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The City of God

De Civitate Dei

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De Civitate Dei · The City of God

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Liber D

ECIMUS SEXTUS.

In cujus priore parte , a capite videlicet primo ad duodecimum, civitatis utriusque, coelestis ac terrenae, procursus exhibetur secundum sacram historiam a Noe usque ad Abraham: posteriore autem parte de coelestis tantummodo civitatis procursu ab Abraham usque ad Israelitarum reges disputatur.

Caput Primum.

An post diluvium, a Noe usque ad Abraham, aliquae familiae secundum Deum viventium reperiantur.

Post diluvium procurrentis sanctae vestigia civitatis, utrum continuata sint, an intercurrentibus impietatis interrupta temporibus, ita ut nullus hominum veri unius Dei cultor existeret, ad liquidum Scripturis loquentibus invenire difficile est: propterea quod in canonicis Libris post Noe, qui cum conjuge ac tribus filiis totidemque nuribus suis meruit per arcam a vastatione diluvii liberari, non invenimus usque ad Abraham cujusquam pietatem evidenti divino eloquio praedicatam, nisi quod Noe duos filios suos Sem et Japhet prophetica benedictione commendat, intuens et praevidens quod longe fuerat post futurum. Unde facta est etiam illud, ut filium suum medium, hoc est primogenito minorem ultimoque majorem, qui peccaverat in patrem, non in ipso, sed in filio ejus suo nepote malediceret his verbis: Maledictus Chanaan puer, famulus erit fratribus suis. Chanaan porro natus fuerat ex Cham, qui patris dormientis nec texerat, sed potius prodiderat nuditatem. Unde etiam quod secutus adjungit benedictionem duorum maximi et minimi filiorum, dicens: Benedictus Dominus Deus Sem, et erit Chanaan puer illius; laetificet Deus Japhet, et habitet in domibus Sem (Gen. IX, 25-27): sicut ipsa ejusdem Noe et vineae plantatio, et ex ejus fructu inebriatio, et dormientis nudatio, et quae ibi caetera facta atque conscripta sunt, propheticis sunt gravidata sensibus et velata tegminibus .

Caput II.

Quid in filiis Noe prophetice fuerit praefiguratum.

BOOK SIXTEENTH.

In whose first part, namely from the first chapter to the twelfth, the progress of each city, celestial and earthly, is exhibited according to the sacred history from Noah even to Abraham: but in the latter part the progress of the celestial city only from Abraham even to the kings of the Israelites is discussed.

Chapter I.

Whether after the flood, from Noah even to Abraham, any families of those living according to God are found.

Whether the footsteps of the holy city proceeding after the flood were continued, or interrupted by intervening times of impiety, so that no one of men existed as a worshiper of the one true God, is difficult to find clearly from the speaking Scriptures: for the reason that in the canonical Books after Noah, who with his wife and three sons and as many daughters-in-law deserved to be liberated from the vastation of the flood through the ark, we do not find the piety of anyone praised by evident divine eloquence until Abraham, except that Noah commends his two sons Shem and Japheth with a prophetic benediction, intuiting and foreseeing what was to be far after in the future. Whence it also came about, that he cursed his middle son, that is, younger than the first-born and older than the last, who had sinned against his father, not in himself, but in his son his own grandson with these words: "Cursed be the boy Canaan, he shall be a servant to his brothers." Canaan furthermore had been born from Ham, who had not covered, but rather betrayed the nakedness of his sleeping father. Whence also what he adds following the benediction of the two sons, the greatest and the least, saying: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and the boy Canaan shall be his servant; may God enlarge Japheth, and let him dwell in the houses of Shem" (Gen. IX, 25-27): just as that very plantation of the vineyard by the same Noah, and the inebriation from its fruit, and the nakedness of the sleeper, and the other things which were done and written there, are weighted with prophetic senses and veiled with coverings.

Chapter II.

What was prophetically prefigured in the sons of Noah.

Sed nunc rerum effectu jam in posteris consecuto, quae operta fuerant, satis aperta sunt. Quis enim haec diligenter et intelligenter advertens, non agnoscat in Christo? Sem quippe, de cujus semine in carne natus est Christus, interpretatur Nominatus. Quid autem nominatius Christo, cujus nomen ubique jam fragrat, ita ut in Cantico canticorum, etiam ipsa praecinente prophetia, unguento comparetur effuso (Cantic. 1, 2): in cujus domibus, id est ecclesiis, habitat gentium latitudo? Nam Japheth Latitudo interpretatur. Cham porro, quod interpretatur Calidus , medius Noe filius, tanquam se ab utroque discernens et inter utrumque remanens, nec in primitiis Israelitarum, nec in plenitudine Gentium, quid significat nisi haereticorum genus calidum, non spiritu sapientiae, sed impatientiae, quo solent haereticorum fervere praecordia , et pacem perturbare sanctorum? Sed haec in usum cedunt proficientium, juxta illud Apostoli: Oportet et haereses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant in vobis (I Cor, XI, 19). Unde etiam scriptum est, Filius eruditus sapiens erit, imprudente autem ministro utetur (Prov. X, 4, apud LXX). Multa quippe ad fidem catholicam pertinentia, dum haereticorum calida inquietudine exagitantur, ut adversus eos defendi possint, et considerantur diligentius, et intelliguntur clarius, et instantius praedicantur: et ab adversario mota quaestio, discendi existit occasio. Quamvis non solum qui sunt apertissime separati, verum etiam omnes qui christiano vocabulo gloriantur et perdite vivunt, non absurde possunt videri medio Noe filio figurati: passionem quippe Christi, quae illius hominis nuditate significata est, et annuntiant profitendo, et male agendo exhonorant. De talibus ergo dictum est, Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos (Matth. VII, 20). Ideo Cham in filio suo maledictus est, tanquam in fructu suo, id est in opere suo. Unde convenienter et ipse filius ejus Chanaan interpretatur Motus eorum: quod aliud quid est, quam opus eorum? Sem vero et Japhet tanquam circumcisio et praeputium, vel sicut alio modo eos appellat Apostolus, Judaei et Graeci, sed vocati et justificati, cognita quoquo modo nuditate patris, qua significabatur passio Salvatoris, sumentes vestimentum, posuerunt supra dorsa sua , et intraverunt aversi, et operuerunt nuditatem patris sui, nec viderunt quod reverendo texerunt (Gen. IX, 23). Quodam enim modo in passione Christi, et quod pro nobis factum est honoramus, et Judaeorum facinus aversamur. Vestimentum significat sacramentum; dorsa, memoriam praeteritorum: quia passionem Christi eo scilicet jam tempore quo habitat Japhet in domibus Sem et malus frater in medio eorum, transactam celebrat Ecclelia, non adhuc prospectat futuram.

But now, with the effect of things already followed in posterity, those things which had been covered are sufficiently open. For who, advertently and intelligently considering these things, would not recognize them in Christ? For Shem, from whose seed Christ was born in the flesh, is interpreted as Named. But what is more named than Christ, whose name already fragrances everywhere, so that in the Song of Songs, with the prophecy itself foretelling, it is compared to poured out ointment (Cant. I, 2): in whose houses, that is churches, the breadth of the nations dwells? For Japheth is interpreted as Breadth. Furthermore Ham, which is interpreted as Hot, the middle son of Noah, as if discerning himself from both and remaining between both, neither in the firstfruits of the Israelites, nor in the plenitude of the Gentiles, what does he signify except the hot race of heretics, not by the spirit of wisdom, but of impatience, by which the hearts of heretics are accustomed to boil, and to perturb the peace of the saints? But these things yield to the use of those progressing, according to that word of the Apostle: "It behoves that there also be heresies, so that those who are approved may be made manifest among you" (I Cor. XI, 19). Whence also it is written, "An erudite son shall be wise, but he shall use an imprudent minister" (Prov. X, 4, according to the LXX). For many things pertaining to the catholic faith, while they are agitated by the hot inquietude of heretics, so that they may be defended against them, are both considered more diligently, and understood more clearly, and preached more instantly: and a question moved by an adversary exists as an occasion for learning. Although not only those who are most openly separated, but also all who glory in the Christian name and live perditiously, can not absurdly be seen as figured by the middle son of Noah: for the passion of Christ, which was signified by the nakedness of that man, they both announce by professing and dishonor by acting badly. Of such therefore it was said, "From their fruits you shall know them" (Matth. VII, 20). Therefore Ham was cursed in his son, as if in his fruit, that is in his work. Whence conveniently also his son Canaan is interpreted as Their Movement: which is what else, than their work? But Shem and Japheth as if the circumcision and the uncircumcision, or as the Apostle calls them in another way, Jews and Greeks, but called and justified, having known in whatever way the nakedness of the father, by which the passion of the Savior was signified, taking a garment, placed it upon their backs, and entered turned away, and covered the nakedness of their father, nor did they see what they covered by revering (Gen. IX, 23). For in a certain way in the passion of Christ, we both honor what was done for us, and we avert ourselves from the crime of the Jews. The garment signifies the sacrament; the backs, the memory of past things: because the Church celebrates the passion of Christ as already transacted at that time namely in which Japheth dwells in the houses of Shem and the evil brother in the midst of them, and does not yet prospect it as future.

Sed malus frater in filio suo, hoc est in opere suo, puer, id est servus, est fratrum bonorum, cum vel ad exercitationem patientiae, vel ad profectum sapientiae scienter utuntur malis boni. Sunt enim, teste Apostolo, qui Christum annuntiant non caste: Sed sive occasione, inquit, sive veritate Christus annuntietur, in hoc gaudeo, sed et gaudebo (Philipp. I, 18). Ipse quippe plantavit vineam, de qua dicit Propheta, Vinea Domini Sabaoth domus Israel est (Isai. V. 7): et bibit de vino ejus: sive ille calix hic intelligatur, de quo dicit, Potestis bibere calicem, quem ego bibiturus sum (Matth. XX, 22)? et, Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste (Id. XXVI, 39); quo suam sine dubio significat passionem: sive quia vinum fructus est vineae, hoc potius illo sit significatum, quod ex ipsa vinea, hoc est ex genere Israelitarum, carnem pro nobis et sanguinem, ut pati posset, assumpsit: Et inebriatus est, id est, passus est: Et nudatus est (Gen. IX, 21); ibi namque nudata est, id est apparuit ejus infirmitas, de qua dicit Apostolus, Etsi crucifixus est ex infirmitate (II Cor. XIII, 4). Unde idem dicit, Infirmum Dei fortius est hominibus, et stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus (I Cor. I, 25). Quod vero cum dictum esset, Et nudatus est; addidit Scriptura, in domo sua: eleganter ostendit, quod a suae carnis gente et domesticis sanguinis sui, utique Judaeis, fuerat crucem mortemque passurus. Hanc passionem Christi foris in sono tantum vocis reprobi annuntiant: non enim quod annuntiant, intelligunt. Probi autem in interiore homine habent tam grande mysterium, atque honorant intus in corde infirmum et stultum Dei, quod fortius et sapientius est hominibus. Hujus rei figura est, quod Cham exiens hoc nuntiavit foris; Sem vero et Japheth, ut hoc velarent, id est honorarent, ingressi sunt, hoc est, interius id egerunt.

Haec Scripturae secreta divinae indagamus, ut possumus, alius alio magis minusve congruenter, verumtamen fideliter certum tenentes, non ea sine aliqua praefiguratione futurorum gesta atque conscripta, neque nisi ad Christum et ejus Ecclesiam, quae civitas Dei est, esse referenda: cujus ab initio generis humani non defuit praedicatio, quam per omnia videmus impleri. Benedictis igitur duobus filiis Noe, atque uno in medio eorum maledicto, deinceps usque ad Abraham de justorum aliquorum, qui pie Deum colerent, commemoratione silitum est per annos amplius quam mille.

But the evil brother in his son, that is in his work, is a boy, that is a servant, of the good brothers, when either for the exercise of patience, or for the profit of wisdom, the good knowingly use the evil. For there are, as the Apostle witnesses, those who announce Christ not chastely: "But whether by occasion," he says, "or by truth Christ be announced, in this I rejoice, but and I will rejoice" (Philipp. I, 18). He indeed planted the vineyard, of which the Prophet says, "The vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth is the house of Israel" (Isai. V, 7): and he drank of its wine: whether that cup be understood here, of which he says, "Can you drink the cup, which I am about to drink" (Matth. XX, 22)? and, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me" (Id. XXVI, 39); by which he signifies his own passion without doubt: or because wine is the fruit of the vineyard, this rather be signified by that, that from that very vineyard, that is from the race of the Israelites, he assumed flesh and blood for us, so that he might be able to suffer: "And he was inebriated," that is, he suffered: "And he was naked" (Gen. IX, 21); for there his infirmity was naked, that is, it appeared, of which the Apostle says, "Even if he was crucified from infirmity" (II Cor. XIII, 4). Whence the same says, "The weak thing of God is stronger than men, and the foolish thing of God is wiser than men" (I Cor. I, 25). But because when it had been said, "And he was naked," the Scripture added, "in his house": it elegantly shows, that he was about to suffer the cross and death from the people of his own flesh and the domestics of his own blood, namely the Jews. This passion of Christ those reprobate announce outside in the sound of the voice only: for they do not understand what they announce. But the good have so great a mystery in the interior man, and they honor inside in the heart the weak and foolish thing of God, which is stronger and wiser than men. Of this thing it is a figure, that Ham going out announced this outside; but Shem and Japheth, so that they might veil this, that is honor it, entered, that is, they acted this interiorly.

We investigate these secrets of the divine Scripture, as we can, one more or less congruently than another, yet faithfully holding for certain, that those things were not done and written without some prefiguration of future things, nor are they to be referred except to Christ and his Church, which is the city of God: of which from the beginning of the human race there was no lack of preaching, which we see being fulfilled through all things. Therefore the two sons of Noah having been blessed, and one in the midst of them cursed, henceforth until Abraham it is silent about the commemoration of any just men, who might piously worship God, through more than a thousand years.

Nec eos defuisse crediderim: sed si omnes commemorarentur, nimis longum fieret; et haec esset magis historica diligentia, quam prophetica providentia. Illa itaque exsequitur Litterarum sacrarum scriptor istarum, vel potius per eum Dei Spiritus, quibus non solum narrentur praeterita, verum etiam praenuntientur futura, quae tamen pertinent ad civitatem Dei: quia et de hominum qui non sunt cives ejus, quidquid hic dicitur, ad hoc dicitur, ut illa ex comparatione contraria vel proficiat, vel emineat. Non sane omnia quae gesta narrantur, aliquid etiam significare putanda sunt: sed propter illa quae aliquid significant, etiam ea quae nihil significant attexuntur. Solo enim vomere terra proscinditur; sed ut hoc fieri possit, etiam caetera aratri membra sunt necessaria: et soli nervi in citharis atque hujusmodi vasis musicis aptantur ad cantum; sed ut aptari possint, insunt et caetera in compagibus organorum, quae non percutiuntur a canentibus, sed ea quae percussa resonant, his connectuntur. Ita in prophetica historia dicuntur et aliqua quae nihil significant, sed quibus adhaereant quae significant, et quodammodo religentur.

Caput III.

De generationibus trium filiorum Noe.

1. Generationes ergo filiorum Noe deinceps intuendae, et quod de his dicendum videtur, attexendum est huic operi, quo civitatis utriusque, terrenae scilicet et coelestis, per tempora procursus ostenditur. Coeptae sunt autem commemorari a minimo filio, qui vocatus est Japheth; cujus filii octo nominati sunt; nepotes autem septem de duobus filiis ejus, tres ex uno, quatuor ex altero: fiunt itaque omnes quindecim. Filii autem Cham, hoc est medii filii Noe, quatuor, et nepotes quinque ex uno ejus filio, pronepotes duo ex nepote uno: fit eorum summa undecim. Quibus enumeratis, reditur tanquam ad caput, et dicitur: Chus autem genuit Nebroth: hic coepit esse gigas super terram. Hic erat gigas venator contra Dominum Deum. Propter hoc dicunt: Sicut Nebroth gigas venator contra Dominum. Et factum est initium regni ejus Babylon, Orech, Archad, et Chalanne in terra Sennaar. De terra illa exiit Assur, et aedificavit Niniven et Robooth civitatem, et Chalach, et Dasem inter medium Ninives et Chalach: haec civitas magna. Iste porro Chus pater gigantis Nebroth primus nominatus est in filiis Cham, cujus quinque filii jam fuerant computati, et nepotes duo. Sed istum gigantem aut post nepotes suos natos genuit; aut, quod est credibilius, seorsum de illo propter ejus eminentiam Scriptura locuta est; quandoquidem et regnum ejus commemoratum est, cujus initium erat illa nobilissima Babylon civitas, et quae juxta commemoratae sunt, sive civitates, sive regiones.

Nor would I believe that they were lacking: but if all were commemorated, it would become too long; and this would be more historical diligence, than prophetic providence. Those things therefore the writer of these sacred Letters pursues, or rather through him the Spirit of God, by which not only past things are narrated, but also future things are foretold, which yet pertain to the city of God: because even about the men who are not its citizens, whatever is said here, is said to this end, that it may either profit, or stand out from the contrary comparison. Not indeed all things which are narrated as done, are to be thought to signify something also: but for the sake of those things which signify something, also those things which signify nothing are woven in. For by the plowshare alone the earth is cut; but so that this can be done, also the other members of the plow are necessary: and only the strings in citharas and musical instruments of this kind are adapted for song; but so that they can be adapted, there are also other things in the compages of the instruments, which are not struck by those singing, but those things which being struck resound, are connected to these. So in prophetic history some things are said which signify nothing, but to which those things which signify may adhere, and in a certain way be bound together.

Chapter III.

On the generations of the three sons of Noah.

1. Therefore the generations of the sons of Noah are to be considered next, and what seems should be said about these must be woven into this work, by which the progress of both cities, namely the earthly and the heavenly, is shown through the times. But they began to be commemorated from the youngest son, who was called Japheth; whose sons are named eight; but the grandsons seven from two of his sons, three from one, four from the other: thus they all become fifteen. But the sons of Ham, that is of the middle son of Noah, were four, and the grandsons five from one of his sons, the great-grandsons two from one grandson: their sum becomes eleven. These having been enumerated, it is returned as if to the head, and it is said: "But Cush begot Nimrod: he began to be a giant upon the earth. He was a giant hunter against the Lord God. For this reason they say: As Nimrod the giant hunter against the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, Erech, Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar. From that land went out Ashur, and built Nineveh and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah: this is a great city." Furthermore, this Cush, the father of the giant Nimrod, was named first among the sons of Ham, whose five sons had already been computed, and two grandsons. But he begot this giant either after his own grandsons were born; or, what is more credible, the Scripture spoke of him separately on account of his eminence; since also his kingdom was commemorated, the beginning of which was that most noble city Babylon, and those which were commemorated nearby, whether cities or regions.

Quod vero dictum est, de terra illa, id est de terra Sennaar, quae pertinebat ad regnum Nebroth, exisse Assur, et aedificasse Niniven, et alias quas contexuit civitates, longe postea factum est, quod ex hac occasione perstrinxit, propter nobilitatem regni Assyriorum, quod mirabiliter dilatavit Ninus, Beli filius, conditor Ninivae civitatis magnae: cujus civitatis nomen ex illius nomine derivatum est, ut a Nino Ninive vocaretur. Assur autem, unde Assyrii, non fuit in filiis Cham medii filii Noe, sed in filiis Sem reperitur, qui fuit Noe maximus filius. Unde apparet de progenie Sem exortos fuisse qui postea regnum gigantis illius obtinerent, et inde procederent, atque alias conderent civitates, quarum prima est a Nino appellata Ninive. Hinc reditur ad alium filium Cham, qui vocabatur Mesraim, et commemorantur quos genuit; non tanquam singuli homines, sed nationes septem. Et de sexta, velut de sexto filio, gens commemoratur exiisse, quae appellatur Philistiim; unde fiunt octo. Inde iterum ad Chanaan reditur, in quo filio maledictus est Cham; et quos genuit undecim nominantur. Deinde usque ad quos fines pervenerint, commemoratis quibusdam civitatibus, dicitur. Ac per hoc, filiis nepotibusque computatis, de progenie Cham triginta unus geniti referuntur.

2. Restat commemorare filios Sem, maximi filii Noe: ad eum quippe gradatim generationum istarum pervenit a minimo exorta narratio. Sed unde incipiunt commemorari filii Sem, habet quiddam obscuritatis, quod expositione illustrandum est: quia et multum ad rem pertinet, quam requirimus. Sic enim legitur: Et Sem natus est etiam ipsi patri omnium filiorum Heber, fratri Japheth majori. Ordo verborum est: Et Sem natus est Heber, etiam ipsi, id est ipsi Sem, natus est Heber, qui Sem pater est omnium filiorum suorum. Sem ergo patriarcham intelligi voluit omnium qui de stirpe ejus exorti sunt, quos commemoraturus est, sive sint filii, sive nepotes sive pronepotes, et deinceps indidem exorti. Non sane istum Heber genuit Sem: sed ab illo quintus in progenitorum serie reperitur. Sem quippe inter alios filios genuit Arphaxat, Arphaxat genuit Cainan, Cainan genuit Sala, Sala genuit Heber.

But that which was said, that from that land, that is from the land of Shinar, which pertained to the kingdom of Nimrod, Ashur went out, and built Nineveh, and the other cities which he joined together, was done long afterward, which he touched upon on this occasion, on account of the nobility of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which Ninus, the son of Belus, the founder of the great city Nineveh, wonderfully dilated: from whose name the name of the city was derived, so that it was called Nineveh from Ninus. But Ashur, from whom the Assyrians come, was not among the sons of Ham the middle son of Noah, but is found among the sons of Shem, who was the eldest son of Noah. Whence it appears that those who afterward obtained the kingdom of that giant arose from the progeny of Shem, and proceeded from there, and founded other cities, the first of which was called Nineveh from Ninus. From here it is returned to another son of Ham, who was called Mizraim, and those whom he begot are commemorated; not as individual men, but as seven nations. And from the sixth, as if from a sixth son, a nation is commemorated to have gone out, which is called the Philistines; whence they become eight. From there it is returned again to Canaan, in which son Ham was cursed; and those whom he begot are named eleven. Then it is said as far as to what boundaries they reached, certain cities having been commemorated. And through this, the sons and grandsons having been computed, thirty-one are reported born from the progeny of Ham.

2. It remains to commemorate the sons of Shem, the eldest son of Noah: for to him by degrees the narrative, having arisen from the youngest, reaches of those generations. But where the sons of Shem begin to be commemorated, there is something of obscurity, which must be illustrated by exposition: because also it pertains much to the matter which we seek. For thus it is read: "And to Shem also was born he who was the father of all the sons of Eber, the elder brother of Japheth." The order of the words is: "And to Shem was born Eber, also to him, that is to Shem himself, was born Eber, who is Shem the father of all his sons." Therefore he wished Shem to be understood as the patriarch of all who arose from his stock, whom he is about to commemorate, whether they be sons, or grandsons, or great-grandsons, and henceforth arising from the same source. To be sure, Shem did not beget this Eber: but he is found as the fifth in the series of progenitors from him. For Shem among other sons begot Arphaxad, Arphaxad begot Cainan, Cainan begot Salah, Salah begot Eber.

Non utique frustra ipse primus est nominatus in progenie veniente de Sem, et praelatus etiam filiis, cum sit quintus nepos; nisi quia verum est quod traditur, ex illo Heber esse cognominatos, tanquam Hebraeos: cum et alia possit esse opinio, ut ex Abraham tanquam Abrahaei dicti esse videantur. Sed nimirum hoc verum est, quod ex Heber Heberaei appellati sunt; ac deinde, una detracta littera, Hebraei: quam linguam hebraicam solus Israel populus potuit obtinere, in quo Dei civitas et in sanctis peregrinata est, et in omnibus sacramento adumbrata. Igitur filii Sem prius sex nominantur, deinde ex uno eorum nati sunt quatuor nepotes ejus: itemque alter filiorum Sem genuit ejus nepotem, atque ex illo itidem pronepos natus est, atque inde abnepos, qui est Heber. Genuit autem Heber duos filios, quorum unum appellavit Phalech, quod interpretatur Dividens. Deinde Scriptura subjungens, rationemque hujus nominis reddens, Quia in diebus, inquit, ejus divisa est terra. Hoc autem quid sit, postea apparebit. Alius vero qui natus est ex Heber, genuit duodecim filios: ac per hoc fiunt omnes progeniti de Sem viginti septem. In summa igitur omnes progeniti de tribus filiis Noe, id est, quindecim de Japheth, et triginta unus de Cham, viginti septem de Sem, fiunt septuaginta tres. Deinde sequitur Scriptura dicens: Hi filii Sem in tribubus suis secundum linguas suas, in regionibus suis et in gentibus suis. Itemque de omnibus: Hae, inquit, tribus filiorum Noe secundum generationes eorum, et secundum gentes eorum. Ab his dispersae sunt insulae gentium super terram post diluvium. Unde colligitur septuaginta tres, vel potius (quod postea demonstrabitur) septuaginta duae gentes tunc fuisse, non homines. Nam et prius cum fuissent commemorati filii Japheth, ita conclusum est: Ex his segregatae sunt insulae gentium in terra sua, unusquisque secundum linguam suam in tribubus suis et in gentibus suis.

