleba coopertum est?

Trembling, therefore, he promises a discourse of things not comprehended, nor most firmly believed, but opined and to be doubted, being about to say those things which have been instituted by men. For indeed, as he knew the world to be, the heaven and earth to be, the heaven shining with stars, the earth fertile with seeds, and the rest of this kind, as he believed with a certain stability of mind that this whole mass and nature is ruled and administered by a certain invisible and very powerful force; so he could not affirm concerning Janus, that he was the world itself; or find concerning Saturn, how he was both the father of Jove and had been made subject to Jove reigning, and other such things.

## Chapter XVIII.

*What may be the more credible cause, by which the error of Paganism has grown.*

Concerning which things a more credible reason is rendered, when they are perhibited to have been men, and for each of them by those who, by flattering them, wished them to be gods, sacred things and solemnities were constituted according to his genius, morals, acts, and casualties, and these gradually creeping through the souls of men similar to demons and greedy of playful things, were divulged far and wide, with the lies of the poets adorning them, and fallacious spirits seducing them to them. For it could more easily have happened, that an impious youth either fearing to be killed by an impious father and greedy of the kingdom should drive his father from the kingdom, than that which this man interprets, that Saturn the father was for this reason overcome by Jove his son, because the cause which pertains to Jove is before the seed which pertains to Saturn. For if this were so, Saturn would never have been prior, nor would he be the father of Jove. For the cause always precedes the seed, nor is it ever generated from seed. But when they endeavor to honor most vain fables or the deeds of men as if with natural interpretations, even the most acute men suffer such straits, that we are compelled to grieve also for their vanity.

## Chapter XIX.

*Concerning the interpretations by which the reason for worshipping Saturn is devised.*

They said, he says, that Saturn was accustomed to devour those things which were born from him; because seeds returned thither from whence they were born. And that a clod (gleba) was cast to him to be devoured instead of Jove, signifies, he says, that crops begun by human hands were covered by sowing, before the utility of plowing was found. Saturn therefore ought to have been called the earth itself, not the seeds: for she herself in a certain way devours what she has generated, when the seeds born from her return into her again to be received. And as to what is said, that he received a clod instead of Jove, how does this avail to that, that the seed was covered with a clod by the hands of men?

Numquid ideo non est, ut caetera, devoratum, quod gleba coopertum est? Ita enim hoc dictum est, quasi qui glebam opposuit, semen abstulerit, sicut Saturno perhibent oblata gleba ablatum Jovem; ac non potius gleba semen operiendo fecerit illud diligentius devorari. Deinde isto modo semen est Jupiter, non seminis causa, quod paulo ante dicebatur. Sed quid faciant homines, qui cum res stultas interpretantur, non inveniunt quid sapienter dicatur? Falcem habet, inquit, propter agriculturam. Certe illo regnante nondum erat agricultura, et ideo priora ejus tempora perhibentur, sicut idem ipse fabellas interpretatur, quia primi homines ex his vivebant seminibus, quae terra sponte gignebat. An falcem sceptro perdito accepit, ut, qui primis temporibus rex fuerat otiosus, filio regnante fieret operarius laboriosus? Deinde ideo dicit a quibusdam pueros ei solitos immolari, sicut a Poenis, et a quibusdam etiam majores, sicut a Gallis, quia omnium seminum optimum est genus humanum. De hac crudelissima vanitate quid opus est plura dicere? Hoc potius adversamus atque teneamus, has interpretationes non referri ad verum Deum, vivam, incorpoream, incommutabilemque naturam, a quo vita in aeternum beata poscenda est; sed earum esse fines in rebus corporalibus, temporalibus, mutabilibus atque mortalibus. Quod Coelum, inquit, patrem Saturnus castrasse in fabulis dicitur, hoc significat penes Saturnum, non penes Coelum, semen esse divinum. Hoc propterea, quantum intelligi datur, quia nihil in coelo de seminibus nascitur. Sed ecce, Saturnus si Coeli est filius, Jovis est filius. Coelum enim esse Jovem, innumerabiliter et diligenter affirmant. Ita ista, quae a veritate non veniunt, plerumque et nullo impellente se ipsa subvertunt. Κρόνον appellatum dicit, quod graeco vocabulo significat temporis spatium: sine quo semen, inquit, non potest esse fecundum. Haec et alia de Saturno multa dicuntur, et ad semen omnia referuntur. Sed saltem Saturnus seminibus cum tanta ista potestate sufficeret: quid ad haec dii alii requiruntur, maxime Liber et Libera, id est Ceres? De quibus rursus, quod ad semen attinet, tanta dicit, quasi de Saturno nihil dixerit.

## Caput XX.

*De sacris Cereris Eleusinae.*

In Cereris autem sacris praedicantur illa Eleusinia, quae apud Athenienses nobilissima fuerunt. De quibus iste nihil interpretatur, nisi quod attinet ad frumentum, quod Ceres invenit, et ad Proserpinam, quam rapiente Orco perdidit.

Was it therefore not devoured like the rest, because it was covered with a clod? For this was thus said, as if he who opposed the clod took away the seed, just as Jove is perhibited to have been taken away from Saturn when the clod was offered; and not rather that the clod by covering the seed caused it to be more diligently devoured. Then in this way the seed is Jove, not the cause of the seed, which was said a little before. But what can men do, who when they interpret foolish things, do not find what may be said wisely? He has a sickle, he says, on account of agriculture. Certainly while he was reigning there was as yet no agriculture, and therefore his times are perhibited as prior, as the same man interprets the fables, because the first men lived from those seeds which the earth generated spontaneously. Or did he receive the sickle when his scepter was lost, so that he who in the first times had been an idle king, should become a laborious workman while his son was reigning? Then he says that for this reason children were accustomed to be immolated to him by some, as by the Carthaginians, and by some even greater ones, as by the Gauls, because the human race is the best of all seeds. Concerning this most cruel vanity what need is there to say more? Let us rather advert to and hold this, that these interpretations are not referred to the true God, a living, incorporeal, and immutable nature, from whom a life eternally blessed is to be asked; but that their ends are in corporeal, temporal, mutable, and mortal things. That Saturn is said in the fables to have castrated his father Heaven (Caelum), this signifies, he says, that divine seed is in the power of Saturn, not in the power of Heaven. This is for this reason, as far as it is given to be understood, because nothing in heaven is born from seeds. But behold, if Saturn is the son of Heaven, he is the son of Jove. For they affirm innumerably and diligently that Jove is Heaven. Thus those things which do not come from the truth, for the most part subvert themselves even without anyone impelling them. He says he was called Kronos, which in the Greek word signifies a space of time: without which, he says, the seed cannot be fecund. These and many other things are said concerning Saturn, and all are referred to seed. But at least Saturn might suffice for the seeds with such great power: why are other gods required for these, especially Liber and Libera, that is Ceres? Concerning whom again, as pertains to seed, he says so many things, as if he had said nothing concerning Saturn.

## Chapter XX.

*Concerning the sacred rites of Eleusinian Ceres.*

But in the sacred rites of Ceres those Eleusinian mysteries are praised, which were most noble among the Athenians. Concerning which this man interprets nothing, except what pertains to the corn which Ceres found, and to Proserpine, whom she lost when Orcus ravished her.

Et hanc ipsam dicit significare fecunditatem seminum: quae cum defuisset quodam tempore, eademque sterilitate terra moereret, exortam esse opinionem, quod filiam Cereris, id est ipsam fecunditatem, quae a proserpendo Proserpina dicta esset, Orcus abstulerat, et apud inferos detinuerat: quae res cum fuisset luctu publico celebrata, quia rursus eadem fecunditas rediit, Proserpina reddita exortam esse laetitiam, et ex hoc solemnia constituta. Dicit deinde multa in mysteriis ejus tradi, quae nisi ad frugum inventionem non pertineant.

## Caput XXI.

*De turpitudine sacrorum, quae Libero celebrabantur.*

Jam vero Liberi sacra, quem liquidis seminibus, ac per hoc non solum liquoribus fructuum, quorum quodammodo primatum vinum tenet, verum etiam seminibus animalium praefecerunt, ad quantam turpitudinem pervenerint, piget quidem dicere, propter sermonis longitudinem; sed propter superbam istorum hebetudinem non piget. Inter caetera quae praetermittere, quoniam multa sunt, cogor; in Italiae compitis quaedam dicit sacra Liberi celebrata cum tanta licentia turpitudinis, ut in ejus honorem pudenda virilia colerentur; non saltem aliquantum verecundiore secreto, sed in propatulo exsultante nequitia. Nam hoc turpe membrum per Liberi dies festos cum honore magno plostellis impositum, prius rure in compitis, et usque in urbem postea vectabatur. In oppido autem Lavinio uni Libero totus mensis tribuebatur, cujus diebus omnes verbis flagitiosissimis uterentur, donec illud membrum per forum transvectum esset, atque in loco suo quiesceret. Cui membro inhonesto matremfamilias honestissimam palam coronam necesse erat imponere. Sic videlicet Liber deus placandus fuerat proventibus seminum: sic ab agris fascinatio repellenda, ut matrona facere cogeretur in publico, quod nec meretrix, si matronae spectarent, permitti debuit in theatro. Propter haec Saturnus solus creditus non est sufficere posse seminibus, ut occasiones multiplicandorum deorum immunda anima reperiret, et ab uno vero Deo merito immunditiae destituta, ac per multos falsos aviditate majoris immunditiae prostituta, ista sacrilegia sacra nominaret, seseque spurcorum daemonum turbis conviolandam polluendamque praeberet.

## Caput XXII.

*De Neptuno, et Salacia, ac Venilia.*

And he says that she herself signifies the fecundity of seeds: which when it had failed at a certain time, and the earth mourned with the same sterility, the opinion arose, that Orcus had taken away the daughter of Ceres, that is fecundity itself, which was called Proserpine from creeping forth (proserpendo), and had detained her among the infernal regions: which thing having been celebrated with public mourning, because the same fecundity returned again, joy arose at Proserpine being restored, and from this the solemnities were constituted. He says then that many things are delivered in her mysteries, which do not pertain except to the invention of fruits.

## Chapter XXI.

*Concerning the foulness of the sacred rites which were celebrated to Liber.*

But now the sacred rites of Liber, whom they set over liquid seeds, and by this not only over the liquids of fruits, of which wine holds as it were the primacy, but also over the seeds of animals, to how great foulness they reached, it indeed irks to say, on account of the length of the discourse; but on account of the proud dullness of these men, it does not irk. Among other things which I am compelled to omit, since they are many; he says that certain sacred rites of Liber were celebrated in the crossroads of Italy with such license of foulness, that the virile shames (genitals) were worshipped in his honor; not even in somewhat more modest secrecy, but in public with exulting wickedness. For this foul member through the festive days of Liber was with great honor placed upon little carts, and was first carried in the crossroads in the country, and afterwards even into the city. But in the town of Lavinium a whole month was attributed to Liber alone, during whose days all used the most flagitious words, until that member had been carried through the forum and rested in its own place. Upon which dishonest member it was necessary that a most honest matron should openly place a crown. Thus indeed Liber the god was to be placated for the produce of seeds: thus fascination was to be repelled from the fields, that a matrona should be compelled to do in public, what not even a harlot, if matrons were looking on, ought to have been permitted in the theatre. On account of these things Saturn alone was not believed to be able to suffice for seeds, so that an unclean soul might find occasions of multiplying gods, and being deservedly by reason of its uncleanness destitute of the one true God, and prostituted through many false ones by the greed of greater uncleanness, it should call these sacrileges sacred rites, and should offer itself to be violated and polluted by crowds of filthy demons.

## Chapter XXII.

*Concerning Neptune, and Salacia, and Venilia.*

Jam utique habebat Salaciam Neptunus uxorem, quam inferiorem aquam maris esse dixerunt; utquid illi adjuncta est et Venilia, nisi ut sine ulla causa necessariorum sacrorum, sola libidine animae prostitutae, multiplicaretur invitatio daemoniorum? Sed proferatur interpretatio praeclarae theologiae, quae nos ab ista reprehensione reddita ratione compescat. Venilia, inquit, unda est, quae ad littus venit; Salacia, quae in salum redit. Cur ergo deae fiunt duae, cum sit una unda quae venit et redit? Nempe ipsa est exaestuans in multa numina libido vesana. Quamvis enim aqua non geminetur quae it et redit; hujus tamen occasione vanitatis, duobus daemoniis invitatis, amplius anima commaculatur, quae it, et non redit. Quaeso te, Varro, vel vos, qui tam doctorum hominum talia scripta legistis, et aliquid magnum vos didicisse jactatis, interpretamini hoc, nolo dicere secundum illam aeternam incommutabilemque naturam, qui solus est Deus; sed saltem secundum animam mundi, et partes ejus, quos deos veros esse existimatis. Partem animae mundi, quae mare permeat, deum vobis fecisse Neptunum, utcumque tolerabilioris est erroris. Itane unda ad littus veniens et in salum rediens, duae sunt partes mundi, aut duae partes animae mundi? Quis vestrum ita desipiat, ut hoc sapiat? Cur ergo vobis duas deas fecerunt, nisi quia provisum est a sapientibus majoribus vestris, non ut dii plures vos regerent, sed ut ea quae istis vanitatibus et falsitatibus gaudent, plura vos daemonia possiderent? Cur autem illa Salacia per hanc interpretationem inferiorem maris partem, qua viro erat subdita, perdidit? namque illam modo, cum refluentem fluctum esse perhibetis, in superficie posuistis. An quia Veniliam pellicem accepit, irata suum maritum de supernis maris exclusit?

## Caput XXIII.

*De Terra, quam Varro deam esse confirmat, eo quod ille animus mundi, quem opinatur deum, etiam hanc corporis sui infimam partem permeet, eique vim divinam impertiat.*

1. Nempe una est terra, quam quidem plenam videmus animalibus suis; verumtamen ipsam magnum corpus in elementis mundique infimam partem, cur eam volunt deam? An quia fecunda est? Cur ergo non magis homines dii sunt, qui eam fecundiorem faciunt excolendo; sed cum arant, non cum adorant? Sed pars animae mundi, inquiunt, quae per illam permeat, deam facit. Quasi non evidentior sit in hominibus anima, quae utrum sit, nulla fit quaestio; et tamen homines dii non habentur: et quod est graviter dolendum, his, qui dii non sunt, et quibus ipsi meliores sunt, colendis et adorandis mirabili et miserabili errore subduntur.

Now indeed Neptune had Salacia for a wife, whom they said was the lower water of the sea; why was Venilia also joined to him, unless so that without any cause of necessary sacred rites, by the mere lust of a prostituted soul, the invitation of demons might be multiplied? But let the interpretation of this illustrious theology be brought forward, which may restrain us from this reprehension by a reason rendered. Venilia, he says, is the wave which comes to the shore; Salacia, that which returns into the deep (salum). Why then are there two goddesses, when there is one wave which comes and returns? Indeed it is the insane lust itself surging into many deities. For although the water is not doubled which goes and returns; nevertheless by the occasion of this vanity, two demons being invited, the soul is more fully defiled, which goes and does not return. I ask you, Varro, or you who have read such writings of so learned men, and boast that you have learned something great, interpret this, I do not wish to say according to that eternal and immutable nature, who alone is God; but at least according to the soul of the world and its parts, which you think to be true gods. That you have made Neptune a god for yourselves as that part of the soul of the world which permeates the sea, is of a somewhat more tolerable error. Is a wave coming to the shore and returning into the deep thus two parts of the world, or two parts of the soul of the world? Who of you is so foolish as to think this? Why then did they make two goddesses for you, unless because it was provided by your wiser ancestors, not that many gods might rule you, but that those things which rejoice in these vanities and falsehoods, namely many demons, might possess you? But why has that Salacia, through this interpretation, lost the lower part of the sea, by which she was subject to her husband? For you have just now placed her on the surface, when you perhibit her to be the reflowing flood. Or because he took Venilia as a concubine, did she, being angry, exclude her husband from the upper parts of the sea?

## Chapter XXIII.

*Concerning the Earth, which Varro confirms to be a goddess, for this reason that that mind of the world, which he opines to be a god, permeates even this lowest part of his body, and imparts to it a divine force.*

1. Indeed there is one earth, which we see indeed full of its own animals; nevertheless since it is a great body in the elements and the lowest part of the world, why do they wish it to be a goddess? Is it because it is fecund? Why then are men not rather gods, who make it more fecund by cultivating it; but when they plow, not when they adore? But a part of the soul of the world, they say, which permeates through it, makes it a goddess. As if the soul were not more evident in men, concerning which there is no question whether it exists; and yet men are not held to be gods: and what is to be heavily grieved for, they are subjected by a wonderful and miserable error to worshipping and adoring those who are not gods, and than whom they themselves are better.

Et certe idem Varro in eodem de diis selectis libro, tres esse affirmat animae gradus in omni universaque natura: unum, qui omnes partes corporis quae vivunt, transit, et non habet sensum, sed tantum ad vivendum valetudinem: hanc vim in nostro corpore permanare dicit in ossa, ungues, capillos: sicut in mundo arbores sine sensu aluntur et crescunt, et modo quodam suo vivunt. Secundum gradum animae, in quo sensus est: hanc vim pervenire in oculos, aures, nares, os, tactum. Tertium gradum animae esse summum, quod vocatur animus, in quo intelligentia praeeminet: hoc praeter hominem omnes carere mortales: hanc partem animae mundi dicit deum, in nobis autem Genium vocari. Esse autem in mundo lapides ac terram, quam videmus, quo non permanat sensus, ut ossa, ut ungues dei: solem vero, lunam, stellas, quae sentimus, quibusque ipse sentit, sensus esse ejus. Aethera porro animum ejus: ex cujus vi, quae pervenit in astra, ipsam quoque facere deos; et per ea quod in terram permeat, deam Tellurem; quod autem inde permeat in mare atque oceanum, deum esse Neptunum.

2. Redeat ergo ab hac, quam theologiam naturalem putat, quo velut requiescendi causa ab his ambagibus atque anfractibus fatigatus egressus est. Redeat, inquam, redeat ad civilem: hic eum adhuc teneo, tantisper de hac ago. Nondum dico, si terra et lapides nostris sunt ossibus et unguibus similes, similiter eos intelligentiam non habere, sicut sensu carent; aut si idcirco habere dicuntur ossa et ungues nostri intelligentiam, quia in homine sunt qui habet intelligentam, tam stultum esse qui hos deos in mundo dicit, quam stultus est qui in nobis ossa et ungues homines dicit. Sed haec cum philosophis fortassis agenda sunt: nunc autem istum adhuc politicum volo. Fieri enim potest, ut, licet in illam naturalis theologiae veluti libertatem caput erigere paululum voluisse videatur, adhuc tamen hunc librum versans, et se in illo versari cogitans, eum etiam inde respexerit; et hoc propterea dixerit, ne majores ejus, sive aliae civitates, Tellurem atque Neptunum inaniter coluisse credantur. Sed hoc dico, pars animi mundani quae per terram permeat, sicut una est terra, cur non etiam unam fecit deam, quam dicit esse Tellurem? Quod si ita fecit, ubi erit Orcus, frater Jovis atque Neptuni, quem Ditem patrem vocant? ubi ejus conjux Proserpina, quae secundum aliam in eisdem libris positam opinionem, non terrae fecunditas, sed pars inferior perhibetur? Quod si dicunt, animi mundani partem, cum permeat terrae partem superiorem, Ditem patrem facere deum; cum vero inferiorem, Proserpinam deam; Tellus illa quid erit?

And certainly the same Varro in the same book concerning the select gods, affirms that there are three grades of the soul in all and universal nature: one, which passes through all parts of the body which live, and has not sense, but only health for living: this force in our body he says permeates into the bones, the nails, the hair: just as in the world trees are nourished and grow without sense, and live in a certain way of their own. The second grade of the soul, in which there is sense: this force reaches into the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, touch. The third grade of the soul is the highest, which is called mind (animus), in which intelligence is preeminent: this all mortals except man lack: this part of the soul of the world he says is a god, but in us it is called Genius. But there are in the world stones and earth, which we see, whither sense does not permeate, like the bones, like the nails of the god: but the sun, the moon, the stars, which we perceive, and by which he himself perceives, are his senses. Furthermore the ether is his mind: from whose force, which reaches into the stars, he also makes them gods; and through that which permeates into the earth, the goddess Tellus; but that which permeates thence into the sea and ocean, is the god Neptune.

2. Let him return, therefore, from this which he thinks to be natural theology, whither as if for the sake of resting he went out, fatigued by these ambiguities and windings. Let him return, I say, let him return to the civil: here I still hold him, so long I deal with this. I do not yet say, if the earth and stones are similar to our bones and nails, that similarly they do not have intelligence, just as they lack sense; or if for this reason our bones and nails are said to have intelligence, because they are in a man who has intelligence, he is as foolish who says these are gods in the world, as he is foolish who says the bones and nails in us are men. But these things are perhaps to be dealt with with philosophers: but now I still wish him to be a politician. For it may be, that although he seems to have wished to lift up his head a little into that liberty as it were of natural theology, yet still turning over this book, and thinking himself to be occupied in it, he even thence looked back; and said this for this reason, lest his ancestors, or other states, should be believed to have worshipped Tellus and Neptune in vain. But this I say, that part of the mundane mind which permeates through the earth, as the earth is one, why did he not also make it one goddess, which he says is Tellus? But if he thus did, where will Orcus be, the brother of Jove and Neptune, whom they call Father Dis? Where his wife Proserpine, who according to another opinion placed in the same books, is perhibited to be not the fecundity of the earth, but its lower part? Because if they say, that the part of the mundane mind, when it permeates the upper part of the earth, makes Father Dis a god; but when the lower part, the goddess Proserpine; what will that Tellus be?

Ita enim totum, quod ipsa erat, in duas istas partes deosque divisum est, ut ipsa tertia quae sit, aut ubi sit, inveniri non possit: nisi quis dicat simul istos deos Orcum atque Proserpinam, unam deam esse Tellurem; et non esse jam tres, sed aut unam, aut duos: et tamen tres dicuntur, tres habentur, tres coluntur aris suis, delubris suis, sacris, simulacris, sacerdotibus suis, et per haec etiam fallacibus prostitutam animam constuprantibus daemonibus suis. Adhuc respondeatur, quam partem terrae permeet pars mundani animi, ut deum faciat Tellumonem. Non, inquit, sed una eademque terra habet geminam vim, et masculinam, quod semina producat; et fentininam, quod recipiat atque enutriat: inde a vi feminina dictam esse Tellurem, a masculina Tellumonem. Cur ergo pontifices, ut ipse indicat, additis quoque aliis duobus, quatuor diis faciunt rem divinam, Telluri, Tellumoni, Altori, Rusori? De Tellure et Tellumone jam dictum est: Altori quare? Quod ex terra, inquit, aluntur omnia quae nata sunt. Rusori quare? Quod rursus, inquit, cuncta eodem revolvuntur.

CAPUT XXIV.---De Telluris cognominibus eorumque significationibus, quae etiamsi erant multarum rerum indices, non debuerunt multorum deorum firmare opiniones. 1. Debuit ergo una terra propter istam quadrigeminam vim quatuor habere cognomina, non quatuor facere deos: sicut tot cognominibus unus Jupiter, et tot cognominibus una Juno; in quibus omnibus vis multiplex esse dicitur ad unum deum vel unam deam pertinens, non multitudo cognominum, deorum etiam multitudinem faciens. Sed profecto sicut aliquando etiam ipsas vilissimas feminas earum, quas libidine quaesierunt, taedet poenitetque turbarum: sic animam vilem factam et immundis spiritibus prostitutam deos sibi multiplicare, quibus contaminanda prosterneretur, sicut plurimum libuit, sic aliquando et piguit. Nam et ipse Varro quasi de ipsa turba verecundatus, unam deam vult esse Tellurem. Eamdem, inquit, dicunt Matrem magnam, quod tympanum habeat, significari esse orbem terrae: quod turres in capite, oppida: quod sedes fingantur circa eam, cum omnia moveantur, ipsam non moveri.

For thus the whole, which she herself was, is divided into these two parts and gods, so that what or where she herself as a third may be, cannot be found: unless anyone should say that those gods Orcus and Proserpine together are one goddess Tellus; and that there are no longer three, but either one or two: and yet they are said to be three, are held to be three, are worshipped three with their own altars, their own fanes, sacred rites, images, their own priests, and through these also by their own demons debauching the soul prostituted to fallacies. Let it still be answered, what part of the earth a part of the mundane mind permeates, so as to make the god Tellumo. Not so, he says, but one and the same earth has a twin force, both masculine, because it produces seeds; and feminine, because it receives and nourishes them: whence from the feminine force she was called Tellus, from the masculine Tellumo. Why then do the pontiffs, as he himself indicates, two others also being added, perform divine service to four gods, to Tellus, Tellumo, Altor, Rusor? Concerning Tellus and Tellumo it has already been said: why to Altor? Because from the earth, he says, all things which are born are nourished (aluntur). Why to Rusor? Because again, he says, all things revolve (revolvuntur) back to the same.

CHAPTER XXIV.---On the surnames of Tellus and their meanings, which, even if they were indicators of many things, ought not to have confirmed the opinions of many gods. 1. Therefore one earth, on account of that fourfold force, ought to have had four surnames, not to have made four gods: just as one Jupiter with so many surnames, and one Juno with so many surnames; in all of whom the manifold force is said to belong to one god or one goddess, not the multitude of surnames also making a multitude of gods. But truly, just as sometimes even the vilest women are weary and repentant of the crowds of those whom they have sought through lust: so it has liked a soul made vile and prostituted to unclean spirits to multiply for itself gods to whom it might be prostrated to be contaminated, as it much pleased, so sometimes it also irked. For even Varro himself, as if ashamed of that very crowd, wishes Tellus to be one goddess. The same, he says, they call the Great Mother (Mater magna), because she has a tympanum, signifying that she is the orb of the earth: because she has towers on her head, towns: because seats are fashioned around her, while all things are moved, she herself is not moved.

Quod Gallos huic deae ut servirent fecerunt, significat qui semine indigeant, terram sequi oportere; in ea quippe omnia reperiri. Quod se apud eam jactant, praecipitur, inquit, qui terram colunt, ne sedeant; semper enim esse quod agant. Cymbalorum sonitus, ferramentorum jactandorum ac manuum, et ejus rei crepitus, in colendo agro qui fit, significant: ideo aere, quod eam antiqui colebant aere, antequam ferrum esset inventum. Leonem, inquit, adjungunt solutum ac mansuetum, ut ostendant esse nullum genus terrae tam remotum ac vehementer ferum, quod non subigi colique conveniat. Deinde adjungit et dicit, Tellurem matrem et nominibus pluribus et cognominibus quod nominarunt, deos existimatos esse complures. Tellurem, inquit, putant esse Opem, quod opere fiat melior; Matrem, quod plurima pariat; Magnam, quod cibum pariat; Proserpinam, quod ex ea proserpant fruges; Vestam quod vestiatur herbis. Sic alias deas, inquit, non absurde ad hanc revocant. Si ergo una dea est, quae quidem consulta veritate nec ipsa est, interim quid itur in multas? Unius sint ista multa nomina, non tam deae multae quam nomina. Sed errantium majorum auctoritas deprimit, et eumdem Varronem post hanc sententiam trepidare compellit. Adjungit enim et dicit: Cum quibus opinio majorum de his deabus, quod plures eas putarunt esse, non pugnat. Quomodo non pugnat, cum valde aliud sit, unam deam nomina habere multa, aliud, esse deas multas? Sed potest, inquit, fieri ut eadem res et una sit, et in ea quaedam res sint plures. Concedo in uno homine esse res plures, numquid ideo et homines plures? sic in una dea esse res plures, numquid ideo et deas plures? Verum sicut volunt, dividant, conflent, multiplicent, replicent, implicent.

2. Haec sunt Telluris et Matris magnae praeclara mysteria, unde omnia referuntur ad mortalia semina et ad exercendam agriculturam. Itane ad haec relata et hunc finem habentia tympanum, turres, Galli, jactatio insana membrorum, crepitus cymbalorum, confictio leonum, vitam cuiquam pollicentur aeternam? itane propterea Galli abscisi huic Magnae deae serviunt, ut significent qui semine indigeant, terram sequi oportere; quasi non eos ipsa potius servitus semine faciat indigere? Utrum enim sequendo hanc deam, cum indigeant, semen acquirunt; an potius sequendo hanc deam, cum habeant, semen amittunt?

That they made Galli serve this goddess, signifies that those who are in need of seed ought to follow the earth; for in it all things are found. That they toss themselves about before her, it is commanded, he says, that those who cultivate the earth should not sit; for there is always something for them to do. The sound of cymbals, of the tossing of iron tools and of hands, and the clatter of that thing which happens in cultivating the field, signify: therefore with bronze, because the ancients cultivated it with bronze, before iron was found. They add a lion, he says, unchained and tame, to show that there is no kind of earth so remote and vehemently wild, which it does not befit to be subdued and cultivated. Then he adds and says, that because they named the mother Tellus both with more names and surnames, several were thought to be gods. They think, he says, that Tellus is Ops, because she becomes better by work (opere); Mother, because she brings forth very many things; Great, because she brings forth food; Proserpine, because from her the fruits creep forth (proserpant); Vesta because she is clothed (vestiatur) with herbs. Thus other goddesses, he says, they not absurdly refer back to this one. If then there is one goddess, who indeed according to the consulted truth is not even herself one, meanwhile why is it gone into many? Let those many names be of one, not so much many goddesses as names. But the authority of erring ancestors weighs down, and compels the same Varro to tremble after this sentence. For he adds and says: With which the opinion of the ancestors concerning these goddesses, because they thought them to be several, does not fight. How does it not fight, when it is a very different thing, for one goddess to have many names, and another, for there to be many goddesses? But it can, he says, happen that the same thing is both one, and in it certain things are several. I grant that in one man there are several things, but are there therefore also several men? so in one goddess there are several things, but are there therefore also several goddesses? But let them divide, fuse, multiply, replicate, imply, as they wish.

2. These are the famous mysteries of Tellus and the Great Mother, whence all things are referred to mortal seeds and to the exercise of agriculture. Do then the tympanum, the towers, the Galli, the insane tossing of limbs, the clatter of cymbals, the fashioning of lions, referred to these things and having this end, promise eternal life to anyone? Do then therefore the emasculated Galli serve this Great goddess, so that they may signify that those who are in need of seed ought to follow the earth; as if that very service did not rather make them in need of seed? For whether by following this goddess, when they are in need, do they acquire seed; or rather by following this goddess, when they have it, do they lose it?