3. Jam vero in filiis Cham quodam loco apertius gentes commemoratae sunt, sicut superius ostendi. Mesraim genuit eos qui dicuntur Ludiim: et eodem modo caeterae usque ad septem gentes. Et enumeratis omnibus, postea concludens: Hi filii Cham, inquit, in tribubus suis, secundum linguas suas in regionibus suis, et in gentibus suis (Gen. X). Propterea ergo multorum filii non sunt commemorati, quia gentibus aliis nascendo accesserunt, ipsi autem gentes facere nequiverunt. Nam qua alia causa, cum filii Japheth octo enumerentur, ex duobus eorum tantum filii nati commemorantur; et cum filii Cham quatuor nominentur, ex tribus tantum qui nati sunt adjiciuntur; et cum filii Sem nominentur sex, duorum tantum posteritas attexitur? numquid caeteri sine filiis remanserunt? Absit hoc credere: sed gentes propter quas commemorari digni essent, non utique fecerunt; quia sicut nascebantur, aliis gentibus addebantur.

Not indeed in vain was he himself named first in the progeny coming from Shem, and preferred even to the sons, although he is the fifth grandson; unless because it is true what is handed down, that from that Eber the Hebrews were named, as if Heberites: although there can also be another opinion, that they seem to be called Hebrews from Abraham as if Abrahameans. But doubtless this is true, that from Eber they were called Heberites; and then, one letter having been removed, Hebrews: which Hebrew language the people of Israel alone were able to obtain, in whom the city of God both went on pilgrimage in the saints, and was foreshadowed in all things by a sacrament. Therefore first six sons of Shem are named, then from one of them four of his grandsons were born: and likewise another of the sons of Shem begot his grandson, and from him likewise a great-grandson was born, and from there a great-great-grandson, who is Eber. But Eber begot two sons, one of whom he called Peleg, which is interpreted as Dividing. Then the Scripture subjoining, and giving the reason for this name, says, "Because in his days the earth was divided." But what this may be, will appear afterward. But another who was born from Eber, begot twelve sons: and through this all the progeny from Shem become twenty-seven. In sum therefore all the progeny from the three sons of Noah, that is, fifteen from Japheth, and thirty-one from Ham, twenty-seven from Shem, become seventy-three. Then follows the Scripture saying: "These are the sons of Shem in their tribes according to their languages, in their regions and in their nations." And likewise concerning all: "These," it says, "are the tribes of the sons of Noah according to their generations, and according to their nations. From these were dispersed the islands of the nations upon the earth after the flood." Whence it is gathered that there were seventy-three, or rather (as will be demonstrated afterward) seventy-two nations then, not men. For also before when the sons of Japheth had been commemorated, it was thus concluded: "From these were segregated the islands of the nations in their land, each one according to his language in his tribes and in his nations."

3. Now indeed in the sons of Ham in a certain place the nations were more openly commemorated, as I showed above. "Mizraim begot those who are called Ludim:" and in the same way the others as far as to seven nations. And all having been enumerated, afterward concluding, it says: "These are the sons of Ham, in their tribes, according to their languages in their regions, and in their nations" (Gen. X). Therefore the sons of many were not commemorated for this reason, because by being born they added to other nations, but they themselves were not able to make nations. For for what other cause, when eight sons of Japheth are enumerated, are the sons born from only two of them commemorated; and when four sons of Ham are named, are those who were born from only three added; and when six sons of Shem are named, is the posterity of only two woven in? did the rest remain without sons? Far be it to believe this: but they certainly did not make nations on account of which they would be worthy to be commemorated; because as they were born, they were added to other nations.

Caput IV.

De diversitate linguarum, principioque Babylonis.

Cum ergo in suis linguis istae gentes fuisse referantur, redit tamen narrator ad illud tempus; quando una lingua omnium fuit, et inde jam exponit quid acciderit, ut linguarum diversitas nasceretur. Et erat, inquit, omnis terra labium unum, et vox una omnibus. Et factum est, cum moverent ipsi ab Oriente, invenerunt campum in terra Sennaar, et habitaverunt ibi. Et dixit homo proximo suo: Venite, faciamus lateres, et coquamus illos igni. Et facti sunt illis lateres in lapidem, et bitumen erat illis lutum: et dixerunt, Venite, et aedificemus nobismetipsis civitatem, et turrem cujus caput erit usque ad coelum, et faciamus nobis nomen, antequam dispergamur in faciem omnis terrae. Et descendit Dominus videre civitatem et turrem, quam aedificaverunt filii hominum. Et dixit Dominus Deus: Ecce genus unum, et labium unum omnium; et hoc inchoaverunt facere, et nunc non deficient ex illis omnia quae conati fuerint facere: venite, et descendentes confundamus ibi linguam eorum, ut non audiant unusquisque vocem proximi sui. Et dispersit eos Dominus inde super faciem omnis terrae, et cessaverunt aedificantes civitatem et turrem. Propter hoc appellatum est nomen illius Confusio; quia ibi confudit Dominus labia omnis terrae: et inde dispersit illos Dominus Deus super faciem omnis terrae (Gen. XI, 1-9). Ista civitas quae appellata est Confusio, ipsa est Babylon, cujus mirabilem constructionem Gentium etiam commendat historia. Babylon quippe interpretatur Confusio. Unde colligitur gigantem illum Nebroth fuisse illius conditorem, quod superius breviter fuerat intimatum, ubi cum de illo Scriptura loqueretur, ait initium regni ejus fuisse Babylonem, id est, quae civitatum caeterarum gereret principatum, ubi esset tanquam in metropoli habitaculum regni: quamvis perfecta non fuerit usque in tantum modum, quantum superba cogitabat impietas. Nam nimia disponebatur altitudo, quae dicta est usque in coelum, sive unius turris ejus, quam praecipuam moliebantur inter alias; sive omnium turrium, quae per numerum singularem ita significatae sunt, ut dicitur miles, et intelliguntur millia militum: ut rana, ut locusta; sic enim appellata est multitudo ranarum ac locustarum in plagis, quibus Aegyptii percussi sunt per Moysen (Exod. X, 4, et alibi; Psal. LXXVII, 45). Quid autem factura fuerat humana et vana praesumptio?

Chapter IV.

On the diversity of languages, and the beginning of Babylon.

Since therefore these nations are reported to have been in their own languages, the narrator nevertheless returns to that time when there was one language of all, and from there he now explains what happened, that the diversity of languages might be born. "And all the earth," he says, "was one lip, and there was one voice for all. And it came to pass, when they moved from the East, they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there. And a man said to his neighbor: Come, let us make bricks, and bake them with fire. And bricks were made for them for stone, and bitumen was for them as mortar: and they said, Come, and let us build for ourselves a city, and a tower whose top shall be as far as to heaven, and let us make for ourselves a name, before we are dispersed over the face of all the earth. And the Lord descended to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men built. And the Lord God said: Behold, one race, and one lip for all; and this they have begun to do, and now all things which they have attempted to do will not fail from them: come, and descending let us confound their language there, so that each one may not hear the voice of his neighbor. And the Lord dispersed them from there over the face of all the earth, and they ceased building the city and the tower. For this reason its name was called Confusion; because there the Lord confounded the lips of all the earth: and from there the Lord God dispersed them over the face of all the earth" (Gen. XI, 1-9). This city which was called Confusion, is Babylon itself, whose wonderful construction even the history of the Gentiles commends. For Babylon is interpreted as Confusion. Whence it is gathered that that giant Nimrod was its founder, which had been briefly intimated above, where when the Scripture spoke of him, it said the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, that is, that which should hold the principate over the other cities, where there should be as it were in a metropolis the dwelling of the kingdom: although it was not perfected to such an extent as proud impiety was thinking. For too great an altitude was being disposed, which was said as far as to heaven, whether of its one tower, which they were constructing as principal among the others; or of all the towers, which were thus signified by the singular number, as a soldier is said, and thousands of soldiers are understood: as a frog, as a locust; for thus was called the multitude of frogs and locusts in the plagues, with which the Egyptians were struck through Moses (Exod. X, 4, and elsewhere; Ps. LXXVII, 45). But what was human and vain presumption about to do?

Cujuslibet et quantumlibet in coelum adversus Deum altitudinem molis extolleret, quando montes transcenderet universos? quando spatium nebulosi aeris hujus evaderet? Quid denique noceret Deo quantacumque vel spiritualis, vel corporalis elatio? Tutam veramque in coelum viam molitur humilitas, sursum levans cor ad Dominum, non contra Dominum: sicut dictus est gigas iste venator contra Dominum (Gen. X, 9). Quod non intelligentes nonnulli, ambiguo graeco decepti sunt, ut non interpretarentur contra Dominum, sed ante Dominum: ἐναντιον quippe et ante et contra significat. Hoc enim verbum est in Psalmo: Et ploremus ante Dominum, qui fecit nos (Psal. XCIV, 6). Et hoc verbum est etiam in libro Job, ubi scriptum est, In furorem erupisti contra Dominum (Job. XV, 13, sec. LXX). Sic ergo intelligendus est gigas iste venator contra Dominum. Quid autem hic significatur hoc nomine, quod est venator, nisi animalium terrigenarum deceptor, oppressor, exstinctor? Erigebat ergo cum suis populis turrem contra Dominum, qua est impia significata superbia. Merito autem malus punitur affectus, etiam cui non succedit effectus. Genus vero ipsum poenae quale fuit? Quoniam dominatio imperantis in lingua est, ibi damnata est superbia, ut non intelligeretur jubens homini, qui noluit intelligere ut obediret Deo jubenti. Sic illa conspiratio dissoluta est, cum quisque ab eo quem non intelligebat, abscederet, nec se nisi ei, cum quo loqui poterat, aggregaret: et per linguas divisae sunt gentes, dispersaeque per terras, sicut Deo placuit, qui hoc modis occultis nobisque incomprehensibilibus fecit.

Caput V.

De descensione Domini ad confundendam linguam aedificantium turrem.

Quod enim scriptum est, Et descendit Dominus videre civitatem et turrem, quam aedificaverunt filii hominum; hoc est, non filii Dei, sed illa societas secundum hominem vivens, quam terrenam dicimus civitatem: non loco movetur Deus, qui semper ubique est totus; sed descendere dicitur, cum aliquid facit in terra, quod praeter usitatum naturae cursum mirabiliter factum, praesentiam quodammodo ejus ostendat: nec videndo discit ad tempus, qui nunquam potest aliquid ignorare; sed ad tempus videre et cognoscere dicitur, quod videri et cognosci facit.

However much and from whatever material it should extol the altitude of a mass into heaven against God, when would it transcend all mountains? when would it escape the space of this cloudy air? Finally, what would any elation, whether spiritual or corporal, hurt God? Humility constructs a safe and true way into heaven, raising the heart upward to the Lord, not against the Lord: just as this giant was called a "hunter against the Lord" (Gen. X, 9). Which some not understanding, were deceived by the ambiguous Greek, so that they did not interpret it "against the Lord," but "before the Lord": for ἐναντιον signifies both "before" and "against." For this word is in the Psalm: "And let us weep before the Lord, who made us" (Ps. XCIV, 6). And this word is also in the book of Job, where it is written, "You have burst into fury against the Lord" (Job XV, 13, according to LXX). So therefore this giant is to be understood as a "hunter against the Lord." But what is signified here by this name, which is "hunter," unless the deceiver, oppressor, and extinguisher of earth-born animals? Therefore he was erecting with his peoples a tower against the Lord, by which impious pride was signified. But deservedly the evil affection is punished, even that to which the effect does not succeed. But what kind of punishment was the genus itself? Since the dominion of the commander is in the language, there pride was condemned, so that he who was commanding should not be understood by man, because he did not wish to understand so as to obey God commanding. Thus that conspiracy was dissolved, when each one departed from him whom he did not understand, nor did he join himself except to him with whom he was able to speak: and by languages the nations were divided, and dispersed through the lands, as it pleased God, who did this in ways hidden and incomprehensible to us.

Chapter V.

On the descent of the Lord to confound the language of those building the tower.

For that which is written, "And the Lord descended to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men built;" that is, not the sons of God, but that society living according to man, which we call the earthly city: God is not moved by place, who is always whole everywhere; but he is said to descend when he does something on earth, which, being wonderfully done beyond the usual course of nature, shows in a certain way his presence: nor does he learn by seeing at a time, who can never be ignorant of anything; but he is said to see and know at a time that which he makes to be seen and known.

Non sic ergo videbatur illa civitas, quomodo eam Deus videri fecit, quando sibi quantum displiceret ostendit. Quamvis possit intelligi Deus ad illam civitatem descendisse, quia descenderunt Angeli ejus in quibus habitat; ut quod adjunctum est, Et dixit Dominus Deus, Ecce genus unum, et labium unum omnium, et caetera; ac deinde additum, Venite, et descendentes confundamus ibi linguam eorum (Gen. XI, 5-7); recapitulatio sit, demonstrans quemadmodum factum sit, quod dictum fuerat, Descendit Dominus. Si enim jam descenderat, quid sibi vult, Venite, et descendentes confundamus (quod intelligitur Angelis dictum), nisi quia per Angelos descendebat, qui in Angelis descendentibus erat? Et bene non ait, Venite, et descendentes confundite: sed, Confundamus ibi linguam eorum; ostendens ita se operari per ministros suos, ut sint etiam ipsi cooperatores Dei: sicut Apostolus dicit, Dei enim sumus cooperarii (I Cor. III, 9).

Caput VI.

Qualis intelligenda sit esse locutio, qua Deus Angelis loquitur.

1. Poterat et illud, quando factus est homo, de Angelis intelligi quod dictum est, Faciamus hominem, quia non dixit, Faciam: sed quia sequitur, ad imaginem nostram; nec fas est credere ad imaginem Angelorum hominem factum, aut eamdem esse imaginem Angelorum et Dei; ideo recte illic intelligitur pluralitas Trinitatis. Quae tamen Trinitas, quia unus est Deus, etiam cum dixisset, Faciamus: Et fecit, inquit, Deus hominem ad imaginem Dei (Gen. I, 26, 26): non dixit, Fecerunt dii, aut, ad imaginem deorum. Poterat et hic eadem intelligi Trinitas, tanquam Pater dixerit ad Filium et Spiritum sanctum, Venite, et descendentes confundamus ibi linguam eorum; si aliquid esset, quod Angelos prohiberet intelligi: quibus potius convenit venire ad Deum motibus sanctis, hoc est cogitationibus piis, quibus ab eis consulitur incommutabilis Veritas, tanquam lex aeterna in illa eorum curia superna. Neque enim sibi ipsi sunt veritas; sed creatricis participes Veritatis, ad illam moventur, tanquam ad fontem vitae, ut quod non habent ex se ipsis, capiant ex ipsa. Et eorum stabilis est iste motus, quo veniunt, qui non recedunt. Nec sic loquitur Angelis Deus, quomodo nos invicem nobis, vel Deo, vel Angelis, vel ipsi Angeli nobis, sive per illos Deus nobis; sed ineffabili suo modo, nobis autem hoc indicatur nostro modo. Dei quippe sublimior ante suum factum locutio, ipsius sui facti est immutabilis ratio, quae non habet sonum strepentem atque transeuntem, sed vim sempiterne manentem, et temporaliter operantem. Hac loquitur Angelis sanctis, nobis autem aliter longe positis.

Therefore that city was not seen [by us] in such a way as God made it to be seen, when he showed how much it displeased him. Although it can be understood that God descended to that city because his angels in whom he dwells descended; so that what is joined, "And the Lord God said, Behold, one race, and one lip for all," and the rest; and then added, "Come, and descending let us confound their language there" (Gen. XI, 5-7); may be a recapitulation, demonstrating in what manner it was done, which had been said, "The Lord descended." For if he had already descended, what does it mean, "Come, and descending let us confound" (which is understood as said to the angels), unless because he was descending through the angels, he who was in the descending angels? And well he does not say, "Come, and descending confound;" but, "Let us confound their language there;" showing that he so works through his ministers, that they also themselves are co-workers of God: just as the Apostle says, "For we are God's co-workers" (I Cor. III, 9).

Chapter VI.

What kind of speech is to be understood as that by which God speaks to the angels.

1. That which was said when man was made, "Let us make man," could also be understood concerning the angels, because he did not say, "I will make": but because it follows, "to our image;" and it is not lawful to believe that man was made to the image of the angels, or that the image of the angels and of God is the same; therefore the plurality of the Trinity is rightly understood there. Which Trinity nevertheless, because it is one God, even when he had said, "Let us make:" "And God made," it says, "man to the image of God" (Gen. I, 26-27): it did not say, "The gods made," or, "to the image of the gods." And here the same Trinity could be understood, as if the Father said to the Son and the Holy Spirit, "Come, and descending let us confound their language there;" if there were anything which prohibited the angels from being understood: to whom it rather belongs to come to God by holy movements, that is by pious thoughts, by which the incommutable Truth is consulted by them, as an eternal law in that supernal court of theirs. For they are not truth to themselves; but partakers of the creative Truth, they are moved toward it as to the fountain of life, so that what they do not have from themselves, they may receive from it. And this movement of theirs is stable, by which they come, who do not recede. Nor does God speak to the angels as we speak to each other, or to God, or to the angels, or as the angels themselves speak to us, or God through them to us; but in his own ineffable way, but this is indicated to us in our way. For the more sublime speech of God before his own deed is the immutable reason of his deed itself, which has no clanging and passing sound, but a force eternally remaining and temporally operating. By this he speaks to the holy angels, but to us situated far otherwise.

Quando autem etiam nos aliquid talis locutionis interioribus auribus capimus, Angelis propinquamus. Non itaque mihi assidue reddenda est ratio in hoc opere de locutionibus Dei. Aut enim Veritas incommutabilis per se ipsam ineffabiliter loquitur rationalis creaturae mentibus, aut per mutabilem creaturam loquitur, sive spiritualibus imaginibus nostro spiritui, sive corporalibus vocibus corporis sensui.

2. Illud sane quod dictum est, Et nunc non deficient ex illis omnia, quae conati fuerint facere (Id. XI, 6), non dictum est confirmando, sed tanquam interrogando, sicut solet a comminantibus dici, quemadmodum ait quidam, non arma expedient, totaque ex urbe sequentur? (Virgil., Aeneid. lib. 4, v. 592.) Sic ergo accipiendum est, tanquam dixerit, Nonne omnia deficient ex illis, quae conati fuerint facere? Sed si ita dicatur, non exprimit comminantem. Verum propter tardiusculos addidimus particulam, id est, Ne, ut diceremus, Nonne: quoniam vocem pronuntiantis scribere non possumus. Ex illis igitur tribus hominibus, Noe filiis, septuaginta tres, vel potius, ut ratio declaratura est, septuaginta duae gentes totidemque linguae per terras esse coeperunt, quae crescendo et insulas impleverunt. Auctus est autem numerus gentium multo amplius quam linguarum. Nam et in Africa barbaras gentes in una lingua plurimas novimus; et homines quidem, multiplicato genere humano, ad insulas inhabitandas navigio transire potuisse, quis ambigat?

Caput VII.

An omne bestiarum genus etiam remotissimae a terris insulae ex eo numero acceperint, qui in arca a diluvii inundatione servatus est.

Sed quaestio de omni genere bestiarum est, quae sub cura hominum non sunt, nec sicuti ranae nascuntur ex terra, sed sola commixtione maris et feminae propagantur, sicut lupi atque hujusmodi caetera, quomodo post diluvium, quo ea quae in arca non erant, cuncta deleta sunt, etiam in insulis esse potuerint, si reparata non sunt nisi ex his, quorum genera in utroque sexu arca servavit. Possunt quidem credi ad insulas natando transisse, sed proximas. Sunt autem quaedam tam longe positae a continentibus terris, ut ad eas nulla videatur natare potuisse bestiarum.

But when even we capture something of such speech with our interior ears, we approach the angels. Therefore I must not assiduously give a reason in this work concerning the speeches of God. For either the incommutable Truth speaks by itself ineffably to the minds of a rational creature, or it speaks through a mutable creature, whether by spiritual images to our spirit, or by corporal voices to the sense of the body.

2. That indeed which was said, "And now all things which they have attempted to do will not fail from them" (Id. XI, 6), was not said by confirming, but as if by interrogating, as it is accustomed to be said by those threatening, just as a certain one says, "will they not prepare arms, and follow from the whole city?" (Virgil, Aeneid, Bk. 4, v. 592.) So therefore it is to be taken as if he had said, "Will not all things fail from them, which they have attempted to do?" But if it be said thus, it does not express one threatening. But for the sake of the somewhat slow we have added the particle, that is, Ne, so that we might say, Nonne: since we cannot write the voice of the one pronouncing. Therefore from those three men, the sons of Noah, seventy-three, or rather, as reason is about to declare, seventy-two nations and as many languages began to be through the lands, which by increasing also filled the islands. But the number of nations increased much more than that of languages. For also in Africa we know very many barbarian nations in one language; and who would doubt that men indeed, the human race having been multiplied, were able to cross by ship to inhabit the islands?

Chapter VII.

Whether every kind of beast even in the islands most remote from lands received from that number which was preserved in the ark from the inundation of the flood.

But there is a question concerning every kind of beasts, which are not under the care of men, nor are born from the earth as frogs are, but are propagated only by the commixtion of male and female, as wolves and other things of this kind, how they could have been in the islands after the flood, by which all things which were not in the ark were destroyed, if they were not restored except from these whose kinds the ark preserved in both sexes. They can indeed be believed to have crossed to the islands by swimming, but the nearby ones. But there are some placed so far from the continental lands, that no beast seems to have been able to swim to them.

Quod si homines eas captas secum advexerunt, et eo modo ubi habitabant earum genera instituerunt, venandi studio fieri potuisse incredibile non est: quamvis jussu Dei sive permissu etiam opere Angelorum negandum non sit potuisse transferri. Si vero e terra exortae sunt secundum originem primam, quando dixit Deus, Producat terra animam vivam (Gen. I, 24): multo clarius apparet, non tam reparandorum animalium causa, quam figurandarum variarum gentium propter Ecclesiae sacramentum in arca fuisse omnia genera, si in insulis, quo transire non possent, multa animalia terra produxit.

Caput VIII.

An ex propagine Adam vel filiorum Noe quaedam genera hominum monstrosa prodierint.

1. Quaeritur etiam, utrum ex filiis Noe, vel potius ex illo uno homine, unde etiam ipsi exstiterunt, propagata esse credendum sit quaedam monstrosa hominum genera, quae gentium narrat historia: sicut perhibentur quidam unum habere oculum in fronte media: quibusdam plantas versas esse post crura: quibusdam utriusque sexus esse naturam, et dextram mammam virilem, sinistram muliebrem, vicibusque alternis coeundo et gignere et parere: aliis ora non esse, eosque per nares tantummodo halitu vivere: alios statura esse cubitales, quos Pygmaeos a cubito Graeci vocant: alibi quinquennes concipere feminas, et octavum vitae annum non excedere. Item ferunt esse gentem, ubi singula crura in pedibus habent, nec poplitem flectunt, et sunt mirabilis celeritatis; quos Sciopodas vocant, quod per aestum in terra jacentes resupini umbra se pedum protegant: quosdam sine cervice oculos habentes in humeris: et caetera hominum, vel quasi hominum genera, quae in maritima platea Carthaginis musivo picta sunt, ex libris deprompta velut curiosioris historiae. Quid dicam de Cynocephalis, quorum canina capita atque ipse latratus magis bestias quam homines confitetur? Sed omnia genera hominum quae dicuntur esse, credere non est necesse. Verum quisquis uspiam nascitur homo, id est animal rationale mortale, quamlibet nostris inusitatam sensibus gerat corporis formam, seu colorem, sive motum, sive sonum, sive qualibet vi, qualibet parte, qualibet qualitate naturae, ex illo uno protoplasto originem ducere, nullus fidelium dubitaverit. Apparet tamen quid in pluribus natura obtinuerit, et quid sit ipsa raritate mirabile.

But if men brought them captured with themselves, and in that way instituted their kinds where they dwelt, it is not incredible that it could have been done by the zeal of hunting: although it is not to be denied that they could have been transferred by the command or permission of God also by the work of Angels. But if they arose from the earth according to their first origin, when God said, "Let the earth produce a living soul" (Gen. I, 24): it appears much more clearly, that not so much for the sake of restoring the animals, as for the sake of figuring the various nations on account of the sacrament of the Church, were all kinds in the ark, if the earth produced many animals in the islands where they could not cross.

Chapter VIII.

Whether from the stock of Adam or the sons of Noah certain monstrous kinds of men proceeded.

1. It is also asked, whether from the sons of Noah, or rather from that one man from whom they themselves existed, it is to be believed that certain monstrous kinds of men were propagated, which the history of the nations narrates: just as some are said to have one eye in the middle of the forehead: for some the soles of the feet are turned behind the legs: for some there is the nature of both sexes, and the right breast masculine, the left feminine, and in alternating turns of coition they both beget and bring forth: others have no mouths, and live by breath alone through the nostrils: others are of a cubit's stature, whom the Greeks call Pygmies from the cubit: elsewhere women conceive at five years old, and do not exceed the eighth year of life. Likewise they say there is a race where they have single legs in their feet, nor do they bend the knee, and they are of wonderful celerity; whom they call Sciopodes, because in the heat lying supine on the ground they protect themselves with the shade of their feet: some without a neck having eyes in their shoulders: and other kinds of men, or as it were kinds of men, which are depicted in mosaic in the maritime street of Carthage, taken from books as it were of a more curious history. What shall I say of the Cynocephali, whose canine heads and their very barking confesses them to be beasts rather than men? But it is not necessary to believe all the kinds of men which are said to be. But whoever is born anywhere as a man, that is a rational mortal animal, however unusual a form of body he bears to our senses, whether color, or movement, or sound, or in whatever force, whatever part, whatever quality of nature, no one of the faithful would doubt that he draws his origin from that one protoplast. Yet it appears what nature has obtained in the majority, and what is wonderful by its very rarity.

2. Qualis autem ratio redditur de monstrosis apud nos hominum partubus, talis de monstrosis quibusdam gentibus reddi potest. Deus enim creator est omnium, qui ubi et quando creari quid oporteat vel oportuerit, ipse novit, sciens universitatis pulchritunem quarum partium vel similitudine vel diversitate contexat. Sed qui totum inspicere non potest, tanquam deformitate partis offenditur; quoniam cui congruat, et quo referatur, ignorat. Pluribus quam quinis digitis in manibus et pedibus nasci homines, novimus; et haec levior est quam illa distantia: sed tamen absit ut quis ita desipiat, ut existimet in numero humanorum digitorum errasse Creatorem, quamvis nesciens cur hoc fecerit. Ita etsi major diversitas oriatur, scit ille quid egerit, cujus opera juste nemo reprehendit. Apud Hipponem-Diarrhytum est homo quasi lunatas habens plantas, et in eis binos tantummodo digitos, similes et manus. Si aliqua gens talis esset, illi curiosae atque mirabili adderetur historiae. Num igitur istum propter hoc negabimus ex uno illo, qui primus creatus est, esse propagatum? Androgyni, quos etiam Hermaphroditos nuncupant, quamvis admodum rari sint, difficile est tamen ut temporibus desint, in quibus sic uterque sexus apparet, ut ex quo potius debeant accipere nomen, incertum sit: a meliore tamen, hoc est a masculino, ut appellarentur, loquendi consuetudo praevaluit. Nam nemo unquam Androgynaecas aut Hermaphroditas nuncupavit. Ante annos aliquot, nostra certe memoria, in Oriente duplex homo natus est superioribus membris, inferioribus simplex: nam duo erant capita, duo pectora, quatuor manus; venter autem unus, et pedes duo, sicut uni homini; et tam diu vixit, ut multos ad eum videndum fama contraheret. Quis autem omnes commemorare possit humanos fetus longe dissimiles his ex quibus eos natos esse certissimum est? Sicut ergo haec ex illo uno negari non possunt originem ducere; ita quaecumque gentes in diversitatibus corporum ab usitato naturae cursu, quem plures et prope omnes tenent, velut exorbitasse traduntur, si definitione illa includuntur, ut rationalia animalia sint atque mortalia, ab eodem ipso uno primo patre omnium stirpem trahere confitendum est: si tamen vera sunt quae de illarum nationum varietate et tanta inter se atque nobiscum diversitate traduntur. Nam et simias, et cercopithecos, et sphingas, si nesciremus non homines esse, sed bestias, possent illi historici de sua curiositate gloriantes, velut gentes aliquas hominum nobis impunita vanitate mentiri. Sed si homines sunt, de quibus illa mira conscripta sunt; quid, si propterea Deus voluit etiam nonnullas gentes ita creare, ne in his monstris, quae apud nos patet ex hominibus nasci, ejus sapientiam, qua naturam fingit humanam, velut artem cujuspiam minus perfecti opificis, putaremus errasse?

2. But what reason is given concerning the monstrous births among us, such can be given concerning certain monstrous nations. For God is the creator of all, who himself knows where and when what ought to be created or to have been created, knowing with what similarity or diversity of parts he weaves the beauty of the universe. But he who cannot inspect the whole is offended as if by the deformity of a part; because he is ignorant of what it may be congruent with, and to what it may be referred. We know that men are born with more than five fingers on hands and feet; and this distance is lighter than that other: but yet far be it that anyone should be so foolish as to think that the Creator erred in the number of human fingers, although not knowing why he did this. So even if a greater diversity should arise, he knows what he did, whose works no one justly reprehends. At Hippo Diarrhytus there is a man having feet as it were moon-shaped, and in them only two toes, and hands similar. If there were any nation such, it would be added to that curious and wonderful history. Shall we therefore deny that this man was propagated from that one who was first created, on account of this? Androgynes, whom they also call Hermaphrodites, although they are quite rare, it is yet difficult for them to be lacking in the times, in whom both sexes so appear, that from which one they ought rather to receive a name is uncertain: yet the custom of speaking prevailed that they should be called from the better, that is, from the masculine. For no one has ever called them *Androgynaecas* or *Hermaphroditas*. Some years ago, certainly in our memory, in the East a double man was born in the upper members, in the lower simple: for there were two heads, two breasts, four hands; but one belly, and two feet, just as for one man; and he lived so long, that fame drew many to see him. But who could commemorate all human fetuses far dissimilar to those from whom it is most certain that they were born? As therefore these cannot be denied to draw their origin from that one; so whatever nations in the diversities of bodies are handed down to have as it were exorbitant from the usual course of nature, which many and nearly all hold, if they are included in that definition, that they are rational and mortal animals, it must be confessed that they draw their stock from that very same one first father of all: if yet those things are true which are handed down concerning the variety of those nations and such great diversity among themselves and with us. For even apes, and guenons, and sphinxes, if we did not know they were not men, but beasts, those historians glorying in their curiosity could lie to us with unpunished vanity as if they were some nations of men. But if they are men, concerning whom those wonders are written; what if God for this reason wished also to create some nations so, lest in these monsters which it is clear are born from men among us, we should think his wisdom, by which he fashions human nature, had erred, as if it were the art of some less perfect craftsman?

Non itaque nobis videri absurdum debet, ut quemadmodum in singulis quibusque gentibus quaedam monstra sunt hominum, ita in universo genere humano quaedam monstra sint gentium. Quapropter, ut istam quaestionem pedetentim cauteque concludam: aut illa, quae talia de quibusdam gentibus scripta sunt, omnino nulla sunt; aut si sunt, homines non sunt; aut ex Adam sunt, si homines sunt.

Caput IX.

An inferiorem partem terrae, quae nostrae habitationi contraria est, Antipodas habere credendum sit.

Quod vero et Antipodas esse fabulantur, id est, homines a contraria parte terrae, ubi sol oritur, quando occidit nobis, adversa pedibus nostris calcare vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est. Neque hoc ulla historica cognitione didicisse se affirmant, sed quasi ratiocinando conjectant, eo quod intra convexa coeli terra suspensa sit, eumdemque locum mundus habeat, et infimum, et medium: et ex hoc opinantur alteram terrae partem, quae infra est, habitatione hominum carere non posse. Nec attendunt, etiamsi figura conglobata et rotunda mundus esse credatur, sive aliqua ratione monstretur; non tamen esse consequens, ut etiam ex illa parte ab aquarum congerie nuda sit terra: deinde etiamsi nuda sit, neque hoc statim necesse esse, ut homines habeat. Quoniam nullo modo Scriptura ista mentitur, quae narratis praeteritis facit fidem, eo quod ejus praedicta complentur: nimisque absurdum est, ut dicatur aliquos homines ex hac in illam partem, Oceani immensitate trajecta, navigare ac pervenire potuisse, ut etiam illic ex uno illo primo homine genus institueretur humanum. Quapropter inter illos tunc hominum populos, qui per septuaginta duas gentes et totidem linguas colliguntur fuisse divisi, quaeramus, si possumus invenire illam in terris peregrinantem civitatem Dei, quae usque ad diluvium arcamque perducta est, atque in filiis Noe per eorum benedictiones perseverasse monstratur, maxime in maximo, qui est appellatus Sem: quandoquidem Japheth ita benedictus est, ut in ejusdem fratris sui domibus habitaret.

Caput X.

De generatione Sem, in cujus progenie tendens ad Abraham civitatis Dei ordo dirigitur.

Therefore it ought not to seem absurd to us, that just as in each individual nation there are certain monsters of men, so in the whole human race there are certain monsters of nations. Wherefore, that I may conclude this question step by step and cautiously: either those things which are written such concerning certain nations are altogether nothing; or if they are, they are not men; or they are from Adam, if they are men.

Chapter IX.

Whether the lower part of the earth, which is contrary to our habitation, is to be believed to have Antipodes.

But that which they fable, that there are also Antipodes, that is, men on the contrary part of the earth, where the sun rises when it sets for us, who tread with footsteps opposite to our feet, is by no reason to be believed. Nor do they affirm that they have learned this by any historical knowledge, but they conjecture it as if by reasoning, because the earth is suspended within the convexities of heaven, and the world has the same place, both the lowest and the middle: and from this they opine that the other part of the earth, which is below, cannot lack the habitation of men. Nor do they attend to this, that even if the world be believed to be of a conglobated and round figure, or be shown by some reason; it is nevertheless not a consequence, that also on that part the earth is bare of the mass of waters: then even if it be bare, it is not immediately necessary that it has men. Since in no way does that Scripture lie, which gives faith by past things narrated, because its predictions are fulfilled: and it is too absurd, that it should be said that some men were able to navigate and arrive from this part to that part, the immensity of the Ocean having been traversed, so that even there the human race should be instituted from that one first man. Wherefore among those peoples of men then, who are gathered to have been divided into seventy-two nations and as many languages, let us seek, if we can find that city of God on pilgrimage on the lands, which was led through as far as to the flood and the ark, and is shown to have persevered in the sons of Noah through their blessings, especially in the eldest, who was called Shem: since Japheth was so blessed, that he should dwell in the houses of that same brother of his.

Chapter X.

On the generation of Shem, in whose progeny the order of the city of God is directed tending toward Abraham.

1. Tenenda est igitur series generationum ab ipso Sem, ut ipsa ostendat post diluvium civitatem Dei; sicut eam series generationum ab illo qui est appellatus Seth, ostendebat ante diluvium. Propter hoc ergo Scriptura divina cum terrenam civitatem in Babylone, hoc est in confusione, monstrasset, ad patriarcham Sem recapitulando revertitur, et orditur inde generationes usque ad Abraham, commemorato etiam numero annorum quanto quisque ad hanc seriem pertinentem filium genuisset, quantoque vixisset. Ubi certe agnoscendum est quod ante promiseram, ut appareat quare sit dictum de filiis Heber, Nomen unius Phalech, quia in diebus ejus divisa est terra (Gen. X, 25). Quid enim aliud intelligendum est, terram esse divisam, nisi diversitate linguarum? Omissis igitur caeteris filiis Sem ad hanc rem non pertinentibus, illi connectuntur in ordine generationum per quos possit ad Abraham perveniri: sicut illi connectebantur ante diluvium, per quos perveniretur ad Noe, generationibus quae propagatae sunt ex illo Adam filio, qui appellatus est Seth. Sic ergo incipit generationum ista contextio: Et hae generationes Sem. Sem filius centum annorum, cum genuit Arphaxat, secundo anno post diluvium. Et vixit Sem, postquam genuit Arphaxat, quingentos annos, et genuit filios et filias, et mortuus est (Id. XI, 10, 11). Sic exsequitur caeteros, dicens quoto quisque anno vitae suae filium genuerit, ad istum generationum ordinem pertinentem, qui pertendit ad Abraham; et quot annos postmodum vixerit, intimans eum filios filiasque genuisse: ut intelligamus unde potuerint populi accrescere, ne in paucis qui commemorantur hominibus occupati pueriliter haesitemus, unde tanta spatia terrarum atque regnorum repleri potuerint de genere Sem; maxime propter Assyriorum regnum, unde Ninus ille Orientalium domitor usquequaque populorum ingenti prosperitate regnavit, et latissimum ac fundatissimum regnum, quod diuturno tempore duceretur, suis posteris propagavit.

2. Sed nos, ne diutius quam opus est immoremur, non quot annos quisque in ista generationum serie vixerit, sed quoto anno vitae suae genuerit filium, hoc ordine memorandum tantummodo ponimus, ut et numerum annorum a transacto diluvio usque ad Abraham colligamus, et propter illa, in quibus nos cogit necessitas immorari, breviter alia cursimque tangamus. Secundo igitur anno post diluvium Sem, cum esset centum annorum, genuit Arphaxat; Arphaxat autem, cum esset centum triginta quinque annorum, genuit Cainan; qui cum esset centum triginta, genuit Sala.

1. Therefore the series of generations from Shem himself is to be held, that it may show the city of God after the flood; just as the series of generations from him who was called Seth was showing it before the flood. For this reason therefore divine Scripture, when it had shown the earthly city in Babylon, that is in confusion, returns by recapitulating to the patriarch Shem, and begins from there the generations as far as to Abraham, having also commemorated the number of years at which each one pertaining to this series had begotten a son, and how long he had lived. Where certainly that which I had promised before is to be recognized, so that it may appear why it was said of the sons of Eber, "The name of one was Peleg, because in his days the earth was divided" (Gen. X, 25). For what else is to be understood, that the earth was divided, except by the diversity of languages? Therefore the rest of the sons of Shem not pertaining to this matter having been omitted, those are connected in the order of generations through whom it is possible to arrive at Abraham: just as those were connected before the flood, through whom one might arrive at Noah, in the generations which were propagated from that son of Adam, who was called Seth. So therefore this contexture of generations begins: "And these are the generations of Shem. Shem was a son of a hundred years when he begot Arphaxad, in the second year after the flood. And Shem lived, after he begot Arphaxad, five hundred years, and he begot sons and daughters, and he died" (Id. XI, 10, 11). So he pursues the rest, saying in what year of his life each one begot a son pertaining to that order of generations which reaches to Abraham; and how many years he lived afterward, intimating that he begot sons and daughters: so that we may understand whence the peoples were able to increase, lest occupied in the few men who are commemorated we should childishly hesitate as to whence such spaces of lands and kingdoms were able to be filled from the race of Shem; especially on account of the kingdom of the Assyrians, whence that Ninus, the tamer of the Oriental peoples everywhere, reigned with huge prosperity, and propagated to his posterity a most wide and most well-founded kingdom, which should be led through for a long time.

2. But we, lest we dwell longer than is necessary, put down to be remembered only in this order not how many years each one in that series of generations lived, but in what year of his life he begot a son, so that we may both collect the number of years from the passed flood as far as to Abraham, and on account of those things in which necessity compels us to dwell, we may touch upon other things briefly and cursorily. In the second year therefore after the flood Shem, when he was of a hundred years, begot Arphaxad; but Arphaxad, when he was of a hundred and thirty-five years, begot Cainan; who when he was a hundred and thirty, begot Salah.

Porro etiam ipse Sala totidem annorum erat, quando genuit Heber. Centum vero et triginta et quatuor agebat annos Heber, cum genuit Phalech, in cujus diebus divisa est terra. Ipse autem Phalech vixit centum triginta, et genuit Ragau: et Ragau centum triginta duos, et genuit Seruch: et Seruch centum triginta, et genuit Nachor: et Nachor septuaginta novem, et genuit Thara: Thara autem septuaginta, et genuit Abram (Gen. 10-26): quem postea Deus mutato vocabulo nominavit Abraham (Id. XVII, 5). Fiunt itaque anni a diluvio usque ad Abraham mille septuaginta et duo, secundum Vulgatam editionem, hoc est interpretum Septuaginta. In hebraeis autem codicibus longe pauciores annos perhibent inveniri: de quibus rationem aut nullam, aut difficillimam reddunt.

3. Cum ergo quaerimus in illis septuaginta duabus gentibus civitatem Dei, non possumus affirmare illo tempore, quo erat illis labium unum (Id. XI, 1), id est loquela una, tunc jam genus humanum alienatum fuisse a cultu veri Dei, ita ut in solis istis generationibus pietas vera remaneret, quae descendunt de semine Sem per Arphaxat, et tendunt ad Abraham: sed ab illa superbia aedificandae turris usque in coelum, qua impia significatur elatio, apparuit civitas, hoc est societas, impiorum. Utrum itaque ante non fuerit, an latuerit, an potius utraque permanserit, pia scilicet in duobus filiis Noe, qui benedicti sunt, eorumque posteris; impia vero in eo qui maledictus est, atque ejus progenie, ubi etiam exortus est gigas venator contra Dominum, non est dijudicatio facilis. Fortassis enim, quod profecto est credibilius, et in filiis duorum illorum jam tunc antequam Babylonia coepisset institui, fuerunt contemptores Dei, et in filiis Cham cultores Dei: utrumque tamen hominum genus terris nunquam defuisse credendum est. Siquidem et quando dictum est, Omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt; non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum; in utroque Psalmo, ubi haec verba sunt, et hoc legitur, Nonne cognoscent omnes, qui operantur iniquitatem, qui devorant populum meum in cibo panis? Erat ergo etiam tunc populus Dei. Unde illud quod dictum est, Non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum; de filiis hominum dictum est, non de filiis Dei. Nam praemissum est, Deus de coelo prospexit super filios hominum, ut videret si est intelligens, aut requirens Deum (Psal. XIII, 3, 4, 2; Psal. LII, 4, 5, 3): ac deinde illa subjuncta, quae omnes filios hominum, id est, ad civitatem pertinentes quae vivit secundum hominem, non secundum Deum, reprobos esse demonstrant.

Furthermore even Salah himself was of as many years when he begot Eber. But Eber was passing a hundred and thirty-four years when he begot Peleg, in whose days the earth was divided. But Peleg himself lived a hundred and thirty, and begot Reu: and Reu a hundred and thirty-two, and begot Serug: and Serug a hundred and thirty, and begot Nahor: and Nahor seventy-nine, and begot Terah: but Terah seventy, and begot Abram (Gen. XI, 10-26): whom afterward God, the name having been changed, called Abraham (Id. XVII, 5). Thus there become from the flood as far as to Abraham one thousand seventy-two years, according to the Vulgate edition, that is of the Seventy interpreters. But in the Hebrew codices they report that far fewer years are found: concerning which they give either no reason, or a most difficult one.

3. When therefore we seek the city of God among those seventy-two nations, we cannot affirm that at that time, in which they had one lip (Id. XI, 1), that is, one speech, the human race had already been alienated from the worship of the true God, so that true piety remained in these generations alone, which descend from the seed of Shem through Arphaxad, and reach to Abraham: but from that pride of building the tower even to heaven, by which an impious elation is signified, the city, that is, the society, of the impious appeared. Whether therefore it had not been before, or had been hidden, or rather both remained, the pious namely in the two sons of Noah, who were blessed, and in their posterity; but the impious in him who was cursed, and in his progeny, where also there arose the giant hunter against the Lord, is not an easy decision. For perhaps, which is certainly more credible, even in the sons of those two already then before Babylonia had begun to be established, there were contemners of God, and in the sons of Ham worshippers of God: yet it is to be believed that both kinds of men have never been lacking to the lands. Since even when it was said, "All have turned aside, they have together become useless; there is none who does good, no, not so much as one"; in both Psalms, where these words are, this also is read, "Will they not all know, who work iniquity, who devour my people as the food of bread?" There was therefore even then a people of God. Whence that which was said, "There is none who does good, no, not so much as one"; was said of the sons of men, not of the sons of God. For it was premised, "God looked down from heaven upon the sons of men, to see if there is any understanding, or seeking God" (Psal. XIII, 3, 4, 2; Psal. LII, 4, 5, 3): and then those things were subjoined, which demonstrate that all the sons of men, that is, those pertaining to the city which lives according to man, not according to God, are reprobate.

Caput XI.

Quod ea primitus lingua in usu hominum fuerit, quae postea Hebraea ab Heber nomine nuncupata est, et in cujus familia remansit, cum diversitas esset facta linguarum.

1. Quamobrem sicut lingua una cum esset omnium, non ideo filii pestilentiae defuerunt; nam et ante diluvium una erat lingua, et tamen omnes praeter unam Noe justi domum deleri diluvio meruerunt: ita quando merito elatioris impietatis gentes linguarum diversitate punitae atque divisae sunt, et civitas impiorum confusionis nomen accepit, hoc est, appellata est Babylon, non defuit domus Heber, ubi ea quae antea fuit omnium lingua remaneret. Unde, sicut supra memoravi, cum coepissent enumerari filii Sem, qui singuli gentes singulas procrearunt, primus est commemoratus Heber, cum sit abnepos ipsius, hoc est, ab illo quintus inveniatur exortus. Quia ergo in ejus familia remansit haec lingua, divisis per alias linguas caeteris gentibus, quae lingua prius humano generi non immerito creditur fuisse communis, ideo deinceps Hebraea est nuncupata. Tunc enim opus erat eam distingui ab aliis linguis nomine proprio, sicut aliae quoque vocatae sunt nominibus propriis. Quando autem erat una, nihil aliud quam humana lingua, vel humana locutio vocabatur, qua sola universum genus humanum loquebatur.

2. Dixerit aliquis: Si in diebus Phalech filii Heber divisa est terra per linguas, id est, homines qui tunc erant in terra; ex ejus nomine potius debuit appellari lingua illa, quae fuit omnibus ante communis. Sed intelligendum est ipsum Heber propterea tale nomen imposuisse filio suo, ut vocaretur Phalech, quod interpretatur Divisio, quia tunc ei natus est, quando per linguas terra divisa est, id est ipso tempore, ut hoc sit quod dictum est: In diebus ejus divisa est terra (Gen. X, 25). Nam nisi adhuc Heber viveret, quando linguarum facta est multitudo, non ex ejus nomine nomen acciperet lingua, quae apud illum potuit permanere. Et ideo credenda est ipsa fuisse prima illa communis: quoniam de poena venit illa multiplication mutatioque linguarum; et utique praeter hanc poenam esse debuit populus Dei. Nec frustra lingua haec est, quam tenuit Abraham, nec in omnes filios suos transmittere potuit, sed in eos tantum qui propagati per Jacob, et insignius atque eminentius in Dei populum coalescentes, Dei Testamenta et stirpem Christi habere potuerunt.

Chapter XI.

That that language was originally in the use of men, which was afterward called Hebrew from the name of Eber, and in whose family it remained, when the diversity of languages had been made.

1. Wherefore just as when there was one language for all, for that reason the sons of pestilence were not lacking; for even before the flood there was one language, and yet all except the one house of the just Noah deserved to be destroyed by the flood: so when on account of the merit of a more elevated impiety the nations were punished and divided by the diversity of languages, and the city of the impious received the name of confusion, that is, it was called Babylon, the house of Eber was not lacking, where that language which before was of all might remain. Whence, as I mentioned above, when the sons of Shem began to be enumerated, who each procreated individual nations, Eber was commemorated first, although he is his great-grandson, that is, he is found to have arisen as the fifth from him. Because therefore in his family this language remained, the rest of the nations having been divided through other languages, which language is not undeservedly believed to have been common before to the human race, therefore thereafter it was called Hebrew. For then it was necessary for it to be distinguished from other languages by its own name, just as the others also were called by their own names. But when it was one, it was called nothing else than the human language, or human speech, by which alone the whole human race spoke.

2. Some one might say: If in the days of Peleg the son of Eber the earth was divided through languages, that is, the men who then were on the earth; from his name that language rather ought to have been called, which was before common to all. But it is to be understood that Eber himself for this reason imposed such a name on his son, so that he should be called Peleg, which is interpreted Division, because he was born to him then, when the earth was divided through languages, that is at that very time, so that this should be what was said: "In his days the earth was divided" (Gen. X, 25). For unless Eber were still living when the multitude of languages was made, the language would not receive its name from his name, which was able to remain with him. And therefore it is to be believed that it was that first common one: since that multiplication and change of languages came from punishment; and certainly the people of God ought to have been outside this punishment. Nor is this language in vain, which Abraham held, nor was he able to transmit it to all his sons, but only to those who having been propagated through Jacob, and coalescing more notably and eminently into the people of God, were able to have the Testaments of God and the lineage of Christ.

Nec Heber ipse eamdem linguam in universam progeniem suam refudit; sed in eam tantum, cujus generationes perducuntur ad Abraham. Quapropter, etiamsi non evidenter expressum est fuisse aliquod pium genus hominum, quando ab impiis Babylonia condebatur; non ad hoc valuit haec obscuritas, ut quaerentis fraudaretur, sed potius ut exerceretur intentio. Cum enim legitur unam fuisse linguam primitus omnium, et ante omnes filios Sem commendatur Heber, quamvis ab illo quintus oriatur; et Hebraea vocatur lingua, quam Patriarcharum et Prophetarum, non solum in sermonibus suis, verum etiam in Litteris sacris custodivit auctoritas: profecto cum quaeritur in divisione linguarum, ubi lingua illa remanere potuerit, quae fuit ante communis; quae, sine ulla dubitatione, ubi remansit, non ibi fuit illa poena, quae facta est mutatione linguarum; quid aliud occurrit, nisi quod in hujus gente remanserit, a cujus nomine nomen accepit; et hoc justitiae gentis hujus non parvum apparuisse vestigium, quod, cum aliae gentes plecterentur mutatione linguarum, ad istam non pervenit tale supplicium?

3. Sed adhuc illud movet: quomodo potuerunt singulas gentes facere Heber et filius ejus Phalech, si una lingua permansit ambobus? Et certe una est Hebraea gens ex Heber propagata usque ad Abraham, et per eum deinceps, donec magnus fieret populus Israel. Quomodo igitur omnes filii qui commemorati sunt trium filiorum Noe, fecerunt singulas gentes, si Heber et Phalech singulas non fecerunt? Nimirum illud est probabilius, quod gigas ille Nebroth fecerit etiam ipse gentem suam, sed propter excellenceiam dominationis et corporis seorsum eminentius nominatus est, ut maneat numerus septuaginta duarum gentium atque linguarum. Phalech autem propterea commemoratus est, non quod gentem fecerit (nam eadem ipsa est ejus gens Hebraea, eademque lingua); sed propter tempus insigne, quod in diebus ejus terra divisa est. Nec movere nos debet, quomodo potuerit gigas Nebroth ad illud aetatis occurrere, quo Babylon condita est, et confusio facta linguarum, atque ex hac divisio gentium. Non enim quia Heber sextus est a Noe, ille autem quartus, ideo non potuerunt ad id tempus convenire vivendo. Hoc enim contigit, cum plus viverent, ubi pauciores sunt generationes, minus ubi plures; aut serius nati essent ubi pauciores, maturius ubi plures. Sane intelligendum est, quando terra divisa est, non solum jam natos caeteros filios filiorum Noe, qui commemorantur patres gentium; sed etiam ejus aetatis fuisse, ut numerosas familias haberent, quae dignae fuissent nominibus gentium. Unde nequaquam putandum, quod eo fuerint ordine geniti, quo commemorati leguntur.