Hoc interpretari est, an detestari? Nec attenditur, quantum maligni daemones praevaluerint, qui nec aliqua magna his sacris polliceri ausi sunt, et tam crudelia exigere potuerunt. Si dea terra non esset, manus ei homines operando inferrent, ut semina consequerentur per illam; non etiam sibi saeviendo, ut semina perderent propter illam. Si dea non esset, ita fecunda fieret manibus alienis, ut non cogeret hominem sterilem fieri manibus suis. Jam quod in Liberi sacris honesta matrona pudenda virilia coronabat, spectante multitudine, ubi rubens et sudans, si est ulla frons in hominibus, astabat forsitan et maritus; et quod in celebratione nuptiarum, super Priapi scapum nova nupta sedere jubebatur: longe contemptibiliora atque leviora sunt prae ista turpitudine crudelissima vel crudelitate turpissima, ubi daemoniacis artibus sic uterque sexus illuditur, ut neuter suo vulnere perimatur. Ibi fascinatio timetur agrorum, hic membrorum amputatio non timetur: ibi sic dehonestatur novae nuptae verecundia, ut non solum fecunditas, sed nec virginitas adimatur; hic ita amputatur virilitas, ut nec convertatur in feminam, nec vir relinquatur.

## Caput XXV.

*Quam interpretationem de abscisione Atidis Graecorum sapientium doctrina repererit.*

Et Atys ille non est commemoratus, nec ejus ab isto interpretatio requisita est, in cujus dilectionis memoriam Gallus absciditur. Sed docti Graeci atque sapientes nequaquam rationem tam sanctam praeclaramque tacuerunt. Propter vernalem quippe faciem terrae, quae caeteris temporibus est pulchrior, Porphyrius, philosophus nobilis, Atyn flores significare perhibuit; et ideo abscisum, quia flos decidit ante fructum (In libro de Ratione naturali deorum). Non ergo ipsum hominem, vel quasi hominem, qui vocatus est Atys, sed virilia ejus flori comparaverunt. Ipsa quippe illo vivente deciderunt: imo vero non deciderunt, neque decerpta, sed plane discerpta sunt; nec illo flore amisso quisquam postea fructus, sed potius sterilitas consecuta est. Quid ergo ipse reliquus? et quidquid remansit absciso, quid eo significari dicitur? quo refertur? quae interpretatio inde profertur? an haec frustra moliendo nihilque inveniendo persuadent illud potius esse credendum, quod de homine castrato fama jactavit, litterisque mandatum est? Merito hinc aversatus est Varro noster, neque hoc dicere voluit: non enim hominem doctissimum latuit.

## Caput XXVI.

*De turpitudine sacrorum Matris magnae.*

Is this to interpret, or to detest? Nor is it attended to, how much the malignant demons have prevailed, who neither dared to promise any great thing by these sacred rites, and were able to exact things so cruel. If the earth were not a goddess, men would lay hands upon her by working, that they might obtain seeds through her; not also upon themselves by raging, that they might lose seeds on account of her. If she were not a goddess, she would be made fecund by the hands of others, so that she would not compel a man to become sterile by his own hands. Now that in the sacred rites of Liber an honest matron crowned the virile parts, while the multitude looked on, where blushing and sweating, if there is any brow in men, perhaps even her husband stood by; and that in the celebration of nuptials, the new bride was ordered to sit upon the shaft of Priapus: these are far more contemptible and lighter than that most cruel turpitude or most foul cruelty, where by demoniac arts both sexes are so deluded, that neither is destroyed by its own wound. There the fascination of the fields is feared, here the amputation of limbs is not feared: there the modesty of the new bride is so dishonored, that not only fecundity, but not even virginity is taken away; here virility is so amputated, that it is neither converted into a female, nor left a man.

## Chapter XXV.

*What interpretation the doctrine of the Greek sages has found concerning the castration of Atys.*

And that Atys was not mentioned, nor was his interpretation sought by him, in memory of whose love the Gallus is castrated. But the learned and wise Greeks by no means kept silent about so holy and famous a reason. For on account of the vernal face of the earth, which is more beautiful than at other times, Porphyry, a noble philosopher, asserted that Atys signifies flowers; and therefore he was castrated, because the flower falls before the fruit (In the book on the Natural Reason of the gods). They compared, therefore, not the man himself, or the quasi-man, who was called Atys, but his virile parts to a flower. For they fell while he was living: or rather they did not fall, nor were they plucked, but plainly torn away; nor did any fruit follow after that flower was lost, but rather sterility. What then of he himself remaining? and whatever remained of the castrated one, what is said to be signified by it? to what is it referred? what interpretation is brought forth thence? or by laboring in vain and finding nothing, do they persuade that that rather ought to be believed, which fame has tossed about concerning the castrated man, and has been committed to writings? Justly was our Varro averse from this, nor did he wish to say this: for it did not escape the most learned man.

## Chapter XXVI.

*On the turpitude of the sacred rites of the Great Mother.*

Itemque de mollibus eidem Matri magnae contra omnem virorum mulierumque verecundiam consecratis, qui usque in hesternum diem madidis capillis, facie dealbata, fluentibus membris, incessu femineo per plateas vicosque Carthaginis, etiam a populis unde turpiter viverent exigebant, nihil Varro dicere voluit, nec uspiam me legisse commemini. Defecit interpretatio, erubuit ratio, conticuit oratio. Vicit Matris magnae omnes deos filios, non numinis magnitudo, sed criminis. Huic monstro nec Jani monstrositas comparatur. Ille in simulacris habebat solam deformitatem, ista in sacris deformem crudelitatem; ille membra in lapidibus addita, haec in hominibus perdita. Hoc dedecus tot Jovis ipsius et tanta stupra non vincunt: ille inter femineas corruptelas uno Ganymede coelum infamavit; ista tot mollibus professis et publicis et inquinavit terram, et coelo fecit injuriam. Saturnum fortasse possemus huic in isto genere turpissimae crudelitatis sive conferre, sive praeferre, qui patrem castrasse perhibetur: sed in Saturni sacris homines alienis manibus potius occidi, quam suis abscidi potuerunt. Devoravit ille filios, ut poetae ferunt, et physici ex hoc interpretantur quod volunt; ut autem historia prodit, necavit: sed quod ei Poeni suos filios sacrificaverunt, non recepere Romani. At vero ista magna deorum Mater etiam Romanis templis castratos intulit, atque istam saevitiam moremque servavit; credita vires adjuvare Romanorum, exsecando virilia virorum. Quid sunt ad hoc malum Mercurii furta, Veneris lascivia, stupra ac turpitudines caeterorum, quae proferremus de libris, nisi quotidie cantarentur et saltarentur in theatris? sed haec quid sunt ad tantum malum, cujus magnitudo magnae Matri tantummodo competebat? praesertim quod illa dicuntur a poetis esse conficta: quasi poetae id etiam finxerint, quod ea sint diis grata et accepta. Ut ergo canerentur vel scriberentur, audacia sit vel petulantia poetarum: ut vero divinis rebus et honoribus eisdem imperantibus et extorquentibus numinibus adderentur, quid est nisi crimen deorum; imo vero confessio daemoniorum, et deceptio miserorum? Verum illud quod de abscisorum consecratione Mater deorum coli meruit, non poetae confinxerunt, sed horrere magis quam canere maluerunt.

And likewise concerning the effeminates (molles) consecrated to the same Great Mother against all modesty of men and women, who up to yesterday with moist hair, whitened face, flowing limbs, with feminine gait through the streets and lanes of Carthage, even from the peoples exacted whence they might live basely, Varro wished to say nothing, nor do I remember that I have read it anywhere. Interpretation failed, reason blushed, speech fell silent. The crime, not the greatness of the deity, conquered all the gods who were sons of the Great Mother. Not even the monstrosity of Janus is compared to this monster. He had in his images only deformity, she in her sacred rites a deformed cruelty; he had limbs added in stones, she had them lost in men. The so many and so great debaucheries of Jove himself do not conquer this disgrace: he among feminine corruptions defamed heaven with one Ganymede; she with so many professed and public effeminates both polluted the earth, and did injury to heaven. Perhaps we could either compare or prefer Saturn to her in this kind of most foul cruelty, who is perhibited to have castrated his father: but in the sacred rites of Saturn men could rather be killed by the hands of others, than be cut off by their own. He devoured his sons, as the poets relate, and the physicists interpret from this what they wish; but as history reveals, he killed them: but that the Carthaginians (Poeni) sacrificed their sons to him, the Romans did not receive. But truly that great Mother of the gods brought even into Roman temples castrated men, and preserved that savagery and custom; believed to help the strength of the Romans, by cutting out the virile parts of men. What are the thefts of Mercury, the lasciviousness of Venus, the debaucheries and turpitudes of the others to this evil, which we would bring forth from books, unless they were daily sung and danced in the theaters? but what are these to so great an evil, the magnitude of which was suitable only to the Great Mother? especially since those are said to be feigned by the poets: as if the poets also feigned this, that they are pleasing and acceptable to the gods. That therefore they were sung or written, let it be the audacity or petulance of the poets: but that they were added to divine things and honors, with the same deities commanding and extorting them, what is it but the crime of the gods; or rather the confession of demons, and the deception of miserable men? Truly that for which the Mother of the gods deserved to be worshipped by the consecration of castrated men, the poets did not feign, but preferred to shudder at it rather than to sing of it.

Hisne diis selectis quisquam consecrandus est, ut post mortem vivat beate, quibus consecratus ante mortem honeste non potest vivere, tam foedis superstitionibus subditus et immundis daemonibus obligatus? Sed haec omnia, inquit, referuntur ad mundum. Videat ne potius ad immundum. Quid autem non potest referri ad mundum, quod esse demonstratur in mundo? Nos autem animum quaerimus, qui vera religione confisus, non tanquam deum suum adoret mundum, sed tanquam opus Dei propter Deum laudet mundum; et mundanis sordibus expiatus, mundus perveniat ad Deum, qui condidit mundum.

CAPUT XXVII.---De figmentis physiologorum, qui nec veram divinitatem colunt, nec eo cultu quo colenda est vera divinitas. 1. Istos vero deos selectos videmus quidem clarius innotuisse quam caeteros; non tamen ut eorum illustrarentur merita, sed ne occultarentur opprobria: unde magis eos homines fuisse credibile est; sicut non solum poeticae litterae, verum etiam historicae tradididerunt. Nam quod Virgilius ait, Primus ab aethereo venit Saturnus Olympo, Arma Jovis fugiens, et regnis exsul ademptis: (Aeneid. lib. 8, vers 319, 320). et quae ad hanc rem pertinentia consequuntur, totam de hoc Euhemerus pandit historiam, quam Ennius in latinum vertit eloquium: unde quia plurima posuerunt, qui contra hujusmodi errores ante nos vel graeco sermone vel latino scripserunt, non in eo mihi placuit immorari.

2. [XXVII.] Ipsas physiologias cum considero, quibus docti et acuti homines has res humanas conantur vertere in res divinas, nihil video nisi ad temporalia terrenaque opera naturamque corpoream, vel etiamsi invisibilem, tamen mutabilem potuisse revocari: quod nullo modo est verus Deus. Hoc autem si saltem religiositati congruis significationibus ageretur, esset quidem dolendum, non his verum Deum annuntiari atque praedicari; tamen aliquo modo ferendum tam foeda et turpia non fieri nec juberi: at nunc cum pro Deo vero, quo solo anima se inhabitante sit felix, nefas sit colere aut corpus aut animam; quanto magis nefarium est ista sic colere, ut nec salutem, nec decus humanum corpus aut anima colentis obtineat? Quamobrem si templo, sacerdote, sacrificio, quod vero Deo debetur, colatur aliquod elementum mundi, vel creatus aliquis spiritus, etiamsi non immundus et malus; non ideo malum est, quia illa mala sunt quibus colitur; sed quia illa sunt talia, quibus solus ille colendus sit, cui talis cultus servitusque debetur.

Is anyone to be consecrated to these select gods, that after death he may live blessedly, to whom consecrated before death he cannot live honorably, subjected to such foul superstitions and bound to unclean demons? But all these things, he says, are referred to the world (mundum). Let him see lest rather to the unclean (immundum). But what cannot be referred to the world, which is demonstrated to be in the world? But we seek a soul, which trusting in true religion, should not adore the world as its god, but as the work of God for God's sake should praise the world; and expiated from worldly sordes, being clean (mundus), may arrive at God, who founded the world (mundum).

CHAPTER XXVII.---On the figments of the physiologists, who neither worship true divinity, nor with that worship with which true divinity is to be worshipped. 1. But we see indeed that these select gods have become more clearly known than the rest; not, however, that their merits might be illustrated, but lest their reproaches should be hidden: whence it is more believable that those were men; as not only poetic letters, but even historical ones have handed down. For as for what Virgil says, First from ethereal Olympus came Saturn, fleeing the arms of Jove, and an exile with his kingdoms taken away: (Aeneid, lib. 8, vers 319, 320), and those things which follow pertaining to this matter, Euhemerus opens the whole history concerning this, which Ennius turned into Latin eloquence: whence, because they who before us wrote against errors of this kind, whether in the Greek or Latin tongue, have placed very many things, it has not pleased me to dwell upon it.

2. [XXVII.] When I consider the physiologies themselves, by which learned and acute men endeavor to turn these human things into divine things, I see nothing except that they were able to be referred to temporal and earthly works and a corporeal nature, or even if invisible, yet changeable: which in no way is the true God. But if this at least were done with significations suitable to religiousness, it would indeed be to be grieved, that the true God is not announced and preached by these; yet in some way to be borne that things so foul and shameful are not done nor commanded: but now when instead of the true God, by whom alone the soul inhabiting Him may be happy, it is a crime to worship either body or soul; how much more nefarious is it so to worship those, that neither health, nor human grace may the body or soul of the worshiper obtain? Wherefore if by a temple, a priest, a sacrifice, which is owed to the true God, some element of the world be worshipped, or some created spirit, even if not unclean and evil; it is not therefore evil, because those are evil by which it is worshipped; but because those things are such, by which He alone is to be worshipped, to whom such worship and service is owed.

Si autem stoliditate vel monstrositate simulacrorum, sacrificiis homicidiorum, coronatione virilium pudendorum, mercede stuprorum, sectione membrorum, abscisione genitalium, consecratione mollium, festis impurorum obscenorumque ludorum, unum verum Deum, id est omnis animae corporisque creatorem, colere se quisque contendat; non ideo peccat, quia non est colendus quem colit; sed quia colendum, non ut colendus est, colit. Qui vero et rebus talibus, id est turpibus et scelestis, et non Deum verum, id est animae corporisque factorem, sed creaturam quamvis non vitiosam colit, sive illa sit anima, sive corpus, sive anima simul et corpus, bis peccat in Deum, quod et pro ipso colit, quod non est ipse; et talibus rebus colit, qualibus nec ipse colendus est, nec non ipse. Sed hi quonam modo, id est quam turpiter nefarieque, coluerint, in promptu est. Quid autem vel quos coluerint, esset obscurum, nisi eorum testaretur historia, ea ipsa quae foeda et turpia confitentur numinibus terribiliter exigentibus reddita. Unde remotis ambagibus constat, nefarios daemones atque immundissimos spiritus hac omni civili theologia in visendis stolidis imaginibus, et per eas possidendis etiam stultis cordibus, invitatos.

## Caput XXVIII.

*Quod doctrina Varronis de theologia in nulla sibi parte concordet.*

Quid igitur valet, quod vir doctissimus et acutissimus Varro velut subtili disputatione hos omnes deos in coelum et in terram redigere ac referre conatur? Non potest: fluunt de manibus, resiliunt, labuntur et decidunt. Dicturus enim de feminis, hoc est deabus: «Quoniam,» inquit, «ut in primo libro dixi de locis, duo sunt principia deorum animadversa de coelo et terra, a quo dii partim dicuntur coelestes, partim terrestres: ut in superioribus initium fecimus coelo, cum diximus de Jano, quem alii coelum, alii dixerunt esse mundum; sic de feminis initium scribendi facimus a Tellure.» Sentio quantam molestiam tale ac tantum patiatur ingenium. Ducitur enim quadam ratione verisimili, coelum esse quod faciat, terram quae patiatur; et ideo illi masculinam vim tribuit, huic femininam: et non attendit eum potius esse qui haec facit, qui utrumque fecit. Hinc etiam Samothracum nobilia mysteria in superiore libro sic interpretatur, eaque se quae nec suis nota sunt scribendo expositurum eisque missurum quasi religiosissime pollicetur.

But if by the stolidity or monstrosity of images, by sacrifices of homicides, by the crowning of the virile parts, by the hire of debaucheries, by the cutting of limbs, by the castration of genitals, by the consecration of effeminates (molles), by the feasts of impure and obscene games, anyone should contend that he worships the one true God, that is, the creator of every soul and body; he does not therefore sin, because He whom he worships is not to be worshipped; but because he worships Him who is to be worshipped, not as He is to be worshipped. But he who worships both with such things, that is, foul and wicked, and not the true God, that is, the maker of soul and body, but a creature, although not vicious, whether that be a soul, or a body, or soul and body together, sins twice against God, because he worships for Himself that which is not Himself; and worships with such things, as neither He is to be worshipped with, nor anyone not Himself. But in what way, that is, how foully and nefariously, these have worshipped, is manifest. But what or whom they worshipped, would be obscure, unless their history testified that those very things which they confess to be foul and shameful were rendered to deities terribly exacting them. Whence, ambiguities being removed, it is clear that nefarious demons and most unclean spirits were invited by all this civil theology in visiting the stolid images, and through them in possessing also foolish hearts.

## Chapter XXVIII.

*That the doctrine of Varro concerning theology is consistent with itself in no part.*

What therefore is it worth, that the most learned and acute man Varro endeavors by as it were a subtle disputation to reduce and refer all these gods to heaven and to earth? He cannot: they flow from his hands, they leap back, they slip and fall. For about to speak of females, that is of goddesses: "Since," he says, "as I said in the first book concerning places, two principles of the gods are observed from heaven and earth, from which the gods are partly called celestial, partly terrestrial: as in the superior things we made a beginning with heaven, when we spoke of Janus, whom some said to be heaven, others to be the world; so of females we make a beginning of writing from Tellus." I feel how much trouble such and so great a genius suffers. For he is led by a certain verisimilar reason, that heaven is that which acts, the earth that which suffers; and therefore to the former he attributes masculine force, to the latter feminine: and he does not attend to Him who rather is the one who does these things, who made both. Hence also he thus interprets the noble mysteries of the Samothracians in a former book, and most religiously promises that he will set forth by writing and send to them those things which are not known even to his own people.

Dicit enim se ibi multis indiciis collegisse in simulacris aliud significare coelum, aliud terram, aliud exempla rerum, quas Plato appellat ideas: coelum Jovem, terram Junonem, ideas Minervam vult intelligi: coelum a quo fiat aliquid, terram de qua fiat, exemplum secundum quod fiat. Qua in re omitto dicere, quod Plato illas ideas tantam vim habere dicit, ut secundum eas non coelum aliquid fecerit, sed etiam coelum fatum sit. Hoc dico, istum in hoc libro selectorum deorum, rationem illam trium deorum, quibus quasi cuncta complexus est, perdidisse. Coelo enim tribuit masculos deos, feminas terrae: inter quas posuit Minervam, quam supra ipsum coelum ante posuerat. Deinde masculus deus Neptunus in mari est, quod ad terram potius quam ad coelum pertinet. Dispater postremo, qui graece Πλούτων dicitur, etiam ipse masculus frater amborum, terrenus deus esse perhibetur; superiorem terram tenens, in inferiore habens Proserpinam conjugem. Quomodo ergo deos ad coelum, deas ad terram referre conantur? Quid solidum, quid constans, quid sobrium, quid definitum habet haec disputatio? Illa autem est Tellus initium dearum, Mater scilicet magna, apud quam mollium et abscisorum seseque secantium atque jactantium insana perstrepit turpitudo: quid est ergo quod dicitur caput deorum Janus, caput dearum Tellus? Nec ibi facit unum caput error, nec hic sanum furor. Cur haec frustra referre nituntur ad mundum? Quod etsi possent, pro Deo vero mundum nemo pius colit: et tamen eos nec hoc posse, veritas aperta convincit. Referant haec potius ad homines mortuos, et ad daemones pessimos, et nulla quaestio remanebit.

## Caput XXIX.

*Quod omnia quae physiologi ad mundum partesque ipsius retulerunt, ad unum verum Deum referre debuerint.*

Namque omnia quae ab eis ex istorum deorum theologia velut physicis rationibus referuntur ad mundum, quam sine ullo scrupulo sacrilegae opinionis Deo potius vero, qui fecit mundum, omnis animae et omnis corporis conditori tribuantur, advertamus hoc modo: Nos Deum colimus, non coelum et terram, quibus duabus partibus mundus hic constat: nec animam vel animas per viventia quaecumque diffusas; sed Deum qui fecit coelum et terram et omnia quae in eis sunt: qui fecit omnem animam, sive quocumque modo viventem et sensus ac rationis expertem, sive etiam sentientem, sive etiam intelligentem.

## Caput XXX.

*Qua pietate discernatur a creaturis Creator, ne pro uno tot dii colantur, quot sunt opera unius auctoris.*

For he says that he has collected there by many indications that in the images one thing signifies heaven, another the earth, another the patterns (exempla) of things, which Plato calls ideas: he wishes heaven to be understood as Jupiter, the earth as Juno, ideas as Minerva: heaven from which something may be made, the earth from which it may be made, the pattern according to which it may be made. In which matter I omit to say, that Plato says those ideas have so much force, that according to them not heaven made something, but even heaven was made. This I say, that he in this book of select gods, has lost that reason of the three gods, by which as if he embraced all things. For to heaven he attributed masculine gods, females to the earth: among whom he placed Minerva, whom above heaven itself he had placed before. Then the masculine god Neptune is in the sea, which pertains to the earth rather than to the heaven. Finally Dispater, who in Greek is called Pluto, even himself a masculine brother of both, is perhibited to be a terrestrial god; holding the upper earth, having Proserpine his wife in the lower. How then do they endeavor to refer gods to heaven, goddesses to earth? What solid, what constant, what sober, what definite thing has this disputation? But that Tellus is the beginning of goddesses, namely the Great Mother, with whom the insane turpitude of effeminates and of the castrated and of those cutting and tossing themselves about resounds: what is it then that Janus is called the head of the gods, Tellus the head of the goddesses? Error does not make one head there, nor fury a sane one here. Why do they strive in vain to refer these things to the world? Because even if they could, no pious man worships the world instead of the true God: and yet that they cannot even do this, the open truth convinces. Let them refer these things rather to dead men, and to the worst demons, and no question will remain.

## Chapter XXIX.

*That all things which the physiologists referred to the world and its parts, they ought to have referred to the one true God.*

For let us observe in this way how all things which are referred by them from the theology of these gods as if by physical reasons to the world, may without any scruple of sacrilegious opinion be attributed rather to the true God, who made the world, the founder of every soul and of every body: We worship God, not heaven and earth, of which two parts this world consists: nor the soul or souls diffused through whatever living things; but God who made heaven and earth and all things which are in them: who made every soul, whether living in whatever way and devoid of sense and reason, or even sentient, or even intelligent.

## Chapter XXX.

*By what piety the Creator is distinguished from creatures, lest for one so many gods be worshipped, as there are works of one author.*

Et jam ut incipiam illa unius et veri Dei opera percurrere, propter quae isti sibi dum quasi honeste conantur sacramenta turpissima et scelestissima interpretari, deos multos falsosque fecerunt: illum Deum colimus, qui naturis a se creatis et subsistendi et movendi initia finesque constituit; qui rerum causas habet, novit atque disponit; qui vim seminum condidit; qui rationalem animam, quod dicitur animus, quibus voluit viventibus indidit; qui sermonis facultatem usumque donavit; qui munus futura dicendi, quibus placuit spiritibus impertivit, et per quos placet ipse futura praedicit, et per quos placet malas valetudines pellit; qui bellorum quoque ipsorum, cum sic emendandum et castigandum est genus humanum, exordiis, progressibus, finibusque moderatur; qui hujus mundi ignem vehementissimum et violentissimum pro immensae naturae temperamento et creavit et regit; qui universarum aquarum creator et gubernator est; qui solem fecit corporalium clarissimum luminum, eique vim congruam et motum dedit; qui ipsis etiam inferis dominationem suam potestatemque non subtrahit; qui semina et alimenta mortalium, sive arida sive liquida, naturis competentibus attributa substituit; qui terram fundat atque fecundat; qui fructus ejus animalibus hominibusque largitur; qui causas non solum principales, sed etiam subsequentes novit atque ordinat; qui lunae statuit motum suum; qui vias coelestes atque terrestres locorum mutationibus praebet; qui humanis ingeniis, quae creavit, etiam scientias artium variarum ad adjuvandam vitam naturamque concessit; qui conjunctionem maris et feminae ad adjutorium propagandae prolis instituit; qui hominum coetibus, quem focis et luminibus adhiberent, ad facillimos usus munus terreni ignis indulsit. Ista sunt certe, quae diis selectis, per nescio quas physicas interpretationes vir acutissimus atque doctissimus Varro, sive quae aliunde accepit, sive quae ipse conjecit, distribuere laboravit.

[XXX.] Haec autem facit atque agit unus verus Deus; sed sicut Deus, id est ubique totus, nullis inclusus locis, nullis vinculis alligatus, in nullas partes sectilis, ex nulla parte mutabilis, implens coelum et terram praesente potentia, non indigente natura. Sic itaque administrat omnia quae creavit, ut etiam ipsa proprios exercere et agere motus sinat. Quamvis enim nihil esse possint sine ipso, non sunt quod ipse. Agit autem multa etiam per Angelos: sed non nisi ex se ipso beatificat Angelos. Ita quamvis propter aliquas causas hominibus Angelos mittat: non tamen ex Angelis homines, sed ex se ipso, sicut Angelos, beatificat. Ab hoc uno et vero Deo vitam speramus aeternam.

And now that I may begin to run through those works of the one and true God, on account of which these, while they endeavor as if honorably to interpret the most foul and wicked sacraments, have made many and false gods: we worship that God, who appointed the beginnings and ends of subsisting and moving to the natures created by Him; who has, knows, and disposes the causes of things; who founded the force of seeds; who placed the rational soul, which is called the mind (animus), in those living things He willed; who gave the faculty and use of speech; who imparted the gift of telling future things to those spirits He pleased, and through whom He pleases Himself predicts future things, and through whom He pleases drives away bad healths; who also moderates the beginnings, progresses, and ends of wars themselves, when the human race is thus to be emended and chastened; who both created and rules the most vehement and most violent fire of this world for the temperament of an immense nature; who is the creator and governor of all waters; who made the sun the brightest of corporeal lights, and gave to it suitable force and motion; who does not withdraw His domination and power even from the lower regions themselves; who supplied the seeds and nourishments of mortals, whether dry or liquid, attributed to competent natures; who founds and fecundates the earth; who bestows its fruits on animals and men; who knows and ordains not only principal causes, but also subsequent ones; who appointed to the moon its own motion; who provides celestial and terrestrial ways for changes of places; who also granted to human geniuses, which He created, the sciences of various arts for helping life and nature; who instituted the conjunction of male and female for the aid of propagating offspring; who indulged to the assemblies of men the gift of earthly fire for easiest uses, which they might apply to hearths and lights. These are certainly the things which the most acute and learned man Varro, either which he received from elsewhere, or which he himself conjectured, labored to distribute to the select gods by some physical interpretations or other.

[XXX.] But these things the one true God does and acts; but as God, that is, everywhere whole, included in no places, bound by no chains, divisible into no parts, changeable in no part, filling heaven and earth with present power, not with indigent nature. Thus therefore He administers all things which He created, that He also allows them to exercise and act their own proper motions. For although they can be nothing without Him, they are not what He is. But He acts many things also through Angels: but He does not beatify Angels except from Himself. Thus although on account of some causes He sends Angels to men: yet He does not beatify men from Angels, but from Himself, just as He does the Angels. From this one and true God we hope for eternal life.

## Caput XXXI.

*Quibus proprie beneficiis Dei, excepta generali largitate, sectatores veritatis utantur.*

Habemus enim ab illo, praeter hujuscemodi beneficia, quae ex hac, de qua nonnulla diximus, administratione naturae bonis malisque largitur, magnum et bonorum proprium magnae dilectionis indicium. Quanquam enim, quod sumus, quod vivimus, quod coelum terramque conspicimus, quod habemus mentem atque rationem, qua eum ipsum, qui haec omnia condidit, inquiramus, nequaquam valeamus actioni sufficere gratiarum: tamen quod nos oneratos obrutosque peccatis, et a contemplatione suae lucis aversos, ac tenebrarum, id est iniquitatis, dilectione caecatos, non omnino deseruit, misitque nobis Verbum suum, qui est ejus unicus Filius, quo pro nobis assumpta carne nato atque passo, quanti Deus hominem penderet nosceremus, atque illo sacrificio singulari a peccatis omnibus mundaremur, ejusque Spiritu in cordibus nostris dilectione diffusa, omnibus difficultatibus superatis in aeternam requiem et contemplationis ejus ineffabilem dulcedinem veniremus, quae corda, quot linguae ad agendas ei gratias satis esse contenderint?

CAPUT XXXII.---Quod sacramentum redemptionis Christi nullis retro temporibus defuerit, semperque sit diversis significationibus praedicatum. Hoc mysterium vitae aeternae jam inde ab exordio generis humani per quaedam signa et sacramenta temporibus congrua, quibus oportuit, per Angelos praedicatum est. Deinde populus Hebraeus in unam quamdam rempublicam, quae hoc sacramentum ageret, congregatus est; ubi per quosdam scientes, per quosdam nescientes, id quod ex adventu Christi usque nunc et deinceps agitur, praenuntiaretur esse venturum: sparsa etiam postea eadem gente per gentes propter testimonium Scripturarum, quibus aeterna salus in Christo futura praedicta est. Omnes enim non solum prophetiae, quae in verbis sunt; nec tantum praecepta vitae, quae mores pietatemque conformant, atque illis litteris continentur; verum etiam sacra, sacerdotia, tabernaculum, sive templum, altaria, sacrificia, cerimoniae, dies festi, et quidquid aliud ad eam servitutem pertinet, quae Deo debetur, et graece proprie λατρεία dicitur, ea significaverunt et praenuntiaverunt quae, propter aeternam vitam fidelium in Christo et impleta credimus, et impleri cernimus, et implenda confidimus.