Nor did Eber himself pour back the same language into his whole progeny; but only into that, whose generations are led through to Abraham. Wherefore, even if it is not evidently expressed that there was some pious kind of men when Babylonia was being founded by the impious; this obscurity did not avail for this, that the intention of the seeker should be defrauded, but rather that it should be exercised. For when it is read that there was one language originally of all, and before all the sons of Shem Eber is commended, although he arises as the fifth from him; and the language is called Hebrew, which the authority of the Patriarchs and Prophets guarded, not only in their discourses, but even in the sacred Letters: surely when it is sought in the division of languages, where that language was able to remain, which was before common; which, without any doubt, where it remained, there was not that punishment which was made by the change of languages; what else occurs, except that it remained in the nation of this one, from whose name it received its name; and that this appeared as no small trace of the justice of this nation, that, when other nations were struck by the change of languages, to this one such a punishment did not reach?

3. But this still moves us: how were Eber and his son Peleg able to make individual nations, if one language remained for both? And certainly there is one Hebrew nation propagated from Eber as far as to Abraham, and through him thereafter, until the people of Israel should become great. How therefore did all the sons of the three sons of Noah who are commemorated make individual nations, if Eber and Peleg did not make individual ones? Doubtless that is more credible, that that giant Nimrod even himself made his own nation, but on account of the excellence of his dominion and body he was named separately more eminently, so that the number of seventy-two nations and languages may remain. But Peleg was commemorated for this reason, not that he made a nation (for his is that same Hebrew nation, and the same language); but on account of the notable time, because in his days the earth was divided. Nor ought it to move us, how the giant Nimrod was able to reach to that age in which Babylon was founded, and the confusion of languages was made, and from this the division of nations. For not because Eber is the sixth from Noah, but he the fourth, for that reason they were not able to meet in living at that time. For this happened, when they lived longer, where there are fewer generations, less where there are more; or they had been born later where there were fewer, earlier where there were more. Surely it is to be understood, when the earth was divided, not only that the other sons of the sons of Noah were already born, who are commemorated as fathers of nations; but also that they were of such an age that they had numerous families, which would have been worthy of the names of nations. Whence by no means is it to be thought that they were begotten in that order in which they are read to be commemorated.

Alioquin duodecim filii Jectan, qui erat filius alius Heber, frater Phalech, quomodo potuerunt jam gentes facere, si post Phalech fratrem suum Jectan natus est, sicut post eum commemoratus est: quandoquidem tempore quo natus est Phalech, divisa est terra. Proinde intelligendum est, priorem quidem nominatum, sed longe post fratrem suum Jectan fuisse natum, cujus Jectan duodecim filii tam grandes jam familias haberent, ut in linguas proprias dividi possent. Sic enim potuit prior commemorari, qui erat aetate posterior; quemadmodum prius commemorati sunt ex tribus filiis Noe procreati filii Japheth, qui erat minimus eorum; deinde filii Cham, qui erat medius; postremo filii Sem, qui erat primus et maximus. Illarum autem gentium vocabula partim manserunt, ita ut hodieque appareat unde fuerint derivata; sicut ex Assur Assyrii, et ex Heber Hebraei: partim temporis vetustate mutata sunt, ita ut vix homines doctissimi antiquissimas historias perscrutantes, nec omnium, sed aliquarum ex istis origines gentium potuerint reperire. Nam quod ex filio Cham, qui vocabatur Mesraim, Aegyptii perhibentur exorti, nulla hic resonat origo vocabuli: sicut nec Aethiopum, qui dicuntur ad eum filium Cham pertinere, qui Chus appellatus est. Et si omnia considerentur, plura mutata, quam manentia nomina apparent.

Caput XII.

De articulo temporis in Abraham, a quo sanctae successionis novus ordo contexitur.

Nunc jam videamus procursum civitatis Dei, etiam ab illo articulo temporis, qui factus est in Patre Abraham, unde incipit esse notitia ejus evidentior, et ubi clariora leguntur promissa divina, quae nunc in Christo videmus impleri. Sicut ergo Scriptura sancta indicante didicimus, in regione Chaldaeorum natus est Abraham (Gen. XI, 28): quae terra ad regnum pertinebat Assyriorum. Apud Chaldaeos autem jam etiam tunc superstitiones impiae praevalebant, quemadmodum per caeteras gentes. Una igitur Tharae domus erat, de qua natus est Abraham, in qua unius veri Dei cultus, et quantum credibile est, in qua jam sola etiam Hebraea lingua remanserat; quamvis et ipsa, sicut jam manifestior Dei populus in Aegypto, ita in Mesopotamia servisse diis alienis, Jesu Nave narrante referatur (Josue XXIV, 2); caeteris ex progenie illius Heber in linguas paulatim alias et in nationes alias defluentibus. Proinde sicut per aquarum diluvium una domus Noe remanserat ad reparandum genus humanum, sic in diluvio multarum superstitionum per universum mundum una remanserat domus Tharae, in qua custodita est plantatio civitatis Dei.

Otherwise how were the twelve sons of Joktan, who was another son of Eber, the brother of Peleg, already able to make nations, if Joktan was born after his brother Peleg, as he was commemorated after him: since indeed at the time in which Peleg was born, the earth was divided. Hence it is to be understood that he was indeed named first, but that he was born long after his brother Joktan, whose twelve sons of Joktan already had such great families that they were able to be divided into their own languages. For so he was able to be commemorated first, who was later in age; just as first were commemorated the sons of Japheth procreated from the three sons of Noah, who was the youngest of them; then the sons of Ham, who was the middle one; finally the sons of Shem, who was the first and greatest. But of those nations the vocabularies partly remained, so that today also it appears whence they were derived; as from Assur the Assyrians, and from Eber the Hebrews: partly they have been changed by the antiquity of time, so that scarcely most learned men searching the most ancient histories have been able to find the origins of nations, not of all, but of some from these. For as to the fact that the Egyptians are reported to have arisen from the son of Ham, who was called Mizraim, no origin of the vocabulary resounds here: just as neither of the Ethiopians, who are said to pertain to that son of Ham who was called Cush. And if all things are considered, more changed names than remaining ones appear.

Chapter XII.

On the point of time in Abraham, from whom the new order of the holy succession is woven together.

Now let us already see the progress of the city of God, even from that point of time which was made in the Father Abraham, whence its knowledge begins to be more evident, and where clearer divine promises are read, which we now see fulfilled in Christ. As therefore we have learned by the indication of holy Scripture, Abraham was born in the region of the Chaldeans (Gen. XI, 28): which land pertained to the kingdom of the Assyrians. But among the Chaldeans even then already impious superstitions were prevailing, just as through the rest of the nations. One therefore was the house of Terah, from which Abraham was born, in which the worship of the one true God, and as far as is credible, in which already alone the Hebrew language also had remained; although even it itself, just as already the more manifest people of God in Egypt, so in Mesopotamia is reported to have served strange gods, Joshua the son of Nun relating it (Joshua XXIV, 2); the rest from the progeny of that Eber flowing away little by little into other languages and into other nations. Hence just as through the flood of waters one house of Noah had remained for repairing the human race, so in the flood of many superstitions through the whole world one house of Terah had remained, in which the plantation of the city of God was guarded.

Denique sicut illic enumeratis supra generationibus usque ad Noe simul cum annorum numeris, et exposita diluvii causa, priusquam Deus inciperet de arca fabricanda loqui ad Noe, dicitur, Hae autem generationes Noe (Gen. VI, 9): ita et hic, enumeratis generationibus ab illo, qui est appellatus Sem, filio Noe, usque ad Abraham, deinde insignis articulus similiter ponitur, ut dicatur, Hae sunt generationes Tharae. Thara genuit Abram et Nachor et Aran: et Aran genuit Lot. Et mortuus est Aran coram Thara patre suo in terra in qua natus est, in regione Chaldaeorum. Et sumpserunt Abram et Nachor sibi uxores: nomen mulieres Abram Sara, et nomen mulieris Nachor Melcha, filia Aran (Gen. XI, 27-29). Iste Aran pater Melchae fuit et pater Jescae, quae Jesca creditur ipsa esse etiam Sara uxor Abrahae.

Caput XIII.

Quae ratio fecisse videatur, ut in transmigratione Tharae, qua Chaldaeos deserens in Mesopotamiam transiit, nulla filii ejus Nachor facta sit mentio.

Deinde narratur quemadmodum Thara cum suis regionem reliquerit Chaldaeorum, et venerit in Mesopotamiam, et habitaverit in Charra: tacetur autem de uno ejus filio, qui vocabatur Nachor, tanquam eum non duxerit secum. Nam ita narratur: Et sumpsit Thara Abram filium suum, et Lot filium Aran, filium filii sui, et Saram nurum suam, uxorem Abram filii sui, et eduxit illos de regione Chaldaeorum ire in terram Chanaan: et venit in Charram, et habitavit ibi (Ibid., 31). Nusquam hic nominatus est Nachor, et uxor ejus Melcha. Sed invenimus postea, cum servum suum mitteret Abraham ad accipiendam uxorem filio suo Isaac, ita scriptum: Et accepit puer decem camelos de camelis domini sui, et de omnibus bonis domini sui secum, et exsurgens profectus est in Mesopotamiam in civitatem Nachor (Id. XXIV, 10). Isto et aliis sacrae hujus historiae testimoniis ostenditur etiam Nachor frater Abrahae exisse de regione Chaldaeorum, sedesque constituisse in Mesopotamia, ubi cum patre suo habitaverat Abraham. Cur ergo Scriptura eum non commemoravit, quando ex gente Chaldaea cum suis profectus est Thara, et habitavit in Mesopotamia, ubi non solum Abraham filius ejus, verum etiam Sarra nurus et Lot nepos ejus commemorantur, quod eos duxerit secum? Cur, putamus, nisi forte quod a paterna et fraterna pietate desciverat, et superstitioni adhaeserat Chaldaeorum, et postea inde, sive poenitendo, sive persecutionem passus, quod suspectus haberetur, et ipse emigravit?

Finally just as there, the generations above having been enumerated as far as to Noah together with the numbers of years, and the cause of the flood having been set forth, before God should begin to speak to Noah about making the ark, it is said, "But these are the generations of Noah" (Gen. VI, 9): so also here, the generations from him who was called Shem, the son of Noah, as far as to Abraham having been enumerated, then a notable point is similarly placed, so that it should be said, "These are the generations of Terah. Terah begot Abram and Nahor and Haran: and Haran begot Lot. And Haran died before Terah his father in the land in which he was born, in the region of the Chaldeans. And Abram and Nahor took wives for themselves: the name of the wife of Abram was Sarai, and the name of the wife of Nahor Milcah, the daughter of Haran" (Gen. XI, 27-29). That Haran was the father of Milcah and the father of Iscah, which Iscah is believed to be herself also Sarah the wife of Abraham.

Chapter XIII.

What reason seems to have caused that in the transmigration of Terah, by which leaving the Chaldeans he passed into Mesopotamia, no mention was made of his son Nahor.

Then it is narrated how Terah with his own left the region of the Chaldeans, and came into Mesopotamia, and dwelt in Haran: but there is silence concerning one son of his, who was called Nahor, as if he had not led him with him. For it is narrated thus: "And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, the son of his son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, the wife of Abram his son, and led them out from the region of the Chaldeans to go into the land of Canaan: and he came into Haran, and dwelt there" (Ibid., 31). Nowhere here was Nahor named, and his wife Milcah. But we find afterward, when Abraham sent his servant to take a wife for his son Isaac, it was written thus: "And the boy took ten camels from the camels of his lord, and of all the goods of his lord with him, and rising up he set out into Mesopotamia into the city of Nahor" (Id. XXIV, 10). By this and other testimonies of this sacred history it is shown that even Nahor the brother of Abraham went out from the region of the Chaldeans, and established seats in Mesopotamia, where Abraham had dwelt with his father. Why therefore did Scripture not commemorate him, when Terah set out with his own from the Chaldean nation, and dwelt in Mesopotamia, where not only Abraham his son, but even Sarai his daughter-in-law and Lot his grandson are commemorated, because he led them with him? Why, do we think, unless perhaps because he had defected from paternal and fraternal piety, and had adhered to the superstition of the Chaldeans, and afterward from there, whether by repenting, or having suffered persecution because he was held suspected, even he himself emigrated?

In libro enim qui inscribitur Judith, cum quaereret Holofernes hostis Israelitarum, quaenam gens illa esset, utrum adversus eam bellandum fuisset, sic ei respondit Achior dux Ammonitarum : Audiat dominus noster verbum de ore pueri sui, et referam tibi veritatem de populo qui habitat juxta te montanam hanc , et non exibit mendacium de ore servi tui. Haec enim progenies populi est Chaldaeorum, et antea habitaverunt Mesopotamiam, quia noluerunt sequi deos patrum suorum, qui fuerunt in terra Chaldaeorum gloriosi, sed declinaverunt de via parentum suorum et adoraverunt Deum coeli, quem cognoverunt, et projecerunt eos a facie deorum suorum, et fugerunt in Mesopotamiam, et habitaverunt ibi dies multos. Dixitque illis Deus eorum, ut exirent de habitatione sua, et irent in terram Chanaan; et illic habitaverunt (Judith V, 5-9): et caetera quae narrat Achior Ammonites. Unde manifestum est, domum Tharae persecutionem passam fuisse a Chaldaeis pro vera pietate, qua unus et verus ab eis colebatur Deus.

Caput XIV.

De annis Tharae, qui in Charra vitae suae tempus implevit.

But Terah having died in Mesopotamia, where he is reported to have lived two hundred and five years, the promises of God made to Abraham already begin to be indicated, because it is written thus: Et fuerunt dies Tharae in Charra quinque et ducenti anni, et mortuus est in Charra (Gen. XI, 32). Non sic autem accipiendum est, quasi omnes hos dies ibi egerit; sed quia omnes dies vitae suae, qui fuerunt anni ducenti quinque, ibi compleverit: alioquin nesciretur quot annos vixerit Thara, quoniam non legitur quoto anno vitae suae in Charram venerit; et absurdum est existimare in ista serie generationum, ubi diligenter commemoratur quot annos quisque vixerit, hujus solius numerum annorum vitae non commendatum esse memoriae. Quod enim quorumdam, quos eadem Scriptura commemorat, tacentur anni, non sunt in hoc ordine, in quo temporum dinumeratio decessione gignentium et genitorum successione contexitur. Iste autem ordo, qui dirigitur ab Adam usque ad Noe, et inde usque ad Abraham, sine numero annorum vitae suae neminem continet.

Caput XV.

De tempore profectionis Abrahae, qua secundum praeceptum Dei exiit de Charra.

For in the book which is entitled Judith, when Holofernes the enemy of the Israelites sought what nation that was, whether he ought to have warred against it, so Achior the leader of the Ammonites responded to him: "Let our lord hear the word from the mouth of his boy, and I will report to you the truth concerning the people who dwell near you in this mountain, and a lie shall not go out from the mouth of your servant. For this progeny is of the people of the Chaldeans, and before they inhabited Mesopotamia, because they would not follow the gods of their fathers, who were glorious in the land of the Chaldeans, but they turned aside from the way of their parents and worshipped the God of heaven, whom they knew, and they cast them out from the face of their gods, and they fled into Mesopotamia, and dwelt there many days. And their God said to them, that they should go out from their habitation, and go into the land of Canaan; and there they dwelt" (Judith V, 5-9): and the rest which Achior the Ammonite narrates. Whence it is manifest, that the house of Terah suffered persecution from the Chaldeans for true piety, by which the one and true God was worshipped by them.

Chapter XIV.

On the years of Terah, who fulfilled the time of his life in Haran.

But Terah having died in Mesopotamia, where he is reported to have lived two hundred and five years, the promises of God made to Abraham already begin to be indicated, because it is written thus: "And the days of Terah in Haran were two hundred and five years, and he died in Haran" (Gen. XI, 32). But it is not to be accepted thus, as if he spent all these days there; but because he completed there all the days of his life, which were two hundred and five years: otherwise it would not be known how many years Terah lived, since it is not read in what year of his life he came into Haran; and it is absurd to estimate in that series of generations, where it is diligently commemorated how many years each one lived, that the number of the years of the life of this one alone was not commended to memory. For the fact that the years of certain ones, whom the same Scripture commemorates, are passed over in silence, they are not in this order, in which the enumeration of times is woven together by the passing away of the begetters and the succession of the begotten. But this order, which is directed from Adam as far as to Noah, and from there as far as to Abraham, contains no one without the number of the years of his life.

Chapter XV.

On the time of the setting out of Abraham, by which according to the precept of God he went out from Haran.

1. Quod vero, commemorata morte Tharae patris Abraham, deinde legitur, Et dixit Dominus ad Abram, Exi de terra tua, et de cognatione tua, et de domo patris tui, et caetera; non quia hoc sequitur in sermone libri, hoc etiam in rerum gestarum tempore sequi existimandum est. Erit quippe, si ita est, insolubilis quaestio. Post haec enim verba Dei, quae ad Abraham facta sunt, Scriptura sic loquitur: Et exiit Abram, quemadmodum locutus est illi Dominus, et abiit cum eo Lot. Abram autem erat quinque et septuaginta annorum, cum exiit ex Charra (Id. XII, 1, 4). Quomodo potest hoc verum esse, si post mortem patris sui exiit de Charra? Cum enim esset Thara septuaginta annorum, sicut supra intimatum est, genuit Abraham: cui numero additis septuaginta quinque annis, quos agebat Abraham, quando egressus est de Charra, fiunt anni centum quadraginta quinque. Tot igitur annorum erat Thara, quando exiit Abraham de illa Mesopotamiae civitate: agebat enim annum aetatis suae septuagesimum quintum; ac per hoc pater ejus, qui cum septuagesimo anno suo genuerat, agebat, ut dictum est, centesimum quadragesimum et quintum. Non ergo inde post mortem patris, id est post ducentos quinque annos, quibus pater ejus vixit, egressus est: sed annus de illo loco profectionis ejus, quoniam ipsius septuagesimus quintus erat, procul dubio patris ejus, qui eum septuagesimo suo anno genuerat, centesimus quadragesimus quintus fuisse colligitur. Ac per hoc intelligendum est more suo Scripturam redisse ad tempus, quod jam narratio illa transierat: sicut superius, cum filios filiorum Noe commemorasset, dixit illos fuisse in gentibus et linguis suis (Gen. X, 31), et tamen postea quasi hoc etiam in ordine temporum sequeretur, Et erat, inquit, omnis terra labium unum, et vox una omnibus (Id. XI, 1). Quomodo ergo secundum suas gentes et secundum suas linguas erant, si una erat omnibus; nisi quia ad illud quod jam transierat recapitulando est reversa narratio? Sic ergo et hic cum dictum esset, Et fuerunt dies Tharae in Charra quinque et ducenti anni, et mortuus est Thara in Charra (Ibid., 31): deinde Scriptura redeundo ad id quod ideo praetermiserat, ut prius de Thara id quod inchoatum fuerat compleretur, Et dixit, inquit, Dominus ad Abram, Exi de terra tua, et caetera. Post quae Dei verba subjungitur, Et exiit Abram, quemadmodum locutus est illi Dominus, et abiit cum eo Lot: Abram autem erat quinque et septuaginta annorum, cum exiit ex Charra. Tunc itaque factum est, quando pater ejus centesimum quadragesimum et quintum annum agebat aetatis: tunc enim fuit hujus septuagesimus quintus. Soluta est autem quaestio ista et aliter, ut septuaginta quinque anni Abrahae, quando egressus est de Charra, ex illo computarentur, ex quo de igne Chaldaeorum liberatus, non ex quo natus est, tanquam tunc potius natus habendus sit.

1. But as to the fact that, the death of Terah the father of Abraham having been commemorated, then it is read, "And the Lord said to Abram, Go out from your land, and from your kindred, and from your father's house," and the rest; not because this follows in the discourse of the book, is it also to be thought to follow in the time of the things done. For if it is so, it will be an insoluble question. For after these words of God, which were made to Abraham, Scripture speaks thus: "And Abram went out, just as the Lord spoke to him, and Lot went away with him. But Abram was seventy-five years of age when he went out from Haran" (Id. XII, 1, 4). How can this be true, if he went out from Haran after the death of his father? For since Terah was seventy years old, as was intimated above, he begot Abraham: to which number having been added the seventy-five years which Abraham was passing when he went out from Haran, there become a hundred and forty-five years. Therefore of so many years was Terah when Abraham went out from that city of Mesopotamia: for he was passing the seventy-fifth year of his age; and through this his father, who had begotten him in his seventieth year, was passing, as was said, the hundred and forty-fifth. He did not therefore go out from there after the death of his father, that is after the two hundred and five years in which his father lived: but the year of his setting out from that place, since it was his own seventy-fifth, without doubt is collected to have been the hundred and forty-fifth of his father, who had begotten him in his seventieth year. And through this it is to be understood that Scripture in its own custom has returned to the time which that narration had already passed over: just as above, when it had commemorated the sons of the sons of Noah, it said that they were in their own nations and languages (Gen. X, 31), and yet afterward as if this also followed in the order of times, "And all the earth was," it says, "one lip, and one voice for all" (Id. XI, 1). How therefore were they according to their nations and according to their languages, if there was one for all; unless because the narration has returned by recapitulating to that which had already passed? So therefore also here when it had been said, "And the days of Terah in Haran were two hundred and five years, and Terah died in Haran" (Ibid., 31): then Scripture returning to that which it had therefore omitted, so that what had been begun about Terah should first be completed, "And the Lord said," it says, "to Abram, Go out from your land," and the rest. After which words of God it is subjoined, "And Abram went out, just as the Lord spoke to him, and Lot went away with him: but Abram was seventy-five years of age when he went out from Haran." Then therefore it happened, when his father was passing the hundred and forty-five year of his age: for then was this one's seventy-fifth. But that question was also solved otherwise, so that the seventy-five years of Abraham when he went out from Haran should be computed from that time from which he was liberated from the fire of the Chaldeans, not from which he was born, as if then rather he were to be held as born.

2. Sed beatus Stephanus in Actibus Apostolorum cum ista narraret, Deus, inquit, gloriae apparuit Abrahae patri nostro, cum esset in Mesopotamia, priusquam habitaret in Charra, et ait ad illum, Exi de terra tua, et de cognatione tua, et de domo patris tui, et veni in terram, quam tibi demonstrabo. Secundum haec verba Stephani non post mortem patris ejus locutus est Deus Abrahae, qui utique in Charra mortuus est, ubi cum illo et ipse filius habitavit; sed priusquam habitaret in eadem civitate, jam tamen cum esset in Mesopotamia. Jam ergo exierat a Chaldaeis. Quod itaque adjungit Stephanus, Tunc Abraham egressus est de terra Chaldaeorum, et habitavit in Charra, non demonstrat quid sit factum, posteaquam locutus est illi Deus (neque enim post illa Dei verba egressus est de terra Chaldaeorum, cum dicat ei locutum Deum cum esset in Mesopotamia), sed ad totum illud tempus pertinet quod ait, Tunc, id est, ex quo egressus est a Chaldaeis, et habitavit in Charra. Item quod sequitur, Et inde postquam mortuus est pater ejus, collocavit illum in terra hac, in qua vos nunc habitatis, et patres vestri (Act. VII, 2-4): non ait, Postquam mortuus est pater ejus, exiit de Charra; sed inde hic eum collocavit, postquam mortuus est pater ejus. Intelligendum est igitur locutum Deum fuisse ad Abraham, cum esset in Mesopotamia, priusquam habitaret in Charra; sed eum in Charram pervenisse cum patre, retento apud se praecepto Dei, et inde exisse septuagesimo et quinto suo, patris autem sui centesimo quadragesimo quinto anno. Collocationem vero ejus in terra Chanaan, non profectionem de Charra, post mortem patris ejus factam esse dicit; quia jam mortuus erat pater ejus, quando emit terram, cujus ibi jam suae rei coepit esse possessor. Quod autem jam in Mesopotamia constituto, hoc est jam egresso de terra Chaldaeorum, dicit Deus, Exi de terra tua, et de cognatione tua, et de domo patris tui; non ut corpus inde ejiceret, quod jam fecerat, sed ut animum avelleret, dicitur. Non enim exierat inde animo, si spe redeundi et desiderio tenebatur, quae spes et desiderio, Deo jubente ac juvante, et illo obediente, fuerat amputandum. Non sane incredibiliter existimatur, cum postea secutus esset Nachor patrem suum, tunc Abraham praeceptum Domini implesse, ut cum Sarra conjuge sua et Lot filio fratris sui exiret de Charra.

Caput XVI.

De ordine et qualitate promissionum Dei, quae ad Abraham factae sunt.