## Caput XXXIII.

*Quod per solam christianam religionem manifestari potuerit fallacia spirituum malignorum, de hominum errore gaudentium.*

## Chapter XXXI.

*What benefits of God properly, except the general largess, the followers of truth use.*

For we have from Him, besides benefits of this kind, which from this administration of nature of which we have said some things, He bestows on the good and the bad, a great and proper sign of great love for the good. For although, for that we are, that we live, that we behold heaven and earth, that we have mind and reason, by which we may inquire after Him himself, who founded all these things, we are by no means able to suffice for the giving of thanks: yet because He did not altogether desert us, burdened and overwhelmed with sins, and turned away from the contemplation of His light, and blinded by the love of darkness, that is, of iniquity, and sent to us His Word, who is His only Son, by whom, having assumed flesh for us, being born and having suffered, we might know how much God valued man, and by that singular sacrifice we might be cleansed from all sins, and by His Spirit, love being diffused in our hearts, all difficulties being overcome, we might come into eternal rest and the ineffable sweetness of His contemplation, what hearts, how many tongues will strive to be sufficient for giving thanks to Him?

CHAPTER XXXII.---That the sacrament of the redemption of Christ has been missing in no times past, and has always been preached by various significations. This mystery of eternal life even from the beginning of the human race has been preached through Angels by certain signs and sacraments suitable to the times, as it was behoveful. Then the Hebrew people was gathered into a certain one republic, which might act this sacrament; where through some knowing, through some not knowing, that which is acted from the coming of Christ up to now and henceforth, should be foreannounced as about to come: that same nation being also afterward dispersed through the nations on account of the testimony of the Scriptures, by which eternal salvation in Christ to come was predicted. For all things, not only the prophecies which are in words; nor only the precepts of life, which conform morals and piety, and are contained in those letters; but even the sacred rites, priesthoods, tabernacle, or temple, altars, sacrifices, ceremonies, festival days, and whatever else pertains to that service which is owed to God, and is properly called latreia in Greek, signified and foreannounced those things which, on account of the eternal life of the faithful in Christ, we both believe to have been fulfilled, and perceive to be being fulfilled, and trust will be fulfilled.

## Chapter XXXIII.

*That the fallacy of the malignant spirits, rejoicing in the error of men, could be manifested by the Christian religion alone.*

Per hanc ergo religionem unam et veram potuit aperiri, deos Gentium esse immundissimos daemones, sub defunctarum occasionibus animarum vel creaturarum specie mundanarum deos se putari cupientes, et quasi divinis honoribus eisdemque scelestis ac turpibus rebus superba impuritate laetantes, atque ad verum Deum conversionem humanis animis invidentes. Ex quorum immanissimo et impiissimo dominatu homo liberatur, cum credit in eum qui praebuit ad exsurgendum tantae humilitatis exemplum, quanta illi superbia ceciderunt. Hinc sunt non solum illi, de quibus multa jam diximus, et alii atque alii similes caeterarum gentium atque terrarum; sed etiam hi, de quibus nunc agimus, tanquam in senatum deorum selecti; sed plane selecti nobilitate criminum, non dignitate virtutum. Quorum sacra Varro dum quasi ad naturales rationes referre conatur, quaerens honestare res turpes, quomodo his quadret et consonet, non potest invenire: quoniam non sunt ipsae illorum sacrorum causae quas putat, vel potius vult putari. Nam si non solum ipsae, verum etiam quaelibet aliae hujus generis essent, quamvis nihil ad Deum verum vitamque aeternam, quae in religione quaerenda est, pertinerent; tamen qualicumque de rerum natura reddita ratione, aliquantulum mitigarent offensionem, quam non intellecta in sacris aliqua velut turpitudo aut absurditas fecerat; sicut in quibusdam theatrorum fabulis vel delubrorum mysteriis facere conatus est: ubi non theatra delubrorum similitudine absolvit, sed theatrorum potius similitudine delubra damnavit; tamen utcumque conatus est, ut sensum horribilibus rebus offensum velut naturalium causarum ratione reddita deliniret.

## Caput XXXIV.

*De libris Numae Pompilii, quos senatus, ne sacrorum causae, quales in eis habebantur, innotescerent, jussit incendi.*

Sed contra invenimus, sicut ipse vir doctissimus prodidit, de Numae Pompilii libris redditas sacrorum causas nullo modo potuisse tolerari, nec dignas habitas, quae non solum lectae innotescerent religiosis, sed saltem scriptae reconderentur in tenebris. Jam enim dicam, quod in tertio hujus operis libro me suo loco dicturum esse promiseram (Cap. IX). Nam, sicut apud eumdem Varronem legitur in libro de Cultu deorum, «Terentius quidam cum haberet ad Janiculum fundum, et bubulcus ejus juxta sepulcrum Numae Pompilii trajiciens aratrum eruisset ex terra libros ejus, ubi sacrorum institutorum scriptae erant causae, in Urbem pertulit ad praetorem. At ille cum inspexisset principia, rem tantam detulit ad senatum. Ubi cum primores quasdam causas legissent, cur quidque in sacris fuerit institutum, Numae mortuo senatus assensus est, eosque libros tanquam religiosi patres conscripti, praetor ut combureret, censuerunt».

Through this religion alone, and that true, it could be opened that the gods of the Nations are most impure demons, desiring themselves to be thought gods under the occasions of deceased souls or the appearance of worldly creatures, and rejoicing with proud impurity in quasi-divine honors and in the same wicked and base things, and envying the conversion of human minds to the true God. From whose most immense and most impious dominion man is delivered, when he believes in Him who provided so great an example of humility for rising up, as by how great pride they fell. Hence are not only those, concerning whom we have already said many things, and others and still others similar of the rest of the nations and lands; but even these, concerning whom we now treat, as if selected into the senate of the gods; but plainly selected for the nobility of their crimes, not the dignity of their virtues. Whose sacred rites while Varro attempts to refer as if to natural reasons, seeking to make honest base things, he cannot find how it may fit and harmonize with these: since those are not the causes of those sacred rites which he thinks, or rather wishes to be thought. For if not only those, but even any others of this kind were, although they should pertain nothing to the true God and eternal life, which is to be sought in religion; yet by whatever reason of the nature of things rendered, they would somewhat mitigate the offense, which some as if baseness or absurdity not understood in the sacred rites had made; just as in certain fables of the theaters or mysteries of the shrines he has attempted to do: where he did not absolve the theaters by the similitude of the shrines, but rather condemned the shrines by the similitude of the theaters; yet howsoever he attempted, that he might soothe the sense offended by horrible things by the reason of natural causes rendered.

## Chapter XXXIV.

*Concerning the books of Numa Pompilius, which the senate, lest the causes of the sacred rites, such as were contained in them, should become known, ordered to be burned.*

But on the contrary we find, as that most learned man himself has delivered, that the causes of the sacred rites rendered from the books of Numa Pompilius could in no way be tolerated, nor were they held worthy, which should not only become known by being read by the religious, but at least being written should be hidden in darkness. For now I shall say what I had promised in the third book of this work (Cap. IX) that I would say in its place. For, as is read in the same Varro in the book on the Worship of the gods, "A certain Terentius when he had a farm at the Janiculum, and his plowman passing near the sepulcher of Numa Pompilius with the plow had erubated from the earth his books, where the causes of the instituted sacred rites were written, he brought them into the City to the praetor. But he when he had inspected the beginnings, brought so great a matter to the senate. Where when the leading men had read certain causes, why each thing had been instituted in the sacred rites, the senate assented to the dead Numa, and those books as religious conscript fathers, they decreed that the praetor should burn."

Credat quisque quod putat: imo vero dicat quod dicendum suggesserit vesana contentio, quilibet tantae impietatis defensor egregius. Me admonere sufficiat, sacrorum causas a rege Pompilio, Romanorum sacrorum institutore, conscriptas, nec populo, nec senatui, nec saltem ipsis sacerdotibus innotescere debuisse, ipsumque Numam Pompilium curiositate illicita ad ea daemonum pervenisse secreta, quae ipse quidem scriberet, ut haberet unde legendo commoneretur: sed ea tamen, cum rex esset, qui minime quemquam metueret, nec docere aliquem, nec delendo vel quoquo modo consumendo perdere auderet; ita quod scire neminem voluit, ne homines nefaria doceret, violare autem timuit, ne daemones iratos haberet, obruit ubi tutum putavit, sepulcro suo propinquare aratrum posse non credens. Senatus autem cum religiones formidaret damnare majorum, et ideo Numae assentiri cogeretur; illos tamen libros tam perniciosos esse judicavit, ut nec obrui rursus juberet, ne humana curiositas multo vehementius rem jam proditam quaereret, sed flammis aboleri nefanda monumenta: ut, quia jam necesse esse existimabant sacra illa facere, tolerabilius erraretur causis eorum ignoratis, quam cognitis civitas turbaretur.

## Caput XXXV.

*De hydromantia, per quam Numa, visis quibusdam daemonum imaginibus, ludificabatur.*

Nam et ipse Numa, ad quem nullus Dei propheta, nullus sanctus angelus mittebatur, hydromantiam facere compulsus est, ut in aqua videret imagines deorum, vel potius ludificationes daemonum, a quibus audiret quid in sacris constituere atque observare deberet. Quod genus divinationis idem Varro a Persis dicit allatum, quo et ipsum Numam, et postea Pythagoram philosophum usum fuisse commemorat: ubi adhibito sanguine etiam inferos perhibet sciscitari; et νεκρομαντείαν graece dicit vocari: quae sive hydromantia, sive necromantia dicatur, idipsum est, ubi videntur mortui divinare. Quibus haec artibus fiant, ipsi viderint. Nolo enim dicere has artes etiam ante nostri Salvatoris adventum in ipsis civitatibus Gentium legibus solere prohiberi, et poena severissima vindicari. Nolo, inquam, hoc dicere: fortassis enim talia tunc licebant. His tamen artibus dicit sacra illa Pompilius, quorum sacrorum facta prodidit, causas obruit; ita timuit et ipse quod didicit: quarum causarum proditos libros senatus incendit.

Let anyone believe what he thinks: nay rather let him say what insane contention, any egregious defender of so great impiety, shall have suggested to be said. Let it suffice for me to admonish, that the causes of the sacred rites written by king Pompilius, the institutor of the Roman sacred rites, ought to have become known neither to the people, nor to the senate, nor even to the priests themselves, and that Numa Pompilius himself by illicit curiosity arrived at those secrets of the demons, which he himself indeed wrote, that he might have whence by reading he might be reminded: but those however, when he was a king, who least should fear anyone, he dared neither to teach anyone, nor by deleting or in any way consuming to lose; so that what he wished no one to know, lest he should teach men nefarious things, but feared to violate, lest he should have the demons angry, he buried where he thought it safe, not believing that the plow could approach his sepulcher. But the senate when it feared to condemn the religions of the ancestors, and therefore was compelled to assent to Numa; yet they judged those books to be so pernicious, that they ordered neither to be buried again, lest human curiosity should much more vehemently seek the matter already betrayed, but the nefarious monuments to be abolished by flames: so that, because they already thought it necessary to do those sacred rites, it might be erred more tolerably with their causes ignored, than the city be disturbed with them known.

## Chapter XXXV.

*Concerning hydromancy, by which Numa, having seen certain images of demons, was mocked.*

For even Numa himself, to whom no prophet of God, no holy angel was sent, was compelled to practice hydromancy, that he might see in water the images of the gods, or rather the mockeries of the demons, from whom he might hear what he ought to constitute and observe in the sacred rites. Which kind of divination the same Varro says was brought from the Persians, which he commemorates both Numa himself, and afterward Pythagoras the philosopher to have used: where he also reports the infernal spirits to be consulted with blood added; and he says it is called necromantia in Greek: which whether it be called hydromancy or necromancy, it is the same thing, where the dead are seen to divine. By what arts these things are done, let them see. For I am unwilling to say that these arts even before the coming of our Savior were accustomed to be prohibited by the laws in the cities of the Nations themselves, and to be avenged by the most severe penalty. I am unwilling, I say, to say this: for perhaps such things were then lawful. Yet by these arts Pompilius says those sacred rites, the facts of which sacred rites he betrayed, the causes he buried; so he himself feared what he learned: of which causes the senate burned the betrayed books.

Quid mihi ergo Varro illorum sacrorum alias nescio quas causas velut physicas interpretatur; quales si libri illi habuissent, non utique arsissent; aut et istos Varronis ad Caesarem pontificem scriptos atque editos patres conscripti similiter incendissent? Quod ergo aquam egesserit, id est exportaverit, Numa Pompilius, unde hydromantiam faceret, ideo nympham Egeriam conjugem dicitur habuisse, quemadmodum in supradicto libro Varronis exponitur. Ita enim solent res gestae aspersione mendaciorum in fabulas verti. In illa igitur hydromantia curiosissimus ille rex Romanus et sacra didicit, quae in libris suis pontifices haberent; et eorum causas, quas praeter se neminem scire voluit. Itaque eas seorsum scriptas secum quodammodo mori fecit, quando ita subtrahendas hominum notitiae sepeliendasque curavit. Aut ergo daemonum illic tam sordidae et noxiae cupiditates erant conscriptae, ut ex his tota illa theologia civilis etiam apud tales homines exsecrabilis appareret, qui tam multa in ipsis sacris erubescenda susceperant aut illi omnes nihil aliud quam homines mortui prodebantur, quos tam prolixi temporis vetustate fere omnes populi Gentium deos immortales esse crediderant: cum et talibus sacris iidem illi daemones oblectarentur, qui se colendos pro ipsis mortuis, quos deos putari fecerant quibusdam fallacium miraculorum attestationibus, supponebant. Sed occulta Dei veri providentia factum est, ut et Pompilio amico suo illis conciliati artibus, quibus hydromantia fieri potuit, cuncta illa confiteri permitterentur; et tamen ut moriturus incenderet ea potius, quam obrueret, admonere non permitterentur: qui ne innotescerent, nec aratro, quo sunt eruta, obsistere potuerunt, nec stilo Varronis, quo ea quae de hac re gesta sunt, in nostram memoriam pervenerunt. Non enim possunt quod non sinuntur efficere: sinuntur autem alto Dei summi justoque judicio pro meritis eorum, quos ab eis vel affligi tantum, vel etiam subjici ac decipi justum est. Quam vero perniciosae vel a cultu verae divinitatis alienae illae litterae judicatae sint, hinc intelligi potest, quod eas maluit senatus incendere, quas Pompilius occultavit, quam timere quod timuit qui hoc audere non potuit. Qui ergo vitam nec modo habere vult piam, talibus sacris quaerat aeternam. Qui autem cum malignis daemonibus non vult habere societatem, non superstitionem, qua coluntur, noxiam pertimescat: sed veram religionem, qua produntur et vincumtur, agnoscat.

Why then does Varro interpret to me some other I know not what as if physical causes of those sacred rites; such as if those books had had, they would not certainly have burned; or the conscript fathers would have similarly burned those of Varro written and published to Caesar the pontiff? Because therefore he drew off water, that is, exported it, Numa Pompilius, whence he might perform hydromancy, he is said for that reason to have had the nymph Egeria as his spouse, in the manner explained in the above-mentioned book of Varro. For so things done are accustomed to be turned into fables by the sprinkling of lies. In that hydromancy therefore that most curious Roman king both learned the sacred rites, which the pontiffs should have in their books; and their causes, which he wished no one besides himself to know. Therefore he made them written apart to die with himself in a certain way, when he took care they should be thus subtracted from the knowledge of men and be buried. Either then so sordid and noxious desires of demons were written there, that from these that whole civil theology should appear execrable even among such men, who had received so many things to be blushed at in the sacred rites themselves: or all those were betrayed to be nothing else than dead men, whom through the length of so much time almost all the peoples of the Nations had believed to be immortal gods: since also the same demons were delighted with such sacred rites, who substituted themselves to be worshipped for those dead men, whom they had made to be thought gods by the attestation of certain fallacious miracles. But it was done by the secret providence of the true God, that they should be permitted to confess all those things even to Pompilius their friend conciliated by those arts, by which hydromancy could be done; and yet that they should not be permitted to admonish him that he being about to die should burn them rather than bury them: who lest they should become known, could neither resist the plow, by which they were erubated, nor the pen of Varro, by which those things which were done concerning this matter, have arrived into our memory. For they cannot effect what they are not permitted; but they are permitted by the high and just judgment of the supreme God according to the merits of those, whom it is just to be either only afflicted by them, or even subjected and deceived. How truly pernicious or alien from the worship of the true divinity those letters were judged, can be understood from this, that the senate preferred to burn them, which Pompilius hid, rather than to fear what he feared who could not dare this. He then who wishes to have a pious life neither in this way, let him seek eternal life by such sacred rites. But he who does not wish to have society with malignant demons, let him not fear the noxious superstition, by which they are worshipped: but let him recognize the true religion, by which they are betrayed and overcome.

# LIBER OCTAVUS.

Venit ad tertium genus theologiae, quae dicitur naturalis, deque diis eo pertinentibus quaestionem, an istorum videlicet deorum cultus prosit ad consequendam vitam beatam, quae post mortem futura est, discutiendam suscipit cum Platonicis, qui caeterorum philosophorum sunt facile principes et ad fidei christianae veritatem propius accedentes. Atque hic primum refellit Apuleium et quicumque alii cultum daemonibus tanquam internuntiis et interpretibus inter deos et homines impendi volunt; ostendens ipsos daemones quos vitiis obnoxios esse, et quae probi prudentesque homines aversantur et damnant, id est, sacrilega poetarum figmenta, ludibria theatrica, magicarum artium maleficia et scelera importasse, iisque omnino favere et delectari compertum est, nulla posse ratione diis bonis homines conciliare.

## Caput Primum.

*De quaestione naturalis theologiae cum philosophis excellentioris scientiae discutienda.*

Nunc intentiore nobis opus est animo multo quam erat in superiorum solutione quaestionum et explicatione librorum. De theologia quippe, quam naturalem vocant, non cum quibuslibet hominibus (non enim fabulosa est vel civilis, hoc est vel theatrica vel urbana; quarum altera jactitat deorum crimina, altera indicat deorum desideria criminosiora, ac per hoc malignorum potius daemonum quam deorum); sed cum philosophis est habenda collatio: quorum ipsum nomen si latine interpretemur, amorem sapientiae profitetur. Porro si sapientia Deus est, per quem facta sunt omnia, sicut divina auctoritas veritasque monstravit (Sap. VII, 24-27; et Hebr. 1, 2, 3), verus philosophus est amator Dei. Sed quia res ipsa, cujus hoc nomen est, non est in omnibus qui hoc nomine gloriantur (neque enim continuo verae sapientiae sunt amatores, quicumque appellantur philosophi): profecto ex omnibus, quorum sententias et litteris nosse potuimus, eligendi sunt cum quibus non indigne quaestio ista tractetur.

# BOOK EIGHT.

He comes to the third kind of theology, which is called natural, and to the question concerning the gods pertaining thereto, whether, forsooth, the worship of those gods may profit for the obtaining of the blessed life, which is to be hereafter after death, he undertakes to discuss with the Platonists, who are easily the chief of the rest of the philosophers and approaching nearer to the truth of the Christian faith. And here first he refutes Apuleius and whoever others wish worship to be paid to demons as to messengers and interpreters between the gods and men; showing that the demons themselves whom he has proved to be subject to vices, and which things honest and prudent men turn away from and condemn, that is, sacrilegious figments of poets, theatrical mockeries, the maleficence and crimes of magical arts, they have brought in, and are known to altogether favor and be delighted by them, can by no reason conciliate men to the good gods.

## Chapter Primum.

*Concerning the question of natural theology to be discussed with the philosophers of more excellent knowledge.*

Now there is need for us of a much more intent mind than was in the solution of the superior questions and the explanation of the books. For concerning theology, which they call natural, the conference is to be held not with any men (for it is not fabulous or civil, that is, either theatrical or urban; of which the one boasts of the crimes of the gods, the other indicates the more criminal desires of the gods, and through this of malignant demons rather than of gods); but it is to be held with the philosophers: whose name itself if we interpret in Latin, professes the love of wisdom. Furthermore if wisdom is God, through whom all things were made, as divine authority and truth has shown (Wisd. VII, 24-27; and Hebr. 1, 2, 3), the true philosopher is a lover of God. But because the thing itself, of which this is the name, is not in all who glory in this name (for not all are straightway lovers of true wisdom, whoever are called philosophers): certainly out of all, whose opinions we have been able to know even by letters, those are to be chosen with whom this question may not unworthily be treated.

Neque enim hoc opere omnes omnium philosophorum vanas opiniones refutare suscepi, sed eas tantum quae ad theologiam pertinent, quo verbo graeco significari intelligimus de divinitate rationem sive sermonem: nec eas omnium, sed eorum tantum, qui cum et esse divinitatem et humana curare consentiant, non tamen sufficere unius incommutabilis Dei cultum ad vitam adipiscendam, etiam post mortem, beatam, sed multos, ab illo sane uno conditos atque institutos, ob eam causam colendos putant. Hi jam etiam Varronis opinionem veritatis propinquitate transcendunt: siquidem ille totam theologiam naturalem usque ad mundum istum vel ejus animam extendere potuit: isti vero supra omnem animae naturam confitentur Deum, qui non solum mundum istum visibilem, qui saepe coeli et terrae nomine nuncupatur, sed etiam omnem omnino animam fecerit; et qui rationalem et intellectualem, cujus generis anima humana est, participatione sui luminis incommutabilis et incorporei beatam facit. Hos philosophos Platonicos appellatos, a Platone doctore vocabulo derivato, nullus qui haec vel tenuiter audivit, ignorat. De hoc igitur Platone, quae necessaria praesenti quaestioni existimo, breviter attingam, prius illos commemorans, qui eum in eodem genere litterarum tempore praecesserunt.

## Caput II.

*De duobus philosophorum generibus, id est, Italico et Ionico, eorumque auctoribus.*

Quantum enim attinet ad litteras graecas, quae lingua inter caeteras gentium clarior habetur, duo philosophorum genera traduntur; unum Italicum, ex ea parte Italiae, quae quondam magna Graecia nuncupata est; alterum Ionicum, in eis terris, ubi et nunc Graecia nominatur. Italicum genus auctorem habuit Pythagoram Samium, a quo etiam ferunt ipsum philosophiae nomen exortum. Nam cum antea Sapientes appellarentur, qui modo quodam laudabilis vitae aliis praestare videbantur; iste interrogatus, quid profiteretur, Philosophum se esse respondit, id est studiosum vel amatorem sapientiae: quoniam sapientem profiteri, arrogantissimum videbatur. Ionici vero generis princeps fuit Thales Milesius, unus illorum septem qui appellati sunt Sapientes. Sed illi sex vitae genere distinguebantur, et quibusdam praeceptis ad bene vivendum accommodatis: iste autem Thales, ut successores etiam propagaret, rerum naturam scrutatus suasque disputationes litteris mandans eminuit; maximeque admirabilis exstitit, quod astrologiae numeris comprehensis, defectus solis et lunae etiam praedicere potuit. Aquam tamen putavit rerum esse principium, et hinc omnia elementa mundi ipsumque mundum, et quae in eo gignuntur, existere. Nihil autem huic operi, quod mundo considerato tam admirabile aspicimus, ex divina mente praeposuit.

For neither in this work have I undertaken to refute all the vain opinions of all philosophers, but those only which pertain to theology, by which Greek word we understand the reason or discourse concerning divinity to be signified: nor those of all, but of those only, who while they consent both that divinity exists and that it cares for human things, yet think that the worship of the one unchangeable God does not suffice for the attaining of the blessed life, even after death, but think many, created and instituted indeed by that one, are to be worshipped for that cause. These already transcend even the opinion of Varro by proximity of truth: since he was able to extend the whole of natural theology only up to this world or its soul: but these confess God above every nature of the soul, who made not only this visible world, which is often called by the name of heaven and earth, but also every soul whatsoever; and who makes the rational and intellectual soul, of which kind the human soul is, blessed by the participation of His unchangeable and incorporeal light. No one who has heard these things even slightly, is ignorant that these philosophers are called Platonists, the word being derived from Plato their teacher. Concerning this Plato therefore, those things which I think necessary to the present question, I shall briefly touch upon, first commemorating those who preceded him in the same kind of letters.

## Chapter II.

*Concerning two kinds of philosophers, that is, the Italic and Ionic, and their authors.*

For as much as pertains to Greek letters, which language is held clearer among the rest of the nations, two kinds of philosophers are handed down; one Italic, from that part of Italy which was once called Great Greece; the other Ionic, in those lands where even now it is named Greece. The Italic kind had Pythagoras the Samian as its author, from whom they also say the name of philosophy itself arose. For when previously they were called Wise men, who in a certain manner of laudable life seemed to excel others; he being asked what he professed, responded that he was a Philosopher, that is, a studious man or lover of wisdom: since to profess himself wise, seemed most arrogant. But of the Ionic kind Thales the Milesian was the prince, one of those seven who were called Wise men. But those six were distinguished by their kind of life, and by certain precepts accommodated to living well: but this Thales, that he might also propagate successors, scrutinized the nature of things and committing his disputations to letters became eminent; and especially stood out as admirable, because by astrology's numbers comprehended, he was able also to predict the eclipses of the sun and moon. Yet he thought water to be the principle of things, and from hence all the elements of the world and the world itself, and those things which are generated in it, to exist. But he set nothing from a divine mind over this work, which we behold so admirable with the world considered.

Huic successit Anaximander, ejus auditor, mutavitque de rerum natura opinionem. Non enim ex una re, sicut Thales ex humore, sed ex suis propriis principiis quasque res nasci putavit. Quae rerum principia singularum esse credidit infinita, et innumerabiles mundos gignere, et quaecumque in eis oriuntur; eosque mundos modo dissolvi, modo iterum gigni existimavit, quanta quisque aetate sua manere potuerit; nec ipse aliquid divinae menti in his rerum operibus tribuens. Iste Anaximenem discipulum et successorem reliquit: qui omnes rerum causas infinito aeri dedit: nec deos negavit, aut tacuit; non tamen ab ipsis aerem factum, sed ipsos ex aere ortos credidit. Anaxagoras vero, ejus auditor, harum rerum omnium, quas videmus, effectorem divinum animum sensit; et dixit ex infinita materia, quae constaret similibus inter se particulis, rerum omnium genera pro modulis et speciebus propriis singula fieri, sed animo faciente divino. Diogenes quoque, Anaximenis alter auditor, aerem quidem dixit rerum esse materiam, de qua omnia fierent; sed eum esse compotem divinae rationis, sine qua nihil ex eo fieri posset. Anaxagorae successit auditor ejus Archelaus: etiam ipse de particulis inter se similibus, quibus singula quaeque fierent, ita putavit constare omnia, ut inesse etiam mentem diceret, quae corpora aeterna, id est illas particulas, conjungendo et dissipando ageret omnia. Socrates hujus discipulus fuisse perhibetur, magister Platonis, propter quem breviter cuncta ista recolui.

## Caput III.

*De Socratica disciplina.*

Socrates ergo primus universam philosophiam ad corrigendos componendosque mores flexisse memoratur; cum ante illum omnes magis physicis, id est, naturalibus, rebus perscrutandis operam maximam impenderent. Non mihi autem videtur posse ad liquidum colligi, utrum Socrates, ut hoc faceret, taedio rerum obscurarum et incertarum ad aliquid apertum et certum reperiendum animum intenderit, quod esset beatae vitae necessarium; propter quam unam omnium philosophorum invigilasse ac laborasse videtur industria: an vero, sicut de illo quidam benevolentius suspicantur, nolebat immundos terrenis cupiditatibus animos se extendere in divina conari.

To him succeeded Anaximander, his auditor, and changed his opinion concerning the nature of things. For he thought that each thing was born not from one thing, as Thales from moisture, but from its own proper principles. Which principles of singular things he believed to be infinite, and to generate innumerable worlds, and whatever things arise in them; and he thought those worlds sometimes to be dissolved, sometimes again to be born, as long as each was able to remain in its age; nor did he himself attribute anything to a divine mind in these works of things. He left Anaximenes as a disciple and successor: who gave all the causes of things to the infinite air: nor did he deny or keep silence concerning the gods; yet he believed not the air to have been made by them, but them to have arisen from the air. But Anaxagoras, his auditor, perceived a divine mind to be the effecter of all these things which we see; and he said that from infinite matter, which should consist of particles similar among themselves, the kinds of all things were made each according to their own modules and species, but by a divine mind making them. Diogenes also, another auditor of Anaximenes, said indeed that air was the matter of things, from which all things were made; but that it was possessed of divine reason, without which nothing could be made from it. To Anaxagoras succeeded his auditor Archelaus: he himself also thought all things thus to consist of particles similar among themselves, by which each singular thing was made, so that he said a mind also was within, which by joining and dissipating the eternal bodies, that is, those particles, should act all things. Socrates is reported to have been the disciple of this man, the teacher of Plato, on account of whom I have briefly recollected all those things.

## Chapter III.

*Concerning the Socratic discipline.*

Socrates therefore is commemorated to have been the first to turn universal philosophy to the correcting and composing of morals; since before him all impended their greatest labor rather in scrutinizing physical, that is, natural, things. But it does not seem to me to be able to be gathered to the liquid, whether Socrates, that he might do this, intended his mind from the weariness of obscure and uncertain things to the finding of something open and certain, which should be necessary for the blessed life; for which alone the industry of all philosophers seems to have kept watch and labored: or truly, as some more benevolently suspect concerning him, he was unwilling that minds impure with earthly desires should try to extend themselves into divine things.

Quandoquidem ab eis causas rerum videbat inquiri, quas primas atque summas nonnisi in unius ac summi Dei voluntate esse credebat: unde non eas putabat nisi mundata mente posse comprehendi; et ideo purgandae bonis moribus vitae censebat instandum, ut deprimentibus libidinibus exoneratus animus naturali vigore in aeterna se attolleret, naturamque incorporei et incommutabilis luminis, ubi causae omnium factarum naturarum stabiliter vivunt, intelligentiae puritate conspiceret. Constat eum tamen imperitorum stultitiam scire se aliquid opinantium, etiam in ipsis moralibus quaestionibus, quo totum animum intendisse videbatur, vel confessa ignorantia sua, vel dissimulata scientia, lepore mirabili disserendi et acutissima urbanitate agitasse atque versasse. Unde et concitatis inimicitiis calumniosa criminatione damnatus, morte mulctatus est. Sed eum postea illa ipsa, quae publice damnaverat, Atheniensium civitas publice luxit, in duos accusatores ejus usque adeo populi indignatione conversa, ut unus eorum oppressus vi multitudinis interiret, exsilio autem voluntario atque perpetuo poenam similem alter evaderet. Tam praeclara igitur vitae mortisque fama Socrates reliquit plurimos suae philosophiae sectatores, quorum certatim studium fuit in quaestionum moralium disceptatione versari, ubi agitur de summo bono, quo fieri homo beatus potest. Quod in Socratis disputationibus, dum omnia movet, asserit, destruit, quoniam non evidenter apparuit; quod cuique placuit, inde sumpserunt, et ubi cuique visum est, constituerunt finem boni. Finis autem boni appellatur, quo quisque cum pervenerit, beatus est. Sic autem diversas inter se Socratici de isto fine sententias habuerunt, ut (quod vix credibile est, unius magistri potuisse facere sectatores) quidam summum bonum esse dicerent voluptatem, sicut Aristippus; quidam virtutem, sicut Antisthenes. Sic alii atque alii aliud atque aliud opinati sunt: quos commemorare longum est.