2. But blessed Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles when he was narrating these things, "The God," he says, "of glory appeared to Abraham our father, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran, and said to him, Go out from your land, and from your kindred, and from your father's house, and come into the land which I will show you." According to these words of Stephen, God did not speak to Abraham after the death of his father, who certainly died in Haran, where the son himself also dwelt with him; but before he dwelt in the same city, yet when he was already in Mesopotamia. Already therefore he had gone out from the Chaldeans. That which therefore Stephen subjoins, "Then Abraham went out from the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Haran," does not demonstrate what was done after God spoke to him (for he did not go out from the land of the Chaldeans after those words of God, since he says that God spoke to him when he was in Mesopotamia), but pertains to all that time of which he says, "Then," that is, from the time he went out from the Chaldeans and dwelt in Haran. Likewise that which follows, "And from there after his father was dead, He placed him in this land in which you now dwell, and your fathers" (Acts VII, 2-4): he does not say, After his father was dead, he went out from Haran; but from there He placed him here, after his father was dead. It is to be understood therefore that God had spoken to Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran; but that he arrived in Haran with his father, the precept of God having been retained with him, and from there he went out in his seventy-fifth year, but in the hundred and forty-fifth year of his father. But he says that his placement in the land of Canaan, not his setting out from Haran, was made after the death of his father; because his father was already dead when he bought the land, of which he began there already to be the possessor of his own property. But as to the fact that to him already established in Mesopotamia, that is already having gone out from the land of the Chaldeans, God says, "Go out from your land, and from your kindred, and from your father's house"; it is said not that he should eject his body from there, which he had already done, but that he should tear away his mind. For he had not gone out from there in mind, if he was held by the hope of returning and by desire, which hope and desire, God commanding and helping, and him obeying, had to be amputated. Not indeed is it thought incredibly that, when Nahor had afterward followed his father, then Abraham fulfilled the precept of the Lord, so that with Sarah his spouse and Lot the son of his brother he should go out from Haran.

Chapter XVI.

Of the order and quality of the promises of God which were made to Abraham.

Jam considerandae sunt promissiones Dei factae ad Abraham. In his enim apertiora Dei nostri, hoc est Dei veri, oracula apparere coeperunt de populo piorum, quem prophetica praenuntiavit auctoritas.

Harum prima ita legitur: Et dixit Dominus ad Abram: Exi de terra tua, et de cognatione tua, et de domo patris tui, et vade in terram, quam tibi demonstravero; et faciam te in gentem magnam, et benedicam te, et magnificabo nomen tuum, et eris benedictus, et benedicam benedicentes te, et maledicam maledicentes te, et benedicentur in te omnes tribus terrae. Advertendum est igitur, duas res promissas Abrahae: unam scilicet, quod terram Chanaan possessurum fuerat semen ejus, quod significatur, ubi dictum est, Vade in terram, quam tibi demonstravero, et faciam te in gentem magnam: aliam vero longe praestantiorem, non de carnali, sed de spirituali semine, per quod pater est, non unius gentis Israeliticae, sed omnium gentium quae fidei ejus vestigia consequuntur, quod promitti coepit his verbis, Et benedicentur in te omnes tribus terrae. Hanc promissionem factam arbitratur Eusebius septuagesimo quinto anno aetatis Abrahae, tanquam mox ut facta est, de Charra exierit Abraham: quoniam Scripturae contradici non potest, ubi legitur, Abram erat quinque et septuaginta annorum, cum exiit ex Charra (Gen. XII, 1-4). Sed si eo anno facta est ista promissio, jam utique in Charra cum patre suo demorabatur Abraham. Neque enim inde exire posset, nisi prius ibi habitasset. Numquidnam ergo contradicitur Stephano dicenti: Deus gloriae apparuit Abrahae patri nostro cum esset in Mesopotamia, priusquam habitaret in Charra (Act. VII, 2)? Sed intelligendum est, quod eodem anno facta sint omnia, et Dei promissio antequam in Charra habitaret Abraham, et in Charra habitatio ejus, et inde profectio: non solum quia Eusebius in Chronicis ab anno hujus promissionis computat et ostendit post quadringentos et triginta annos exitum esse de Aegypto, quando lex data est; verum etiam quia id commemorat apostolus Paulus (Galat. III, 17).

Caput XVII.

De tribus excellentioribus gentium regnis, quorum unum, id est Assyriorum, jam Abraham genito sublimius eminebat.

Per idem tempus eminentia regna erant gentium, in quibus terrigenarum civitas, hoc est societas hominum secundum hominem viventium, sub dominatu angelorum desertorum insignius excellebat; regna videlicet tria, Sicyoniorum, Aegyptiorum, Assyriorum. Sed Assyriorum multo erat potentius atque sublimius. Nam rex ille Ninus Beli filius, excepta India, universae Asiae populos subjugaverat.

Now we must consider the promises of God made to Abraham. For in these, the more manifest oracles of our God, that is, of the true God, began to appear concerning the people of the pious, which the prophetic authority foretold.

The first of these is read as follows: "And the Lord said to Abram: Go out from your land, and from your kindred, and from the house of your father, and go into the land which I shall show you; and I will make you into a great nation, and I will bless you, and I will magnify your name, and you shall be blessed, and I will bless those who bless you, and I will curse those who curse you, and in you shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed." It is to be noted, therefore, that two things were promised to Abraham: one, namely, that his seed should possess the land of Canaan, which is signified where it is said, "Go into the land which I shall show you, and I will make you into a great nation"; but another far more excellent, not concerning the carnal but the spiritual seed, through which he is the father, not of the one Israelite nation, but of all nations which follow the footsteps of his faith, which began to be promised in these words, "And in you shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed." Eusebius thinks this promise was made in the seventy-fifth year of Abraham's age, as if Abraham went out from Haran as soon as it was made: because the Scripture cannot be contradicted, where it is read, "Abram was seventy-five years old when he went out from Haran" (Gen. 12:1-4). But if that promise was made in that year, Abraham was already surely staying in Haran with his father. For he could not go out from there unless he had first dwelt there. Does this then contradict Stephen when he says: "The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran" (Acts 7:2)? But it is to be understood that all things were done in the same year, both the promise of God before Abraham dwelt in Haran, and his dwelling in Haran, and his departure from there: not only because Eusebius in his Chronicles computes from the year of this promise and shows that after four hundred and thirty years was the departure from Egypt when the law was given; but also because the apostle Paul commemorates this (Gal. 3:17).

Chapter XVII.

Of the three more excellent kingdoms of the nations, of which one, that is, of the Assyrians, already excelled more highly when Abraham was born.

During the same time, there were eminent kingdoms of the nations, in which the city of the earth-born, that is, the society of men living according to man, excelled more notably under the dominion of the deserted angels; namely, three kingdoms: of the Sicyonians, of the Egyptians, and of the Assyrians. But that of the Assyrians was much more powerful and sublime. For that king Ninus, the son of Belus, with the exception of India, had subjugated the peoples of all Asia.

Asiam nunc dico, non illam partem quae hujus majoris Asiae una provincia est, sed eam quae universa Asia nuncupatur, quam quidam in altera duarum, plerique autem in tertia totius orbis parte posuerunt, ut sint omnes, Asia, Europa, et Africa: quod non aequali divisione fecerunt. Namque ista quae Asia nuncupatur, a meridie per orientem usque ad septentrionem pervenit: Europa vero a septentrione usque ad occidentem; atque inde Africa ab occidente usque ad meridiem. Unde videntur orbem dimidium duae tenere, Europa et Africa, alium vero dimidium sola Asia. Sed ideo illae duae partes factae sunt, quia inter utramque ab Oceano ingreditur quidquid aquarum terras interluit, et hoc mare magnum nobis facit. Quapropter si in duas partes orbem dividas, Orientis et Occidentis, Asia erit in una, in altera vero Europa et Africa. Quamobrem trium regnorum, quae tunc praecellebant, scilicet Sicyoniorum non erat sub Assyriis, quia in Europa sunt: Aegyptiorum autem quomodo eis non subjacebat, a quibus tota Asia tenebatur, solis Indis, ut perhibetur, exceptis? In Assyria igitur praevaluerat dominatus impiae civitatis: hujus caput erat illa Babylon, cujus terrigenae civitatis nomen aptissimum est, id est Confusio. Ibi jam Ninus regnabat post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnaverat sexaginta quinque annos. Filius vero ejus Ninus, qui defuncto patri successit in regnum, quinquaginta duos regnavit annos, et habebat in regno quadraginta tres, quando natus est Abraham, qui erat annus circiter millesimus ducentesimus ante conditam Romam, veluti alteram in Occidente Babyloniam.

Caput XVIII.

De iterato alloquio Dei ad Abraham, quo ei et semini ejus Chanaan terra promittitur.

Egressus ergo Abraham de Charra septuagesimo quinto anno aetatis suae, centesimo autem quadragesimo et quinto patris sui, cum Lot filio fratris et Sarra conjuge perrexit in terram Chanaan, et pervenit usque ad Sichem, ubi rursus accepit divinum oraculum, de quo ita scriptum est: Et apparuit Dominus Abrahae, et dixit illi, Semini tuo dabo terram hanc (Gen. XII, 7). Nihil hic de illo semine promissum est, in quo pater factus est omnium gentium: sed de illo solo, de quo pater est unius Israeliticae gentis; ab hoc enim semine terra illa possessa est.

Caput XIX.

De Sarrae pudicitia in Aegypto per Deum custodita, quam Abraham non uxorem suam esse dixerat, sed sororem.

I say Asia now, not that part which is one province of this greater Asia, but that which is called all Asia, which some have placed in one of the two parts of the whole world, but most in the third, so that they are all: Asia, Europe, and Africa: which they did not do by an equal division. For this which is called Asia reaches from the south through the east even unto the north: but Europe from the north even unto the west; and from there Africa from the west even unto the south. Whence two parts, Europe and Africa, seem to hold half the orb, but Asia alone the other half. But those two parts were made because between both, from the Ocean, enters whatever waters flow between the lands, and this makes our Great Sea. Wherefore if you divide the orb into two parts, of the East and of the West, Asia will be in one, and in the other Europe and Africa. Therefore, of the three kingdoms which then excelled, that of the Sicyonians was not under the Assyrians, because they are in Europe: but how was that of the Egyptians not subject to them, by whom all Asia was held, the Indians alone, as is reported, excepted? In Assyria, therefore, the dominion of the impious city had prevailed: the head of this was that Babylon, whose name is most apt for the earth-born city, that is, Confusion. There Ninus was already reigning after the death of his father Belus, who had first reigned there sixty-five years. But his son Ninus, who succeeded his deceased father in the kingdom, reigned fifty-two years, and was in the forty-third year of his reign when Abraham was born, which was about the one thousand two hundredth year before Rome was founded, as if another Babylon in the West.

Chapter XVIII.

Of the repeated discourse of God to Abraham, by which the land of Canaan is promised to him and to his seed.

Therefore Abraham, having gone out from Haran in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and in the one hundred and forty-fifth of his father's, proceeded with Lot his brother's son and Sarah his spouse into the land of Canaan, and came as far as Shechem, where again he received a divine oracle, of which it is thus written: "And the Lord appeared to Abraham, and said to him, To your seed will I give this land" (Gen. 12:7). Nothing was promised here concerning that seed in which he was made the father of all nations: but concerning that alone of which he is the father of the one Israelite nation; for by this seed that land was possessed.

Chapter XIX.

Of Sarah's chastity preserved by God in Egypt, whom Abraham had said was not his wife, but his sister.

Deinde aedificato ibi altari, et invocato Deo, Abraham profectus est inde, et habitavit in eremo, atque inde ire in Aegyptum famis necessitate compulsus est. Ubi uxorem suam dixit sororem (Gen. XII, 7-19), nihil mentitus. Erat enim et hoc, quia propinqua erat sanguine: sicut etiam Lot eadem propinquitate, cum fratris ejus esset filius, frater ejus est dictus. Itaque uxorem tacuit, non negavit, conjugis tuendam pudicitiam committens Deo, et humanas insidias cavens ut homo: quoniam si periculum quantum caveri poterat, non caveret, magis tentaret Deum, quam speraret in Deum. De qua re contra calumniantem Faustum Manichaeum satis diximus (Lib. 22, cap. 36). Denique factum est quod de Domino praesumpsit Abraham. Nam Pharao rex Aegypti, qui eam sibi uxorem acceperat, graviter afflictus marido reddidit (Gen. XII, 20). Ubi absit ut credamus, alieno concubitu fuisse pollutam: quia multo est credibilius, hoc Pharaonem facere afflictionibus magnis non fuisse permissum.

Caput XX.

De secessione Lot et Abrahae, quae illis salva charitate complacuit.

Reverso igitur Abraham ex Aegypto in locum unde venerat, tunc Lot fratris filius ab illo in terram Sodomorum, salva charitate, discessit. Divites quippe facti erant, pastoresque multos pecorum habere coeperant, quibus inter se rixantibus, eo modo familiarum suarum pugnacem discordiam vitaverunt. Poterat quippe hinc, ut sunt humana, etiam inter ipsos aliqua rixa consurgere. Proinde hoc malum praecaventis Abrahae verba ista sunt ad Lot: Non sit rixa inter me et te, et inter pastores meos et pastores tuos, quia homines fratres nos sumus: nonne ecce tota terra ante te est? Discede a me: si tu in sinistram, ego in dextram; vel si tu in dextram, ego in sinistram (Id. XIII, 8 et 9). Hinc fortassis effecta est inter homines pacifica consuetudo, ut quando terrenorum aliquid partiendum est, major dividat, minor eligat.

Caput XXI.

De tertia promissione Dei, qua terram Chanaan Abrahae et semini ejus in perpetuum pollicetur.

Then, having built an altar there and called upon God, Abraham departed from there and dwelt in the desert, and from there was compelled by the necessity of famine to go into Egypt. There he said his wife was his sister (Gen. 12:7-19), lying in nothing. For she was also this, because she was near in blood: just as Lot, by the same relationship, although he was his brother's son, was called his brother. Therefore he kept silent about his wife, he did not deny her, committing the protection of his spouse's chastity to God, and as a man guarding against human snares: since if he did not guard against danger as much as it could be guarded against, he would rather be tempting God than hoping in God. Concerning which matter we have said enough against the slandering Faustus the Manichaean (Book 22, chap. 36). Finally, that which Abraham presumed of the Lord was done. For Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, who had taken her to himself as a wife, being severely afflicted, restored her to her husband (Gen. 12:20). Far be it from us to believe that she was polluted by an alien intercourse: because it is much more credible that Pharaoh was not permitted to do this by great afflictions.

Chapter XX.

Of the separation of Lot and Abraham, which pleased them without any loss of charity.

Therefore, when Abraham returned from Egypt to the place from where he had come, then Lot his brother's son departed from him into the land of Sodom, without any loss of charity. For they had become rich, and had begun to have many shepherds of cattle, who quarreling among themselves, they avoided in that way the pugnacious discord of their households. For even among themselves some quarrel could arise from this, as human affairs go. Accordingly, these are the words of Abraham to Lot, guarding against this evil: "Let there be no quarrel between me and you, and between my shepherds and your shepherds, because we are brothers: is not the whole land before you? Depart from me: if you go to the left, I will go to the right; or if you go to the right, I will go to the left" (Id. 13:8 and 9). From this perhaps was formed a peaceful custom among men, that when something of earthly things is to be divided, the greater should divide and the lesser should choose.

Chapter XXI.

Of the third promise of God, by which the land of Canaan is promised to Abraham and to his seed forever.

Cum ergo digressi essent, separatimque habitarent Abraham et Lot necessitate sustentandae familiae, non foeditate discordiae, et Abraham in terra Chanaan, Lot autem esset in Sodomis, oraculo tertio Dominus dixit ad Abraham: Respiciens oculis tuis vide a loco in quo nunc tu es, ad Aquilonem, et Africum, et Orientem, et Mare; quia omnem terram quam tu vides, tibi dabo, et semini tuo usque in saeculum, et faciam semen tuum tanquam arenam terrae. Si potest aliquis dinumerare arenam terrae, et semen tuum dinumerabitur. Surgens perambula terram in longitudinem ejus, et in latitudinem, quia tibi dabo eam (Gen. XIII, 14-17). In hac promissione utrum sit etiam illa, qua pater factus est omnium gentium, non evidenter apparet. Potest enim videri ad hoc pertinere, Et faciam semen tuum tanquam arenam terrae: quod ea locutione dictum est, quam Graeci vocant hyperbolen; quae utique tropica est, non propria. Quo tamen modo, ut caeteris tropis uti solere Scripturam, nullus qui eam didicit, ambigit. Iste autem tropus, id est modus locutionis, fit quando id quod dicitur, longe est amplius, quam quod eo dicto significatur. Quis enim non videat, quam sit incomparabiliter amplior arenae numerus, quam potest esse omnium hominum ab ipso Adam usque ad terminum saeculi? quanto ergo magis quam semen Abrahae; non solum quod pertinet ad Israeliticam gentem, verum etiam quod est, et futurum est, secundum imitationem fidei, toto orbe terrarum in omnibus gentibus? Quod semen, in comparatione multitudinis impiorum, profecto in paucis est. quamvis et ipsi pauci faciant innumerabilem multitudinem suam, quae significata est secundum hyperbolen per arenam terrae. Sane ista multitudo quae promittitur Abrahae, non Deo est innumerabilis, sed hominibus: Deo autem nec arena terrae. Proinde quia non tantum gens Israelitica, sed universum semen Abrahae, ubi est et promissio, non secundum carnem, sed secundum spiritum plurium filiorum, congruentius arenae multitudini comparatur; potest hic intelligi utriusque rei facta promissio. Sed ideo diximus, quod non evidenter appareat, quia et illius gentis unius multitudo, quae secundum carnem nata est ex Abraham per ejus nepotem Jacob, in tantum crevit, ut pene omnes partes orbis impleverit. Et ideo potuit et ipsa secundum hyperbolen arenae multitudini comparari; quia et haec sola innumera est homini. Terram certe illam solam significatam, quae appellata est Chanaan, nemo ambigit. Sed quod dictum est, Tibi dabo eam, et semini tuo usque in saeculum; potest movere nonnullos, si usque in saeculum intelligant in aeternum.

When, therefore, they had departed, and Abraham and Lot were dwelling separately by the necessity of sustaining their families, not by the foulness of discord, and Abraham was in the land of Canaan, but Lot was in Sodom, in a third oracle the Lord said to Abraham: "Lifting up your eyes, see from the place where you now are, to the North, and the South, and the East, and the Sea; because all the land which you see, I will give to you, and to your seed forever, and I will make your seed as the sand of the earth." If anyone can number the sand of the earth, your seed also shall be numbered. Arising, walk through the land in its length, and in its breadth, because I will give it to you (Gen. 13:14-17). In this promise, whether that also be contained by which he was made the father of all nations, does not evidently appear. For it can seem to belong to this, "And I will make your seed as the sand of the earth": which was said by that figure of speech which the Greeks call hyperbole; which is surely tropical, not proper. However, in what manner the Scripture is accustomed to use other tropes, no one who has learned it doubts. But this trope, that is, mode of speech, occurs when that which is said is far more ample than what is signified by that saying. For who does not see how incomparably more ample is the number of sand than can be the number of all men from Adam himself even to the end of the world? how much more, then, than the seed of Abraham; not only that which belongs to the Israelite nation, but even that which is, and is to be, according to the imitation of faith, in the whole world among all nations? Which seed, in comparison with the multitude of the impious, is certainly among a few. Although those few themselves make their multitude innumerable, which was signified according to hyperbole by the sand of the earth. Surely that multitude which is promised to Abraham is not innumerable to God, but to men: for to God not even the sand of the earth is so. Therefore, because not only the Israelite nation, but the whole seed of Abraham, where there is also the promise, not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit of many children, is more congruously compared to the multitude of sand; here the promise of both things can be understood. But for this reason we said that it does not evidently appear, because the multitude of that one nation also, which was born according to the flesh from Abraham through his grandson Jacob, increased so much that it filled almost all parts of the world. And therefore it also could be compared according to hyperbole to the multitude of sand; because even this alone is innumerable to man. Certainly that only that land was signified, which was called Canaan, no one doubts. But that which was said, "I will give it to you, and to your seed forever"; can move some, if they understand "forever" (usque in saeculum) as eternally.

Si autem in saeculum hoc loco sic accipiant, quemadmodum fideliter tenemus, initium futuri saeculi a fine praesentis ordiri, nihil eos movebit: quia etsi expulsi sunt Israelitae de Jerosolymis, manent tamen in aliis civitatibus terrae Chanaan, et usque in finem manebunt; et universa terra illa cum a christianis inhabitatur, etiam ipsum semen est Abrahae.

Caput XXII.

De superatis ab Abraham hostibus Sodomorum, quando et Lot de captivitate eripuit, et a Melchisedech sacerdote benedictus est.

Hoc responso promissionis accepto migravit Abraham, et mansit in alio ejusdem terrae loco, id est juxta quercum Mambre, quae erat Chebron (Gen. XIII, 18). Deinde ab hostibus qui Sodomis irruerant, cum quinque reges adversus quatuor bellum gererent, et victis Sodomitis etiam Lot captus esset, liberavit eum Abraham, adductis secum in praelium trecentis decem et octo vernaculis suis: et victoriam fecit regibus Sodomorum, nihilque spoliorum auferre voluit, cum rex cui vicerat obtulisset. Sed plane tunc benedictus est a Melchisedech, qui erat sacerdos Dei excelsi (Id. XIV, 1-20): de quo in Epistola quae inscribitur ad Hebraeos, quam plures apostoli Pauli esse dicunt, quidam vero negant, multa et magna conscripta sunt (Hebr. VII). Ibi quippe primum apparuit sacrificium, quod nunc a Christianis offertur Deo toto orbe terrarum, impleturque illud quod longe post hoc factum per prophetam dicitur ad Christum, qui fuerat adhuc venturus in carne: Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech (Psal. CIX, 4). Non scilicet secundum ordinem Aaron: qui ordo fuerat auferendus illucescentibus rebus, quae illis umbris praenotabantur.

CAPUT XXIII.---De verbo Domini ad Abraham, quo ei promittitur secundum multitudinem stellarum multiplicanda posteritas; quod credens justificatus est adhuc in praeputio constitutus.

Etiam tunc factum est verbum Domini ad Abraham in visu. Qui cum ei protectionem mercedemque promitteret valde multam; ille de posteritate sollicitus, quemdam Eliezer vernaculum suum futurum sibi haeredem dixit: continuoque illi promissus est haeres, non ille vernaculus, sed qui de ipso Abraham fuerat exiturus: rursusque semen innumerabile, non sicut arena terrae, sed sicut stellae coeli (Gen. XV, 1-5): ubi mihi magis videtur promissa posteritas coelesti felicitate sublimis.

But if they take "for an age" (in saeculum) in this place in the way that we faithfully hold, that the beginning of the future age begins from the end of the present, nothing will move them: because even if the Israelites were expelled from Jerusalem, they remain nevertheless in other cities of the land of Canaan, and will remain even to the end; and when that whole land is inhabited by Christians, it is also the seed of Abraham itself.

Chapter XXII.

Of the enemies of Sodom overcome by Abraham, when he also rescued Lot from captivity, and was blessed by Melchizedek the priest.

Having received this response of the promise, Abraham migrated and dwelt in another place of the same land, that is, near the oak of Mamre, which was Hebron (Gen. 13:18). Then, from the enemies who had rushed upon Sodom, when five kings were waging war against four, and the Sodomites having been defeated Lot also was captured, Abraham delivered him, having led with him into the battle three hundred and eighteen of his home-born servants: and he achieved victory for the kings of Sodom, and would take away nothing of the spoils, although the king for whom he had conquered offered it. But clearly then he was blessed by Melchizedek, who was the priest of the Most High God (Id. 14:1-20): concerning whom in the Epistle inscribed to the Hebrews, which many say is of the apostle Paul, but some deny, many and great things have been written (Heb. 7). For there first appeared the sacrifice which is now offered to God by Christians throughout the whole world, and that is fulfilled which long after this event is said through the prophet to Christ, who was yet to come in the flesh: "You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek" (Ps. 110:4). Not indeed according to the order of Aaron: which order was to be taken away when the things began to dawn which were prefigured by those shadows.

CHAPTER XXIII.—Of the word of the Lord to Abraham, by which a posterity to be multiplied according to the multitude of the stars is promised to him; believing which he was justified, being still in uncircumcision.

Even then the word of the Lord was made to Abraham in a vision. When He promised him protection and a very great reward; he, being solicitous about his posterity, said that a certain Eliezer, his home-born servant, would be his heir: and immediately an heir was promised to him, not that servant, but he who was to come out of Abraham himself: and again an innumerable seed, not as the sand of the earth, but as the stars of heaven (Gen. 15:1-5): where it seems to me rather that a posterity sublime in heavenly happiness was promised.

Nam quantum ad multitudinem pertinet, quid sunt stellae coeli ad arenam terrae, nisi quis et istam comparationem in tantum esse similem dicat, in quantum etiam stellae dinumerari non valent? quia nec omnes eas videri posse credendum est. Nam quanto quisque acutius intuetur, tanto plures videt: unde et acerrime cernentibus aliquas occultas esse merito existimatur, exceptis eis sideribus quae in alia parte orbis a nobis remotissima oriri et occidere perhibentur. Postremo quicumque universum stellarum numerum comprehendisse et conscripsisse jactantur, sicut Aratus vel Eudoxus, vel si qui alii sunt, eos libri hujus contemnit auctoritas. Hic sane illa sententia ponitur, cujus Apostolus meminit propter Dei gratiam commendandam, Credidit Abraham Deo, et deputatum est illi ad justitiam (Gen. XV, 6; Rom. IV, 3, et Galat. III, 6): ne circumcisio gloriaretur, gentesque incircumcisas ad fidem Christi nollet admitti. Hoc enim quando factum est, ut credenti Abrahae deputaretur fides ad justitiam, nondum fuerat circumcisus.

Caput XXIV.

De significatione sacrificii, quod Abraham offerre praeceptus est, cum poposcisset ut de his quae crediderat, doceretur.