## Caput IV.

*De praecipuo inter Socratis discipulos Platone, qui omnem philosophiam triplici partitione distinxit.*

Sed inter discipulos Socratis, non quidem immerito, excellentissima gloria claruit, qui omnino caeteros obscuraret, Plato. Qui cum esset Atheniensis, honesto apud suos loco natus, et ingenio mirabili longe suos condiscipulos anteiret; parum tamen putans perficiendae philosophiae sufficere se ipsum ac Socraticam disciplinam, quam longe lateque potuit peregrinatus est, quaquaversum eum alicujus nobilitate scientiae percipiendae fama rapiebat.

Since he saw the causes of things to be inquired into by them, which he believed to be the first and highest only in the will of the one and supreme God: whence he thought those could not be comprehended except by a cleansed mind; and therefore he judged that a life to be purged by good morals must be insisted upon, that the mind exonerated from depressing lusts might lift itself by natural vigor into eternal things, and might behold the nature of the incorporeal and unchangeable light, where the causes of all made natures stably live, by the purity of intelligence. It is certain however that he with a wonderful charm of discoursing and most acute urbanity agitated and turned the folly of the unskilled opining themselves to know something, even in those moral questions, to which he seemed to have intended his whole mind, either by his confessed ignorance, or dissimulated knowledge. Whence also with stirred up enmities condemned by a calumnious crimination, he was punished with death. But afterward that same city of the Athenians publicly mourned him, whom it had publicly condemned, the indignation of the people being turned against his two accusers to such a degree, that one of them being oppressed by the force of the multitude perished, but the other escaped a similar penalty by voluntary and perpetual exile. With so illustrious a fame therefore of life and death Socrates left very many followers of his philosophy, whose study was emulously to be versed in the discussion of moral questions, where it is treated concerning the supreme good, by which man can become blessed. Which in the disputations of Socrates, while he moves, asserts, destroys all things, since it did not evidently appear; what pleased each, they took from thence, and where it seemed to each, they constituted the end of the good. But the end of the good is called that, where when anyone shall have arrived, he is blessed. But the Socratics had so diverse opinions among themselves concerning that end, that (which is scarcely credible, to have been able to make followers of one master) some said the supreme good was pleasure, just as Aristippus; some virtue, just as Antisthenes. Thus others and others opined something else and something else: whom to commemorate is long.

## Chapter IV.

*Concerning Plato, the chief among the disciples of Socrates, who distinguished all philosophy by a triple partition.*

But among the disciples of Socrates, not indeed unmeritedly, Plato shone with most excellent glory, who should altogether obscure the rest. Who since he was an Athenian, born of an honorable place among his own, and by a wonderful genius far preceded his fellow-disciples; yet thinking himself and the Socratic discipline to suffice little for the perfecting of philosophy, he traveled as far and wide as he could, whithersoever the fame of perceiving any nobility of science snatched him away.

Itaque et in Aegypto didicit quaecumque illic magna habebantur atque docebantur, et inde in eas Italiae partes veniens ubi Pythagoraeorum fama celebrabatur, quidquid Italicae philosophiae tunc florebat, auditis eminentioribus in ea doctoribus facillime comprehendit. Et quia magistrum Socratem singulariter diligebat, eum loquentem fere in omnibus sermonibus suis faciens, etiam illa quae vel ab aliis didicerat, vel ipse quanta potuerat intelligentia viderat, cum illius lepore et moralibus disputationibus temperavit. Itaque cum studium sapientiae in actione et contemplatione versetur, unde una pars ejus activa, altera contemplativa dici potest; quarum activa ad agendam vitam, id est, ad mores instituendos, pertinet, contemplativa autem ad conspiciendas naturae causas et sincerissimam veritatem: Socrates in activa excelluisse memoratur; Pythagoras vero magis contemplativae, quibus potuit intelligentiae viribus, institisse. Proinde Plato utrumque jungendo philosophiam perfecisse laudatur, quam in tres partes distribuit: unam moralem, quae maxime in actione versatur; alteram naturalem, quae contemplationi deputata est; tertiam rationalem, qua verum disterminatur a falso: quae licet utrique, id est actioni et contemplationi, sit necessaria, maxime tamen contemplatio perspectionem sibi vindicat veritatis. Ideo haec tripartitio non est contraria illi distinctioni, qua intelligitur omne studium sapientiae in actione et contemplatione consistere. Quid autem in his vel de his singulis partibus Plato senserit, id est, ubi finem omnium actionum, ubi causam omnium naturarum, ubi lumen omnium rationum esse cognoverit vel crediderit, disserendo explicare et longum esse arbitror, et temere affirmandum esse non arbitror. Cum enim magistri sui Socratis, quem facit in suis voluminibus disputantem, notissimum morem dissimulandae scientiae vel opinionis suae servare affectat, quia et illi ipse mos placuit, factum est ut etiam ipsius Platonis de rebus magnis sententiae non facile perspici possint. Ex his tamen quae apud eum leguntur, sive quae dixit, sive quae ab aliis dicta esse narravit atque conscripsit, quae sibi placita viderentur, quaedam commemorari et huic operi inseri oportet a nobis, vel ubi suffragatur religioni verae, quam fides nostra suscipit ac defendit, vel ubi ei videtur esse contrarius, quantum ad istam de uno Deo et pluribus pertinet quaestionem, propter vitam, quae post mortem futura est, veraciter beatam. Fortassis enim qui Platonem caeteris philosophis gentium longe recteque praelatum acutius atque veracius intellexisse atque secuti esse fama celebriore laudantur, aliquid tale de Deo sentiunt, ut in illo inveniatur et causa subsistendi, et ratio intelligendi, et ordo vivendi: quorum trium, unum ad naturalem, alterum ad rationalem, tertium ad moralem partem intelligitur pertinere.

Therefore he both learned in Egypt whatever great things were held and taught there, and from thence coming into those parts of Italy where the fame of the Pythagoreans was celebrated, whatever of Italic philosophy then flourished, having heard the more eminent teachers in it, he most easily comprehended. And because he singularly loved his master Socrates, making him speaking in almost all his discourses, even those things which he had either learned from others, or he himself had seen by as much intelligence as he could, he tempered with his charm and moral disputations. Therefore since the study of wisdom is versed in action and contemplation, whence one part of it can be called active, the other contemplative; of which the active pertains to the acting of life, that is, to the instituting of morals, but the contemplative to the beholding of the causes of nature and most sincere truth: Socrates is commemorated to have excelled in the active; but Pythagoras rather to have insisted upon the contemplative, with what powers of intelligence he could. Accordingly Plato is praised for having perfected philosophy by joining both, which he distributed into three parts: one moral, which is mostly versed in action; another natural, which is deputed to contemplation; the third rational, by which the true is distinguished from the false: which although it be necessary to both, that is to action and contemplation, yet contemplation especially claims the perspection of truth for itself. Therefore this tripartition is not contrary to that distinction, by which it is understood all study of wisdom to consist in action and contemplation. But what Plato sensed in these or concerning these singular parts, that is, where he knew or believed the end of all actions, where the cause of all natures, where the light of all reasons to be, I judge it both to be long to explain by discoursing, and I do not judge it to be rashly affirmed. For when he affects to preserve the most known custom of his master Socrates, whom he makes disputing in his volumes, of dissimulating his knowledge or his opinion, because that custom also pleased him, it was done that even the sentences of Plato himself concerning great things cannot easily be perceived. Yet from these things which are read in him, whether those which he said, or those which he narrated and wrote to have been said by others, which seemed pleasing to himself, certain things ought to be commemorated and inserted into this work by us, either where he suffragates the true religion, which our faith receives and defends, or where he seems to be contrary to it, as much as pertains to this question concerning one God and many, on account of the life which is hereafter after death, truly blessed. For perhaps those who are praised with a more celebrated fame to have understood and followed Plato more acutely and truly, far and rightly preferred to the rest of the philosophers of the nations, sense something such concerning God, that in Him may be found both the cause of subsisting, and the reason of understanding, and the order of living: of which three, one is understood to pertain to the natural, another to the rational, the third to the moral part.

Si enim homo ita creatus est, ut per id quod in eo praecellit, attingat illud, quod cuncta praecellit, id est, unum verum optimum Deum, sine quo nulla natura subsistit, nulla doctrina instruit, nullus usus expedit: ipse quaeratur, ubi nobis secura sunt omnia; ipse cernatur, ubi nobis certa sunt omnia; ipse diligatur, ubi nobis recta sunt omnia.

## Caput V.

*Quod de theologia cum Platonicis potissimum disceptandum sit, quorum opinioni omnium philosophorum postponenda sint dogmata.*

Si ergo Plato Dei hujus imitatorem, cognitorem, amatorem dixit esse sapientem, cujus participatione sit beatus, quid opus est excutere caeteros? Nulli nobis, quam isti, propius accesserunt. Cedat eis igitur non solum theologia illa fabulosa deorum criminibus oblectans animos impiorum; nec solum etiam illa civilis, ubi impuri daemones terrestribus gaudiis deditos populos deorum nomine seducentes, humanos errores tanquam suos divinos honores habere voluerunt, ad spectandos suorum criminum ludos cultores suos tanquam ad suum cultum studiis immundissimis excitantes, et sibi delectabiliores ludos de ipsis spectatoribus exhibentes: ubi si qua velut honesta geruntur in templis, conjuncta sibi theatrorum obscenitate turpantur; et quaecumque turpia geruntur in theatris, comparata sibi templorum foeditate laudantur. Et ea quae Varro ex his sacris, quasi ad coelum et terram rerumque mortalium semina et actus interpretatus est; quia nec ipsa illis ritibus significantur, quae ipse insinuare conatur; et ideo veritas conantem non sequitur: et si ipsa essent, tamen animae rationali ea, quae infra illam naturali ordine constituta sunt, pro deo suo colenda non essent; nec sibi praeferre debuit, tanquam deos, eas res, quibus ipsam praetulit verus Deus. Et ea, quae Numa Pompilius revera ad sacra ejusmodi pertinentia secum sepeliendo curavit abscondi, et aratro eruta senatus jussit incendi. In eo genere sunt etiam illa, ut aliquid de Numa mitius suspicemur, quae Alexander Macedo scribit ad matrem, sibi a magno antistite sacrorum Aegyptiorum quodam Leone patefacta:

For if man was so created, that through that which excels in him, he may touch that which excels all things, that is, the one true best God, without whom no nature subsists, no doctrine instructs, no use profits: let Him be sought, where all things are secure for us; let Him be beheld, where all things are certain for us; let Him be loved, where all things are right for us.

## Chapter V.

*That the discussion concerning theology is to be held with the Platonists especially, to whose opinion the dogmas of all philosophers are to be postponed.*

If therefore Plato said that he is wise who is an imitator, knower, lover of this God, by the participation of whom he may be blessed, what need is there to shake out the rest? None have approached nearer to us than these. Let therefore not only that fabulous theology delighting the minds of the impious with the crimes of the gods yield to them; nor only also that civil, where impure demons deceiving the peoples addicted to earthly joys under the name of the gods, wished to have human errors as their own divine honors, exciting their worshippers by most impure studies to behold the games of their own crimes as if for their own worship, and exhibiting to themselves more delightful games from the spectators themselves: where if any as if honest things are carried on in the temples, they are fouled by the obscenity of the theaters joined to them; and whatever base things are carried on in the theaters, they are praised by the foulness of the temples compared to themselves. And those things which Varro interpreted from these sacred rites, as if to heaven and earth and the seeds and acts of mortal things; because neither are those themselves signified by those rites, which he himself attempts to insinuate; and therefore truth does not follow him attempting: and if those themselves were, yet to the rational soul those things, which are constituted below it in natural order, were not to be worshipped for its god; nor ought it to prefer to itself, as if gods, those things, to which the true God preferred it itself. And those things, which Numa Pompilius truly pertaining to sacred rites of this kind took care to be hidden by burying them with himself, and being erubated by the plow the senate ordered to be burned. In that kind are also those things, that we may suspect something milder concerning Numa, which Alexander the Macedonian writes to his mother, made open to himself by a certain Leo, a great high-priest of the Egyptian sacred rites:

ubi non Picus et Faunus et Aeneas et Romulus, vel etiam Hercules et Aesculapius et Liber Semela natus, et Tyndaridae fratres, et si quos alios ex mortalibus pro diis habent, sed ipsi etiam majorum gentium dii, quos Cicero in Tusculanis tacitis nominibus videtur attingere (Lib. I, cap. 13), Jupiter, Juno, Saturnus, Vulcanus, Vesta, et alii plurimi, quos Varro conatur ad mundi partes sive elementa transferre, homines fuisse produntur. Timens enim et ille quasi revelata mysteria, petens admonet Alexandrum, ut cum ea matri conscripta insinuaverit, flammis jubeat concremari. Non solum ergo ista, quae duae theologiae, fabulosa continet et civilis, Platonicis philosophis cedant, qui verum Derum, et rerum auctorem, et veritatis illustratorem, et beatitudinis largitorem esse dixerunt: sed alii quoque philosophi, qui corporalia naturae principia corpori deditis mentibus opinati sunt, cedant his tantis et tanti Dei cognitoribus viris, ut Thales in humore, Anaximenes in aere, Stoici in igne, Epicurus in atomis, hoc est minutissimis corpusculis, quae nec dividi nec sentiri queunt, et quicumque alii, quorum enumerationi immorari non est necesse, sive simplicia, sive conjuncta corpora, sive vita carentia, sive viventia, sed tamen corpora, causam principiumque rerum esse dixerunt. Nam quidam eorum a rebus non vivis res vivas fieri posse crediderunt, sicut Epicurei: quidam vero a vivente quidem et viventia et non viventia, sed tamen a corpore corpora. Nam Stoici ignem, id est corpus unum ex his quatuor elementis, quibus visibilis mundus hic constat, et viventem, et sapientem, et ipsius mundi fabricatorem atque omnium quae in eo sunt, eumque omnino ignem deum esse putaverunt. Hi et caeteri similes eorum id solum cogitare potuerunt, quod cum eis corda eorum obstricta carnis sensibus fabulata sunt. In se quippe habebant quod non videbant, et apud se imaginabantur quod foris viderant, etiam quando non videbant, sed tantummodo cogitabant. Hoc autem in conspectu talis cogitationis jam non est corpus, sed similitudo corporis. Illud autem unde videtur in animo haec similitudo corporis, nec corpus est, nec similitudo corporis; et unde videtur, atque utrum pulchra an deformis sit judicatur, profecto est melius quam ipsa quae judicatur. Haec mens hominis et rationalis animae natura est, quae utique corpus non est; si jam illa corporis similitudo, cum in animo cogitantis aspicitur atque judicatur, nec ipsa corpus est. Non est ergo nec terra, nec aqua, nec aer, nec ignis: quibus quatuor corporibus, quae dicuntur quatuor elementa, mundum corporeum videmus esse compactum. Porro si noster animus corpus non est, quomodo Deus creator animi corpus est? Cedant ergo et isti, ut dictum est Platonicis: cedant et illi, quos quidem puduit dicere Deum corpus esse, verumtamen ejusdem naturae, cujus ille est, animos nostros esse putaverunt.

where not only Picus and Faunus and Aeneas and Romulus, or even Hercules and Aesculapius and Liber born of Semele, and the Tyndarid brothers, and if any others from mortals they have for gods, but even the gods themselves of the major nations, whom Cicero in the Tusculans seems to touch upon with names kept silent (Lib. I, cap. 13), Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, Vulcan, Vesta, and very many others, whom Varro attempts to transfer to the parts of the world or the elements, are betrayed to have been men. For he also fearing as if the revealed mysteries, asking admonishes Alexander, that when he shall have insinuated those things written to his mother, he should order them to be burned by flames. Not only therefore those things, which the two theologies, the fabulous and civil, contain, let them yield to the Platonist philosophers, who said that the true God is both the author of things, and the illustrator of truth, and the bestower of blessedness: but other philosophers also, who have opined corporeal principles of nature with minds given over to the body, let them yield to these men so great and knowers of so great a God, as Thales in moisture, Anaximenes in air, the Stoics in fire, Epicurus in atoms, that is most minute little bodies, which can neither be divided nor sensed, and whoever others, on whose enumeration it is not necessary to dwell, whether simple, or joined bodies, whether lacking life, or living, but yet bodies, have said to be the cause and principle of things. For certain of them have believed that living things can be made from non-living things, just as the Epicureans: but certain indeed from a living thing both living and non-living things, but yet bodies from a body. For the Stoics thought fire, that is one body from these four elements, by which this visible world consists, both living, and wise, and the fabricator of the world itself and of all things which are in it, and that altogether fire to be God. These and the rest similar to them were able to think that only, which their hearts bound with the senses of the flesh have fabled with them. For in themselves they had what they did not see, and among themselves they imagined what they had seen without, even when they did not see, but only thought. But this in the sight of such thought is now not a body, but a similitude of a body. But that from whence this similitude of a body is seen in the mind, is neither a body, nor a similitude of a body; and from whence it is seen, and whether it be beautiful or deformed is judged, is certainly better than that which is judged. This is the mind of man and the nature of the rational soul, which certainly is not a body; if already that similitude of a body, when it is beheld and judged in the mind of the thinking person, is not itself a body. It is therefore neither earth, nor water, nor air, nor fire: by which four bodies, which are called the four elements, we see the corporeal world to be compacted. Furthermore if our mind is not a body, how is God the creator of the mind a body? Let these also therefore yield, as was said, to the Platonists: let those yield also, who indeed were ashamed to say that God is a body, yet nevertheless have thought our minds to be of the same nature as He is.

Ita non eos movit tanta mutabilitas animae, quam Dei naturae tribuere nefas est. Sed dicunt, Corpore mutatur animae natura; nam per se ipsam incommutabilis est. Poterant isti dicere, Corpore aliquo vulneratur caro; nam per se ipsam invulnerabilis est. Prorsus quod mutari non potest, nulla re potest: ac per hoc quod corpore mutari potest, aliqua re potest, et ideo incommutabile recte dici non potest.

Viderunt ergo isti philosophi, quos merito caeteris praelatos fama celebrat, nullum corpus esse Deum; et ideo cuncta corpora transcenderunt quaerentes Deum. Viderunt quidquid mutabile est, non esse summum Deum: et ideo omnem animam mutabilesque spiritus transcenderunt quaerentes summum Deum. Deinde viderunt omnem speciem in re quacumque mutabili, qua est quidquid illud est, quomodocumque et qualecumque est, non esse posse nisi ab illo qui vere est, quia incommutabiliter est. Ac per hoc sive universi mundi corpus, figuras, qualitates, ordinatumque motum, et elementa disposita a coelo usque ad terram, et quaecumque corpora in eis sunt; sive omnem vitam, vel quae nutrit et servat, qualis est in arboribus; vel quae et hoc habet et sentit, qualis est in pecoribus; vel quae et haec habet et intelligit, qualis est in hominibus; vel quae nutrimine non indiget, sed tantum servat, sentit, intelligit, qualis est in Angelis: nisi ab illo esse non posse, qui simpliciter est. Quia illi aliud est esse, aliud vivere: quasi possit esse non vivens; aliud vivere, aliud intelligere: quasi possit vivere non intelligens; aliud intelligere, aliud beatum esse: quasi possit intelligere non beatus. Sed Deo hoc est esse, quod vivere, quod intelligere, quod beatum esse, nulla mutabilitate mutatur. Propter hanc incommutabilitatem et simplicitatem intellexerunt eum et omnia ista fecisse, et ipsum a nullo fieri potuisse. Consideraverunt enim quidquid est, vel corpus esse, vel vitam; meliusque aliquid vitam esse quam corpus; speciemque corporis esse sensibilem, intelligibilem vitam. Ideo intelligibilem speciem sensibili praetulerunt. Sensibilia dicimus, quae visu tactuque corporis sentiri queunt: intelligibilia, quae acie mentis intelligi. Nulla est autem species corporis, in qua non appareat, utcumque ibi minus emineat, numerus quidam: qui nisi ab intelligibili et incommutabili numero, qui est in summa sapientia, esse non potest, qui omnia fecit in mensura et numero et pondere.

So so great mutability of the soul did not move them, which it is nefas to attribute to the nature of God. But they say, The nature of the soul is changed by the body; for by itself it is unchangeable. These could say, The flesh is wounded by some body; for by itself it is invulnerable. Truly what cannot be changed, can by no thing: and by this what can be changed by a body, can by some thing, and therefore cannot rightly be called unchangeable.

These philosophers, therefore, whom fame celebrates as deservedly preferred to the rest, saw that no body is God; and therefore they transcended all bodies seeking God. They saw that whatever is mutable is not the supreme God: and therefore they transcended every soul and mutable spirits seeking the supreme God. Then they saw that every species in any mutable thing, by which it is whatever that is, in what manner soever and of what quality soever it is, can be only from Him who truly is, because He is unchangeably. And by this whether the body of the whole world, the figures, qualities, and ordered motion, and the elements disposed from heaven even to earth, and whatever bodies are in them; or every life, either that which nourishes and preserves, such as is in trees; or that which both has this and senses, such as is in cattle; or that which both has these and understands, such as is in men; or that which does not need nourishment, but only preserves, senses, understands, such as is in Angels: can be only from Him, who simply is. Because to Him it is one thing to be, another to live: as if He could be not living; another to live, another to understand: as if He could live not understanding; another to understand, another to be blessed: as if He could understand not blessed. But to God this is to be, which is to live, which is to understand, which is to be blessed, changed by no mutability. On account of this unchangeability and simplicity they understood both Him to have made all these things, and Himself to have been able to be made by no one. For they considered that whatever is, is either body or life; and that life is something better than body; and that the species of body is sensible, life intelligible. Therefore they preferred the intelligible species to the sensible. We call sensible things, those which can be sensed by the sight and touch of the body: intelligible, those which can be understood by the sharpness of the mind. But there is no species of body, in which there does not appear, howsoever it may excel less there, some number: which can be only from the intelligible and unchangeable number, which is in supreme wisdom, who made all things in measure and number and weight.

Quoniam ergo in eorum conspectu non erat corpus, unde ista cogitarent; sed eorum conspectus interior erat in eorum animo, unde talia de corporibus judicarent: viderunt profecto et ipsam animam esse mutabilem. Nam modo volebat, modo nolebat; modo sciebat, modo nesciebat; modo meminerat, modo obliviscebatur; modo timebat, modo audebat; modo ad vitia, modo ad virtutes ferebatur. Viderunt ergo quod, si anima aliud haberet, per quod mutaretur; aliud haberet, per quod ipsa species eadem esset: utique et in ipsa anima species esset intelligibilis, sicut in corporibus sensibilis. Unde et ipsam animam transcenderunt, ut quaererent incommutabilem speciem, ubi eam esse cognoverant. Atque ita pervenerunt ad id quod unum est, et simpliciter est, et per hoc Deus est. Ibi enim aliud non est esse, et aliud pulchrum esse; sed hoc est ei esse, quod pulchrum esse. Sicut aliud non est ei esse, et aliud sapientem esse; sed hoc est ei esse, quod sapientem esse. Et quidquid de illo dicitur, ad ejus essentiam refertur, quae una est et incommutabilis. Haec est illa naturalis theologia, quam hi philosophi, qui acutius cuncta viderunt, a caeteris omnibus philosophorum sectis et generibus segregarunt.

## Caput VI.

*De Platonicorum sensu in ea parte philosophiae, quae physica nominatur.*

Viderunt ergo isti philosophi, quos caeteris non immerito fama atque gloria praelatos videmus, nullum corpus esse Deum: et ideo cuncta corpora transcenderunt quaerentes Deum. Viderunt quidquid mutabile est, non esse summum Deum: et ideo omnem animam mutabilesque omnes spiritus transcenderunt, quaerentes summum Deum. Deinde viderunt omnem speciem in re quacumque mutabili, qua est quidquid illud est, quoquo modo et qualiscumque natura est, non esse posse nisi ab illo qui vere est, quia incommutabiliter est. Ac per hoc sive universi mundi corpus, figuras, qualitates, ordinatumque motum, et elementa disposita a coelo usque ad terram, et quaecumque corpora in eis sunt; sive omnem vitam, vel quae nutrit et continet, qualis est in arboribus; vel quae et hoc habet et sentit, qualis est in pecoribus; vel quae et haec habet et intelligit, qualis est in hominibus; vel quae nutritorio subsidio non indiget, sed tantum continet, sentit, intelligit, qualis est in Angelis, nisi ab illo esse non posse qui simpliciter est:

Since therefore in their sight there was not the body, from whence they should think these things; but their interior sight was in their mind, from whence they should judge such things concerning bodies: they saw certainly also the soul itself to be mutable. For now it willed, now it willed not; now it knew, now it knew not; now it remembered, now it forgot; now it feared, now it dared; now it was borne to vices, now to virtues. They saw therefore that, if the soul had one thing, through which it should be changed; it should have another, through which that same species should be: certainly also in the soul itself the species should be intelligible, just as in bodies sensible. Whence they also transcended the soul itself, that they might seek the unchangeable species, where they had known it to be. And so they arrived at that which is one, and simply is, and through this is God. For there it is not one thing to be, and another to be beautiful; but this is to Him to be, which is to be beautiful. Just as it is not one thing to Him to be, and another to be wise; but this is to Him to be, which is to be wise. And whatever is said concerning Him, is referred to His essence, which is one and unchangeable. This is that natural theology, which these philosophers, who saw all things more acutely, segregated from all the rest of the sects and kinds of philosophers.

## Chapter VI.

*Of the opinion of the Platonists in that part of philosophy which is called physics.*

These philosophers, therefore, whom we see deservedly preferred to the rest by fame and glory, saw that God is no body: and therefore they transcended all bodies in seeking God. They saw that whatever is mutable is not the supreme God: and therefore they transcended every soul and all mutable spirits, seeking the supreme God. Then they saw that every form (species) in any mutable thing, by which it is whatever it is, in whatever way and of whatever nature it may be, cannot be except from Him who truly is, because He is unchangeably. And by this, whether the body of the entire world, its figures, qualities, and ordered motion, and the elements disposed from heaven even unto the earth, and whatever bodies are in them; or all life, either that which nourishes and contains, such as is in trees; or that which both has this and feels, such as is in cattle; or that which has these and understands, such as is in men; or that which needs no nutritional support, but only contains, feels, and understands, such as is in the Angels —it could not be except from Him who simply is:

quia non aliud illi est esse, aliud vivere, quasi possit esse non vivens; nec aliud illi est vivere, aliud intelligere, quasi possit vivere non intelligens; nec aliud illi est intelligere, aliud beatum esse, quasi possit intelligere et non beatus esse; sed quod est illi vivere, intelligere, beatum esse, hoc est illi esse. Propter hanc incommutabilitatem et simplicitatem intellexerunt eum et omnia ista fecisse, et ipsum a nullo fieri potuisse. Consideraverunt enim, quidquid est, vel corpus esse, vel vitam; meliusque aliquid vitam esse, quam corpus; speciemque corporis esse sensibilem, intelligibilem vitae. Proinde intelligibilem speciem sensibili praetulerunt. Sensibilia dicimus, quae visu tactuque corporis sentiri queunt: intelligibilia, quae conspectu mentis intelligi possunt. Nulla est enim pulchritudo corporalis, sive in statu corporis, sicut est figura, sive in motu, sicut est cantilena, de qua non animus judicet. Quod profecto non posset, nisi melior in illo esset haec species, sine tumore molis, sine strepitu vocis, sine spatio vel loci vel temporis. Sed ibi quoque nisi mutabilis esset, non alius alio melius de specie sensibili judicaret: melius ingeniosior quam tardior, melius peritior quam imperitior, melius exercitatior quam minus exercitatus, et idem ipse unus cum proficit, melius utique posteaquam prius. Quod autem recipit magis et minus, sine dubitatione mutabile est. Unde ingeniosi et docti et in his exercitati homines facile collegerunt, non esse in eis rebus primam speciem, ubi mutabilis esse convincitur. Cum igitur in eorum conspectu et corpus et animus magis minusque speciosa essent, et si omni specie carere possent, omnino nulla essent, viderunt esse aliquid ubi prima esset et incommutabilis, et ideo nec comparabilis: atque ibi esse rerum principium rectissime crediderunt, quod factum non esset, et ex quo facta cuncta essent. Ita quod notum est Dei, ipse manifestavit eis, cum ab eis invisibilia ejus, per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspecta sunt; sempiterna quoque virtus ejus et divinitas (Rom. I, 19, 20): a quo etiam visibilia et temporalia cuncta creata sunt. Haec de illa parte quam physicam, id est naturalem, nuncupant, dicta sint.

## Caput VII.

*Quanto excellentiores caeteris in logica, id est rationali philosophia, Platonici sint habendi.*

because to Him to be is not one thing, and to live another, as if He could be without living; nor is it to Him one thing to live, and another to understand, as if He could live without understanding; nor is it to Him one thing to understand, and another to be blessed, as if He could understand and not be blessed; but what it is for Him to live, to understand, and to be blessed, this is for Him to be. Because of this unchangeability and simplicity, they understood both that He had made all these things, and that He Himself could not have been made by any one. For they considered that whatever exists is either a body or life; and that life is something better than a body; and that the form of a body is sensible, while that of life is intelligible. Therefore they preferred the intelligible form to the sensible. We call those things sensible which can be perceived by the sight and touch of the body; intelligible, those which can be understood by the sight of the mind. For there is no bodily beauty, whether in the state of the body, such as figure, or in motion, such as a song, concerning which the mind does not judge. Which indeed it could not do, unless there were in it a better form of this, without the swelling of mass, without the noise of the voice, without the space of either place or time. But there also, unless it were mutable, one would not judge better than another concerning the sensible form: the more ingenious better than the slower, the more skilled better than the unskilled, the more practiced better than the less practiced, and the same one when he profits, certainly better afterwards than before. But that which receives more and less is without doubt mutable. Whence ingenious and learned and practiced men in these things easily gathered that the first form is not in those things where it is proved to be mutable. When, therefore, both the body and the soul were in their sight more or less beautiful, and if they could be deprived of all form, they would be nothing at all, they saw that there is something where the first and unchangeable form is, and therefore not comparable: and there they most rightly believed the principle of things to be, which had not been made, and from which all things were made. Thus what is known of God, He Himself manifested to them, since His invisible things, being understood through those things which are made, were seen by them; also His eternal power and divinity (Rom. I, 19, 20): by whom also all visible and temporal things were created. Let these things be said concerning that part which they call physics, that is, natural philosophy.

## Chapter VII.

*How much more excellent the Platonists are to be held than the rest in logic, that is, rational philosophy.*

Quod autem attinet ad doctrinam, ubi altera pars versatur, quae ab eis logica, id est rationalis, vocatur; absit ut his comparandi videantur, qui posuerunt judicium veritatis in sensibus corporis, eorumque infidis et fallacibus regulis omnia quae discuntur metienda esse censuerunt, ut Epicurei, et quicumque alii tales; ut etiam ipsi Stoici, qui cum vehementer amaverint solertiam disputandi, quam dialecticam nominant, a corporis sensibus eam ducendam putarunt; hinc asseverantes animum concipere notiones, quas appellant ἐννοίας earum rerum scilicet quas definiendo explicant; hinc propagari atque connecti totam discendi docendique rationem. Ubi ego multum mirari soleo, cum pulchros dicant non esse nisi sapientes, quibus sensibus corporis istam pulchritudinem viderint, qualibus oculis carnis formam sapientiae decusque conspexerint. Hi vero, quos merito caeteris anteponimus, discreverunt ea quae mente conspiciuntur, ab iis quae sensibus attinguntur; nec sensibus adimentes quod possunt, nec eis dantes ultra quam possunt. Lumen autem mentium esse dixerunt ad discenda omnia, eumdem ipsum Deum a quo facta sunt omnia.

## Caput VIII.

*Quod etiam in morali philosophia Platonici obtineant principatum.*

Reliqua est pars moralis, quam graeco vocabulo dicunt ἠθικήν, ubi quaeritur de summo bono, quo referentes omnia quae agimus, et quod non propter aliud, sed propter se ipsum appetentes, idque adipiscentes, nihil quo beati simus, ulterius requiramus. Ideo quippe et finis est dictus, quia propter hunc caetera volumus, ipsum autem nonnisi propter ipsum. Hoc ergo beatificum bonum alii a corpore, alii ab animo, alii ab utroque in homine esse dixerunt. Videbant quippe ipsum hominem constare ex animo et corpore, et ideo ab alterutro istorum duûm, aut ab utroque bene sibi esse posse credebant, finali quodam bono, quo beati essent, quo cuncta quae agebant referrent, atque id quo referendum esset non ultra quaererent. Unde illi qui dicuntur addidisse tertium genus bonorum, quod appellatur extrinsecus, sicuti est honor, gloria, pecunia, et si quid hujusmodi, non sic addiderunt, ut finale esset, id est propter se ipsum appetendum, sed propter aliud; bonumque esset hoc genus bonis, malum autem malis.

But as pertains to doctrine, where the second part is concerned, which is called by them logic, that is, rational philosophy; far be it that they should seem comparable to those who placed the judgment of truth in the senses of the body, and thought that all things which are learned should be measured by their faithless and fallacious rules, as the Epicureans, and whoever else are such; as even the Stoics themselves, who, though they vehemently loved the skill of disputing, which they call dialectic, thought it should be derived from the senses of the body; asserting from this that the mind conceives notions, which they call ennoias (ἐννοίας), namely, of those things which they explain by defining; and that from here the whole system of learning and teaching is propagated and connected. Where I am often wont to wonder much, since they say that none are beautiful except the wise, by what senses of the body they saw that beauty, with what eyes of the flesh they beheld the form and glory of wisdom. But these, whom we deservedly prefer to the rest, have distinguished those things which are seen by the mind from those which are touched by the senses; neither taking away from the senses what they can do, nor giving to them more than they can. But they said that the light of minds for learning all things is that same God by whom all things were made.

## Chapter VIII.

*That the Platonists also obtain the primacy in moral philosophy.*

The remaining part is the moral, which they call in the Greek word ethike (ἠθικήν), where the question is concerning the supreme good (summum bonum), by referring to which all things that we do, and which we desire not for the sake of something else, but for its own sake, and attaining which, we require nothing further that we may be blessed. For this reason, indeed, it is also called the end, because for the sake of this we wish other things, but it only for its own sake. Some, therefore, said that this beatific good is in the body, others in the soul, others in both in man. For they saw that man himself consists of soul and body, and therefore they believed that it could be well with him from one of these two, or from both, by some final good, by which they might be blessed, to which they might refer all things which they did, and that they should not seek further for that to which reference should be made. Whence those who are said to have added a third kind of goods, which is called extrinsic, such as honor, glory, money, and if there be any such, did not so add them as to be the final good, that is, to be desired for its own sake, but for the sake of something else; and this kind was a good to the good, but an evil to the evil.

Ita bonum hominis, qui vel ab animo, vel a corpore, vel ab utroque expetiverunt, nihil aliud quam ab homine expetendum esse putaverunt. Sed qui id appetiverunt a corpore, a parte hominis deteriore; qui vero ab animo, a parte meliore; qui autem ab utroque, a toto homine. Sive ergo a parte qualibet, sive a toto, non nisi ab homine. Nec istae differentiae, quoniam tres sunt, ideo tres, sed multas dissensiones philosophorum sectasque fecerunt: quia et de bono corporis, et de bono animi, et de bono utriusque diversi diversa opinati sunt. Cedant igitur hi omnes illis philosophis, qui non dixerunt beatum esse hominem fruentem corpore, vel fruentem animo, sed fruentem Deo: non sicut corpore vel se ipso animus, aut sicut amico amicus, sed sicut luce oculus; si aliquid ab his ad illa similitudinis afferendum est, quod quale sit, si Deus ipse adjuverit, alio loco, quantum per nos fieri poterit, apparebit.

[IX.] Nunc satis sit commemorare, Platonem determinasse finem boni esse, secundum virtutem vivere, et ei soli evenire posse, qui notitiam Dei habeat et imitationem; nec esse aliam ob causam beatum. Ideoque non dubitat hoc esse philosophari, amare Deum; cujus natura sit incorporalis. Unde utique colligitur, tunc fore beatum studiosum sapientiae (id enim est philosophus), cum Deo frui coeperit. Quamvis enim non continuo beatus sit, qui eo fruitur quod amat; multi enim amando ea quae amanda non sunt, miseri sunt, et miseriores cum fruuntur: nemo tamen beatus est, qui eo quod amat non fruitur. Nam et ipsi qui res non amandas amant, non se beatos amando putant, sed fruendo. Quisquis ergo fruitur eo quod amat, verumque et summum bonum amat, quis eum beatum nisi miserrimus negat? ipsum autem verum ac summum bonum Plato dicit Deum, unde vult esse philosophum amatorem Dei, ut, quoniam philosophia ad beatam vitam tendit fruens Deo sit beatus qui Deum amaverit.

## Caput IX.

*De ea philosophia quae ad veritatem fidei christianae propius accessit.*

Quicumque igitur philosophi de Deo summo et vero ista senserunt, quod et rerum creatarum sit effector, et lumen cognoscendarum, et bonum agendarum; quod ab illo nobis sit et principium naturae, et veritas doctrinae, et felicitas vitae; sive Platonici accommodatius nuncupentur, sive quodlibet aliud sectae suae nomen imponant; sive tantummodo Ionici generis, qui in eis praecipui fuerunt, ista senserint, sicut idem Plato, et qui eum bene intellexerunt; sive etiam Italici, propter Pythagoram et Pythagoraeos, et si qui forte alii ejusdem sententiae identidem fuerunt;

Thus the good of man, which they sought either from the soul, or from the body, or from both, they thought was to be sought from nothing else than from man. But those who desired it from the body, from the worse part of man; those who from the soul, from the better part; those from both, from the whole man. Whether therefore from any part, or from the whole, it was only from man. Nor were these differences, because they are three, therefore only three, but they made many dissensions and sects of philosophers: because they thought differently concerning the good of the body, and the good of the soul, and the good of both. Let all these therefore yield to those philosophers who did not say that man is blessed in enjoying the body, or in enjoying the soul, but in enjoying God: not as the soul enjoys the body or itself, or as a friend enjoys a friend, but as the eye enjoys light; if any likeness is to be brought from these to those things, which what it may be, if God Himself shall help, will appear in another place as much as can be done by us.

[IX.] Now let it suffice to mention that Plato determined the end of good to be to live according to virtue, and that this can happen only to him who has the knowledge of God and imitation; nor is he blessed for any other cause. And therefore he does not doubt that this is to philosophize, to love God, whose nature is incorporeal. Whence it is certainly gathered that the student of wisdom (for that is a philosopher) will then be blessed when he shall begin to enjoy God. For although he is not immediately blessed who enjoys what he loves; for many by loving those things which are not to be loved are miserable, and more miserable when they enjoy them: yet no one is blessed who does not enjoy that which he loves. For even they themselves who love things not to be loved, do not think themselves blessed in loving, but in enjoying. Whoever therefore enjoys what he loves, and loves the true and supreme good, who except the most miserable denies him to be blessed? But Plato says that the true and supreme good itself is God, whence he wishes the philosopher to be a lover of God, that, since philosophy tends to a blessed life, he who has loved God may be blessed by enjoying God.

## Chapter IX.

*Of that philosophy which has approached more nearly to the truth of the Christian faith.*

Whatever philosophers, therefore, have thought these things concerning the supreme and true God, that He is both the maker of created things, and the light of those to be known, and the good of those to be done; that from Him we have both the principle of nature, and the truth of doctrine, and the happiness of life; whether they be called Platonists more suitably, or impose whatever other name of their sect; whether only those of the Ionic kind, who were chief among them, have thought these things, as the same Plato and those who have well understood him; or even the Italics, because of Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, and if any others of the same opinion have been found;

sive aliarum quoque gentium, qui sapientes vel philosophi habiti sunt, Atlantici Libyci Aegyptii, Indi, Persae, Chaldaei, Scythae, Galli, Hispani aliique reperiuntur, qui hoc viderint ac docuerint, eos omnes caeteris anteponimus, eosque nobis propinquiores fatemur.

## Caput X.

*Quae sit inter philosophicas artes religiosi excellentia christiani.*

1. Quamvis enim homo christianus litteris tantum ecclesiasticis eruditus, Platonicorum forte nomen ignoret, nec utrum duo genera philosophorum exstiterint in graeca lingua, Ionicorum et Italicorum, sciat; non tamen ita surdus est in rebus humanis, ut nesciat philosophos vel studium sapientiae, vel ipsam sapientiam profiteri. Cavet eos tamen, qui secundum elementa hujus mundi philosophantur, non secundum Deum, a quo ipse factus est mundus. Admonetur enim praecepto apostolico, fideliterque audit quod dictum est: Cavete ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem seductionem, secundum elementa mundi (Coloss. II, 8). Deinde ne omnes tales esse arbitretur, audit ab eodem apostolo dici de quibusdam, Quia quod notum est Dei, manifestum est in illis: Deus enim illis manifestavit. Invisibilia enim ejus, a constitutione mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque virtus ejus et divinitas (Rom. I, 19, 20). Et ubi Atheniensibus loquens, cum rem magnam de Deo dixisset, et quae a paucis possit intelligi, quod in illo vivimus, movemur et sumus; adjecit et ait, Sicut et vestri quidam dixerunt (Act. XVII, 28). Novit sane etiam ipsos, in quibus errant, cavere. Ubi enim dictum est quod per ea quae facta sunt, Deus illis manifestavit intellectu conspicienda invisibilia sua; ibi etiam dictum est, non illos ipsum Deum recte coluisse, quia et aliis rebus, quibus non oportebat, divinos honores illi uni tantum debitos detulerunt: Quoniam cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, aut gratias egerunt; sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis, et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum. Dicentes enim se esse sapientes stulti facti sunt, et immutaverunt gloriam incorruptibilis Dei in similitudinem imaginis corruptibilis hominis et volucrum, et quadrupedum, et serpentium (Rom. I, 21-23). Ubi et Romanos, et Graecos, et Aegyptios, qui de sapientiae nomine gloriati sunt, fecit intelligi. Sed de hoc cum istis postmodum disputabimus. In quo autem nobis consentiunt de uno Deo hujus universitatis auctore, qui non solum super omnia corpora est incorporeus, verum etiam super omnes animas incorruptibilis, principium nostrum, lumen nostrum, bonum nostrum, in hoc eos caeteris anteponimus.

or also of other nations, who have been held as wise men or philosophers, Atlantic Libyans, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Chaldeans, Scythians, Gauls, Spaniards, and others are found who have seen and taught this, we prefer them all to the rest, and we confess them to be nearer to us.

## Chapter X.

*What is the excellence of the religious Christian among the philosophical arts.*

1. For although a Christian man, instructed only in ecclesiastical letters, may perhaps be ignorant of the name of the Platonists, and may not know whether two kinds of philosophers have existed in the Greek language, the Ionic and the Italic; yet he is not so deaf in human affairs as not to know that philosophers profess either the study of wisdom or wisdom itself. He is cautious of them, however, who philosophize according to the elements of this world, not according to God, by whom the world itself was made. For he is admonished by the apostolic precept, and faithfully hears what is said: "Beware lest any man deceive you through philosophy and vain deceit, according to the elements of the world" (Coloss. II, 8). Then, lest he should think all are such, he hears it said by the same apostle concerning some: "Because that which is known of God is manifest in them; for God has manifested it to them. For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; even His eternal power and divinity" (Rom. I, 19, 20). And where, speaking to the Athenians, when he had said a great thing concerning God, and which could be understood by few, that "in Him we live, and move, and are"; he added and said: "As certain also of your own have said" (Acts XVII, 28). He knows indeed how to beware of them even in those things in which they err. For where it is said that through those things which are made, God manifested to them His invisible things to be seen by the understanding; there also it is said that they did not rightly worship God Himself, because they also deferred divine honors, due to Him alone, to other things to which they ought not: "Because that, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things" (Rom. I, 21-23). Where he made it understood that both the Romans, and the Greeks, and the Egyptians, who have gloried in the name of wisdom, were meant. But concerning this we shall dispute with them hereafter. But in that in which they agree with us concerning one God, the author of this universe, who is not only above all bodies, being incorporeal, but also above all souls, being incorruptible, our principle, our light, our good, in this we prefer them to the rest.

2. [X.] Nec, si litteras eorum christianus ignorans, verbis quae non didicit in disputatione non utitur, ut vel naturalem latine, vel physicam graece appellet eam partem in qua de inquisitione naturae tractatur, et rationalem sive logicam, in qua quaeritur quonam modo veritas percipi possit, et moralem vel ethicam, in qua de moribus agitur bonorumque finibus appetendis malorumque vitandis, ideo nescit ab uno vero Deo atque optimo, et naturam nobis esse, qua facti ad ejus imaginem sumus, et doctrinam, qua eum nosque noverimus, et gratiam, qua illi cohaerendo beati simus.

Haec itaque causa est cur istos caeteris praeferamus; quia cum alii philosophi ingenia sua studiaque contriverint in requirendis rerum causis, et quinam esset modus discendi atque vivendi; isti Deo cognito repererunt ubi esset causa constitutae universitatis, et lux percipiendae veritatis, et fons bibendae felicitatis. Sive ergo isti Platonici, sive quicumque alii quarumlibet gentium philosophi de Deo ista sentiunt, nobiscum sentiunt. Sed ideo cum Platonicis magis placuit hanc causam agere, quia eorum sunt litterae notiores. Nam et Graeci, quorum lingua in gentibus praeeminet, eas magna praedicatione celebrarunt; et Latini permoti earum vel excellentia, vel gloria, ipsas libentius didicerunt, atque in nostrum eloquium transferendo nobiliores clarioresque fecerunt.

## Caput XI.

*Unde Plato eam intelligentiam potuerit acquirere, qua christianae scientiae propinquavit.*

Mirantur autem quidam nobis in Christi gratia sociati, cum audiunt vel legunt Platonem de Deo ista sensisse, quae multum congruere veritati nostrae religionis agnoscunt. Unde nonnulli putaverunt eum, quando perrexit in Aegyptum, Jeremiam audisse prophetam, vel Scripturas propheticas in eadem peregrinatione legisse: quorum quidem opinionem in quibusdam libris meis posui. Sed diligenter supputata temporum ratio, quae chronica historia continetur, Platonem indicat a tempore quo prophetavit Jeremias, centum ferme annos postea natum fuisse: qui cum octoginta et unum vixisset, ab anno mortis ejus usque ad id tempus, quo Ptolemaeus rex Aegypti Scripturas propheticas gentis Hebraeorum de Judaea poposcit, et per septuaginta viros Hebraeos, qui etiam graecam linguam noverant, interpretandas habendasque curavit, anni ferme reperiuntur sexaginta. Quapropter in illa peregrinatione sua Plato nec Jeremiam videre potuit tanto ante defunctum, nec easdem Scripturas legere, quae nondum fuerant in graecam linguam translatae, qua ille pollebat:

2. [X.] Nor, if the Christian, being ignorant of their letters, does not use in dispute words which he has not learned, so as to call that part in which the investigation of nature is treated either natural in Latin or physics in Greek, and that in which it is sought in what way truth can be perceived either rational or logic, and that in which morals are discussed and the ends of goods to be desired and of evils to be avoided either moral or ethics, does he therefore not know that from the one true and best God we have both a nature, by which we are made after His image, and a doctrine, by which we may know Him and ourselves, and a grace, by which by clinging to Him we may be blessed.

This, therefore, is the cause why we prefer these to the rest; because while other philosophers have worn out their minds and studies in seeking the causes of things, and what was the manner of learning and living; these, having known God, have found where the cause of the constituted universe was, and the light of truth to be perceived, and the fountain of happiness to be drunk. Whether, therefore, these Platonists, or whatever other philosophers of any nations, think these things concerning God, they think with us. But therefore it has pleased us more to plead this cause with the Platonists, because their writings are better known. For both the Greeks, whose language is pre-eminent among the nations, have celebrated them with great praise; and the Latins, moved either by their excellence or glory, have more willingly learned them, and by translating them into our eloquence have made them more noble and clear.

## Chapter XI.

*Whence Plato could have acquired that intelligence by which he approached Christian knowledge.*

Certain persons, joined with us in the grace of Christ, wonder when they hear or read that Plato had such sentiments concerning God, which they recognize as agreeing much with the truth of our religion. Whence some have thought that, when he went into Egypt, he heard the prophet Jeremiah, or read the prophetic Scriptures in that same pilgrimage: whose opinion indeed I have placed in some of my books. But the calculation of times being diligently computed, which is contained in chronic history, indicates that Plato was born nearly a hundred years after the time when Jeremiah prophesied: and since he lived eighty-one years, from the year of his death until that time when King Ptolemy of Egypt asked for the prophetic Scriptures of the Hebrew nation from Judea, and took care to have them translated and possessed by seventy Hebrew men, who also knew the Greek language, nearly sixty years are found to be. Wherefore in that pilgrimage of his, Plato could neither see Jeremiah, who had died so long before, nor read the same Scriptures, which had not yet been translated into the Greek language, in which he was proficient:

nisi forte, quia fuit acerrimi studii, sicut Aegyptias, ita et istas per interpretem didicit, non ut scribendo transferret, quod Ptolemaeus pro ingenti beneficio, qui regia potestate etiam timeri poterat, meruisse perhibetur, sed ut colloquendo, quid continerent, quantum capere posset, addisceret. Hoc ut existimetur, illa suadere videntur indicia, quod liber Geneseos sic incipit: In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram. Terra autem erat invisibilis et incomposita, et tenebrae erant super abyssum, et Spiritus Dei superferebatur super aquam (Gen. I, 1, 2). In Timaeo autem Plato, quem librum de mundi constitutione conscripsit, Deum dicit in illo opere terram primo ignemque junxisse: manifestum est autem quod igni tribuat coeli locum: habet ergo haec sententia quamdam illius similitudinem, qua dictum est, In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram. Deinde illa duo media, quibus interpositis sibimet haec extrema copularentur, aquam dicit et aerem: unde putatur sic intellexisse quod scriptum est, Spiritus Dei superferebatur super aquam. Parum quippe attendens quo more soleat illa Scriptura appellare Spiritum Dei, quoniam et aer spiritus dicitur, quatuor opinatus elementa loco illo commemorata videri potest. Deinde quod Plato dicit amatorem Dei esse philosophum, nihil sic in illis sacris Litteris flagrat: et maxime illud, quod et me plurimum adducit, ut pene assentiar Platonem illorum Librorum expertem non fuisse, quod cum ad sanctum Moysen ita verba Dei per angelum perferantur, ut quaerenti quod sit nomen ejus, qui eum pergere praecipiebat ad populum Hebraeum ex Aegypto liberandum, respondeatur, Ego sum qui sum; et dices filiis Israel, Qui est, misit me ad vos (Exod. III, 14); tanquam in ejus comparatione qui vere est quia incommutabilis est, ea quae mutabilia facta sunt non sint: vehementer hoc Plato tenuit, et diligentissime commendavit. Et nescio utrum hoc uspiam reperiatur in libris eorum qui ante Platonem fuerunt, nisi ubi dictum est, Ego sum qui sum; et dices eis, Qui est, misit me ad vos.

## Caput XII.

*Quod etiam Platonici, licet de uno vero Deo bene senserint, multis tamen diis sacra facienda censuerint.*

Sed undecumque ille ista didicerit, sive praecedentibus eum veterum libris, sive potius quomodo dicit Apostolus, quia quod notum est Dei, manifestum est in illis; Deus enim illis manifestavit: invisibilia enim ejus, a constitutione mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque ejus virtus et divinitas (Rom.

unless perhaps, because he was of very keen study, just as he learned Egyptian things, so also he learned these through an interpreter, not so as to translate them by writing, which Ptolemy is recorded to have merited as a great benefit, who could even be feared by royal power, but so as to learn by conversing, as much as he could capture, what they contained. That this may be thought, those indications seem to persuade, because the book of Genesis thus begins: In the beginning God made heaven and earth. And the earth was invisible and uncomposed, and darkness was over the abyss, and the Spirit of God was borne over the water (Gen. I, 1, 2). But in the Timaeus, which book Plato wrote concerning the constitution of the world, he says that God in that work first joined earth and fire: but it is manifest that he attributes the place of heaven to fire: this sentence therefore has a certain likeness to that in which it was said, In the beginning God made heaven and earth. Then those two means, by which these extremes might be coupled together, he says are water and air: whence he is thought to have thus understood what is written, The Spirit of God was borne over the water. For attending too little to the manner in which that Scripture is accustomed to call the Spirit of God, since air is also called spirit, he can be seen to have thought that four elements were commemorated in that place. Then that Plato says the lover of God is the philosopher, nothing so shines in those sacred Letters: and especially that which most of all leads me to almost agree that Plato was not without experience of those Books, that when the words of God were brought by an angel to holy Moses in such a way that, to him asking what was His name who was commanding him to proceed to the Hebrew people to deliver them from Egypt, it was answered, I am that I am; and you shall say to the children of Israel, He who is, sent me to you (Exod. III, 14); as if in comparison with Him who truly is because He is incommutable, those things which were made mutable are not: Plato held this vehemently, and most diligently commended it. And I know not whether this is anywhere found in the books of those who were before Plato, unless where it was said, I am that I am; and you shall say to them, He who is, sent me to you.

## Chapter XII.

*That even the Platonists, although they thought well concerning the one true God, nevertheless thought that sacrifices should be made to many gods.*

But from wherever he learned these things, whether from the preceding books of the ancients, or rather as the Apostle says, "because that which is known of God is manifest in them; for God has manifested it to them: for his invisible things, from the constitution of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; his eternal power also and divinity" (Rom.

I, 19, 20): nunc non immerito me Platonicos philosophos elegisse cum quibus agam, quod in ista quaestione, quam modo suscepimus, agitur de naturali theologia, utrum propter felicitatem, quae post mortem futura est, uni Deo, an pluribus sacra facere oporteat, satis, ut existimo, exposui.

1. [XII.] Ideo quippe hos potissimum elegi, quoniam de uno Deo, qui fecit coelum et terram, quanto melius senserunt, tanto caeteris gloriosiores et illustriores habentur: in tantum aliis praelati judicio posterorum, ut cum Aristoteles, Platonis discipulus, vir excellentis ingenii, et eloquio Platoni quidem impar, sed multos facile superans, sectam Peripateticam condidisset, quod deambulans disputare consueverat, plurimosque discipulos praeclara fama excellens, vivo adhuc praeceptore in suam haeresim congregasset, post mortem vero Platonis Speusippus, sororis ejus filius, et Xenocrates, dilectus ejus discipulus, in scholam ejus, quae Academia vocabatur, eidem successissent, atque ob hoc et ipsi et eorum successores Academici appellarentur; recentiores tamen philosophi nobilissimi, quibus Plato sectandus placuit, noluerint se dici Peripateticos, aut Academicos, sed Platonicos. Ex quibus sunt valde nobilitati Graeci, Plotinus, lamblichus, Porphyrius: in utraque autem lingua, id est et graeca et latina, Apuleius Afer exstitit Platonicus nobilis. Sed hi omnes, et caeteri ejusmodi, et ipse Plato, diis plurimis esse sacra facienda putaverunt.

## Caput XIII.

*De sententia Platonis, qua definivit deos non esse nisi bonos amicosque virtutum.*

Quanquam ergo a nobis et in aliis multis rebus magnisque dissentiant, in hoc tamen quod modo posui, quia neque parva res est, et inde nunc quaestio est, primum ab eis quaero, quibus diis istum cultum exhibendum arbitrentur, utrum bonis, an malis, an et bonis et malis. Sed habemus sententiam Platonis, dicentis omnes deos bonos esse, nec esse omnino ullum deorum malum (Lib. 10 de Legibus, et de Republica, lib. 2). Consequens est igitur, ut bonis haec exhibenda intelligantur: tunc enim diis exhibentur; quoniam nec dii erunt, si boni non erunt. Hoc si ita est, (nam de diis quid aliud decet credere?) illa profecto vacuatur opinio, qua nonnulli putant deos malos sacris placandos esse, ne laedant; bonos autem, ut adjuvent, invocandos. Mali enim nulli sunt dii: bonis porro debitus, ut dicunt, honor sacrorum est deferendus. Qui sunt ergo illi qui ludos scenicos amant, eosque divinis rebus adjungi et suis honoribus flagitant exhiberi? quorum vis non eos indicat nullos, sed iste affectus nimirum indicat malos.

I, 19, 20): I have now sufficiently explained, as I think, why I not undeservedly chose the Platonist philosophers with whom to treat, because in this question which we have now undertaken, concerning natural theology, it is discussed whether, for the sake of the happiness which is to be after death, one ought to sacrifice to one God or to many.

1. [XII.] Therefore indeed I chose these above all, since, as they thought better concerning the one God who made heaven and earth, so they are held more glorious and illustrious than the rest: so far preferred to others by the judgment of posterity, that when Aristotle, the disciple of Plato, a man of excellent genius, and indeed unequal to Plato in eloquence, but easily surpassing many, had founded the Peripatetic sect, because he had been accustomed to dispute while walking about, and excelling with great fame had gathered very many disciples into his own heresy while his master was still living, but after the death of Plato, Speusippus, the son of his sister, and Xenocrates, his beloved disciple, had succeeded him in his school, which was called the Academy, and on this account both they and their successors were called Academics; yet the most noble recent philosophers, to whom it pleased to follow Plato, have not wished to be called Peripatetics or Academics, but Platonists. Of whom the Greeks, Plotinus, Iamblichus, Porphyry, are very highly renowned: and in both languages, that is, both Greek and Latin, Apuleius the African stood forth as a noble Platonist. But all these, and others of that kind, and Plato himself, thought that sacrifices should be made to very many gods.

## Chapter XIII.

*Of the sentiment of Plato, by which he defined that gods are nothing but good and friends of virtues.*

Although therefore they dissent from us in many and great other things, yet in this which I have just set forth, because it is no small matter, and from it the question now is, first I ask of them to which gods they think this worship should be exhibited, whether to the good, or to the evil, or both to the good and the evil. But we have the sentiment of Plato, saying that all gods are good, nor is there any evil among the gods at all (Book 10 of the Laws, and of the Republic, book 2). It follows therefore that it should be understood that these are to be exhibited to the good: for then they are exhibited to the gods; since they will not even be gods if they are not good. If this is so, (for what else is it becoming to believe concerning the gods?) that opinion is surely made void by which some think that evil gods are to be appeased by sacrifices, lest they should harm; and that the good are to be invoked that they may help. For there are no evil gods: further, the due honor of sacrifices, as they say, is to be deferred to the good. Who, then, are those who love scenic games, and demand that they be added to divine things and exhibited to their own honors? whose power does not indicate them to be nothing, but this affection certainly indicates them to be evil.

Quid enim de ludis scenicis Plato senserit, notum est; cum poetas ipsos, quod tam indigna deorum majestate atque bonitate carmina composuerint, censet civitate pellendos. Qui sunt igitur isti dii, qui de scenicis ludis cum ipso Platone contendunt? Ille quippe non patitur deos falsis criminibus infamari: isti eisdem criminibus suos honores celebrari jubent. Denique isti cum eosdem ludos instaurari praeciperent, poscentes turpia, etiam maligna gesserunt, Tito Latinio auferentes filium, et immittentes morbum, quod eorum abnuisset imperium, eumque morbum retrahentes, cum jussa complesset: iste autem illos nec tam malos timendos putat, sed suae sententiae robur constantissime retinens, omnes poetarum sacrilegas nugas, quibus illi immunditiae societate oblectantur, a populo bene instituto removere non dubitat. Hunc autem Platonem, quod jam in secundo libro commemoravi (Cap. 14), inter semideos Labeo ponit. Qui Labeo numina mala victimis cruentis atque hujusmodi supplicationibus placari existimat, bona vero ludis, et talibus quasi ad laetitiam pertinentibus rebus. Quid est ergo quod semideus Plato non semideis, sed deis, et hoc bonis, illa oblectamenta, quia judicat turpia, tam constanter audet auferre? Qui sane dii refellunt sententiam Labeonis: nam se in Latinio non lascivos tantum atque ludibundos, sed etiam saevos terribilesque monstrarunt. Exponant ergo nobis ista Platonici, qui omnes deos secundum auctoris sui sententiam bonos et honestos et virtutibus sapientium esse socios arbitrantur, aliterque de ullo deorum sentiri nefas habent. Exponimus, inquiunt. Attente igitur audiamus.