1. In eodem visu cum loqueretur ei Deus, etiam hoc ait ad illum: Ego Deus qui te eduxi de regione Chaldaeorum, ut dem tibi terram hanc, ut haeres sis ejus. Ubi cum interrogasset Abraham secundum quid sciret, quod haeres ejus erit, dixit illi Deus: Accipe mihi juvencam trimam, et capram trimam, et arietem trimum, et turturem, et columbam. Accepit autem illi haec omnia, et divisit illa media, et posuit ea contra faciem alterum alteri: aves autem non divisit. Et descenderunt, sicut scriptum est, aves supra corpora quae divisa erant, et consedit illis Abram. Circa solis autem occasum pavor irruit super Abram, et ecce timor tenebrosus magnus incidit ei: et dictum est ad Abram, Sciendo scies, quia peregrinum erit semen tuum in terra non propria, et in servitutem redigent eos, et affligent eos quadringentis annis; gentem autem cui servierint, judicabo ego. Post haec vero exibunt huc cum suppellectili multa. Tu autem ibis ad patres tuos cum pace nutritus in senecta bona. Quarta vero generatione convertent se huc. Nondum enim impleta sunt peccata Amorrhaeorum usque adhuc.

For as far as pertains to multitude, what are the stars of heaven to the sand of the earth, unless one should say that this comparison is similar in so far as the stars also cannot be numbered? because it is not to be believed that all of them can be seen. For the more sharply anyone looks, the more he sees: whence it is deservedly thought that some are hidden even to those who see most keenly, except for those stars which are said to rise and set in another part of the world most remote from us. Finally, whoever boast that they have comprehended and described the whole number of the stars, as Aratus or Eudoxus, or if there be any others, the authority of this book contemns them. Here indeed that sentence is placed, which the Apostle mentions for the sake of commending the grace of God: "Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for justice" (Gen. 15:6; Rom. 4:3, and Gal. 3:6): lest circumcision should boast, and should not want to admit the uncircumcised nations to the faith of Christ. For when this was done, that faith should be imputed to Abraham for justice, he had not yet been circumcised.

Chapter XXIV.

Of the significance of the sacrifice which Abraham was commanded to offer, when he had asked to be taught concerning those things which he had believed.

1. In the same vision when God was speaking to him, He also said this to him: "I am the God who brought you out from the region of the Chaldeans, that I might give you this land, that you may be its heir." Where, when Abraham had asked by what he might know that he should be its heir, God said to him: "Take for me a three-year-old heifer, and a three-year-old she-goat, and a three-year-old ram, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon." But he took all these for Him, and divided them in the middle, and placed them opposite to each other, one against the other: but the birds he did not divide. And there descended, as it is written, birds upon the bodies which had been divided, and Abram sat down among them. But about the setting of the sun a dread fell upon Abram, and behold a great dark fear fell upon him: and it was said to Abram, Knowing you shall know, that your seed shall be a stranger in a land not its own, and they shall reduce them to servitude, and shall afflict them for four hundred years; but the nation whom they shall serve, I will judge. But after these things they shall go out from here with much equipment. But you shall go to your fathers in peace, nourished in a good old age. But in the fourth generation they shall return hither. For the sins of the Amorites are not yet fulfilled even until now.

Cum autem jam sol erat ad occasum, facta est flamma, et ecce fornax fumabunda, et lampades ignis, quae pertransierunt per media divisa illa. In die illa disposuit Dominus Deus testamentum ad Abram, dicens: Semini tuo dabo terram hanc, a flumine Aegypti usque ad flumen magnum Euphratem, Cenaeos, et Cenezaeos, et Cedmonaeos, et Chetaeos, et Pheresaeos, et Raphaim, et Amorrhaeos, et Chananaeos, et Evaeos, et Gergesaeos, et Jebusaeos.

2. Haec omnia in visu facta divinitus atque dicta sunt, de quibus singulis enucleate disserere longum est, et intentionem operis hujus excedit. Quod ergo satis est, nosse debemus: posteaquam dictum est, credidisse Abraham Deo, et deputatum esse illi ad justitiam, non eum in fide defecisse, ut diceret, Dominator Domine, secundum quid sciam quia haeres ejus ero (Gen. XV, 7-21)? terrae quippe illius promissa erat haereditas. Non enim ait, Unde sciam, quasi adhuc non crederet: sed ait, Secundum quid sciam, ut ei rei quam crediderat, aliqua similitudo adhiberetur, qua ejus modus agnosceretur. Sicut non est virginis Mariae diffidentia, quod ait, Quomodo fiet istud, quoniam virum non cognosco? Quod enim futurum esse certa erat, modum quo fieret inquirebat. Et hoc cum quaesisset, audivit, Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi (Luc. I, 34, 35). Denique et hic similitudo data est de animalibus, juvenca, capra et ariete, et duabus volucribus, turture et columba: ut secundum haec futurum sciret, quod futurum esse jam non ambigeret. Sive ergo per juvencam significata sit plebs posita sub jugo legis, per capram eadem plebs peccatrix futura, per arietem eadem plebs etiam regnatura (quae animalia propterea trima dicuntur, quia cum sint insignes articuli temporum ab Adam usque ad Noe, et inde usque ad Abraham, et inde usque ad David, qui reprobato Saüle primus in regno gentis Israeliticae est Domini voluntate fundatus; in hoc ordine tertio, qui tenditur ex Abraham usque ad David, tanquam tertiam aetatem gerens ille populus adolevit); sive aliquid aliud convenientius ista significent; nullo tamen modo dubitaverim, spirituales in ea praefiguratos additamento turturis et columbae. Et ideo dictum est, Aves autem non divisit: quoniam carnales inter se dividuntur, spirituales autem nullo modo; sive a negotiosis conversationibus hominum se removeant, sicut turtur; sive inter illas degant, sicut columba: utraque tamen avis est simplex et innoxia; significans et in ipso Israelitico populo, cui terra illa danda erat, futuros individuos filios promissionis et haeredes regni in aeterna felicitate mansuri.

But when the sun was already at its setting, a flame occurred, and behold a smoking furnace, and lamps of fire, which passed through those divided halves. On that day the Lord God arranged a testament with Abram, saying: To your seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt even to the great river Euphrates, the Kenites, and the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Hivites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.

2. All these things were done and said divinely in a vision, to discuss each of which clearly would be long, and exceeds the intention of this work. We ought to know, therefore, what is sufficient: after it was said that Abraham believed God and it was imputed to him for justice, he did not fail in faith so as to say, "Lord God, by what shall I know that I shall be its heir?" (Gen. 15:7-21); for the inheritance of that land had been promised. For he did not say, "Whence shall I know," as if he did not yet believe: but he said, "By what shall I know," so that some likeness might be applied to that thing which he had believed, by which its mode might be recognized. Just as it is not the diffidence of the Virgin Mary, when she says, "How shall this be, since I know not a man?" For she was certain that it would be, she was inquiring the mode in which it should be done. And when she had asked this, she heard, "The Holy Spirit shall come upon you, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you" (Luke 1:34, 35). Finally, here also a likeness was given from animals: a heifer, a she-goat, and a ram, and two birds, a turtle-dove and a pigeon: that according to these he might know that which was to be, which he no longer doubted would be. Whether, therefore, by the heifer was signified the people placed under the yoke of the law, by the she-goat the same people who were to be sinful, by the ram the same people who were also to reign (which animals are for this reason called three-year-old, because since there are notable articles of time from Adam even to Noah, and from there even to Abraham, and from there even to David, who, Saul having been reprobated, was the first founded in the kingdom of the Israelite nation by the will of the Lord; in this third order, which extends from Abraham even to David, that people grew up as if bearing a third age); or whether these signify something else more convenient; yet in no way would I doubt that spiritual ones were prefigured in it by the addition of the turtle-dove and the pigeon. And therefore it was said, "But the birds he did not divide": because carnal ones are divided among themselves, but spiritual ones in no way; whether they remove themselves from the busy conversations of men, like the turtle-dove; or whether they live among them, like the pigeon: yet both birds are simple and harmless; signifying also in the Israelite people themselves, to whom that land was to be given, that there would be individual sons of the promise and heirs of the kingdom who would remain in eternal happiness.

Aves autem descendentes super corpora quae divisa erant, non boni aliquid, sed spiritus indicant aeris hujus, pastum quemdam suum de carnalium divisione quaerentes. Quod autem illis consedit Abraham, significat etiam inter illas carnalium divisiones veros usque in finem perseveraturos fideles. Et circa solis occasum quod pavor irruit in Abraham, et timor tenebrosus magnus, significat circa hujus saeculi finem magnam perturbationem ac tribulationem futuram fidelium: de qua Dominus dixit in Evangelio, Erit enim tunc tribulatio magna, qualis non fuit ab initio (Matth. XXIV, 21).

3. Quod vero dictum est ad Abraham, Sciendo scies quia peregrinum erit semen tuum in terra non propria, et in servitutem redigent eos, et affligent eos quadringentis annis; de populo Israel, qui fuerat in Aegypto serviturus, apertissime prophetatum est. Non quod in eadem servitute sub Aegyptiis affligentibus quadringentos annos ille populus fuerat peracturus; sed in ipsis quadringentis annis praenuntiatum est hoc futurum. Quemadmodum enim scriptum est de Thara patre Abrahae, Et fuerunt dies Tharae in Charra quinque et ducenti anni (Gen. XI, 32); non quia ibi omnes acti sunt, sed quia ibi completi sunt: ita et hic propterea interpositum est, Et in servitutem redigent eos, et affligent eos quadringentis annis; quoniam iste numerus in eadem afflictione completus est, non quia ibi universus peractus est. Quadringenti sane dicuntur anni propter numeri plenitudinem, quamvis aliquanto amplius sint; sive ex hoc tempore computentur, quo ista promittebantur Abrahae, sive ex quo natus est Isaac, propter semen Abrahae, de quo ista praedicuntur. Computantur enim, sicut superius jam diximus, ab anno septuagesimo et quinto Abrahae, quando ad eum facta est prima promissio, usque ad exitum Israel ex Aegypto, quadringenti et triginta anni: quorum Apostolus ita meminit: Hoc autem dico, inquit, testamentum confirmatum a Deo, quae post quadringentos et triginta annos facta est lex, non infirmat ad evacuandam promissionem (Galat. III, 17). Jam ergo isti quadringenti et triginta anni, quadringenti poterant nuncupari, quia non sunt multo amplius: quanto magis cum aliquot jam ex isto numero praeteriissent, quando illa in visu demonstrata et dicta sunt Abrahae; vel quando Isaac natus est centenario patri suo, a prima promissione post viginti et quinque annos, cum jam ex istis quadringentis triginta quadringenti et quinque remanerent, quos Deus quadringentos voluit nominare, et caetera quae sequuntur in verbis praenuntiantis Dei, nullus dubitaverit ad Israeliticum populum pertinere.

But the birds descending upon the bodies which had been divided indicate not anything good, but the spirits of this air, seeking a certain food of their own from the division of the carnal. But that Abraham sat down with them signifies that even among those divisions of the carnal there would be true faithful ones who would persevere even to the end. And that about the setting of the sun a dread fell upon Abraham, and a great dark fear, signifies about the end of this world a great perturbation and tribulation of the faithful to come: concerning which the Lord said in the Gospel, "For there shall then be great tribulation, such as has not been from the beginning" (Matt. 24:21).

3. But as to what was said to Abraham, "Knowing you shall know that your seed shall be a stranger in a land not its own, and they shall reduce them to servitude, and shall afflict them for four hundred years," it was most clearly prophesied concerning the people of Israel, who were to be in servitude in Egypt. Not that the people were to spend four hundred years in that same servitude under the afflicting Egyptians, but it was foretold that this would happen within those four hundred years. For just as it is written of Terah the father of Abraham, "And the days of Terah in Haran were two hundred and five years" (Gen. 11:32); not because all were spent there, but because they were completed there: so also here it was interposed for this reason, "And they shall reduce them to servitude, and shall afflict them for four hundred years," because that number was completed in that same affliction, not because the whole of it was spent there. Indeed, they are called four hundred years for the sake of the fullness of the number, although they are somewhat more; whether they are computed from this time when these things were promised to Abraham, or from when Isaac was born, on account of the seed of Abraham, concerning which these things are predicted. For there are computed, as we have already said above, from the seventy-fifth year of Abraham, when the first promise was made to him, until the departure of Israel from Egypt, four hundred and thirty years: of which the Apostle thus makes mention: "But this I say," he says, "the testament confirmed by God, the law which was made after four hundred and thirty years, does not weaken so as to make the promise void" (Gal. 3:17). Now therefore these four hundred and thirty years could be called four hundred, because they are not much more: how much more since some of that number had already passed when those things were shown and said to Abraham in a vision; or when Isaac was born to his hundred-year-old father, twenty-five years after the first promise, when already of those four hundred and thirty, four hundred and five remained, which God wished to name four hundred, and the other things which follow in the words of the foretelling God, no one would doubt pertain to the Israelite people.

4. Quod vero adjungitur, Cum autem jam sol erat ad occasum, flamma facta est, et ecce fornax fumabunda, et lampades ignis, quae pertransierunt per media divisa illa; significat jam in fine saeculi per ignem judicandos esse carnales. Sicut enim afflictio civitatis Dei, qualis antea nunquam fuit, quae sub Antichristo futura speratur, significatur tenebroso timore Abrahae circa solis occasum, id est, propinquante jam fine saeculi: sic ad solis occasum, id est, ad ipsum jam finem, significatur isto igne dies judicii dirimens carnales per ignem salvandos, et in igne damnandos. Deinde testamentum factum ad Abraham, terram Chanaan proprie manifestat, et nominat in ea undecim gentes a flumine Aegypti usque ad flumen magnum Euphratem. Non ergo a flumine magno Aegypti, hoc est Nilo; sed a parvo, quod dividit inter Aegyptum et Palaestinam, ubi est civitas Rhinocorura.

Caput XXV.

De Agar ancilla Sarrae. quam eadem Sarra Abrahae voluit esse concubinam.

Jam hinc tempora consequuntur filiorum Abrahae, unius de Agar ancilla, alterius de Sarra libera, de quibus in libro superiore jam diximus (cap. 3). Quod autem attinet ad rem gestam, nullo modo est inurendum de hac concubina crimen Abrahae. Usus est ea quippe ad generandam prolem, non ad explendam libidinem; nec insultans, sed potius obediens conjugi, quae suae sterilitatis credidit esse solatium, si fecundum ancillae uterum, quoniam natura non poterat, voluntate faceret suum, et eo jure quo dicit Apostolus, Similiter et vir non habet potestatem corporis sui, sea mulier (I Cor. VII, 4), uteretur mulier ad pariendum ex altera, quod non poterat ex se ipsa. Nulla est hic cupido lasciviae, nulla nequitiae turpitudo. Ab uxore causa prolis ancilla marito traditur, a marito causa prolis accipitur: ab utroque non culpae luxus, sed naturae fructus exquiritur. Denique cum ancilla gravida, domina sterili, superbiret, et hoc Sarra suspicione muliebri viro potius imputaret, etiam ibi demonstravit Abraham non se amatorem servum, sed liberum fuisse genitorem, et in Agar Sarrae conjugi pudicitiam custodisse; nec voluptatem suam, sed voluntatem illius implevisse: accepisse, nec petiisse; accessisse, nec haesisse; seminasse, nec amasse. Ait enim: Ecce ancilla tua in manibus tuis, utere ea quomodo tibi placuerit (Gen. XVI, 6). O virum viriliter utentem feminis, conjuge temperanter, ancilla obtemperanter, nulla intemperanter!

4. But what is added, "And when now the sun was setting, a flame was made, and behold a smoking furnace, and lamps of fire, which passed through those divided pieces," signifies that at the end of the world the carnal are to be judged by fire. For just as the affliction of the city of God, such as has never been before, which is expected to come under the Antichrist, is signified by the dark fear of Abraham about the setting of the sun, that is, the end of the world already approaching: so at the setting of the sun, that is, at the very end itself, the day of judgment is signified by that fire, dividing the carnal to be saved through fire and to be damned in fire. Then the testament made to Abraham properly manifests the land of Canaan, and names in it eleven nations from the river of Egypt even to the great river Euphrates. Not therefore from the great river of Egypt, that is the Nile; but from the small one, which divides between Egypt and Palestine, where the city of Rhinocorura is.

Chapter XXV.

Of Hagar the handmaid of Sarah, whom the same Sarah wished to be Abraham's concubine.

From this point follow the times of the sons of Abraham, one of Hagar the handmaid, the other of Sarah the free woman, of whom we have already spoken in the preceding book (ch. 3). But as pertains to the event itself, the crime of Abraham is by no means to be branded on account of this concubine. For he used her to generate offspring, not to satisfy lust; nor insulting, but rather obeying his wife, who believed it to be a solace for her own sterility if she should make the fruitful womb of the handmaid her own by will, since she could not by nature, and by that right by which the Apostle says, "In like manner also the man has not power of his own body, but the woman" (1 Cor. 7:4), the woman should use the man to bring forth from another what she could not from herself. There is here no desire of lewdness, no filthiness of wickedness. By the wife, for the sake of offspring, the handmaid is delivered to the husband, by the husband, for the sake of offspring, she is received: from both, not the luxury of fault, but the fruit of nature is sought. Finally, when the handmaid, being pregnant and her mistress sterile, became proud, and Sarah by a woman's suspicion imputed this rather to her husband, even there Abraham showed that he had been not a loving slave but a free progenitor, and had preserved modesty for Sarah his wife in Hagar; and had fulfilled not his own pleasure, but her will: having received, not sought; having approached, not clung; having sown, not loved. For he says: "Behold, your handmaid is in your hands, use her as it shall please you" (Gen. 16:6). O man manfully using women, the wife with temperance, the handmaid with obedience, neither with intemperance!

Caput XXVI.

De testificatione Dei ad Abraham, qua eidem seni de sterili Sarra filium spondet, patremque eum gentium statuit, et promissi fidem sacramento circumcisionis obsignat.

1. Post haec est natus Ismael ex Agar, in quo putare posset impletum, quod ei promissum fuerat, cum sibi vernaculum suum adoptare voluisset, dicente Deo, Non erit haeres tuus hic; sed qui exiet de te, ille erit haeres tuus (Gen. XV, 4). Hoc ergo promissum ne in ancillae filio putaret impletum, jam cum esset annorum nonaginta et novem, apparuit ei Dominus, et dixit illi: Ego sum Deus, place in conspectu meo, et esto sine querela, et ponam testamentum meum inter me et inter te, et implebo te valde. Et procidit Abram in faciem suam. Et locutus est illi Deus, dicens: Et ego, ecce testamentum meum tecum; et eris pater multitudinis gentium: et non appellabitur adhuc nomen tuum Abram, sed erit nomen tuum Abraham; quia patrem multarum gentium posui te: et augebo te valde, et ponam te in gentes, et reges ex te exibunt: statuam testamentum meum inter me et inter te, et inter semen tuum post te in generationes eorum in testamentum aeternum, ut sim tibi Deus, et semini tuo post te. Et dabo tibi et semini tuo post te terram, in qua incola es, omnem terram Chanaan in possessionem aeternam, et ero illis Deus. Et dixit Deus ad Abraham: Tu autem testamentum meum conservabis, tu et semen tuum post te in progenies suas. Et hoc est testamentum quod conservabis inter me et vos, et inter semen tuum post te in generationes suas. Circumcidetur vestrum omne masculinum, et circumcidemini carnem praeputii vestri: et erit in signum testamenti inter me et vos. Et puer octo dierum circumcidetur, vestrum omne masculinum in progenies vestras. Vernaculus et emptitius ab omni filio alienigena, qui non est de semine tuo, circumcisione circumcidetur: vernaculus domus tuae et emptitius. Et erit testamentum meum in carne vestra in testamentum aetenum. Et qui non fuerit circumcisus, masculus qui non circumcidetur carnem praeputii sui octavo die, interibit anima illa de genere ejus; quia testamentum meum dissipavit. Et dixit Deus ad Abraham: Sara uxor tua, non appellabitur nomen ejus Sara, sed Sarra erit nomen ejus. Benedicam autem illam, et dabo tibi ex ea filium: et benedicam illum; et erit in nationes, et reges gentium ex eo erunt.

Chapter XXVI.

Of the testimony of God to Abraham, by which He promises a son to the same old man from the sterile Sarah, and appoints him father of the nations, and seals the faith of the promise with the sacrament of circumcision.

1. After these things Ishmael was born of Hagar, in whom he could think fulfilled what had been promised to him, when he had wished to adopt his home-born slave, God saying, "This one shall not be your heir; but he who shall come forth from you, he shall be your heir" (Gen. 15:4). Lest therefore he should think this promised fulfilled in the son of the handmaid, already when he was ninety-nine years old, the Lord appeared to him and said to him: "I am God, be pleasing in my sight, and be without complaint, and I will place my testament between me and you, and I will fill you greatly." And Abram fell upon his face. And God spoke to him, saying: "And I, behold my testament with you; and you shall be the father of a multitude of nations: and your name shall not be called Abram any longer, but your name shall be Abraham; because I have placed you as the father of many nations: and I will increase you greatly, and I will place you into nations, and kings shall come forth from you: I will establish my testament between me and you, and between your seed after you in their generations for an eternal testament, that I may be God to you, and to your seed after you." And I will give to you and to your seed after you the land in which you are a dweller, all the land of Canaan for an eternal possession, and I will be their God." And God said to Abraham: "But you shall keep my testament, you and your seed after you in their progenies. And this is the testament which you shall keep between me and you, and between your seed after you in its generations. Every male of yours shall be circumcised, and you shall circumcise the flesh of your uncircumcision: and it shall be for a sign of the testament between me and you. And a boy of eight days shall be circumcised, every male of yours in your progenies. The home-born and the one bought from every alien son, who is not of your seed, shall be circumcised with circumcision: the home-born of your house and the one bought. And my testament shall be in your flesh for an eternal testament. And he who shall not be circumcised, the male who shall not be circumcised in the flesh of his uncircumcision on the eighth day, that soul shall perish from its kind; because he has dissipated my testament." And God said to Abraham: "Sara your wife, her name shall not be called Sara, but Sarra shall be her name. And I will bless her, and I will give to you from her a son: and I will bless him; and he shall be into nations, and kings of nations shall be from him."

Et procidit Abraham super faciem suam; et risit, et dixit in animo suo, dicens: Si mihi centum annos habenti nascetur filius, et si Sarra annorum nonaginta pariet? Dixit autem Abraham ad Deum: Ismael hic vivat in conspectu tuo. Dixit autem Deus ad Abraham: Ita, ecce Sarra uxor tua pariet tibi filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Isaac: et statuam testamentum meum ad illum in testamentum aeternum, esse illi Deus, et semini ejus post illum. De Ismael autem ecce exaudivi te: ecce benedixi eum, et ampliabo illum, et multiplicabo illum valde. Duodecim gentes generabit: et dabo illum in gentem magnam. Testamentum autem meum statuam ad Isaac, quem pariet tibi Sarra in tempore hoc ad annum sequentem (Gen. XVII, 1-21).

2. Hic apertiora promissa sunt de vocatione Gentium in Isaac, id est, in filio promissionis, quo significatur gratia, non natura: quia de sene et anu sterili promittitur filius. Quamvis enim et naturalem procreationis excursum Deus operetur: ubi tamen evidens opus Dei est, vitiata et cessante natura, ibi evidentius intelligitur gratia. Et quia hoc non per generationem, sed per regenerationem futurum erat, ideo nunc imperata est circumcisio, quando de Sarra promissus est filius. Et quod omnes, non solum filios, verum etiam servos vernaculos et emptitios circumcidi jubet, ad omnes istam gratiam pertinere testatur. Quid enim aliud circumcisio significat, quam vetustate exuta naturam renovatam? et quid aliud quam Christum octavus dies, qui hebdomada completa, hoc est post sabbatum, resurrexit? Parentum mutantur et nomina, omnia resonant novitatem, et in Testamento vetere obumbratur novum. Quid est enim quod dicitur Testamentum vetus, nisi occultatio novi? et quid est aliud quod dicitur novum, nisi veteris revelatio? Risus Abrahae, exsultatio est gratulantis, non irrisio diffidentis. Verba quoque ejus illa in animo suo, Si mihi centum annos habenti nascetur filius, et si Sarra annorum nonaginta pariet? non sunt dubitantis, sed admirantis. Si quem vero movet quod dictum est, Et dabo tibi et semini tuo post te terram, in qua tu incola es, omnem terram Chanaan in possessionem aeternam; quomodo accipiatur impletum, sive adhuc exspectetur implendum, cum possessio quaecumque terrena aeterna cuilibet genti esse non possit: sciat aeternum a nostris interpretari, quod Graeci appellant *αἰώνιον* quod a saeculo derivatum est: *αἰών* quippe graece saeculum nuncupatur. Sed non sunt ausi Latini hoc dicere saeculare, ne longe in aliud mitterent sensum. Saecularia quippe dicuntur multa, quae in hoc saeculo sic aguntur, ut brevi etiam tempore transeant: *αἰώνιον* autem quod dicitur, aut non habet finem, aut usque in hujus saeculi tenditur finem.

And Abraham fell upon his face; and he laughed, and said in his mind, saying: "If a son shall be born to me being a hundred years old, and if Sarra of ninety years shall bring forth?" But Abraham said to God: "Let this Ishmael live in your sight." But God said to Abraham: "So, behold Sarra your wife shall bring forth for you a son, and you shall call his name Isaac: and I will establish my testament with him for an eternal testament, to be God to him, and to his seed after him. But concerning Ishmael behold I have heard you: behold I have blessed him, and I will enlarge him, and I will multiply him greatly. Twelve nations shall he generate: and I will give him into a great nation. But my testament I will establish with Isaac, whom Sarra shall bring forth for you in this time for the following year" (Gen. 17:1-21).

2. Here the promises are clearer concerning the calling of the Gentiles in Isaac, that is, in the son of promise, by whom grace is signified, not nature: because a son is promised from an old man and a sterile old woman. For although God works also the natural course of procreation: yet where the work of God is evident, nature being corrupted and ceasing, there grace is more evidently understood. And because this was to be not through generation, but through regeneration, therefore circumcision was now commanded, when the son was promised from Sarah. And that He commands all to be circumcised, not only sons, but also home-born and bought slaves, testifies that this grace pertains to all. For what else does circumcision signify, than nature renewed, having put off old age? And what else than Christ does the eighth day signify, who, the week being completed, that is after the sabbath, rose again? The names of the parents are also changed, all things resonate with novelty, and in the Old Testament the New is foreshadowed. For what is that which is called the Old Testament, but the hiding of the New? And what else is that which is called the New, but the revelation of the Old? The laughter of Abraham is the exultation of one congratulating, not the mockery of one doubting. Also those words of his in his mind, "If a son shall be born to me being a hundred years old, and if Sarra of ninety years shall bring forth?" are not of one doubting, but of one wondering. If indeed any one is moved by what was said, "And I will give to you and to your seed after you the land in which you are a dweller, all the land of Canaan for an eternal possession;" how it is to be understood fulfilled, or whether it is yet expected to be fulfilled, since any earthly possession cannot be eternal to any nation: let him know that eternal is interpreted by our people, what the Greeks call aionion (αἰώνιον) which is derived from aion (αἰών): for aion is called saeculum in Greek. But the Latins did not dare to call this saeculare, lest they should send the sense far into something else. For many things are called saecularia, which are so acted in this world (saeculum), that they pass away even in a short time: but that which is called aionion, either has no end, or is extended even to the end of this world (saeculum).

Caput XXVII.

De masculo, qui si octavo die non fuerit circumcisus, perit anima ejus, quia testamentum Dei dissipavit.

Item potest movere, quomodo intelligi operteat quod hic dictum est, Masculus qui non circumcidetur carnem praeputii sui octavo die, interibit anima illa de genere ejus, quia testamentum meum dissipavit: cum haec nulla culpa sit parvuli, cujus dixit animam perituram; nec ipse dissipaverit testamentum Dei, sed majores qui eum circumcidere non curarunt: nisi quia etiam parvuli, non secundum suae vitae proprietatem, sed secundum communem generis humani originem, omnes in illo uno testamentum Dei dissipaverunt, in quo omnes peccaverunt (Rom. V. 12). Multa quippe appellantur testamenta Dei, exceptis illis duobus magnis, vetere et novo, quod licet cuique legendo cognoscere. Testamentum autem primum, quod factum est ad hominem primum, profecto illud est: Qua die ederitis, morte moriemini (Gen. II, 17). Unde scriptum est in libro, qui Ecclesiasticus appellatur, Omnis caro sicut vestis veterascit. Testamentum enim a saeculo, Morte morieris (Eccli. XIV, 18, sec. LXX). Cum enim lex evidentior postea data sit, et dicat Apostolus, Ubi autem non est lex, nec praevaricatio (Rom. IV, 15): quo pacto quod legitur in Psalmo verum est, Praevaricatores aestimavi omnes peccatores terrae (Psal. CXVIII, 119); nisi quia omnes legis alicujus praevaricatae sunt rei, qui aliquo peccato tenentur obstricti? Quamobrem si etiam parvuli, quod vera fides habet, nascuntur non proprie, sed originaliter peccatores, unde illis gratiam remissionis peccatorum necessariam confitemur; profecto eo modo quo sunt peccatores, etiam praevaricatores legis illius, quae in paradiso data est, agnoscuntur; ut verum sit utrumque, quod scriptum est, et, Praevaricatores aestimavi omnes peccatores terrae; et, Ubi lex non est; nec praevaricatio. Ac per hoc, quia circumcisio signum regenerationis fuit, et non immerito parvulum propter originale peccatum, quo primum Dei dissipatum est testamentum, generatio disperdet, nisi regeneratio liberet: sic intelligenda sunt haec divina verba, tanquam dictum sit, Qui non fuerit regeneratus, interibit anima illa de populo ejus, quia testamentum dei dissipavit, quando in Adam cum omnibus etiam ipse peccavit.

Chapter XXVII.

Of the male who, if he shall not have been circumcised on the eighth day, his soul perishes, because he has dissipated the testament of God.

Likewise it can move [one], how it ought to be understood what was said here: "The male who shall not be circumcised in the flesh of his uncircumcision on the eighth day, that soul shall perish from its kind, because he has dissipated my testament:" since this is no fault of the little child, whose soul He said would perish; nor has he himself dissipated the testament of God, but the elders who did not care to circumcise him: unless because even little children, not according to the property of their own life, but according to the common origin of the human race, have all in that one [man] dissipated the testament of God, in whom all have sinned (Rom. 5:12). For many things are called the testaments of God, except those two great ones, the old and the new, which anyone may know by reading. But the first testament, which was made to the first man, is surely that: "In the day you shall eat, you shall die the death" (Gen. 2:17). Whence it is written in the book which is called Ecclesiasticus: "All flesh as a garment grows old. For the testament from the world [is], You shall die the death" (Ecclus. 14:18, according to the LXX). For since a more evident law was given afterwards, and the Apostle says, "But where there is no law, neither is there prevarication" (Rom. 4:15): in what way is that which is read in the Psalm true, "I have esteemed as prevaricators all the sinners of the earth" (Ps. 118:119); unless because all are guilty of some law prevaricated, who are held bound by some sin? Wherefore if even little children, as the true faith has it, are born not properly but originally sinners, whence we confess for them the grace of the remission of sins to be necessary; surely in the way in which they are sinners, they are recognized also as prevaricators of that law which was given in paradise; so that both may be true which is written, both, "I have esteemed as prevaricators all the sinners of the earth;" and, "Where there is no law, neither is there prevarication." And through this, because circumcision was a sign of regeneration, and not undeservedly generation will destroy the little child on account of original sin, by which the first testament of God was dissipated, unless regeneration should free him: so these divine words are to be understood, as if it were said: He who shall not have been regenerated, that soul shall perish from its people, because he has dissipated the testament of God, when in Adam with all he himself also sinned.

Si enim dixisset, Quia hoc testamentum meum dissipavit; nonnisi de ista circumcisione intelligi cogeret: nunc vero, quoniam non expressit cujusmodi testamentum parvulus dissipaverit, liberum est intelligere de illo testamento dictum, cujus dissipatio pertinere possit ad parvulum. Si autem quisquam hoc nonnisi de ista circumcisione dictum esse contendit, quod in ea testamentum Dei, quoniam non est circumcisus, dissipaverit parvulus; quaerat locutionis aliquem modum, quo non absurde possit intelligi, ideo dissipasse testamentum, quia licet non ab illo, tamen in illo est dissipatum. Verum sic quoque animadvertendum est, nulla in se negligentia sua injuste interire incircumcisi animam parvuli, nisi originalis obligatione peccati.

Caput XXVIII.

De commutatione nominum Abrahae et Sarrae, qui cum ob unius sterilitatem, ob utriusque autem senectutem generare non possent, munus fecunditatis indepti sunt.

Facta igitur promissione tam magna tamque dilucida ad Abraham, cui evidentissime dictum est, Patrem multarum gentium posui te; et augebo te valde, et ponam te in gentes, et reges exibunt ex te: et dabo tibi ex Sarra filium; et benedicam illum, et erit in nationes, et reges gentium ex eo erunt: quam promissionem nunc in Christo cernimus reddi: ex illo deinceps illi conjuges non vocantur in Scripturis, sicut antea vocabantur, Abram et Sara; sed sicut nos eos ab initio vocavimus, quoniam sic jam vocantur ab omnibus, Abraham et Sarra. Cur autem mutatum sit nomen Abrahae, reddita est ratio: Quia patrem, inquit, multarum gentium posui te. Hoc ergo significare intelligendum est Abraham: Abram vero, quod ante vocabatur, interpretatur Pater excelsus. De nomine autem mutato Sarrae non est reddita ratio: sed, sicut aiunt, qui scripserunt interpretationes nominum hebraeorum, quae his sacris Litteris continentur, Sara interpretatur Princeps mea; Sarra autem Virtus. Unde scriptum est in Epistola ad Hebraeos: Fide et ipsa Sarra virtutem accepit ad emissionem seminis (Hebr. XI, 11). Ambo autem seniores erant, sicut Scriptura testatur: sed illa etiam sterilis, et cruore menstruo jam destituta; propter quod jam parere non posset, etiamsi sterilis non fuisset. Porro si femina ita sit provectioris aetatis, ut ei solita mulierum adhuc fluant, de juvene parere potest, de seniore non potest: quamvis adhuc possit ille senior, sed de adolescentula gignere: sicut Abraham post mortem Sarrae de Cethura potuit, quia vividam ejus invenit aetatem.

For if He had said: Because he has dissipated *this* testament of mine; he would compel it to be understood only of this circumcision: but now, because He did not express of what kind of testament the little child has dissipated, it is free to understand it spoken of that testament, the dissipation of which can pertain to a little child. But if anyone contends that this is spoken only of this circumcision, that in it the little child has dissipated the testament of God, because he was not circumcised; let him seek some mode of speech, by which it can be understood not absurdly, that he therefore dissipated the testament, because although not by him, yet in him it was dissipated. But thus also it is to be observed, that the soul of the uncircumcised little child perishes unjustly by no negligence of its own, except by the obligation of original sin.

Chapter XXVIII.

Of the change of the names of Abraham and Sarah, who, when on account of the sterility of one, and on account of the old age of both, they could not generate, received the gift of fecundity.

The promise having been made therefore so great and so clear to Abraham, to whom it was most evidently said: "I have placed you as the father of many nations; and I will increase you greatly, and I will place you into nations, and kings shall come forth from you: and I will give to you from Sarah a son; and I will bless him, and he shall be into nations, and kings of nations shall be from him:" which promise we now see rendered in Christ: from that time thereafter those spouses are not called in the Scriptures as they were called before, Abram and Sara; but as we have called them from the beginning, since they are already so called by all, Abraham and Sarra. But why the name of Abraham was changed, the reason was given: "Because," He says, "I have placed you as the father of many nations." This, therefore, Abraham is to be understood to signify: but Abram, which he was called before, is interpreted "Exalted Father." But of the changed name of Sarra the reason was not given: but, as they say who have written the interpretations of Hebrew names, which are contained in these sacred Letters, Sara is interpreted "My Princess;" but Sarra, "Strength." Whence it is written in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "By faith Sarra herself also received strength for the emission of seed" (Heb. 11:11). But both were older, as the Scripture testifies: but she was also sterile, and already destitute of the menstrual blood; on account of which she could not now bring forth, even if she had not been sterile. Furthermore, if a woman is of such advanced age that the usual things of women still flow to her, she can bring forth from a young man, but from an older man she cannot: although that older man could still, but beget from a young girl: just as Abraham after the death of Sarah could from Keturah, because he found her age vivid.

Hoc ergo est quod mirum commendat Apostolus, et ad hoc dicit Abrahae jam fuisse corpus emortuum (Rom. IV, 19): quoniam non ex omni femina, cui esset adhuc aliquod pariendi tempus extremum, generare ipse in illa aetate adhuc posset. Ad aliquid enim emortuum corpus intelligere debemus, non ad omnia. Nam si ad omnia, non jam senectus vivi, sed cadaver est mortui. Quamvis etiam sic solvi soleat ista quaestio, quod de Cethura postea genuit Abraham, quia gignendi donum, quod a Domino accepit, etiam post obitum mansit uxoris. Sed propterea mihi videtur illa, quam secuti sumus, hujus quaestionis solutio praeferenda, quia centenarius quidem senex, sed temporis nostri, de nulla potest femina gignere; non tunc, quando adhuc tam diu vivebant, ut centum anni nondum facerent hominem decrepitae senectutis.

Caput XXIX.

De tribus viris vel angelis, in quibus ad quercum Mambre apparuisse Abrahae Dominus indicatur.

Item Deus apparuit Abrahae ad quercum Mambre in tribus viris, quos dubitandum non est Angelos fuisse; quamvis quidam existiment unum in eis fuisse Dominum Christum, asserentes eum etiam ante indumentum carnis fuisse visibilem. Est quidem divinae potestatis, et invisibilis, incorporalis incommutabilisque naturae, sine ulla sui mutatione etiam mortalibus aspectibus apparere, non per id quod est, sed per aliquid quod sibi subditum est. Quid autem illi subditum non est? Verumtamen si propterea confirmant horum trium aliquem fuisse Christum, quia cum tres vidisset, ad Dominum singulariter est locutus: sic enim scriptum est, Et ecce tres viri stabant super eum, et videns procucurrit obviam illis ab ostio tabernaculi sui, et adoravit super terram, et dixit: Domine, si inveni gratiam ante te (Gen. XVIII, 1-3), et caetera: cur non etiam illud advertunt, duos ex eis venisse, ut Sodomitae delerentur, cum adhuc Abraham ad unum loqueretur, Dominum appellans, et intercedens ne simul justum cum impio in Sodomis perderet? Illos autem duos sic suscepit Lot, ut etiam ipse in colloquio cum illis suo singulariter Dominum appellaret. Nam cum eis pluraliter dixisset, Ecce, domini, declinate in domum pueri vestri, et caetera quae ibi dicuntur: postea tamen ita legitur, Et tenuerunt Angeli manum ejus, et manum uxoris ejus, et manus duarum filiarum ejus, in eo quod parceret Dominus ipsi. Et factum est, mox ut eduxerunt illum foras, et dixerunt: Salvam fac animam tuam, ne respexeris retro, nec steteris in tota regione: in monte salvum te fac, ne quando comprehendaris.

This therefore is what the Apostle commends as wonderful, and for this he says that the body of Abraham was already dead (Rom. 4:19): since not from every woman, to whom there was still some final time of bringing forth, could he himself still generate at that age. For we ought to understand the body dead in some respect, not in all. For if in all, it is no longer the old age of a living man, but the corpse of a dead one. Although this question is also usually solved in this way, that Abraham afterwards begot from Keturah because the gift of begetting, which he received from the Lord, remained even after the death of his wife. But for this reason that solution of this question which we have followed seems to me to be preferred, because a hundred-year-old man indeed, but of our time, can beget from no woman; not then, when they still lived so long that a hundred years did not yet make a man of decrepit old age.

Chapter XXIX.

Of the three men or angels, in whom the Lord is indicated to have appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mamre.

Likewise God appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mamre in three men, whom it is not to be doubted were Angels; although some think that one in them was the Lord Christ, asserting that He was visible even before the clothing of the flesh. It is indeed of divine power, and of an invisible, incorporeal, and incommutable nature, without any mutation of itself to appear even to mortal aspects, not through that which it is, but through something which is subject to itself. But what is not subject to it? Nevertheless, if they confirm for this reason that some one of these three was Christ, because when he had seen three, he spoke to the Lord in the singular: for thus it is written, "And behold three men stood over him, and seeing he ran to meet them from the door of his tabernacle, and adored upon the earth, and said: Lord, if I have found grace before you" (Gen. 18:1-3), and the rest: why do they not also observe that, that two of them came that the Sodomites might be destroyed, while Abraham was still speaking to one, calling Him Lord, and interceding lest He should destroy the just with the impious together in Sodom? But those two Lot so received, that even he himself in his colloquy with them called them Lord in the singular. For when he had said to them in the plural, "Behold, lords, turn aside into the house of your boy," and the other things which are said there: afterwards nevertheless it is thus read, "And the Angels held his hand, and the hand of his wife, and the hands of his two daughters, in that the Lord spared him. And it was done, as soon as they led him forth, and said: Save your soul, do not look back, nor stay in the whole region: save yourself in the mountain, lest peradventure you be apprehended.

Dixit autem Lot ad illos: Oro, Domine, quia invenit puer tuus misericordiam ante te, et quae sequuntur. Deinde post haec verba singulariter illi respondit et Dominus, cum in duobus Angelis esset, dicens, Ecce miratus sum faciem tuam (Gen. XIX, 2-21), et caetera. Unde multo est credibilius, quod et Abraham in tribus et Lot in duobus viris Dominum agnoscebant, cui per singularem numerum loquebantur, etiam cum eos homines esse arbitrarentur: neque enim aliam ob causam sic eos susceperunt, ut tanquam mortalibus et humana refectione indigentibus ministrarent: sed erat profecto aliquid, quo ita excellebant, licet tanquam homines, ut in eis esse Dominum, sicut esse assolet in Prophetis, hi qui hospitalitatem illis exhibebant, dubitare non possent; atque ideo et ipsos aliquando pluraliter, et in eis Dominum aliquando singulariter appellabant. Angelos autem fuisse Scriptura testatur, non solum in hoc Genesis libro, ubi haec gesta narrantur; verum etiam in Epistola ad Hebraeos, ubi, cum hospitalitas laudaretur, Per hanc, inquit, etiam quidam nescientes hospitio receperunt Angelos (Hebr. XIII, 2). Per illos igitur tres viros, cum rursus filius Isaac de Sarra promitteretur Abrahae, divinum datum est etiam tale responsum, ut diceretur, Abraham erit in gentem magnam et multam, et benedicentur in eo omnes gentes terrae (Gen. XVIII, 18). Et hic duo illa brevissime plenissimeque promissa sunt, gens Israel secundum carnem, et omnes gentes secundum fidem.

Caput XXX.

De Lot a Sodomis liberato, atque eisdem coelesti igne consumptis; et de Abimelech; cujus concupiscentia castitati Sarrae nocere non potuit.

Post hanc promissionem liberato de Sodomis Lot, et veniente igneo imbre de coelo, tota illa regio impiae civitatis in cinerem versa est, ubi stupra in masculos in tantam consuetudinem convaluerant, quantam leges solent aliorum factorum praebere licentiam. Verum et hoc eorum supplicium specimen futuri judicii divini fuit. Nam quo pertinet quod prohibiti sunt qui liberabantur ab Angelis retro respicere, nisi quia non est animo redeundum ad veterem vitam, qua per gratiam regeneratus exuitur, si ultimum evadere judicium cogitamus?

But Lot said to them: I pray, Lord, because your boy has found mercy before you," and what follows. Then after these words the Lord also answered him in the singular, when He was in the two Angels, saying, "Behold I have wondered at your face" (Gen. 19:2-21), and the rest. Whence it is much more credible, that both Abraham in the three and Lot in the two men recognized the Lord, to whom they spoke through the singular number, even when they judged them to be men: for neither for any other cause did they so receive them, as to minister to them as if to mortals and those needing human refreshment: but there was surely something by which they so excelled, although as men, that those who were exhibiting hospitality to them could not doubt the Lord to be in them, as He is wont to be in the Prophets; and therefore they called both them sometimes in the plural, and the Lord in them sometimes in the singular. But that they were Angels the Scripture testifies, not only in this book of Genesis, where these things are narrated; but also in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where, when hospitality was praised, "By this," it says, "some also unknowingly received Angels into hospitality" (Heb. 13:2). Through those three men, therefore, when again the son Isaac was promised to Abraham from Sarah, a divine response was also given such as to say, "Abraham shall be into a great and many nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him" (Gen. 18:18). And here those two things are most briefly and most fully promised, the nation of Israel according to the flesh, and all nations according to faith.

Chapter XXX.

Of Lot delivered from Sodom, and of the same being consumed by celestial fire; and of Abimelech, whose concupiscence could not harm the chastity of Sarah.

After this promise, Lot having been delivered from Sodom, and a fiery rain coming from heaven, all that region of the impious city was turned into ash, where debaucheries upon males had grown strong into so great a custom, as much as laws are wont to provide license for other deeds. But even this punishment of theirs was a specimen of the future divine judgment. For to what does it pertain that those who were being delivered by the Angels were prohibited from looking back, unless because the mind is not to return to the old life, which the one regenerated through grace puts off, if we think to escape the last judgment?

Denique uxor Lot, ubi respexit, remansit; et in salem conversa (Gen. XIX) hominibus fidelibus quoddam praestitit condimentum, quo sapiant aliquid, unde illud caveatur exemplum. Inde rursus Abraham fecit in Geraris apud regem civitatis illius Abimelech, quod in Aegypto de conjuge fecerat, eique intacta similiter reddita est. Ubi sane Abraham objurganti regi cur tacuisset uxorem, sororemque dixisset, aperiens quid timuerit, etiam hoc addidit: Etenim vere soror mea est de patre, sed non de matre (Gen. XX, 2): quia de patre suo soror erat Abrahae, de quo propinqua ejus erat. Tantae autem pulchritudinis fuit, ut etiam in illa aetate posset adamari.

Caput XXXI.

De Isaac secundum promissionem nato, cui nomen ex risu utriusque parentis est inditum.

Post haec natus est Abrahae, secundum promissionem Dei, de Sarra filius, eumque nominavit Isaac, quod interpretatur Risus. Riserat enim et pater, quando ei promissus est, admirans in gaudio: riserat et mater, quando per illos tres viros iterum promissus est, dubitans in gaudio; quamvis exprobrante angelo quod risus ille, etiamsi gaudii fuit, tamen plenae fidei non fuit (Gen. XVIII, 12-15). Post ab eodem angelo in fide etiam confirmata est. Ex hoc ergo puer nomen accepit. Nam quod risus ille non ad irridendum opprobrium, sed ad celebrandum gaudium pertinebat, nato Isaac, et eo nomine vocato, Sarra monstravit; ait quippe, Risum mihi fecit Dominus; quicumque enim audierit, congaudebit mihi (Id. XXI, 6). Sed post aliquantulum tempus ancilla de domo ejicitur cum filio suo, et duo illa secundum Apostolum Testamenta significantur, vetus et novum: ubi Sarra illa supernae Jerusalem, hoc est civitatis Dei, figuram gerit (Galat. IV, 26).

Caput XXXII.

De obedientia et fide Abrahae, qua per oblationem immolandi filii probatus est, et de morte Sarrae.

Finally, the wife of Lot, where she looked back, remained; and being turned into salt (Gen. 19), she provided a certain seasoning for faithful men, by which they may savor something, whence that example may be avoided. Thence again Abraham did in Gerar with the king of that city, Abimelech, what he had done in Egypt concerning his spouse, and she was likewise rendered to him untouched. Where indeed Abraham, to the king rebuking why he had kept silent about his wife and had said she was his sister, opening what he feared, added also this: "For truly she is my sister from my father, but not from my mother" (Gen. 20:2): because she was the sister of Abraham from his father, from whom she was his near relative. But she was of so great beauty, that even at that age she could be deeply loved.

Chapter XXXI.

Of Isaac born according to the promise, to whom the name was given from the laughter of both parents.

After these things a son was born to Abraham, according to the promise of God, from Sarah, and he named him Isaac, which is interpreted "Laughter." For both the father had laughed when he was promised to him, wondering in joy: the mother also had laughed, when through those three men he was again promised, doubting in joy; although the angel reproached that that laughter, even if it was of joy, yet was not of full faith (Gen. 18:12-15). Afterwards by the same angel she was also confirmed in faith. From this therefore the boy received the name. For that that laughter pertained not to mocking reproach, but to celebrating joy, Sarah showed when Isaac was born and called by that name; for she says, "The Lord has made laughter for me; for whoever shall hear, will congratulate with me" (Gen. 21:6). But after a little time the handmaid is cast out from the house with her son, and those two testaments are signified according to the Apostle, the old and the new: where that Sarah bears the figure of the heavenly Jerusalem, that is, of the city of God (Gal. 4:26).

Chapter XXXII.

Of the obedience and faith of Abraham, by which he was proved through the oblation of the son to be sacrificed, and of the death of Sarah.

1. Inter haec, quae omnia commemorare nimis longum est, tentatur Abraham de immolando dilectissimo filio ipso Isaac, ut pia ejus obedientia probaretur, saeculis in notitiam proferenda, non Deo. Neque enim omnis est culpanda tentatio: quia et gratulanda est, qua fit probatio. Et plerumque aliter animus humanus sibi ipsi innotescere non potest, nisi vires suas sibi, non verbo, sed experimento, tentatione quodammodo interrogante, respondeat: ubi si Dei munus agnoverit, tunc pius est, tunc solidatur firmitate gratiae, non inflatur inanitate jactantiae. Nunquam sane crederet Abraham, quod victimis Deus delectaretur humanis: quamvis, divino intonante praecepto, obediendum sit, non disputandum. Verumtamen Abraham confestim filium, cum fuisset immolatus, resurrecturum credidisse laudandus est. Dixerat namque illi Deus, cum de ancilla et filio ejus foras ejiciendis voluntatem conjugis nollet implere: In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen. Et certe ibi sequitur ac dicitur, Filium autem ancillae hujus in magnam gentem faciam illum ; quia semen tuum est (Gen. XXI, 12, 13). Quomodo ergo dictum est, In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen, cum et Ismaelem Deus semen ejus vocaverit? Exponens autem Apostolus, quid sit, In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen: Id est, inquit, non qui filii carnis, hi filii Dei; sed filii promissionis deputantur in semine . (Rom. IX, 8). Ac per hoc filii promissionis, ut sint semen Abrahae, in Isaac vocantur, hoc est, in Christum vocante gratia congregantur. Hanc ergo promissionem pater pius fideliter tenens, quia per hunc oportebat impleri, quem Deus jubebat occidi, non haesitavit quod sibi reddi poterat immolatus, qui dari potuit non speratus. Sic intellectum est et in Epistola ad Hebraeos, et sic expositum. Fide, inquit, praecessit Abraham, in Isaac tentatus; et unicum obtulit, qui promissiones suscepit, ad quem dictum est, In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen: cogitans quia et ex mortuis excitare potest Deus. Proinde addidit, Pro hoc etiam eum et in similitudinem adduxit (Hebr. XI, 17-19). Cujus similitudinem, nisi illius de quo dicit idem Apostolus, Qui proprio Filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum (Rom. VIII, 32)? Propterea et Isaac, sicut Dominus, crucem suam, ita sibi ligna ad victimae locum, quibus fuerat imponendus, ipse portavit. Postremo quia Isaac occidi non oportebat, posteaquam est pater ferire prohibitus, quis erat ille aries, quo immolato impletum est significativo sanguine sacrificium? Nempe quando eum vidit Abraham, cornibus in frutice tenebatur. Quis ergo illo figurabatur, nisi Jesus, antequam immolaretur, spinis Judaicis coronatus?