## Caput XIV.

*De opinione eorum qui rationales animas trium generum esse dixerunt, id est, in diis coelestibus, in daemonibus aeriis, et in hominibus terrenis.*

1. Omnium inquiunt, animalium, in quibus est anima rationalis, tripartita divisio est, in deos, homines, daemones. Dii excelsissimum locum tenent, homines infimum, daemones medium. Nam deorum sedes in coelo est, hominum in terra, in aere daemonum. Sicut eis diversa dignitas est locorum, ita etiam naturarum. Proinde dii sunt hominibus daemonibusque potiores; homines vero infra deos et daemones constituti sunt, ut elementorum ordine, sic differentia meritorum. Daemones igitur medii, quemadmodum diis, quibus inferius habitant, postponendi, ita hominibus, quibus superius, praeferendi sunt.

For what Plato thought concerning scenic games is known; since he judges that the poets themselves, because they composed songs so unworthy of the majesty and goodness of the gods, should be expelled from the city. Who, therefore, are these gods, who contend with Plato himself concerning scenic games? For he does not suffer the gods to be defamed with false crimes: these command their own honors to be celebrated with the same crimes. Finally, these, when they commanded the same games to be restored, demanding base things, even acted malignantly, taking away his son from Titus Latinius, and sending a disease, because he had refused their command, and withdrawing that disease when he had fulfilled the orders: but he thinks that those, even though so evil, are not to be feared, but keeping the strength of his sentiment most constantly, he does not hesitate to remove from a well-ordered people all the sacrilegious trifles of the poets, with which those are delighted by a society of impurity. But this Plato, as I have already commemorated in the second book (Chapter 14), Labeo places among the demigods. This Labeo thinks that evil deities are to be appeased by bloody victims and supplications of this kind, but the good by games and such things as pertain, as it were, to joy. What is it, then, that the demigod Plato dares so constantly to take away those delights, because he judges them base, not from demigods, but from gods, and those good? Which gods surely refute the sentiment of Labeo: for they showed themselves in Latinius not only as lascivious and playful, but also as savage and terrible. Let the Platonists therefore explain these things to us, who think that all gods according to the sentiment of their author are good and honest and companions of the virtues of the wise, and hold it a crime to think otherwise of any of the gods. We explain, they say. Let us therefore listen attentively.

## Chapter XIV.

*Concerning the opinion of those who said that rational souls are of three kinds, that is, in the celestial gods, in the aerial demons, and in terrestrial men.*

1. Of all animals, they say, in which there is a rational soul, there is a tripartite division, into gods, men, demons. The gods hold the highest place, men the lowest, demons the middle. For the seat of the gods is in heaven, of men on earth, in the air of demons. As they have diverse dignity of places, so also of natures. Therefore the gods are more powerful than men and demons; but men are constituted below the gods and demons, as by the order of elements, so by the difference of merits. The demons therefore being middle, just as they are to be postponed to the gods, below whom they dwell, so they are to be preferred to men, above whom they are.

Habent enim cum diis communem immortalitatem corporum, animorum autem cum hominibus passiones. Quapropter non est mirum, inquiunt, si etiam ludorum obscenitatibus et poetarum figmentis delectantur; quandoquidem humanis capiuntur affectibus, a quibus dii longe absunt et modis omnibus alieni sunt. Ex quo colligitur, Platonem poetica detestando et prohibendo figmenta, non deos, qui omnes boni et excelsi sunt, privasse ludorum scenicorum voluptate, sed daemones.

2. Haec si ita sunt, quae licet apud alios quoque reperiantur, Apuleius tamen Platonicus Madaurensis de hac re sola unum scripsit librum, cujus titulum esse voluit, De deo Socratis: ubi disserit et exponit, ex quo genere numinum Socrates habebat adjunctum et amicitia quadam conciliatum, a quo perhibetur solitus admoneri, ut desisteret ab agendo, quando id quod agere volebat, non prospere fuerat eventurum. Dicit enim apertissime, et copiosissime asserit, non illum Deum fuisse, sed daemonem, diligenti disputatione pertractans istam Platonis de deorum sublimitate et hominum humilitate et daemonum medietate sententiam. Haec ergo si ita sunt, quonam modo ausus est Plato, etiamsi non diis, quos ab omni humana contagione semovit, certe ipsis daemonibus, poetas urbe pellendo, auferre theatricas voluptates, nisi quia hoc pacto admonuit animum humanum, quamvis adhuc in his moribundis membris positum, pro splendore honestatis impura daemonum jussa contemnere, eorumque immunditiam detestari? nam si Plato haec honestissime arguit et prohibuit, profecto daemones turpissime poposcerunt atque jusserunt. Aut ergo fallitur Apuleius, et non ex isto genere numinum habuit amicum Socrates; aut contraria inter se sentit Plato, modo daemones honorando, modo eorum delicias a civitate bene morata removendo; aut non est Socrati amicitia daemonis gratulanda, de qua usque adeo et ipse Apuleius erubuit, ut De deo Socratis praenotaret librum, quem secundum suam disputationem, qua deos a daemonibus tam diligenter copioseque discernit, non appellare De deo, sed De daemone Socratis debuit. Maluit autem hoc in ipsa disputatione, quam in titulo libri ponere. Ita enim per sanam doctrinam, quae humanis rebus illuxit, omnes vel pene omnes daemonum nomen exhorrent, ut quisquis ante disputationem Apuleii, qua daemonum dignitas commendatur, titulum libri, De daemone Socratis legeret, nequaquam illum hominem sanum fuisse sentiret. Quid autem etiam ipse Apuleius, quod in daemonibus laudaret, invenit, praeter subtilitatem et firmitatem corporum, et habitationis altiorem locum? nam de moribus eorum, cum de omnibus generaliter loqueretur, non solum nihil boni dixit, sed etiam plurimum mali.

For they have immortality of bodies in common with the gods, but passions of minds with men. Wherefore it is no wonder, they say, if they are even delighted with the obscenities of games and the fictions of poets; since they are captured by human affections, from which the gods are far distant and in all ways alien. From which it is gathered, that Plato by detesting and prohibiting poetic fictions, did not deprive the gods, who are all good and sublime, of the pleasure of scenic games, but the demons.

2. If these things are so, which although they are found among others also, yet Apuleius the Platonist of Madaura wrote one book concerning this matter alone, the title of which he wished to be "On the God of Socrates": where he discusses and explains from what kind of deities Socrates had one joined and reconciled to him by a certain friendship, by whom he is recorded to have been accustomed to be admonished, so that he might desist from acting, when that which he wished to act was not going to happen prosperously. For he says most openly, and asserts most copiously, that he was not a God, but a demon, treating in a diligent disputation that sentiment of Plato concerning the sublimity of the gods and the humility of men and the mediacy of demons. If these things therefore are so, in what way did Plato dare, even if not from the gods, whom he removed from all human contagion, certainly from the demons themselves, to take away theatrical pleasures by expelling the poets from the city, unless because by this pact he admonished the human mind, although still placed in these moribund members, to contemn the impure commands of demons for the splendor of honesty, and to detest their immundicity? For if Plato most honestly argued and prohibited these things, surely the demons most basely demanded and commanded them. Either therefore Apuleius is deceived, and Socrates did not have a friend from that kind of deities; or Plato feels contrary things between themselves, now honoring demons, now removing their delights from a well-mannered city; or the friendship of a demon is not to be congratulated to Socrates, concerning which even Apuleius himself was so far ashamed, that he prefixed "On the God of Socrates" to the book, which according to his own disputation, in which he so diligently and copiously discerns the gods from the demons, he ought not to have called "On the God," but "On the Demon of Socrates." But he preferred to place this in the disputation itself, than in the title of the book. For so through sound doctrine, which has shone upon human things, all or almost all abhor the name of demons, so that whoever before the disputation of Apuleius, in which the dignity of demons is commended, should read the title of the book, "On the Demon of Socrates," would by no means feel that that man had been sane. But what did even Apuleius himself find to praise in demons, besides the subtlety and firmness of bodies, and the higher place of habitation? For concerning their morals, when he spoke generally of all, he not only said nothing good, but even very much evil.

Denique lecto illo libro prorsus nemo miratur eos etiam scenicam turpitudinem in rebus divinis habere voluisse, et, cum deos se putari velint, deorum criminibus oblectari potuisse, et quidquid in eorum sacris obscena solemnitate seu turpi crudelitate vel ridetur, vel horretur, eorum affectibus convenire.

## Caput XV.

*Quod neque propter aeria corpora, neque propter superiora habitacula daemones hominibus antecellant.*

1. Quamobrem absit ut ista considerans animus veraciter religiosus et vero Deo subditus, ideo arbitretur daemones se ipso esse meliores, quod habeant corpora meliora. Alioquin multas sibi et bestias praelaturus est, quae nos et acrimonia sensuum, et motu facillimo atque celerrimo, et valentia virium, et annosissima firmitate corporum vincunt. Quis hominum videndo aequabitur aquilis et vulturibus? quis odorando canibus? quis velocitate leporibus, cervis, avibus omnibus? quis multum valendo leonibus et elephantis? quis diu vivendo serpentibus, qui etiam deposita tunica senectutem deponere, atque in juventam redire perhibentur? Sed sicut his omnibus ratiocinando et intelligendo meliores sumus, ita etiam daemonibus bene atque honeste vivendo meliores esse debemus. Ob hoc enim et providentia divina eis, quibus nos constat esse potiores, data sunt quaedam potiora corporum munera, ut illud quo eis praeponimur, etiam isto modo nobis commendaretur multo majore cura excolendum esse, quam corpus; ipsamque excellentiam corporalem, quam daemones habere nossemus, prae bonitate vitae, qua illis anteponimur, contemnere disceremus, habituri et nos immortalitatem corporum, non quam suppliciorum aeternitas torqueat, sed quam puritas praecedat animorum.

2. Jam vero de loci altitudine, quod daemones in aere, nos autem habitamus in terra, ita permoveri, ut hinc eos nobis esse praeponendos existimemus, omnino ridiculum est. Hoc enim pacto nobis et omnia volatilia praeponimus. At enim volatilia, cum volando fatigantur, vel reficiendum alimentis corpus habent, terram repetunt, vel ad requiem, vel ad pastum; quod daemones, inquiunt, non faciunt. Numquid ergo placet eis, ut volatilia nobis, daemones autem etiam volatilibus antecellant?

Finally, having read that book, absolutely no one wonders that they even wished to have scenic turpitude in divine things, and, while they wish themselves to be thought gods, they could be delighted with the crimes of gods, and that whatever in their sacred rites is either laughed at by obscene solemnity or shuddered at by base cruelty, agrees with their affections.

## Chapter XV.

*That neither on account of aerial bodies, nor on account of higher habitations, do demons excel men.*

1. Wherefore far be it that a truly religious mind, subject to the true God, considering these things, should therefore think that demons are better than itself, because they have better bodies. Otherwise it would prefer many beasts to itself, which surpass us both in keenness of senses, and in easiest and swiftest motion, and in strength of powers, and in most aged firmness of bodies. Who of men will be equaled to eagles and vultures in seeing? who to dogs in smelling? who to hares, stags, and all birds in swiftness? who to lions and elephants in being very strong? who to serpents in living long, which even by putting off their skin are recorded to put off old age and return to youth? But as we are better than all these by reasoning and understanding, so also we ought to be better than demons by living well and honestly. For on this account also divine providence has given certain better gifts of bodies to those whom it is clear we are more powerful than, so that that by which we are set before them might be commended to us to be cultivated with much greater care than the body; and we might learn to contemn that same corporal excellence, which we should know demons to have, in comparison with the goodness of life, by which we are set before them, we being also to have immortality of bodies, not such as the eternity of punishments may torture, but such as purity of minds may precede.

2. Now indeed to be so moved concerning the altitude of the place, because demons dwell in the air, but we on earth, that from this we should think they are to be set before us, is altogether ridiculous. For by this pact we set all winged creatures before us. But indeed winged creatures, when they are fatigued with flying, or have the body to be refreshed with aliments, seek the earth again, either for rest or for pasture; which demons, they say, do not do. Does it please them, then, that winged creatures excel us, but demons even excel winged creatures?

Quod si dementissimum est opinari, nihil est quod de habitatione superioris elementi dignos esse daemones existimemus, quibus nos religionis affectu subdere debeamus. Sicut enim fieri potuit ut aeriae volucres terrestribus nobis non solum non praeferantur, verum etiam subjiciantur propter rationalis animae, quae in nobis est, dignitatem; ita fieri potuit ut daemones, quamvis magis aerii sint, terrestribus nobis non ideo meliores sint, quia est aer quam terra superior; sed ideo eis homines praeferendi sint, quoniam spei piorum hominum nequaquam illorum desperatio comparanda est. Nam et illa ratio Platonis, qua elementa quatuor proportione contexit atque ordinat, ita duobus extremis, igni mobilissimo et terrae immobili, media duo, aerem et aquam, interserens, ut quanto aer est aquis et aere ignis, tanto et aquae superiores sint terris; satis nos admonet animalium merita non pro elementorum gradibus aetimare. Et ipse quippe Apuleius cum caeteris terrestre animal hominem dicit (De deo Socratis) qui tamen longe praeponitur animalibus aquatilibus, cum ipsas aquas terris praeponat Plato: ut intelligamus non eumdem ordinem tenendum, cum agitur de meritis animarum, qui videtur esse ordo in gradibus corporum; sed fieri posse ut inferius corpus anima melior inhabitet, deteriorque superius.

## Caput XVI.

*Quid de moribus atque actionibus daemonum Apuleius Platonicus senserit.*

De moribus ergo daemonum cum idem Platonicus loqueretur, dixit eos eisdem quibus homines animi perturbationibus agitari, irritari injuriis, obsequiis donisque placari, gaudere honoribus, diversis sacrorum ritibus oblectari, et in eis si quid neglectum fuerit, commoveri (De deo Socratis). Inter caetera etiam dicit, ad eos pertinere divinationes augurum, aruspicum, vatum, atque somniorum: ab his quoque esse miracula magorum (Ibid.). Breviter autem eos definiens ait, daemones esse genere animalia, animo passiva, mente rationalia, corpore aeria, tempore aeterna: horum vero quinque tria priora illis esse quae nobis, quartum proprium, quintum eos cum diis habere commune (Ibid.). Sed video trium superiorum quae nobiscum habent, duo etiam cum diis habere. Animalia quippe esse dicit et deos, qui sua cuique elementa distribuens, in terrestribus animalibus nos posuit cum caeteris quae in terra vivunt et sentiunt, in aquatilibus pisces et alia natatilia, in acriis daemones, in aetheriis deos (Ibid.).

But if it is most demented to think this, there is no reason why we should judge demons worthy on account of the habitation of the higher element, so that we ought to subject ourselves to them with a religious affection. For as it could happen that aerial birds should not only not be preferred to us terrestrial beings, but even be subjected on account of the dignity of the rational soul which is in us; so it could happen that demons, although they are more aerial, are not therefore better than us terrestrial beings, because air is higher than earth; but therefore men are to be preferred to them, since by no means is the despair of those to be compared to the hope of pious men. For even that reason of Plato, by which he weaves together and orders the four elements by proportion, thus inserting the two middle ones, air and water, between the two extremes, the most mobile fire and the immobile earth, so that as much as air is to waters and air is to fire, so also the waters are higher than the lands; sufficiently admonishes us not to estimate the merits of animals according to the grades of the elements. And indeed Apuleius himself with the rest calls man a terrestrial animal, who nevertheless is far set before aquatic animals, although Plato sets the waters themselves before the lands: so that we may understand that the same order is not to be held, when the merits of souls are discussed, which seems to be the order in the grades of bodies; but that it can happen that a better soul inhabits a lower body, and a worse one a higher.

## Chapter XVI.

*What the Platonist Apuleius thought concerning the manners and actions of demons.*

Therefore, when the same Platonist spoke concerning the manners of demons, he said that they are agitated by the same perturbations of the mind as men, irritated by injuries, placated by services and gifts, delighted by honors, entertained by various rites of sacrifices, and if anything in them should be neglected, they are moved (On the God of Socrates). Among other things he also says that to them belong the divinations of augurs, haruspices, prophets, and dreams; from these also are the miracles of magicians (Ibid.). But defining them briefly he says, demons are in genus animals, in mind passive, in reason rational, in body aerial, in time eternal: and of these five, the three former they have which we have, the fourth is their own, the fifth they have in common with the gods (Ibid.). But I see that of the three superior which they have with us, two they also have with the gods. For he says that the gods are also animals, who, distributing to each his own elements, placed us in terrestrial animals with the rest which live and feel on earth, in aquatic ones fish and other swimming things, in aerial ones demons, in ethereal ones gods (Ibid.).

Ac per hoc, quod daemones genere sunt animalia, non solum eis cum hominibus, verum etiam cum diis pecoribusque commune est: quod mente rationalia, cum diis et hominibus; quod tempore aeterna, cum diis solis; quod animo passiva, cum hominibus solis; quod corpore aeria, ipsi sunt soli.

Proinde quod genere sunt animalia, non est magnum; quia hoc sunt et pecora: quod mente rationalia, non est supra nos; quia sumus et nos: quod tempore aeterna, quid boni est, si non beata? Melior est enim temporalis felicitas, quam misera aeternitas. Quod animo passiva, quomodo supra nos est; quando et nos hoc sumus, nec ita esset, nisi miseri essemus? Quod corpore aeria, quanti aestimandum est, cum omni corpori praeferatur animae qualiscumque natura; et ideo religionis cultus, qui debetur ex animo, nequaquam debeatur ei rei, quae inferior est animo? Porro si inter illa, quae daemonum esse dicit, annumeraret virtutem, sapientiam, felicitatem, et haec eos diceret habere cum diis aeterna atque communia, profecto aliquid diceret exoptandum magnique pendendum: nec sic eos tamen propter haec tanquam Deum colere deberemus, sed potius ipsum, a quo haec illos accepisse nossemus. Quanto minus nunc honore divino aeria digna sunt animalia, ad hoc rationalia, ut misera esse possint, ad hoc passiva, ut misera sint, ad hoc aeterna, ut miseriam finire non possint?

## Caput XVII.

*An dignum sit eos spiritus ab homine coli, a quorum vitiis eum oporteat liberari.*

1. Quapropter, ut omittam caetera, et hoc solum pertractem, quod nobiscum daemones dixit habere commune, id est animi passiones, si omnia quatuor elementa suis animalibus plena sunt, immortalibus ignis et aer, mortalibus aqua et terra; quaero cur animi daemonum passionum turbellis et tempestatibus agitentur? Perturbatio est enim, quae graece πάθος dicitur: unde illa voluit vocare animo passiva; quia verbum, de verbo πάθος, passio diceretur motus animi contra rationem. Cur ergo sunt ista in animis daemonum, quae in pecoribus non sunt? Quoniam, si quid in pecore simile apparet, non est perturbatio; quia non est contra rationem, qua pecora carent. In hominibus autem ut sint istae perturbationes, facit hoc stultitia, vel miseria. Nondum enim sumus in illa perfectione sapientiae beati, quae nobis ab hac mortalitate liberatis in fine promittitur. Deos vero ideo dicunt istas perturbationes non perpeti, quia non solum aeterni, verum etiam beati sunt. Easdem quippe animas rationales etiam ipsos habere perhibent, sed ab omni labe ac peste purissimas.

And through this, because demons in genus are animals, it is common not only to them with men, but also with gods and cattle: because in mind rational, with gods and men; because in time eternal, with gods alone; because in mind passive, with men alone; because in body aerial, they alone are so.

Therefore, that in genus they are animals, is no great thing; because this also cattle are: that in mind rational, is not above us; because we also are: that in time eternal, what good is it, if not happy? For temporal happiness is better than a miserable eternity. That in mind passive, how is it above us; when we also are this, nor would it be so, unless we were miserable? That in body aerial, of how much is it to be esteemed, when to every body the nature of the soul, of whatever kind, is preferred; and therefore the worship of religion, which is owed from the soul, is by no means owed to that thing which is lower than the soul? Furthermore, if among those things which he says are of the demons, he should number virtue, wisdom, happiness, and should say that they have these eternal and common with the gods, certainly he would say something to be desired and highly valued: nor yet for these should we owe them worship as God, but rather Him from whom we should know they had received these. How much less now are aerial animals worthy of divine honor, rational to this end, that they may be able to be miserable, passive to this end, that they may be miserable, eternal to this end, that they may not be able to end their misery?

## Chapter XVII.

*Whether it be worthy that those spirits be worshiped by man, from whose vices he ought to be liberated.*

1. Wherefore, that I may omit other things, and treat this alone, which he said demons have in common with us, that is, passions of the mind, if all four elements are full of their own animals, the immortal ones fire and air, the mortal ones water and earth; I ask why the minds of demons are agitated by the eddies and tempests of passions? For it is a perturbation, which in Greek is called pathos: whence he wished to call them passive in mind; because the word passion should be said from the word pathos, a motion of the mind against reason. Why therefore are those things in the minds of demons, which are not in cattle? Because, if anything similar appears in cattle, it is not a perturbation; because it is not against reason, which cattle lack. But in men that there should be these perturbations, folly or misery causes this. For we are not yet blessed in that perfection of wisdom, which is promised to us in the end when liberated from this mortality. But they say the gods do not suffer these perturbations, because they are not only eternal, but also blessed. For they record that they also have the same rational souls, but most pure from every stain and pestilence.

Quamobrem si propterea dii non perturbantur, quod animalia sunt beata, non misera; et propterea pecora non perturbantur, quod animalia sunt, quae nec beata possunt esse, nec misera: restat ut daemones sicut homines ideo perturbentur, quod animalia sunt non beata, sed misera.

2. [XVII.] Qua igitur insipientia, vel potius amentia per aliquam religionem daemonibus subdimur, cum per veram religionem ab ea vitiositate, qua illis sumus similes, liberemur? Cum enim daemones, quod et iste Apuleius, quamvis eis plurimum parcat, et divinis honoribus dignos censeat, tamen cogitur confiteri, ira instigentur; nobis vera religio praecipit, ne ira instigemur, sed ei potius resistamus. Cum daemones donis invitentur, nobis vera religio praecipit, ne cuiquam donorum acceptione faveamus. Cum daemoes honoribus mulceantur, nobis vera religio praecipit, ut talibus nullo modo moveamur. Cum daemones quorumdam hominum osores, quorumdam amatores sint, non prudenti tranquilloque judicio, sed animo, ut appellat ipse, passivo; nobis vera religio praecipit, ut inimicos nostros etiam diligamus (Matth. V, 44). Postremo omnem motum cordis et salum mentis, omnesque turbellas et tempestates animi, quibus daemones aestuare atque fluctuare asserit, nos vera religio deponere jubet. Quae igitur causa est, nisi stultitia errorque miserabilis, ut ei te facias venerando humilem, cui te cupias vivendo dissimilem; et religione colas, quem imitari nolis, cum religionis summa sit imitari quem colis!

## Caput XVIII.

*Qualis religio sit, in qua docetur quod homines, ut commendentur diis bonis, daemonibus uti debeant advocatis.*

Frustra igitur eis Apuleus, et quicumque ita sentiunt, hunc detulit honorem, sic eos in aere medios, inter aetherium coelum terramque constituens, ut, quoniam nullus deus miscetur homini (Verba Apuleii), quod Platonem dixisse perhibent, isti ad deos perferant preces hominum, et inde ad homines impetrata quae poscunt. Indignum enim putaverunt qui ista crediderunt, misceri homines diis et deos hominibus: dignum autem misceri daemones et diis et hominibus, hinc petita qui allegent, inde concessa qui apportent: ut videlicet homo castus, et ab artium magicarum sceleribus alienus, eos patronos adhibeat, per quos illum dii exaudiant, qui haec amant, quae ille non amando fit dignior quem facilius et libentius exaudire debeant. Amant quippe illi scenicas turpitudines, quas non amat pudicitia: amant in maleficiis magorum mille nocendi artes (Virgil., Aeneid. lib. 7, vers. 338), quas non amat innocentia.

Wherefore if the gods are not perturbed for this reason, that they are blessed animals, not miserable; and for this reason cattle are not perturbed, that they are animals which can neither be blessed nor miserable: it remains that demons, like men, are therefore perturbed, because they are animals not blessed, but miserable.

2. [XVII.] By what insipience, therefore, or rather madness, are we subjected to demons through any religion, when through true religion we are liberated from that vitiosity by which we are similar to them? For when demons, which even this Apuleius, although he spares them very much and judges them worthy of divine honors, is nevertheless compelled to confess, are instigated by anger; true religion commands us that we should not be instigated by anger, but rather resist it. When demons are invited by gifts, true religion commands us that we should not favor anyone by the acceptance of gifts. When demons are soothed by honors, true religion commands us that we should in no way be moved by such things. When demons are haters of some men, and lovers of others, not by a prudent and tranquil judgment, but by a mind, as he himself calls it, passive; true religion commands us that we should also love our enemies (Matt. v. 44). Finally, all motion of the heart and tossing of the mind, and all eddies and tempests of the mind, by which he asserts that demons boil and fluctuate, true religion commands us to lay aside. What cause is there, therefore, unless folly and miserable error, that you should make yourself humble by venerating him to whom you would desire to be dissimilar by living; and should worship by religion him whom you would not wish to imitate, when the sum of religion is to imitate whom you worship!

## Chapter XVIII.

*Of what kind that religion is, in which it is taught that men, that they may be commended to good gods, ought to use demons as advocates.*

In vain, therefore, did Apuleius, and whoever think thus, defer this honor to them, so constituting them in the middle in the air, between the ethereal heaven and the earth, that, since no god mixes with man (Words of Apuleius), which they record Plato to have said, these should carry to the gods the prayers of men, and from thence bring back to men what they ask after they have obtained it. For they who believed these things thought it unworthy that men should be mixed with gods and gods with men: but worthy that demons should be mixed both with gods and men, who might report what was asked from here, and bring back what was granted from there: so that, forsooth, a chaste man, and one alien to the crimes of magical arts, should employ those patrons through whom the gods may hear him, who love those things which he, by not loving, becomes more worthy of, whom they ought to hear more easily and more willingly. For they love theatrical turpitudes, which chastity does not love: they love in the mischiefs of magicians a thousand arts of hurting (Virgil, Aeneid, Book 7, line 338), which innocence does not love.

Ergo et pudicitia et innocentia, si quid ab diis impetrare voluerit, non poterit suis meritis, nisi suis intervenientibus inimicis. Non est quod iste poetica figmenta, et theatrica ludibria justificare conetur. Habemus contra ista magistrum eorum et tantae apud eos auctoritatis Platonem: si pudor humanus ita de se male meretur, ut non solum diligat turpia, verum etiam divinitati existimet grata.

## Caput XIX.

*De impietate artis magicae, quae patrocinio nititur spirituum malignorum.*

Porro adversus magicas artes, de quibus quosdam nimis infelices et nimis impios etiam gloriari libet, nonne ipsam publicam lucem testem citabo? Cur enim tam graviter ista plectuntur severitate legum, si opera sunt numinum colendorum? An forte istas leges Christiani instituerunt, quibus artes magicae puniuntur? Secundum quem alium sensum, nisi quod haec maleficia generi humano perniciosa esse non dubium est, ait poeta clarissimus, Testor, chara, deos, et te, germana, tuumque Dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artes? (Virgil., Aeneid. lib. 4, vers. 492, 493.) Illud etiam, quod alio loco de his artibus dicit, Atque satas alio vidi traducere messes; (Eclog. 8, vers. 99.) eo quod hac pestifera sceleratque doctrina fructus alieni in alias terras transferri perhibentur: nonne in duodecim Tabulis, id est Romanorum antiquissimis legibus, Cicero commemorat esse conscriptum, ei qui hoc fecerit supplicium constitutum? Postremo ipse Apuleius numquid apud judices christianos de magicis artibus accusatus est? Quas utique sibi objectas, si divinas et pias esse noverat, et divinarum potestatum operibus congruas, non solum eas confiteri debuit, sed etiam profiteri, leges culpans potius, quibus haec prohiberentur et damnanda putarentur, quae haberi miranda et veneranda oporteret. Ita enim vel sententiam suam persuaderet judicibus, vel, si illi secundum iniquas leges saperent, eumque talia praedicantem atque laudantem morte mulctarent, digna animae illius daemones dona rependerent, pro quorum divinis operibus praedicandis humanam vitam sibi adimi non timeret. Sicut martyres nostri, cum eis pro crimine objiceretur christiana religio, qua noverant se fieri salvos et gloriosissimos in aeternum, non eam negando temporales poenas evadere delegerunt; sed potius confitendo, profitendo, praedicando, et pro hac omnia fideliter fortiterque tolerando, et cum pia securitate moriendo, leges quibus prohibebatur, erubescere compulerunt, mutarique fecerunt.

Therefore both chastity and innocence, if they wish to obtain anything from the gods, will not be able by their own merits, unless their enemies intervene. There is no reason why he should attempt to justify these poetic fictions and theatrical mockeries. We have against these things their teacher and Plato, of so great authority among them: if human shame so ill deserves of itself, that it not only loves base things, but even thinks them grateful to divinity.

## Chapter XIX.

*Of the impiety of the magical art, which relies on the patronage of malignant spirits.*

Furthermore, against magical arts, of which some most unhappy and most impious men even like to boast, shall I not cite the public light itself as a witness? For why are these things so heavily punished by the severity of the laws, if they are works of deities to be worshiped? Did Christians, perhaps, institute those laws by which magical arts are punished? According to what other sense, unless that it is no doubt that these mischiefs are pernicious to the human race, does the most famous poet say, Testor, chara, deos, et te, germana, tuumque Dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artes? (Virgil, Aeneid, Book 4, lines 492, 493.) That also, which he says in another place of these arts, Atque satas alio vidi traducere messes; (Eclogue 8, line 99); for the reason that by this pestiferous and wicked doctrine the fruits of another's labor are reported to be transferred to other lands: does not Cicero record that it was written in the Twelve Tables, that is, the most ancient laws of the Romans, that a punishment was established for him who should do this? Finally, was Apuleius himself accused of magical arts before Christian judges? If he had known those arts, certainly objected to him, to be divine and pious, and congruent with the works of divine powers, he ought not only to have confessed them, but even to have professed them, rather blaming the laws by which these things were prohibited and thought worthy of condemnation, which ought to be held as wonderful and venerable. For thus either he would persuade the judges of his opinion, or, if they should be wise according to iniquitous laws, and should punish him with death for preaching and praising such things, the demons would repay him worthy gifts for his soul, for the sake of preaching whose divine works he would not fear human life being taken from him. Just as our martyrs, when the Christian religion was objected to them as a crime, by which they knew they would be made safe and most glorious for eternity, did not choose to evade temporal punishments by denying it; but rather by confessing, professing, preaching, and for this faithfully and bravely enduring all things, and dying with a pious security, they compelled the laws by which it was prohibited to blush, and caused them to be changed.

Hujus autem philosophi Platonici copiosissima et disertissima exstat oratio, qua crimen artium magicarum a se alienum esse defendit, seque aliter non vult innocentem videri, nisi ea negando quae non possunt ab innocente committi. At omnia miracula magorum, quos recte sentit esse damnandos, doctrinis fiunt et operibus daemonum; quos viderit cur censeat honorandos, necessarios eos asserens perferendis ad deos nostris precibus, quorum debemus opera devitare, si ad Deum verum preces nostras volumus pervenire. Deinde quaero, quales preces hominum diis bonis per daemones allegari putat, magicas, an licitas? Si magicas, nolunt tales: si licitas, nolunt per tales. Si autem peccator poenitens preces fundit, maxime si aliquid magicum admisit; itane tandem illis intercedentibus accipit veniam, quibus impellentibus aut faventibus se cecidisse plangit in culpam? An et ipsi daemones ut possint poenitentibus mereri indulgentiam, priores agunt, quod eos deceperint, poenitentiam? Hoc nemo unquam de daemonibus dixit: quia si ita esset, nequaquam sibi auderent divinos honores expetere, qui poenitendo desiderarent ad gratiam veniae pervenire. Ibi enim est detestanda superbia, hic humilitas miseranda.

## Caput XX.

*An credendum sit quod dii boni libentius daemonibus quam hominibus misceantur.*

At enim urgens causa et arctissima cogit daemones medios inter deos et homines agere, ut ab hominibus offerant desiderata, et a diis referant impetrata. Quaenam tandem causa est ista, et quanta necessitas? Quia nullus, inquiunt, Deus miscetur homini. Praeclara igitur sanctitas Dei, qui non miscetur homini supplicanti, et miscetur daemoni arroganti; non miscetur homini poenitenti, et miscetur daemoni decipienti; non miscetur homini confugienti ad divinitatem, et miscetur daemoni fingenti divinitatem; non miscetur homini petenti indulgentiam, et miscetur daemoni suadenti nequitiam; non miscetur homini per philosophicos libros poetas de bene instituta civitate pellenti, et miscetur daemoni a principibus et pontificibus civitatis per scenicos ludos poetarum ludibria requirenti; non miscetur homini deorum crimina fingere prohibenti, et miscetur daemoni se falsis deorum criminibus oblectanti; non miscetur homini magorum scelera justis legibus punienti, et miscetur daemoni magicas artes docenti et implenti; non miscetur homini imitationem daemonis fugienti, et misectur daemoni deceptionem hominis aucupanti!

But of this Platonist philosopher there exists a most copious and eloquent oration, by which he defends himself from the crime of magical arts being alien to him, and he does not wish to seem innocent otherwise than by denying those things which cannot be committed by an innocent man. But all the miracles of magicians, whom he rightly perceives are to be condemned, are done by the doctrines and works of demons; whom he may see why he thinks they are to be honored, asserting that they are necessary for carrying our prayers to the gods, whose works we ought to avoid if we wish our prayers to reach the true God. Then I ask, what kind of prayers of men does he think are reported to the good gods through demons, magical ones or lawful ones? If magical, they do not want such; if lawful, they do not want them through such. But if a penitent sinner pours out prayers, especially if he has admitted anything magical; does he then at last receive pardon by those interceding, by whose impelling or favoring he laments that he fell into fault? Or do the demons themselves, that they may be able to merit indulgence for the penitent, first do penance because they deceived them? No one ever said this of demons: because if it were so, by no means would they dare to seek divine honors for themselves, who by repenting should desire to arrive at the grace of pardon. For there is detestable pride, here is miserable humility.

## Chapter XX.

*Whether it is to be believed that the good gods mix more willingly with demons than with men.*

At indeed an urgent and most narrow cause compels demons to act as mediators between gods and men, that they may offer from men things desired, and bring back from gods things obtained. What cause, pray, is this, and how great a necessity? Because no God, they say, mixes with man. Excellent, then, is the holiness of God, who does not mix with a suppliant man, and mixes with an arrogant demon; does not mix with a penitent man, and mixes with a deceiving demon; does not mix with a man flying for refuge to divinity, and mixes with a demon feigning divinity; does not mix with a man seeking indulgence, and mixes with a demon persuading to wickedness; does not mix with a man who, through philosophical books, expels poets from a well-instituted city, and mixes with a demon who, through the princes and pontiffs of the city, requires the mockeries of poets through scenic games; does not mix with a man prohibiting the feigning of crimes of the gods, and mixes with a demon delighting himself with false crimes of the gods; does not mix with a man punishing the crimes of magicians by just laws, and mixes with a demon teaching and fulfilling magical arts; does not mix with a man fleeing the imitation of a demon, and mixes with a demon lying in wait for the deception of a man!

## Caput XXI.

*An daemonibus nuntiis et interpretibus dii utantur, fallique se ab eis aut ignorent, aut velint.*

1. Sed nimirum tantae hujus absurditatis et indignitatis est magna necessitas, quod scilicet deos aetherios humana curantes quid terrestres homines agerent utique lateret, nisi daemones aerii nuntiarent; quoniam aether longe a terra est alteque suspensus, aer vero aetheri terraeque contiguus. O mirabilem sapientiam! Quid aliud de diis isti sentiunt, quos omnes optimos volunt, nisi eos et humana curare, ne cultu videantur indigni, et propter clementorum distantiam humana nescire, ut credantur daemones necessarii, et ob hoc etiam ipsi putentur colendi, per quos dii possint et quid in rebus humanis agatur addiscere et ubi oportet hominibus subvenire? Hoc si ita est, diis istis bonis magis notus est daemon per corpus vicinum, quam homo per animum bonum. O multum dolenda necessitas, an potius irridenda vel detestanda vanitas, ne sit vana divinitas! Si enim animo ab obstaculo corporis libero animum nostrum videre dii possunt, non ad hoc daemonibus indigent nuntiis: si autem animorum indicia corporalia, qualia sunt vultus, locutio, motus, per corpus suum aetherii dii sentiunt, et inde colligunt quid etiam daemones nuntient, possunt et mendaciis daemonum decipi. Porro si deorum divinitas a daemonibus non potest falli, ab eadem divinitate, quod agimus, non potest ignorari.

2. Vellem autem mihi isti dicerent, utrum diis daemones nuntiaverint de criminibus deorum poetica Platoni displicere figmenta, et sibi ea placere celaverint; an utrumque occultaverint, deosque esse maluerint totius rei hujus ignaros; an utrumque indicaverint, et religiosam erga deos Platonis prudentiam, et in deos injuriosam libidinem suam; an sententiam quidem Platonis, qua noluit deos per impiam licencentiam poetarum falsis criminibus infamari, ignotam diis esse voluerint, suam vero nequitiam, qua ludos scenicos amant, quibus illa deorum dedecora celebrantur, prodere non erubuerint vel timuerint. Horum quatuor, quae interrogando proposui, quodlibet eligant, et in quolibet eorum quantum mali de diis bonis opinentur, attendant.

## Chapter XXI.

*Whether the gods use demons as messengers and interpreters, and whether they are either ignorant of their being deceived by them, or willing to be so.*

1. But doubtless there is a great necessity for this so great absurdity and unworthiness, because, forsooth, it would escape the ethereal gods caring for human things what terrestrial men were doing, unless the aerial demons reported it; since the ether is far from the earth and suspended on high, but the air is contiguous to both ether and earth. O wonderful wisdom! What else do these men think concerning the gods, whom they all wish to be the best, unless that they both care for human things, lest they should seem unworthy of worship, and on account of the distance of the elements are ignorant of human things, so that demons are believed to be necessary, and on this account they themselves also are thought to be worshiped, through whom the gods may be able both to learn what is done in human affairs and where it is necessary to help men? If this is so, a demon is better known to these good gods through a neighboring body than a man through a good mind. O much to be lamented necessity, or rather to be mocked or detested vanity, lest there should be a vain divinity! For if the gods can see our mind by a mind free from the obstacle of the body, they do not for this need demons as messengers: but if the ethereal gods perceive through their own body corporal indications of minds, such as are the countenance, speech, motion, and from thence gather what the demons also report, they can also be deceived by the lies of demons. Furthermore, if the divinity of the gods cannot be deceived by demons, what we do cannot be ignored by that same divinity.

2. I would wish that these men would tell me, whether the demons reported to the gods that the poetic fictions concerning the crimes of the gods displeased Plato, and concealed that they pleased themselves; or whether they concealed both, and preferred that the gods should be ignorant of this whole matter; or whether they indicated both, both the religious prudence of Plato toward the gods, and their own injurious lust against the gods; or whether they wished the opinion of Plato, by which he would not have the gods defamed by the impious license of poets with false crimes, to be unknown to the gods, but were not ashamed or afraid to betray their own wickedness, by which they love the scenic games, in which those disgraces of the gods are celebrated. Whichever of these four which I have proposed by questioning they may choose, and in whichever of them they may choose, let them attend to how much evil they think concerning the good gods.

Si enim primum elegerint, confessuri sunt non licuisse diis bonis habitare cum bono Platone, quando eorum injurias prohibebat, et habitasse cum daemonibus malis, quando eorum injuriis exsultabant; cum dii boni hominem bonum longe a se positum nonnisi per malos daemones nossent, quos vicinos nosse non possent. Si autem secundum elegerint, et utrumque occultatum a daemonibus dixerint, ut dii omnino nescirent et Platonis religiosissimam legem et daemonum sacrilegam delectationem; quid in rebus humanis per internuntios daemones dii nosse utiliter possunt, quando illa nesciunt, quae in honorem deorum bonorum religione bonorum hominum contra libidinem malorum daemonum decernuntur? Si vero tertium elegerint, et non solum sententiam Platonis deorum injurias prohibentem, sed etiam daemonum nequitiam deorum injuriis exsultantem, per eosdem daemones nuntios diis innotuisse responderint; hoc nuntiare est, an insultare? Et dii utrumque sic audiunt, sic utrumque cognoscunt, ut non solum malignos daemones deorum dignitati et Platonis religioni contraria cupientes atque facientes a suo accessu non arceant, verum etiam per illos malos propinquos Platoni bono longinquo dona transmittant. Sic enim eos elementorum quasi catenata series colligavit, ut illis a quibus criminantur, conjungi possint; huic a quo defenduntur, non possint: utrumque scientes, sed aeris et terrae pondera transmutare non valentes. Jam quod reliquum est, si quartum elegerint, pejus est caeteris. Quis enim ferat, si poetarum de diis immortalibus criminosa figmenta et theatrorum indigna ludibria, suamque in his omnibus ardentissimam cupiditatem et suavissimam voluptatem diis daemones nuntiaverunt, et, quod Plato philosophica gravitate de optima republica haec omnia censuit removenda, tacuerunt; ut jam dii boni per tales nuntios nosse cogantur mala pessimorum, nec aliena, sed eorumdem nuntiorum, atque his contraria non sinantur nosse bona philosophorum, cum illa sint in injuriam, ista in honorem ipsorum deorum?

## Caput XXII.

*De abjiciendo cultu daemonum, contra Apuleium.*

For if they choose the first, they will confess that it was not permitted to the good gods to dwell with the good Plato, when he prohibited their injuries, and that they dwelt with the evil demons, when they exulted in their injuries; since the good gods would not know a good man placed far from them except through evil demons, whom they could not know though near. But if they choose the second, and say that both were concealed by the demons, so that the gods were altogether ignorant of both the most religious law of Plato and the sacrilegious delight of the demons; what can the gods usefully know in human affairs through the intermediary demons, when they are ignorant of those things which are decreed in honor of the good gods by the religion of good men against the lust of evil demons? But if they choose the third, and should answer that not only the opinion of Plato prohibiting the injuries of the gods, but also the wickedness of the demons exulting in the injuries of the gods, became known to the gods through the same demons as messengers; is this to report, or to insult? And the gods so hear both, so know both, that not only do they not drive from their access the malignant demons desiring and doing things contrary to the dignity of the gods and the religion of Plato, but even through those evil neighbors they transmit gifts to the good Plato who is far off. For thus a series of elements, as if chained, has bound them together, that they can be joined to those by whom they are criminated; to him by whom they are defended, they cannot: knowing both, but not being able to transmute the weights of air and earth. Now what remains, if they choose the fourth, is worse than the rest. For who would bear it, if the demons reported to the gods the criminous fictions of the poets concerning the immortal gods and the unworthy mockeries of the theaters, and their own most ardent cupidity and most sweet pleasure in all these things, and were silent that Plato by philosophical gravity judged that all these things should be removed from the best republic; so that now the good gods are compelled through such messengers to know the evils of the worst, and not their own, but those of the same messengers, and are not permitted to know the goods of the philosophers contrary to these, when the former are to the injury, the latter to the honor of the same gods?

## Chapter XXII.

*Of rejecting the worship of demons, against Apuleius.*

Quia igitur nihil istorum quatuor eligendum est, ne in quolibet eorum de diis tam male sentiatur; restat ut nullo modo credendum sit, quod Apuleius persuadere nititur, et quicumque alii sunt ejusdem sententiae philosophi, ita esse medios daemones inter deos et homines tanquam internuntios et interpretes, qui hinc ferant petitiones nostras, inde referant deorum suppetias: sed esse spiritus nocendi cupidissimos, a justitia penitus alienos, superbia tumidos, invidentia lividos, fallacia callidos: qui in hoc quidem aere habitant, quia de coeli superioris sublimitate dejecti, merito irregressibilis transgressionis in hoc sibi congruo velut carcere praedamnati sunt; nec tamen quia supra terras et aquas aeri locus est, ideo et ipsi sunt meritis superiores hominibus, qui eos non terreno corpore, sed electo in auxilium Deo vero, pia mente facillime superant. Sed multis plane participatione verae religionis indignis, tanquam captis subditisque dominantur: quorum maximae parti mirabilibus et fallacibus signis sive factorum, sive praedictorum, deos se esse persuaserunt. Quibusdam vero vitia eorum aliquanto attentius et diligentius intuentibus, non potuerunt persuadere quod dii sint, atque inter deos et homines internuntios ac beneficiorum impetratores se esse finxerunt: si tamen non istum saltem honorem homines eis deferendum putarunt, qui illos nec deos esse credebant, quia malos videbant; deos autem omnes bonos volebant, nec audebant tamen omnino indignos dicere honore divino; maxime ne offenderent populos, a quibus eis cernebant inveterata superstitione per tot sacra et templa serviri.

## Caput XXIII.

*Quid Hermes Trismegistus de idololatria senserit, et unde scire potuerit superstitiones Aegyptias auferendas.*

1. Nam diversa de illis Hermes Aegyptius, quem Trismegistum vocant, sensit et scripsit. Apuleius enim deos quidem illos negat: sed cum dicit ita inter homines deosque quadam medietate versari, ut hominibus apud ipsos deos necessarii videantur, cultum eorum a supernorum deorum religione non separat. Ille autem Aegyptius alios deos esse dicit a summo Deo factos, alios ab hominibus. Hoc qui audit, sicut a me positum est, putat dici de simulacris, quia opera sunt manuum hominum: at ille visibilia et contrectabilia simulacra, velut corpora deorum esse asserit; inesse autem his quosdam spiritus invitatos, qui valeant aliquid, sive ad nocendum, sive ad desideria eorum nonnulla complenda, a quibus eis divini honores et cultus obsequia deferuntur.

Because, therefore, none of those four is to be chosen, lest in any of them one should think so ill of the gods; it remains that by no means is it to be believed, which Apuleius strives to persuade, and whoever other philosophers are of the same opinion, that demons are so mediators between gods and men as messengers and interpreters, who from here carry our petitions, and from there bring back the aids of the gods: but that they are spirits most desirous of hurting, altogether alien from justice, swollen with pride, livid with envy, cunning in fallacy: who indeed dwell in this air, because cast down from the sublimity of the higher heaven, by the merit of an irreversible transgression they are predamned in this as it were a prison congruous to themselves; nor yet because the place of the air is above the lands and waters, therefore are they also superior in merits to men, who surpass them not by a terrestrial body, but by a pious mind, with the true God chosen for help, most easily. But clearly they dominate over many unworthy of the participation of true religion, as if over captives and subjects: to the greatest part of whom, by wonderful and fallacious signs either of deeds or of predictions, they have persuaded themselves to be gods. But to some, who were looking into their vices somewhat more attentively and diligently, they could not persuade that they are gods, and they feigned themselves to be messengers between gods and men and impetrators of benefits: if yet at least men did not think that honor should be deferred to them, who did not believe them to be gods, because they saw them to be evil; and they wished all gods to be good, yet they did not dare to say they were altogether unworthy of divine honor; especially lest they should offend the peoples, by whom they saw them to be served by inveterate superstition through so many sacrifices and temples.

## Chapter XXIII.

*What Hermes Trismegistus thought concerning idolatry, and whence he could know that Egyptian superstitions were to be taken away.*

1. For Hermes the Egyptian, whom they call Trismegistus, thought and wrote different things concerning them. For Apuleius indeed denies that those are gods: but when he says that they are so conversant in a certain mediation between men and gods, that they seem necessary to men with the gods themselves, he does not separate their worship from the religion of the higher gods. But that Egyptian says that some gods were made by the supreme God, others by men. He who hears this, as it is put by me, thinks it is said of images, because they are the works of the hands of men: but he asserts that visible and tangible images are as it were the bodies of the gods; and that there are in them certain invited spirits, who are able to do something, either for hurting, or for fulfilling some of their desires, by whom divine honors and services of worship are deferred to them.

Hos ergo spiritus invisibiles per artem quamdam visibilibus rebus corporalis materiae copulare, ut sint quasi animata corpora, illis spiritibus dicata et subdita simulacra, hoc esse dicit deos facere, eamque magnam et mirabilem deos faciendi accepisse homines potestatem. Hujus Aegyptii verba, sicut in nostram linguam interpretata sunt, ponam. Et quoniam de cognatione, inquit, et consortio hominum deorumque nobis indicitur sermo, potestatem hominis, o Asclepi, vimque cognosce. Dominus, inquit, et Pater, vel quod est summum, Deus, ut effector est deorum coelestium, ita homo fictor est deorum qui in templis sunt humana proximitate contenti. Et paulo post: Ita humanitas, inquit, semper memor naturae et originis suae in illa divinitatis imitatione perseverat; ut sicuti Pater ac Dominus, ut sui similes essent, deos fecit aeternos, ita humanitas deos suos ex sui vultus similitudine figuraret. Hic cum Asclepius, ad quem maxime loquebatur, ei respondisset atque dixisset, Statuas dicis, o Trismegiste: tum ille, Statuas, inquit, o Asclepi, videsne quatenus tu ipse diffidas? statuas animatas sensu et spiritu plenas, tantaque facientes et talia; statuas futurorum praescias, eaque sorte, vate, somniis, multisque aliis rebus praedicentes; imbecillitates hominibus facientes, easque curantes, tristitiam laetitiamque pro meritis. An ignoras, o Asclepi, quod Aegyptus imago sit coeli; aut, quod est verius, translatio aut descensio omnium quae gubernantur atque exercentur in coelo; ac si dicendum est, verius terra nostra mundi totius est templum? Et tamen, quoniam praescire cuncta prudentem decet, istud vos ignorare fas non est: Futurum tempus est, quo appareat Aegyptios incassum pia mente divinitatem sedula religione servasse et omnis eorum sancta veneratio in irritum casura frustrabitur.

2. Deinde multis verbis Hermes hunc locum exsequitur, in quo videtur hoc tempus praedicere, quo christiana religio, quanto est veracior atque sanctior, tanto vehementius et liberius cuncta fallacia figmenta subvertit; ut gratia verissimi Salvatoris liberet hominem ab eis diis quos facit homo, et ei Deo subdat a quo factus est homo. Sed Hermes, cum ista praedicit, velut amicus eisdem ludificationibus daemonum loquitur, nec christianum nomen evidenter exprimit; sed tanquam ea tollerentur atque delerentur, quorum observatione coelestis similitudo custodiretur in Aegypto, ita haec futura deplorans, luctuosa quodammodo praedicatione testatur. Erat enim de his, de quibus dicit Apostolus, quod cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, aut gratias egerunt; sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis, et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum: dicentes enim se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt; et immutaverunt gloriam incorrupti Dei in similitudinem imaginis corruptibilis hominis (Rom. I, 21-23): et caetera, quae commemorare longum est.

To couple these invisible spirits, therefore, by a certain art to visible things of corporal matter, that they may be as it were animated bodies, images dedicated and subjected to those spirits, this he says is to make gods, and that men received this great and wonderful power of making gods. I will put the words of this Egyptian, as they have been translated into our language. And since, he says, speech is enjoined to us concerning the cognation and consortium of men and gods, know the power of man, O Asclepius, and his strength. The Lord, he says, and Father, or what is supreme, God, as he is the maker of the celestial gods, so man is the fashioner of the gods who are in the temples, content with human proximity. And a little after: So humanity, he says, always mindful of its nature and origin, perseveres in that imitation of divinity; that as the Father and Lord, that they might be like Himself, made eternal gods, so humanity should figure its gods from the similitude of its own countenance. Here when Asclepius, to whom he was especially speaking, had answered and said to him, Dost thou mean statues, O Trismegistus? then he, Statues, he said, O Asclepius, dost thou see how far thou thyself dost distrust? statues animated, full of sense and spirit, and doing so great and such things; statues prescient of future things, and predicting them by lot, by prophet, by dreams, and by many other things; making infirmities for men, and curing them, sadness and joy according to merits. Or art thou ignorant, O Asclepius, that Egypt is the image of heaven; or, what is truer, the translation or descent of all things which are governed and exercised in heaven; and if it is to be said, more truly our earth is the temple of the whole world? And yet, since it becomes a prudent man to foreknow all things, it is not lawful for you to be ignorant of this: A future time is, in which it may appear that the Egyptians in vain with a pious mind served divinity with sedulous religion, and all their holy veneration will fail falling into irritation.

Then with many words Hermes pursues this place, in which he seems to predict this time, in which the Christian religion, as much as it is truer and holier, so much more vehemently and more freely subverts all fallacious fictions; so that by the grace of the truest Savior it may liberate man from those gods whom man makes, and subject him to that God by whom man was made. But Hermes, when he predicts these things, speaks as a friend to the same mockeries of demons, nor does he evidently express the Christian name; but as if those things were taken away and deleted, by the observation of which the celestial similitude was guarded in Egypt, so deploring these future things, he testifies with a mournful prediction as it were. For he was of those of whom the Apostle says, that knowing God, they did not glorify Him as God, or give thanks; but they became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened: for saying themselves to be wise, they were made fools; and they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of an image of a corruptible man (Rom. i. 21-23): and other things, which it is long to commemorate.

Multa quippe talia dicit de uno vero Deo fabricatore mundi, qualia veritas habet: et nescio quomodo illa obscuratione cordis ad ista delabitur, ut diis quos confitetur ab hominibus fieri, semper velit homines subdi, et haec futuro tempore plangat auferri. Quasi quidquam sit infelicius homine, cui sua figmenta dominantur: cum sit facilius, ut tanquam deos colendo, quos fecit, nec ipse sit homo quam ut per ejus cultum dii possint esse, quos fecit homo. Citius enim fit ut homo in honore positus pecoribus non intelligens comparetur (Psal. XLVIII, 13), quam ut operi Dei ad ejus imaginem facto, id est ipsi homini, opus hominis praeferatur. Quapropter merito homo deficit ab illo, qui eum fecit, cum sibi praeficit ipse quod fecit.

3. Haec vana, deceptoria, perniciosa, sacrilega Hermes Aegyptius, quia tempus quo auferrentur venturum sciebat, dolebat: sed tam impudenter dolebat, quam imprudenter sciebat. Non enim haec ei revelaverat Spiritus sanctus, sicut Prophetis sanctis, qui haec praevidentes cum exsultatione dicebant: Si faciet homo deos, et ecce ipsi non sunt dii (Jerem. XVI, 20). Et alio loco: Erit in illo die, dicit Dominus, exterminabo nomina simulacrorum a terra, et non jam erit eorum memoria (Zach. XIII, 2). Proprie vero de Aegypto, quod ad hanc rem attinet, ita sanctus Isaias prophetat: Et movebuntur manufacta Aegypti a facie ejus, et cor eorum vincetur in eis (Isai. XIX, 1): et caetera hujusmodi. Ex quo genere et illi erant, qui venturum quod sciebant, venisse gaudebant: qualis Simeon, qualis Anna, qui mox natum Jesum; qualis Elisabeth, quae etiam conceptum in Spiritu agnovit (Luc. II, 25-38; I, 41-45): qualis Petrus, revelante Patre dicens, Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi (Matth. XVI, 16). Huic autem Aegyptio illi spiritus indicaverant futura tempora perditionis suae, qui etiam praesenti in carne Domino trementes dixerunt, Quid venisti ante tempus perdere nos (Id. VIII, 29)? sive quia subitum illis fuit, quod futurum quidem, sed tardius opinabantur; sive quia perditionem suam hanc ipsam dicebant, qua fiebat ut cogniti spernerentur. Et hoc erat ante tempus, id est ante tempus judicii, quo aeterna damnatione puniendi sunt cum omnibus etiam hominibus, qui eorum societate detinentur: sicut religio loquitur, quae nec fallit, nec fallitur; non sicut iste quasi omni vento doctrinae hinc atque inde perflatus (Ephes. IV, 14), et falsis vera permiscens, dolet quasi perituram religionem quam postea confitetur, errorem.

For he says many such things concerning the one true God the fabricator of the world, as truth has: and I know not how by that darkening of the heart he slides down to those things, so that he would have men always subjected to the gods whom he confesses to be made by men, and laments that these things will be taken away in a future time. As if anything were more unhappy than man, over whom his own fictions dominate: since it is easier that by worshiping as gods the things which he made, he should not even himself be man, than that through his worship those things can be gods which man made. For it happens more quickly that man placed in honor not understanding is compared to the cattle (Psalm xlviii. 13), than that the work of man should be preferred to the work of God made to His image, that is, to man himself. Wherefore man rightly fails from Him who made him, when he prefers to himself what he himself made.

3. These vain, deceptive, pernicious, sacrilegious things Hermes the Egyptian, because he knew the time was coming in which they would be taken away, grieved: but he grieved as impudently as he knew imprudently. For the Holy Spirit had not revealed these things to him, as to the holy Prophets, who foreseeing these things said with exultation: If man shall make gods, and behold they are not gods (Jerem. xvi. 20). And in another place: It shall be in that day, saith the Lord, I will exterminate the names of the images from the earth, and there shall no more be a memory of them (Zech. xiii. 2). But properly concerning Egypt, what pertains to this matter, thus holy Isaiah prophesies: And the manufactured things of Egypt shall be moved from His face, and their heart shall be overcome in them (Isai. xix. 1): and other things of this kind. Of which kind those also were, who rejoiced that what they knew was coming, had come: such as Simeon, such as Anna, who soon recognized the born Jesus; such as Elizabeth, who recognized Him even conceived in the Spirit (Luke ii. 25-38; i. 41-45): such as Peter, saying by the Father revealing, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God (Matt. xvi. 16). But to this Egyptian those spirits had indicated the future times of their own perdition, who also to the Lord present in the flesh said trembling, What hast Thou come before the time to destroy us (Matt. viii. 29)? whether because it was sudden to them, which they thought would be indeed, but later; or because they called their own perdition this very thing, by which it came to pass that being known they were spurned. And this was before the time, that is, before the time of judgment, in which they are to be punished with eternal damnation with all men also who are detained in their society: as religion speaks, which neither deceives nor is deceived; not as this man as it were blown about by every wind of doctrine from here and there (Ephes. iv. 14), and mixing true things with false, grieves as for a perishing religion which afterwards he confesses to be error.

## Caput XXIV.

*Quomodo Hermes patenter parentum suorum sit confessus errorem, quem tamen doluerit destruendum.*

1. Post multa enim ad hoc ipsum redit, ut iterum dicat de diis quos homines fecerunt, ita loquens: Sed jam de talibus sint satis dicta talia. Iterum, inquit, ad hominem rationemque redeamus, ex quo divino dono homo animal dictum est rationale. Minus enim miranda, etsi miranda sunt quae de homine dicta sunt. Omnium enim mirabilium vicit admirationem, quod homo divinam potuit invenire naturam, eamque efficere. Quoniam ergo proavi nostri multum errabant circa deorum rationem increduli, et non animadvertentes ad cultum religionemque divinam, invenerunt artem qua efficerent deos. Cui inventae adjunxerunt virtutem de mundi natura convenientem; eamque miscentes, quoniam animas facere non poterant, evocantes animas daemonum vel angelorum, eas indiderunt imaginibus sanctis divinisque mysteriis, per quas idola et bene faciendi, et male, vires habere potuissent (Pag. 99). Nescio utrum sic confiterentur ipsi daemones adjurati, quomodo iste confessus est. Quoniam, inquit, proavi nostri multum errabant circa deorum rationem increduli, et non animadvertentes ad cultum religionemque divinam, invenerunt artem qua efficerent deos. Numquidnam saltem mediocriter eos dixit errasse, ut hanc artem invenirent faciendi deos; aut contentus fuit dicere, Errabant, nisi adderet et diceret, Multum errabant? Iste ergo multus error et incredulitas non animadvertentium ad cultum religionemque divinam, invenit artem qua efficeret deos. Et tamen quod multus error et incredulitas et a cultu ac religione divina aversio animi invenit, ut homo arte faceret deos, hoc dolet vir sapiens tanquam religionem divinam venturo certo tempore auferri. Vide si non et vi divina majorum suorum errorem praeteritum prodere, et vi diabolica poenam daemonum futuram dolere compellitur. Si enim proavi eorum multum errando circa deorum rationem incredulitate et aversione animi a cultu ac religione divina invenerunt artem qua deos efficerent; quid mirum, si haec ars detestanda quidquid fecit aversa a religione divina, aufertur religione divina, cum veritas emendat errorem, fides redarguit incredulitatem, conversio corrigit aversionem ?

## Chapter XXIV

*How Hermes openly confessed the error of his ancestors, which he nevertheless grieved was to be destroyed.*

1. For after many things he returns to this very point, so as to speak again concerning the gods whom men have made, speaking thus: "But now concerning such things let such things be enough said. Again," he says, "let us return to man and reason, from which divine gift man is called a rational animal. For the things which have been said concerning man are less to be wondered at, although they are wonderful. For the admiration of all wonders has surpassed this, that man could find out the divine nature, and make it. Since therefore our ancestors erred much concerning the reason of the gods, being incredulous, and not attending to divine worship and religion, they found out the art by which they might make gods. To which invention they joined a virtue convenient from the nature of the world; and mixing it, since they could not make souls, evoking the souls of demons or of angels, they placed them in holy and divine images by mysteries, through which the idols might have powers of both doing well and doing ill" (Page 99). I know not whether the demons themselves when adjured would so confess, as this man has confessed. "Since," he says, "our ancestors erred much concerning the reason of the gods, being incredulous, and not attending to divine worship and religion, they found out the art by which they might make gods." Did he say they had erred even moderately, so that they found this art of making gods; or was he content to say, "They erred," unless he added and said, "They erred much"? This much error therefore and incredulity of those not attending to divine worship and religion, found out the art by which it might make gods. And yet what much error and incredulity and aversion of the mind from divine worship and religion found out, namely, that man by art should make gods, this the wise man grieves for as divine religion to be taken away at a certain future time. See if he is not compelled both by a divine power to betray the past error of his ancestors, and by a diabolical power to grieve for the future punishment of demons. For if their ancestors, by erring much concerning the reason of the gods by incredulity and aversion of the mind from divine worship and religion, found out the art by which they might make gods; what wonder is it, if this detestable art, whatever it made being turned away from divine religion, is taken away by divine religion, when truth amends error, faith refutes incredulity, and conversion corrects aversion?

2. Si enim tacitis causis dixisset, proavos suos invenisse artem qua deos facerent; nostrum fuit utique, si quid rectum piumque saperemus, attendere et vedere nequaquam illos ad hanc artem perventuros fuisse, qua homo deos facit, si a veritate non aberrarent, si ea quae Deo digna sunt crederent, si animum adverterent ad cultum religionemque divinam. Et tamen si causas artis hujus nos diceremus multum errorem hominum et incredulitatem et animi errantis atque infidelis a divina religione aversionem, utcumque ferenda esset impudentia resistentium veritati: cum vero idem ipse, qui potestatem hujus artis super omnia caetera miratur in homine, qua illi deos facere concessum est, et dolet venturum esse tempus, quo haec omnia deorum figmenta ab hominibus instituta, etiam legibus jubeantur auferri; confitetur tamen atque exprimit causas, quare ad ista perventum sit, dicens proavos suos multo errore et incredulitate, et animum non advertendo ad cultum religionemque divinam invenisse hanc artem qua facerent deos: nos quid oportet dicere vel potius quid agere, nisi quantas possumus gratias Domino Deo nostro, qui haec contrariis causis, quam instituta sunt, abstulit? Nam quod instituit multitudo erroris, abstulit via veritatis; quod instituit incredulitas, abstulit fides; quod instituit a cultu divinae religionis aversio, abstulit ad unum verum Deum sanctumque conversio: nec in sola Aegypto, quam solam in isto plangit daemonum spiritus, sed in omni terra quae cantat Domino canticum novum; sicut vere sacrae et vere propheticae Litterae praenuntiarunt, ubi scriptum est, Cantate Domino canticum novum; cantate Domino, omnis terra (Psal. XCV, 1). Titulus quippe psalmi hujus est, Quando domus aedificabatur post captivitatem. Aedificatur enim domus Domino civitas Dei, quae est sancta Ecclesia, in omni terra, post eam captivitatem, qua illos homines, de quibus credentibus in Deum tanquam lapidibus vivis domus aedificatur (I Petr. II, 5), captos daemonia possidebant. Neque enim quia homo deos faciebat, ideo non ab eis possidebatur ipse qui fecerat, quando in eorum societatem colendo traducebatur: societatem dico, non idolorum stolidorum, sed versutorum daemoniorum. Nam quid sunt idola, nisi quod eadem Scriptura dicit, Oculos habent, et non vident (Psal. CXIII, 5): et quidquid tale de materiis licet affabre effigiatis, tamen vita sensuque carentibus, dicendum fuit ? Sed immundi spiritus eisdem simulacris arte illa nefaria colligati, cultorum suorum animas in suam societatem redigendo miserabiliter captivaverant. Unde dicit Apostolus: Scimus quia nihil est idolum; sed quae immolant Gentes, daemoniis immolant, et non Deo: nolo vos socios fieri daemoniorum (I Cor. X, 20): Post hanc ergo captivitatem, qua homines a malignis daemonibus tenebantur, Dei domus aedificatur in omni terra: unde titulum ille psalmus accepit, ubi dicitur, Cantate Domino canticum novum; cantate Domino, omnis terra. Cantate Domino, et benedicte nomen ejus; bene nuntiate diem ex die salutare ejus. Annuntiate in gentibus gloriam ejus, in omnibus populis mirabilia ejus.

2. For if with the causes silent he had said that his ancestors had found out the art by which they made gods; it was our part indeed, if we knew anything right and pious, to attend and see that they would by no means have arrived at this art, by which man makes gods, if they did not wander from the truth, if they believed those things which are worthy of God, if they turned their mind to divine worship and religion. And yet if we said the causes of this art were the much error of men and incredulity and the aversion of a wandering and unfaithful mind from divine religion, the impudence of those resisting the truth would have to be borne in some way: but when he himself, who wonders at the power of this art in man above all other things, by which it is granted to him to make gods, and grieves that the time is coming when all these fictions of gods instituted by men are commanded to be taken away even by laws; yet he confesses and expresses the causes why they arrived at these things, saying that his ancestors by much error and incredulity, and by not attending the mind to divine worship and religion, found out this art by which they might make gods: what ought we to say or rather what to do, except to give as many thanks as we can to the Lord our God, who took away these things by contrary causes than they were instituted? For what the multitude of error instituted, the way of truth took away; what incredulity instituted, faith took away; what aversion from the worship of divine religion instituted, conversion to the one true holy God took away: nor in Egypt alone, which alone in that man the spirit of demons laments, but in all the earth which sings to the Lord a new song; as the truly sacred and truly prophetic Letters foretold, where it is written, "Sing to the Lord a new song; sing to the Lord, all the earth" (Psalm xcv. 1). For the title of this psalm is, "When the house was being built after the captivity." For the house to the Lord is being built, the City of God, which is the holy Church, in all the earth, after that captivity, by which those men, of whom as of living stones believing in God the house is built (1 Peter ii. 5), the demons were possessing as captives. For not because man made gods, therefore he who had made them was not possessed by them, when he was translated into their society by worshiping: a society, I say, not of stupid idols, but of crafty demons. For what are idols, except what the same Scripture says, "They have eyes, and see not" (Psalm cxiii. 5): and whatever such thing had to be said concerning materials though skillfully fashioned, yet lacking life and sense? But the unclean spirits bound to the same images by that nefarious art, had miserably captivated the souls of their worshipers by reducing them into their own society. Whence the Apostle says: "We know that an idol is nothing; but what the Gentiles immolate, they immolate to demons, and not to God: I do not wish you to become associates of demons" (1 Cor. x. 20). After this captivity, therefore, by which men were held by malignant demons, the house of God is built in all the earth: whence that psalm received its title, where it is said, "Sing to the Lord a new song; sing to the Lord, all the earth. Sing to the Lord, and bless His name; announce well day from day His salvation. Announce among the nations His glory, in all peoples His wonders.

Quoniam magnus Dominus, et laudabilis nimis, terribilis est super omnes deos. Quia omnes dii Gentium daemonia, Dominus autem coelos fecit (Psal. XCV, 1-5).

3. Qui ergo doluit venturum fuisse tempus, quo auferretur cultus idolorum, et in eos qui colerent dominatio daemoniorum, malo spiritu instigatus semper volebat istam captivitatem manere, qua transacta Psalmus canit aedificari domum in omni terra. Praenuntiabat illa Hermes dolendo; praenuntiabat haec Propheta gaudendo. Et quia Spiritus victor est, qui haec per sanctos Prophetas canebat; etiam Hermes ipse ea quae nolebat et dolebat auferri, non a prudentibus et fidelibus et religiosis, sed ab errantibus et incredulis et a cultu divinae religionis aversis esse instituta, miris modis coactus est confiteri. Qui quamvis eos appellet deos, tamen cum dicit a talibus hominibus factos, quales esse utique non debemus, velit nolit, ostendit colendos non esse ab eis qui tales non sunt, quales fuerunt a quibus facti sunt; hoc est a prudentibus, fidelibus, religiosis: simul etiam demonstrans, ipsos homines, qui eos fecerunt, sibimet importasse, ut eos haberent deos qui dii non erant. Verum est quippe illud propheticum, Si faciet homo deos, et ecce ipsi non sunt dii (Jerem. XVI, 20). Deos ergo tales, talium deos, arte factos a talibus, cum appellasset Hermes; id est, idolis daemones, per artem nescio quam, cupiditatum suarum vinculis illigatos, cum appellaret factos ab hominibus deos, non tamen eis dedit, quod Platonicus Apuleius (unde satis jam diximus, et quam sit inconveniens absurdumque monstravimus), ut ipsi essent interpretes et intercessores inter deos quos fecit Deus, et homines quos idem fecit Deus; hinc afferentes vota, inde munera referentes. Nimis enim stultum est credere, deos quos fecerunt homines, plus valere apud deos quos fecit Deus, quam valent ipsi homines, quos idem ipse fecit Deus. Daemon quippe simulacro arte impia colligatus ab homine, factus est Deus; sed tali homini, non omni homini. Qualis est ergo iste deus, quem non faceret homo nisi errans et incredulus et aversus a vero Deo? Porro si daemones qui coluntur in templis, per artem nescio quam imaginibus inditi, hoc est visibilibus simulacris, ab eis hominibus qui hac arte fecerunt deos, cum aberrarent aversique essent a cultu et religione divina, non sunt internuntii nec interpretes inter homines et deos, et propter suos pessimos ac turpissimos mores, et quod homines, quamvis errantes et increduli et aversi a cultu ac religione divina, tamen eis sine dubio meliores sunt, quos deos ipsi arte fecerunt:

Since the Lord is great, and exceedingly to be praised, He is terrible above all gods. Because all the gods of the Gentiles are demons, but the Lord made the heavens" (Psalm xcv. 1-5).

3. He therefore who grieved that the time was coming when the worship of idols would be taken away, and over those who worshiped them the domination of demons, being instigated by an evil spirit, always wished this captivity to remain, which being passed the Psalm sings that the house is being built in all the earth. Hermes was foretelling those things by grieving; the Prophet was foretelling these by rejoicing. And because the Spirit is victor, who was singing these things through the holy Prophets; even Hermes himself was compelled in wonderful ways to confess that those things which he did not wish and grieved to be taken away, were instituted not by the prudent and faithful and religious, but by the erring and incredulous and those turned away from the worship of divine religion. Who although he calls them gods, yet when he says they were made by such men as we certainly ought not to be, whether he will or no, he shows they are not to be worshiped by those who are not such as they were by whom they were made; that is, by the prudent, faithful, religious: at the same time also demonstrating that those very men who made them, brought it upon themselves that they should have as gods those who were not gods. For that prophetic word is true, "If man shall make gods, and behold they are not gods" (Jerem. xvi. 20). When, therefore, Hermes had called such gods, the gods of such men, made by art; that is, when he called demons bound by some art or other to idols, by the bonds of their own lusts, gods made by men, he did not however give to them what the Platonic Apuleius gave (concerning which we have already said enough, and have shown how inconvenient and absurd it is), namely, that they themselves should be interpreters and intercessors between the gods whom God made and the men whom the same God made; bringing prayers from here, reporting gifts from there. For it is too foolish to believe that the gods whom men have made prevail more with the gods whom God has made, than the men themselves prevail, whom the same God Himself has made. For a demon bound to an image by an impious art by a man, has been made a god; but to such a man, not to every man. Of what kind therefore is that god, whom a man would not make unless erring and incredulous and turned away from the true God? Furthermore, if the demons who are worshiped in temples, being placed in images by some art or other, that is, in visible idols, by those men who by this art made gods, when they wandered and were turned away from divine worship and religion, are not messengers nor interpreters between men and gods, both on account of their own worst and most base manners, and because men, although erring and incredulous and turned away from divine worship and religion, are without doubt better than those whom they themselves have made gods by art:

restat ut quod possunt, tanquam daemones possint, vel quasi beneficia praestando magis nocentes, quia magis decipientes; vel aperte malefaciendo. Nec tamen quodlibet horum, nisi quando et quantum permittuntur alta et secreta Dei providentia: non autem tanquam medii inter homines et deos per amicitiam deorum multum apud homines valeant. Hi enim diis bonis, quos sanctos Angelos nos vocamus rationalesque creaturas sanctae coelestis habitationis, sive Sedes, sive Dominationes, sive Principatus, sive Potestates, amici esse omnino non possunt; a quibus tam longe absunt animi affectione, quam longe absunt a virtutibus vitia, et a bonitate malitia.

## Caput XXV.

*De his quae sanctis Angelis et hominibus possunt esse communia.*

Nullo modo igitur per daemonum quasi medietatem ambiendum est ad benevolentiam seu beneficentiam deorum, vel potius bonorum Angelorum; sed per bonae voluntatis similitudinem, qua cum illis sumus, et cum illis vivimus, et cum illis Deum quem colunt colimus, etsi eos carnalibus oculis videre non possumus: in quantum autem dissimilitudine voluntatis et fragilitate infirmitatis miseri sumus, in tantum ab eis longe sumus vitae merito, non corporis loco. Non enim quia in terra conditione carnis habitamus, sed si immunditia cordis terrena sapimus, non eis jungimur. Cum vero sanamur, ut quales ipsi sunt, simus; fide interim illis propinquamus, si ab illo nos fieri beatos, a quo et ipsi facti sunt, etiam ipsis faventibus credimus.

## Caput XXVI.

*Quod omnis religio Paganorum circa homines mortuos fuerit impleta.*

1. Sane advertendum est quomodo iste Aegyptius, cum doleret tempus esse venturum, quo illa auferrentur ex Aegypto, quae fatetur a multum errantibus et incredulis, et a cultu divinae religionis aversis esse instituta, ait inter caetera: Tunc terra ista sanctissima sedes delubrorum atque templorum, sepulcrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima. Quasi vero, si illa non auferrentur, non essent homines morituri, aut alibi essent mortui ponendi quam in terra: et utique quanto plus volveretur temporis et dierum, tanto major esset numerus sepulcrorum, propter majorem numerum mortuorum.

it remains that what they can do, they can do as demons, either by providing benefits as being more harmful because more deceiving; or by openly doing evil. Nor yet any of these things, except when and as much as they are permitted by the high and secret providence of God: but not as being middles between men and gods they may prevail much among men through the friendship of the gods. For these can by no means be friends to the good gods, whom we call holy Angels and rational creatures of the holy celestial habitation, whether Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers; from whom they are as far distant in the affection of the mind, as vices are far distant from virtues, and malice from goodness.

## Chapter XXV

*Of those things which can be common to holy Angels and men.*

In no way therefore is one to go around through the mediation of demons as it were to the benevolence or beneficence of the gods, or rather of the good Angels; but through the similitude of a good will, by which we are with them, and live with them, and worship with them the God whom they worship, although we cannot see them with carnal eyes: but in as much as we are miserable by the dissimilitude of will and the fragility of infirmity, in so much we are far from them by merit of life, not by place of body. For it is not because we dwell on earth in the condition of the flesh, but if by the uncleanness of the heart we savor earthly things, that we are not joined to them. But when we are healed, so that we may be such as they are, we meanwhile approach them by faith, if we believe that we are made blessed by Him by whom they also were made, even they themselves favoring us.

## Chapter XXVI

*That all the religion of the Pagans was fulfilled around dead men.*

1. Certainly it is to be observed how that Egyptian, when he grieved that the time was coming when those things would be taken away from Egypt, which he confesses were instituted by those erring much and incredulous, and turned away from the worship of divine religion, says among other things: "Then this most holy land, the seat of shrines and temples, will be most full of sepulchers and of the dead." As if indeed, if those things were not taken away, men were not to die, or the dead were to be placed elsewhere than in the earth: and certainly the more time and days revolved, the greater would be the number of sepulchers, on account of the greater number of the dead.

Sed hoc videtur dolere, quod memoriae martyrum nostrorum templis eorum delubrisque succederent: ut videlicet qui haec legunt animo a nobis averso atque perverso, putent a Paganis deos cultos fuisse in templis, a nobis autem coli mortuos in sepulcris. Tanta enim homines impii caecitate in montes quodammodo offendunt, resque oculos suos ferientes nolunt videre, ut non attendant in omnibus litteris Paganorum aut non inveniri, aut vix inveniri deos, qui non homines fuerint, mortuisque divini honores delati sint . Omitto quod Varo dicit, omnes ab eis mortuos existimari Manes deos, et probat per ea sacra, quae omnibus fere mortuis exhibentur, ubi et ludos commemorat funebres, tanquam hoc sit maximum divinitatis indicium, quod non soleant ludi nisi numinibus celebrari.

2. Hermes ipse, de quo nunc agitur, in ipso eodem libro ubi quasi futura praenuntiando deplorans ait, Tunc terra ista sanctissima sedes delubrorum atque templorum, sepulcrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima; deos Aegypti, homines mortuos esse testatur. Cum enim dixisset proavos suos multum errantes circa deorum rationem, incredulos et non animadvertentes ad cultum religionemque divinam, invenisse artem qua efficerent deos; Cui inventae, inquit, adjunxerunt virtutem de mundi natura convenientem, eamque miscentes, quoniam animas facere non poterant, evocantes animas daemonum vel angelorum, eas indiderunt imaginibus sanctis divinisque mysteriis, per quas idola et bene faciendi, et male, vires habere potuissent: denique sequitur tanquam hoc exemplis probaturus, et dicit, Avus enim tuus, o Asclepi, medicinae primus inventor, cui templum consecratum est in monte Libyae circa littus Crocodilorum, in quo ejus jacet mundanus homo, id est corpus: reliquus enim, vel potius totus, si est homo totus in sensu vitae, melior remeavit in coelum, omnia etiam nunc hominibus adjumenta praestans infirmis numine nunc suo; quae ante solebat medicinae arte praebere. Ecce dixit mortuum coli pro deo in eo loco ubi habebat sepulcrum: falsus ac fallens, quod remeavit in coelum. Adjungens deinde aliud: Hermes, inquit, cujus avitum mihi nomen est, nonne in sibi cognomine patria consistens, omnes mortales undique venientes adjuvat atque conservat? Hic enim Hermes major, id est Mercurius, quem dicit avum suum fuisse, in Hermopoli, hoc est in sui nominis civitate, esse perhibetur . Ecce duos deos dicit homines fuisse, Aesculapium et Mercurium. Sed de Aesculapio et Graeci et Latini hoc idem sentiunt; Mercurium autem multi non putant fuisse mortalem, quem tamen iste avum suum fuisse testatur. At enim alius est ille, alius iste, quamvis eodem nomine nuncupentur.

But he seems to grieve for this, that the memories of our martyrs would succeed to their temples and shrines: so that namely those who read these things with a mind turned away and perverted from us, may think that by the Pagans gods were worshiped in temples, but by us the dead are worshiped in sepulchers. For impious men offend with such great blindness against mountains as it were, and do not wish to see things striking their eyes, so that they do not attend that in all the letters of the Pagans either there are not found, or there are scarcely found gods, who were not men, and divine honors were deferred to the dead. I omit what Varro says, that all the dead are estimated by them to be Manes gods, and he proves it by those sacred things which are exhibited to almost all the dead, where he also commemorates funeral games, as if this were the greatest indication of divinity, that games are not accustomed to be celebrated except to deities.

2. Hermes himself, concerning whom we are now treating, in that same book where as if by foretelling future things deploring he says, "Then this most holy land, the seat of shrines and temples, will be most full of sepulchers and of the dead"; testifies that the gods of Egypt were dead men. For when he had said that his ancestors, erring much concerning the reason of the gods, being incredulous and not attending to divine worship and religion, found out the art by which they might make gods; "To which invention," he says, "they joined a virtue convenient from the nature of the world, and mixing it, since they could not make souls, evoking the souls of demons or of angels, they placed them in holy and divine images by mysteries, through which the idols might have powers of both doing well and doing ill": then he follows as if to prove this by examples, and says, "For your grandfather, O Asclepius, the first inventor of medicine, to whom a temple has been consecrated on the mountain of Libya near the shore of the Crocodiles, in which lies his mundane man, that is, his body: for the rest, or rather the whole, if the whole man is in the sense of life, has returned better to heaven, even now providing all helps to infirm men by his deity now; which before he used to provide by the art of medicine." Behold he said a dead man is worshiped for a god in that place where he had his sepulcher: false and deceiving in this, that he returned to heaven. Adding then another: "Hermes," he says, "to whom the ancestral name is mine, does he not consisting in his cognominal fatherland, help and preserve all mortals coming from everywhere?" For this Hermes the elder, that is, Mercury, whom he says was his grandfather, is said to be in Hermopolis, that is, in the city of his name. Behold he says two gods were men, Aesculapius and Mercury. But concerning Aesculapius both the Greeks and Latins feel the same; but Mercury many do not think to have been mortal, whom however this man testifies was his grandfather. But forsooth that one is another, this one is another, although they are called by the same name.

Non multum pugno, alius ille sit, alius iste: verum et iste, sicut Aesculapius, ex homine deus secundum testimonium tanti apud suos viri, hujus Trismegisti, nepotis sui.

3. Adhuc addit, et dicit: Isin vero uxorem Osiris quam multa bona praestare propitiam, quantis obesse scimus iratam? Deinde ut ostenderet ex hoc genere esse deos, quos illa arte homines faciunt: unde dat intelligi daemones se opinari ex hominum mortuorum animis exstitisse, quos per artem, quam invenerunt homines multum errantes, increduli et irreligiosi, ait inditos simulacris, quia hi qui tales deos faciebant, animas facere non utique poterant: cum de Iside dixisset, quod commemoravi, quantis obesse scimus iratam, secutus adjunxit, Terrenis etenim diis atque mundanis facile est irasci, utpote qui sint ab hominibus ex utraque natura facti atque compositi. Ex utraque natura dicit, ex anima et corpore: ut pro anima sit daemon, pro corpore simulacrum. Unde contigit, inquit, ab Aegyptiis haec sancta animalia nuncupari, colique per singulas civitates eorum animas, quorum sunt consecratae viventes , ita ut eorum legibus incolantur, et eorum nominibus nuncupentur. Ubi est illa velut querela luctuosa, quod terra Aegyptii sanctissima sedes delubrorum atque templorum, sepulcrorum futura esset mortuorumque plenissima? Nempe spiritus fallax, cujus instinctu Hermes ista dicebat, per eum ipsum coactus est confiteri jam tunc illam terram sepulcrorum et mortuorum, quos pro diis colebant, fuisse plenissimam. Sed dolor daemonum per eum loquebatur, qui suas futuras poenas apud sanctorum martyrum memorias imminere moerebant. In multis enim talibus locis torquentur et confitentur, et de possessis hominum corporibus ejiciuntur.

## Caput XXVII.

*De modo honoris, quem Christiani martyribus impendunt.*

1. Nec tamen nos eisdem martyribus templa, sacerdotia, sacra et sacrificia constituimus: quoniam non ipsi, sed Deus eorum nobis est Deus. Honoramus sane memorias eorum tanquam sanctorum hominum Dei, qui usque ad mortem corporum suorum pro veritate certarunt, ut innotesceret vera religio, falsis fictisque convictis: quod etiam si qui antea sentiebant, timendo reprimebant.

I do not fight much, let that one be another, this one another: but even this one, like Aesculapius, a god from a man according to the testimony of so great a man among his own, this Trismegistus, his grandson.

3. He adds further, and says: "But how many benefits do we know the propitious Isis, the wife of Osiris, provides, and to how many she is harmful when angry?" Then to show that the gods whom men make by that art are of this kind: whence he gives it to be understood that he thinks demons have existed from the souls of dead men, whom he says were placed in idols by the art which men erring much, incredulous and irreligious, found out, because these who made such gods certainly could not make souls: when he had said concerning Isis, what I have commemorated, "to how many she is harmful when angry", he added following, "For it is easy for terrestrial and mundane gods to be angry, as being those who are made and composed by men from both natures." He says from both natures, from soul and body: so that for the soul there is the demon, for the body the idol. "Whence it happened," he says, "that these were called by the Egyptians holy animals, and that the souls of those whose living ones were consecrated are worshiped through their individual cities, so that they are inhabited by their laws, and called by their names." Where is that mournful complaint as it were, that the most holy land of Egypt, the seat of shrines and temples, would be most full of sepulchers and of the dead? Indeed the deceiving spirit, by whose instinct Hermes said those things, was compelled through him himself to confess that even then that land was most full of sepulchers and of the dead, whom they were worshiping as gods. But the grief of demons was speaking through him, who were mourning that their future punishments were imminent at the memories of the holy martyrs. For in many such places they are tortured and confess, and are ejected from the possessed bodies of men.

## Chapter XXVII

*Of the manner of honor which Christians bestow upon the martyrs.*

1. Nor yet do we constitute temples, priesthoods, sacred things and sacrifices to the same martyrs: because not they, but their God is God to us. We honor indeed their memories as of holy men of God, who even unto the death of their bodies fought for the truth, so that the true religion might become known, the false and fictitious things having been convicted: which even if any were previously feeling, they were repressing by fearing.

Quis autem audivit aliquando fidelium stantem sacerdotem ad altare etiam super sanctum corpus martyris ad Dei honorem cultumque constructum, dicere in precibus, Offero tibi sacrificium, Petre, vel Paule, vel Cypriane; cum apud eorum memorias offeratur Deo, qui eos et homines et martyres fecit; et sanctis suis Angelis coelesti honore sociavit; ut ea celebritate et Deo vero de illorum victoriis gratias agamus, et nos ad imitationem talium coronarum atque palmarum eodem invocato in auxilium ex illorum memoriae renovatione adhortemur? Quaecumque igitur adhibentur religiosorum obsequia in martyrum locis, ornamenta sunt memoriarum, non sacra vel sacrificia mortuorum tanquam deorum . Quicumque etiam epulas suas eo deferunt, quod quidem a christianis melioribus non fit, et in plerisque terrarum nulla talis est consuetudo; tamen quicumque id faciunt, quas cum apposuerint, orant, et auferunt, ut vescantur, vel ex eis etiam indigentibus largiantur, sanctificari sibi eas volunt per merita martyrum in nomine Domini martyrum . Non autem esse ista sacrificia martyrum novit qui novit unum, quod etiam illic offertur, Sacrificium Christianorum.

2. Nos itaque martyres nostros nec divinis honoribus, nec humanis criminibus colimus, sicut colunt illi deos suos: nec sacrificia illis offerimus, nec eorum probra in eorum sacra convertimus. Nam de Iside uxore Osiris, Aegyptia dea, et de parentibus eorum, qui omnes reges fuisse scribuntur, quibus parentibus suis illa cum sacrificaret, invenit hordei segetem, atque inde spicas marito regi et ejus consiliario Mercurio demonstravit, unde eamdem et Cererem volunt, quae et quanta mala, non a poetis, sed mysticis corum litteris memoriae mandata sint, sicut, Leone sacerdote prodente, ad Olympiadem matrem scribit Alexander , legant qui volunt vel possunt, et recolant qui legerunt; et videant quibus hominibus mortuis, vel de quibus eorum factis tanquam diis sacra fuerint instituta. Absit ut eos, quamvis deos habeant, sanctis martyribus nostris, quos tamen deos non habemus, ulla ex parte audeant comparare. Sic enim non constituimus sacerdotes, nec offerimus sacrificia martyribus nostris; quia incongruum, indebitum, illicitum est, atque uni Deo tantummodo debitum: ut nec criminibus suis, nec ludis eos turpissimis oblectemus, ubi vel flagitia isti celebrant deorum suorum, si, cum homines essent, talia commiserunt; vel conficta delectamenta daemonum noxiorum, si homines non fuerunt.

But who has heard at any time any of the faithful, the priest standing at the altar even built over the holy body of a martyr for the honor and worship of God, say in the prayers, "I offer sacrifice to you, Peter, or Paul, or Cipher"; since at their memories it is offered to God, who made them both men and martyrs, and associated them with His holy Angels in celestial honor; so that by that celebrity we may both give thanks to the true God for their victories, and we may be exhorted to the imitation of such crowns and palms, the same God being invoked for help from the renovation of their memory? Whatever obsequies of religious men therefore are applied in the places of the martyrs, are ornaments of memories, not sacred things or sacrifices of the dead as of gods. Whoever also bring their feasts there, which indeed is not done by the better Christians, and in most lands there is no such custom; yet whoever do this, which when they have placed them, they pray, and take them away that they may eat, or also bestow them upon the indigent, they wish them to be sanctified to themselves through the merits of the martyrs in the name of the Lord of the martyrs. But that these are not sacrifices of the martyrs he knows who knows the one [sacrifice], which is also offered there, the Sacrifice of the Christians.

2. We therefore worship our martyrs neither with divine honors, nor with human crimes, as they worship their gods: nor do we offer sacrifices to them, nor do we convert their shames into their sacred things. For concerning Isis the wife of Osiris, the Egyptian goddess, and concerning their parents, who are all written to have been kings, to which her parents when she was sacrificing, she found a crop of barley, and from there showed the ears to her husband the king and to his counselor Mercury, whence they would have her to be the same also as Ceres; what and how great evils, not by poets, but were committed to memory by their mystic letters, as, the priest Leon betraying it, Alexander writes to his mother Olympias, let those read who wish or can, and let those who have read recall; and let them see to what dead men, or from what deeds of theirs as if gods, sacred things were instituted. Far be it that they should dare to compare them in any part, although they have them as gods, to our holy martyrs, whom however we do not have as gods. For thus we do not constitute priests, nor do we offer sacrifices to our martyrs; because it is incongruous, undue, illicit, and due only to the one God: so that we delight them neither with their own crimes, nor with most base games, where either they celebrate the flagitious deeds of their gods, if, when they were men, they committed such things; or fictitious delights of noxious demons, if they were not men.

Ex isto genere daemonum Socrates non haberet deum, si haberet Deum : sed fortasse homini ab illa arte faciendi deos alieno et innocenti, illi importaverint talem deum, qui eadem arte excellere voluerunt. Quid ergo plura? Non esse spiritus istos colendos propter vitam beatam quae post mortem futura est, nullus vel mediocriter prudens ambigit. Sed fortasse dicturi sunt, deos quidem esse omnes bonos, daemones autem alios malos, alios bonos: et eos per quos ad vitam in aeternum beatam perveniamus colendos esse censebunt, quos bonos opinantur. Quod quale sit, jam in volumine sequenti videndum est.

Of this kind of demons Socrates would not have a god, if he had a God: but perhaps to a man alien and innocent of that art of making gods, those who wished to excel in the same art imported such a god. What therefore more? That these spirits are not to be worshiped on account of the blessed life which is to be in the future after death, no one even moderately prudent doubts. But perhaps they are going to say, that all gods indeed are good, but of demons some are evil, others good: and they will think that those through whom we may arrive at the eternally blessed life are to be worshiped, whom they think to be good. What kind of thing that is, is now to be seen in the following volume.