1. Among these things, to commemorate all of which is too long, Abraham is tempted concerning the sacrificing of his most beloved son Isaac himself, that his pious obedience might be proved, to be brought forth into notice for the ages, not for God. For not every temptation is to be blamed: because that is even to be congratulated, by which a proof is made. And for the most part the human mind cannot otherwise become known to itself, unless it answers its own strength to itself, not by word but by experiment, temptation in a certain way interrogating: where if it shall have recognized the gift of God, then it is pious, then it is solidified by the firmness of grace, not inflated by the vanity of boasting. Abraham surely would never have believed that God was delighted with human victims: although, when a divine precept thunders, one must obey, not dispute. Nevertheless Abraham is to be praised for having believed that his son, when he had been sacrificed, would immediately rise again. For God had said to him, when he did not wish to fulfill the will of his spouse concerning the casting out of the handmaid and her son: "In Isaac shall seed be called to you." And certainly there it follows and is said, "But the son of this handmaid I will make into a great nation; because he is your seed" (Gen. 21:12, 13). How therefore was it said, "In Isaac shall seed be called to you," when God also called Ishmael his seed? But the Apostle, explaining what it is, "In Isaac shall seed be called to you": "That is," he says, "not those who are sons of the flesh, these are sons of God; but the sons of the promise are deputed in the seed" (Rom. 9:8). And through this the sons of the promise, that they may be the seed of Abraham, are called in Isaac, that is, they are gathered in Christ by calling grace. This promise therefore the pious father faithfully holding, because it was necessary to be fulfilled through him whom God was commanding to be killed, he did not hesitate that he could be rendered to him [after being] sacrificed, who could be given when not hoped for. Thus it was understood also in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and thus explained. "By faith," it says, "Abraham preceded, being tempted in Isaac; and he offered his only-begotten, who had received the promises, to whom it was said, In Isaac shall seed be called to you: thinking that God is able to raise even from the dead." Wherefore he added, "For which reason also he brought him even into a similitude" (Heb. 11:17-19). The similitude of whom, unless of Him of whom the same Apostle says, "Who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all" (Rom. 8:32)? For this reason also Isaac, just as the Lord carried His cross, so he himself carried the wood for himself to the place of the victim, upon which he was to be placed. Finally, because it was not fitting for Isaac to be killed, after the father was prohibited from striking, who was that ram, by the sacrifice of which the sacrifice was completed with significant blood? Surely when Abraham saw him, he was held by his horns in a thicket. Who therefore was figured by him, unless Jesus, before He was sacrificed, crowned with Jewish thorns?

2. Sed divina per Angelum verba potius audiamus. Ait quippe Scriptura: Et extendit Abraham manum suam sumere machaeram, ut occideret filium suum. Et vocavit illum Angelus Domini de coelo, et dixit: Abraham! Ille autem dixit: Ecce ego. Et dixit: Non injicias manum tuam super puerum, neque facias illi quidquam: nunc enim scivi quia times Deum tu, et non pepercisti filio tuo dilecto propter me. Nunc scivi, dictum est, nunc sciri feci: neque enim hoc nondum sciebat Deus. Deinde ariete illo immolato pro Isaac filio suo, vocavit, ut legitur, Abraham nomen loci illius, Dominus vidit: ut dicant hodie, In monte Dominus apparuit. Sicut dictum est, Nunc scivi, pro eo quod est, Nunc sciri feci: ita hic, Dominus vidit; pro eo quod est, Dominus apparuit; hoc est, Videri se fecit. Et vocavit Angelus Domini Abraham secundo de coelo, dicens: Per memetipsum juravi, dicit Dominus, propter quod fecisti verbum hoc, et non pepercisti filio tuo allecto propter me, nisi benedicens benedicam te, et multiplicans multiplicabo semen tuum, sicut stellas coeli, et tanquam arenam quae est juxta labium maris. Et haereditate possidebit semen tuum civitates adversariorum; et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terrae; quia obaudisti vocem meam (Gen. XXII, 10-18). Hoc modo est illa de vocatione gentium in semine Abrahae, post holocaustum, quo significatus est Christus, etiam juratione Dei firmata promissio. Saepe enim promiserat, sed nunquam juraverat. Quid autem est Dei veri veracisque juratio, nisi promissi confirmatio, et infidelium quaedam increpatio?

3. Post haec Sarra mortua est, centesimo et vicesimo septimo anno vitae suae (Gen. XXIII, 1), centesimo autem et tricesimo septimo viri sui. Decem quippe annis eam praecedebat aetate; sicut ipse, quando sibi ex illa promissus est filius, ait, Si mihi annorum centum nascetur filius, et si Sarra annorum nonaginta pariet (Id. XVII, 17)? Tunc emit agrum Abraham, in quo sepelivit uxorem. Tunc ergo, secundum narrationem Stephani, in terra illa est collocatus, quoniam coepit ibi esse possessor (Act. VII, 4); post mortem scilicet patris sui, qui colligitur ante biennium fuisse defunctus.

Caput XXXIII.

De Rebecca nepte Nachor, quam Isaac accepit uxorem.

2. But let us rather hear the divine words through the Angel. For the Scripture says: And Abraham stretched out his hand to take the knife, that he might kill his son. And the Angel of the Lord called to him from heaven, and said: Abraham! And he said: Here am I. And he said: Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, and hast not spared thy beloved son for my sake. "Now I know," it is said, meaning "now I have made it to be known": for God was not yet ignorant of this. Then, that ram having been sacrificed in place of Isaac his son, Abraham called, as we read, the name of that place, The Lord hath seen: so that they say today, In the mount the Lord hath appeared. Just as it was said, "Now I know," for that which is, "Now I have made it to be known": so here, "The Lord hath seen"; for that which is, "The Lord hath appeared"; that is, He made Himself to be seen. And the Angel of the Lord called Abraham a second time from heaven, saying: By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this word, and hast not spared thy beloved son for my sake, surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thy seed, as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is by the lip of the sea. And thy seed shall possess by inheritance the cities of the adversaries; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice. In this way, after the holocaust by which Christ was signified, that promise concerning the calling of the nations in the seed of Abraham was confirmed even by the oath of God. For He had often promised, but had never sworn. But what is the oath of the true and truthful God, but the confirmation of the promise, and a certain rebuke of the unfaithful?

3. After these things Sarah died, in the hundred and twenty-seventh year of her life, and in the hundred and thirty-seventh of her husband. For he preceded her in age by ten years; as he himself said, when a son was promised to him from her, "Shall a son be born to me of a hundred years, and shall Sarah who is ninety years old bear?" Then Abraham bought a field, in which he buried his wife. Then therefore, according to the narration of Stephen, he was placed in that land, since he began to be a possessor there; namely, after the death of his father, who is gathered to have died two years before.

Chapter XXXIII.

Of Rebekah the niece of Nahor, whom Isaac took to wife.

Deinde Rebeccam, neptem Nachor patrui sui, cum annorum quadraginta esset Isaac, duxit uxorem, centesimo scilicet et quadragesimo anno vitae patris sui, triennio post mortem matris suae. Ut autem illam duceret, quando ab ejus patre in Mesopotamiam servus missus est, quid aliud demonstratum est, cum eidem servo dixit Abraham, Pone manum tuam sub femore meo, et adjurabo te per Dominum Deum coeli et Dominum terrae, ut non sumas filio meo Isaac uxorem de filiabus Chananaeorum (Gen. XXIV, 2, 3), nisi Dominum Deum coeli et Dominum terrae in carne, quae ex illo femore trahebatur, fuisse venturum? Numquid haec parva sunt praenuntiatae indicia veritatis, quam compleri videmus in Christo?

Caput XXXIV.

Quid intelligendum sit in eo quod Abraham post mortem Sarrae accepit uxorem Cethuram.

Quid autem sibi vult, quod Abraham post mortem Sarrae Cethuram duxit uxorem? Ubi absit ut incontinentiam suspicemur, praesertim in illa jam aetate, et in illa fidei sanctitate. An adhuc procreandi filii quaerebantur, cum jam Deo promittente tanta multiplicatio filiorum ex Isaac per stellas coeli et arenam terrae fide probatissima teneretur? Sed profecto si Agar et Ismael, doctore Apostolo, significaverunt carnales veteris Testamenti (Galat. IV, 24); cur non etiam Cethura et filii ejus significent carnales, qui se ad Testamentum novum existimant pertinere? Ambae quippe et uxores Abrahae, et concubinae sunt appellatae: Sarra vero nunquam dicta est concubina. Nam et quando data est Agar Abrahae, ita scriptum est: Et apprehendit Sarra uxor Abram Agar Aegyptiam ancillam suam, post decem annos quam habitaverat Abram in terra Chanaan, et dedit eam Abram viro suo, ipsi uxorem (Gen. XVI, 3). De Cethura autem quam post obitum Sarrae accepit, sic legitur: Adjiciens autem Abraham sumpsit uxorem, cui nomen Cethura. Ecce ambae dicuntur uxores: ambae porro concubinae fuisse reperiuntur, postea dicente Scriptura, Dedit autem Abraham omnem censum suum Isaac filio suo, et filiis concubinarum suarum dedit Abraham dationes, et dimisit eos ab Isaac filio suo adhuc se vivo, ad Orientem, in terran Orientis (Id. XXV, 1, 5, 6). Habent ergo nonnulla munera filii concubinarum, sed non perveniunt ad regnum promissum, nec haeretici, nec Judaei carnales: quia praeter Isaac nullus est haeres; et non qui filii carnis, hi filii Dei; sed filii promissionis deputantur in semine (Rom. IX, 8), de quo dictum est, In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen (Gen. XXI, 12). Neque enim video, cur etiam Cethura post uxoris mortem ducta, nisi propter hoc mysterium, dicta sit concubina. Sed quisquis haec non vult in istis significationibus accipere, non calumnietur Abrahae.

Then Isaac, when he was forty years old, took to wife Rebekah, the niece of his uncle Nahor, namely in the hundred and fortieth year of his father's life, three years after the death of his mother. But as to his taking her, when the servant was sent by his father into Mesopotamia, what else was demonstrated, when Abraham said to the same servant, "Put thy hand under my thigh, and I will adjure thee by the Lord God of heaven and the Lord of the earth, that thou take not a wife for my son Isaac from the daughters of the Canaanites," but that the Lord God of heaven and the Lord of the earth was to come in the flesh, which was drawn from that thigh? Are these small signs of the pre-announced truth, which we see completed in Christ?

Chapter XXXIV.

What is to be understood in the fact that Abraham, after the death of Sarah, took Keturah to wife.

But what does it mean, that Abraham after the death of Sarah took Keturah to wife? Far be it from us to suspect incontinence, especially at that age, and in that holiness of faith. Or were children still sought to be procreated, when already, by the promise of God, such a multiplication of children from Isaac, like the stars of heaven and the sand of the earth, was held by the most proven faith? But surely if Hagar and Ishmael, as the Apostle teaches, signified the carnal members of the Old Testament; why should not Keturah and her sons also signify the carnal ones who think they belong to the New Testament? For both were called both wives and concubines of Abraham: but Sarah was never called a concubine. For even when Hagar was given to Abraham, it was thus written: "And Sarah the wife of Abram took Hagar the Egyptian her maid, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram her husband to be his wife." Concerning Keturah, whom he took after the death of Sarah, it is thus read: "And Abraham adding took a wife, whose name was Keturah." Behold, both are called wives: further, both are found to have been concubines, for the Scripture afterwards says, "And Abraham gave all his census to Isaac his son, and to the sons of his concubines Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son while he yet lived, toward the East, into the land of the East." Therefore the sons of the concubines have some gifts, but they do not reach the promised kingdom, neither the heretics, nor the carnal Jews: because besides Isaac there is no heir; and "they who are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed," of whom it was said, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called." For I do not see why Keturah, taken after the death of his wife, should be called a concubine, except on account of this mystery. But whoever does not wish to accept these things in these significations, let him not calumniate Abraham.

Quid si enim et hoc provisum est contra haereticos futuros secundarum adversarios nuptiarum, ut in ipso patre multarum gentium post obitum conjugis iterum conjugari demonstraretur non esse peccatum? Et mortuus est Abraham, cum esset annorum centum septuaginta quinque (Id. XXV, 7). Annorum ergo septuaginta quinque Isaac filium dereliquit, quem centenarius genuit.

Caput XXXV.

De geminis adhuc in utero Rebeccae matris inclusis quid indicaverit divina responsio.

Jam ex hoc, quemadmodum per posteros Abrahae civitatis Dei procurrant tempora, videamus. A primo igitur anno vitae Isaac, usque ad sexagesimum quo ei nati sunt filii, illud memorabile est, quod cum illi Deum roganti ut pareret uxor ejus, quae sterilis erat, concessisset Dominus quod petebat, atque haberet illa conceptum, gestiebant gemini adhuc in utero ejus inclusi. Qua molestia cum angeretur, Dominum interrogavit, accepitque responsum: Duae gentes in utero tuo sunt, et duo populi de ventre tuo separabuntur, et populus populum superabit, et major serviet minori (Ibid., 23). Quod Paulus apostolus magnum vult intelligi gratiae documentum: quia nondum illis natis, nec aliquid agentibus boni seu mali, sine ullis bonis meritis eligitur minor, majore reprobato (Rom. IX, 11-13): quando procul dubio, quantum attinet ad originale peccatum, ambo pares erant; quantum autem ad proprium, ullius eorum nullum erat. Sed nunc de hac re dicere aliquid latius, instituti operis ratio non sinit, unde et in aliis jam multa diximus. Quod autem dictum est, Major serviet minori, nemo fere nostrum aliter intellexit, quam majorem populum Judaeorum minori populo Christiano serviturum. Et revera quamvis in gente Idumaeorum, quae nata est de majore, cui duo nomina erant (nam et Esau vocabatur, et Edom, unde Idumaei), hoc videri possit impletum; quia postea superanda fuerat a populo, qui ortus est ex minore, id est Israelitico, eique fuerat futura subjecta: tamen in aliquid majus intentam fuisse istam prophetiam, qua dictum est, Populus populum superabit, et major serviet minori, convenientius creditur. Et quid est hoc, nisi quod in Judaeis et Christianis evidenter impletur?

Caput XXXVI.

De oraculo et benedictione, quam Isaac non aliter quam pater ipsius, merito ejusdem dilectus, accepit.

For what if this also was provided against future heretics, the adversaries of second marriages, so that in the very father of many nations it might be shown that to be married again after the death of a spouse is not a sin? And Abraham died, when he was a hundred and seventy-five years old. He left therefore his son Isaac seventy-five years old, whom he begot when he was a hundred.

Chapter XXXV.

What the divine response indicated concerning the twins still enclosed in the womb of their mother Rebekah.

Now from this point, let us see how the times of the City of God proceed through the descendants of Abraham. Therefore, from the first year of the life of Isaac until the sixtieth, in which sons were born to him, this is memorable: that when the Lord had granted what he asked, as he prayed to God that his wife, who was barren, might bear, and she had conceived, the twins still enclosed in her womb struggled. When she was distressed by this trouble, she questioned the Lord, and received the response: "Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be separated from thy belly, and the one people shall overcome the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger." Which the Apostle Paul wishes to be understood as a great document of grace: because when they were not yet born, nor doing anything good or evil, without any good merits the younger is chosen, the elder being reproved: when without doubt, as far as pertains to original sin, both were equal; but as for their own sin, there was none of either. But the plan of the work undertaken does not permit saying anything more widely about this matter now, especially since we have already said many things in others. But as for what was said, "The elder shall serve the younger," almost none of ours has understood it otherwise than that the elder people of the Jews would serve the younger Christian people. And indeed although in the nation of the Idumaeans, which was born from the elder, who had two names (for he was called both Esau and Edom, whence the Idumaeans), this might seem to be fulfilled; because afterwards it was to be overcome by the people who arose from the younger, that is, the Israelite people, and was to be subject to it: nevertheless it is more conveniently believed that this prophecy, by which it was said, "One people shall overcome the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger," was intended for something greater. And what is this, but that which is evidently fulfilled in the Jews and the Christians?

Chapter XXXVI.

Of the oracle and blessing which Isaac received, not otherwise than his father, beloved for the sake of the same merit.

Accepit etiam Isaac oraculum tale, quale aliquoties pater ejus acceperat. De quo oraculo sic scriptum est: Facta est autem fames super terram, praeter famem quae prius facta est in tempore Abrahae. Abiit autem Isaac ad Abimelech regem Philistinorum in Gerara. Apparuit autem illi Dominus, et dixit: Noli descendere in Aegyptum: habita autem in terra quam tibi dixero, et incole in terra hac; et ero tecum, et benedicam te. Tibi enim et semini tuo dabo omnem terram hanc: et statuam juramentum meum quod juravi Abrahae patri tuo; et multiplicabo semen tuum tanquam stellas coeli, et dabo semini tuo omnemne, et benedicentur terram ha in semine tuo omnes gentes terrae, pro eo quod obaudivit Abraham pater tuus vocem meam, et custodivit praecepta mea, et mandata mea, et justificationes meas, et legitima mea (Gen. XXVI, 1-5). Iste patriarcha nec uxorem habuit aliam, nec aliquam concubinam, sed posteritate duorum geminorum ex uno concubitu procreatorum contentus fuit. Timuit sane etiam ipse periculum de pulchritudine conjugis, cum habitaret inter alienos, fecitque quod pater, ut eam sororem diceret, taceret uxorem: erat enim ei propinqua paterno et materno sanguine: sed etiam ipsa ab alienigenis, cognito quod uxor ejus esse, mansit intacta. Nec ideo tamen istum patri ejus praeferre debemus, quia iste nullam feminam praeter unam conjugem noverat. Erant enim procul dubio paternae fidei et obedientiae merita potiora, in tantum ut propter illum dicat Deus, huic se facere bona quae facit: Benedicentur, inquit, in semine tuo omnes gentes terrae, pro eo quod obaudivit Abraham pater tuus vocem meam, et custodivit praecepta mea, et mandata mea, et justificationes meas, et legitima mea. Et alio rursus oraculo: Ego sum, inquit, Deus Abraham patris tui: noli timere; tecum enim sum, et benedixi te, et multiplicabo semen tuum propter Abraham patrem tuum (Ibid. 24). Ut intelligamus quam caste Abraham fecerit, quod hominibus impudicis et nequitiae suae de Scripturis sanctis patrocinia requirentibus videtur fecisse libidine: deinde ut etiam hoc noverimus, non ex bonis singulis inter se homines comparare, sed in unoquoque consideremus universa. Fieri enim potest, ut habeat aliquid in vita et moribus quispiam quo superat alium, idque sit longe praestabilius, quam est illud unde ab alio superatur. Ac per hoc sano veroque judicio, cum continentia conjugio praeferatur, melior est tamen homo fidelis conjugatus, quam continens infidelis. But an infidel man is not only less to be praised, but even most greatly to be detested. Constituamus ambos bonos; etiam sic profecto melior est conjugatus fidelissimus et obedientissimus Deo, quam continens minoris fidei minorisque obedientiae: si vero paria sint caetera, continentem conjugato praeferre quis ambigat?

Isaac also received such an oracle as his father had several times received. Concerning which oracle it is thus written: "And there was a famine over the land, besides the famine which was before in the time of Abraham. And Isaac went to Abimelech king of the Philistines in Gerar. And the Lord appeared to him, and said: Go not down into Egypt: but dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land; and I will be with thee, and will bless thee. For to thee and to thy seed will I give all this land: and I will establish my oath which I swore to Abraham thy father; and I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and I will give to thy seed all this land, and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because Abraham thy father obeyed my voice, and kept my precepts, and my commandments, and my justifications, and my laws." This patriarch had no other wife, nor any concubine, but was content with the posterity of two twins procreated from one intercourse. To be sure, he himself also feared danger from the beauty of his spouse, while he dwelt among strangers, and did as his father did, so that he called her sister and was silent about her being his wife: for she was near to him by paternal and maternal blood: but she herself also, it being known that she was his wife, remained untouched by the foreigners. Yet we ought not on that account to prefer him to his father, because he had known no woman besides one wife. For without doubt the merits of paternal faith and obedience were more powerful, so much so that on account of him God says He does the good things He does to this man: "All the nations of the earth shall be blessed in thy seed, because Abraham thy father obeyed my voice, and kept my precepts, and my commandments, and my justifications, and my laws." And again in another oracle He says: "I am the God of Abraham thy father: fear not; for I am with thee, and have blessed thee, and will multiply thy seed for the sake of Abraham thy father." That we may understand how chastely Abraham did that which to immodest men, seeking patronage for their own wickedness from the holy Scriptures, seems to have been done from lust: then also that we may know this, not to compare men among themselves from single good things, but let us consider the whole in each one. For it can happen that someone has something in his life and morals in which he surpasses another, and that may be far more excellent than that in which he is surpassed by the other. And through this, by a sound and true judgment, although continence is preferred to marriage, nevertheless a faithful married man is better than a continent infidel. But an infidel man is not only less to be praised, but even most greatly to be detested. Let us suppose both to be good; even so, surely a married man most faithful and most obedient to God is better than a continent man of less faith and less obedience: but if other things are equal, who would doubt to prefer the continent to the married?

Caput XXXVII.

De his quae in Esau et Jacob mystice praefigurabantur.

Duo igitur Isaac filii, Esau et Jacob, pariter crescunt. Primatus majoris transfunditur in minorem ex pacto et placito inter illos, eo quod lenticulam, quem cibum minor paraverat, major immoderatius concupivit, eoque pretio primogenita sua fratri juratione interposita vendidit. Ubi discimus in vescendo non cibi genere, sed aviditate immoderata quemque culpandum. Senescit Isaac, ejusque oculis per senectam visus aufertur. Vult benedicere filium majorem, et pro illo nesciens benedicit minorem, pro fratre majore, qui erat pilosus, se paternis manibus supponentem, haedinis sibi pelliculis coaptatis velut aliena peccata portantem. Iste dolus Jacob, ne putaretur fraudulentus dolus, et non in eo magnae rei mysterium quaereretur, superius praedixit Scriptura: Erat Esau homo sciens venari, agrestis: Jacob autem homo simplex, habitans domum (Gen. XXV, 29-34, 27). Hoc nostri quidam interpretati sunt, sine dolo. Sive autem sine dolo, sive simplex, sive potius sine fictione dicatur, quod est graece ἄπλαστος, quis est in ista percipienda benedictione dolus hominis sine dolo? quis est dolus simplicis, quae fictio non mentientis, nisi profundum mysterium veritatis? Ipsa autem benedictio qualis est? Ecce, inquit, odor filii mei tanquam odor agri pleni, quem benedixit Dominus. Et det tibi Deus de rore coeli, et de ubertate terrae, et multitudinem frumenti et vini: et serviant tibi gentes, et adorent te principes, et fias dominus fratris tui, et adorabunt te filii patris tui. Qui maledixerit te, maledictus; et qui benedixerit te, benedictus. Benedictio igitur Jacob, praedicatio Christi est in omnibus gentibus. Hoc fit, hoc agitur: Lex et Prophetia est Isaac: etiam per os Judaeorum Christus ab illa benedicitur velut a nesciente, quia ipsa nescitur. Odore nominis Christi, sicut ager, mundus impletur: ejus est benedictio de rore coeli, hoc est, de verborum pluvia divinorum; et de ubertate terrae, hoc est, de congregatione populorum: ejus est multitudo frumenti et vini, hoc est, multitudo quam colligit frumentum et vinum in Sacramento corporis et sanguinis ejus.

Chapter XXXVII.

Of those things which were mystically prefigured in Esau and Jacob.

Therefore the two sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob, grow up together. The birthright of the elder is transferred to the younger by a pact and agreement between them, because the elder immoderately lusted after the pottage of lentils, which food the younger had prepared, and at that price sold his birthright to his brother, an oath being interposed. Where we learn that in eating, anyone is to be blamed not for the kind of food, but for immoderate greed. Isaac grows old, and his sight is taken away from his eyes through old age. He wishes to bless the elder son, and unknowingly blesses the younger for him, as he placed himself under the father's hands in place of the elder brother, who was hairy, having fitted kid skins to himself as if carrying the sins of another. Concerning this guile of Jacob, lest it should be thought a fraudulent guile, and the mystery of a great thing should not be sought in it, the Scripture pre-announced above: "Esau was a man knowing how to hunt, a rustic: but Jacob was a simple man, dwelling in a house." Some of ours have interpreted this as "without guile." But whether he be called "without guile," or "simple," or rather "without fiction," which in Greek is aplastos, what is that guile of a man without guile in perceiving that blessing? what is the guile of the simple, what is the fiction of one not lying, but a deep mystery of truth? And of what kind is the blessing itself? "Behold," he said, "the smell of my son is as the smell of a full field, which the Lord hath blessed. And may God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and abundance of corn and wine: and let nations serve thee, and princes adore thee, and become thou lord of thy brother, and the sons of thy father shall adore thee. He who shall curse thee, let him be cursed; and he who shall bless thee, let him be blessed." The blessing of Jacob, therefore, is the preaching of Christ among all nations. This is being done, this is being carried out: Isaac is the Law and Prophecy: even through the mouth of the Jews Christ is blessed by it as if by one not knowing, because He is not known. With the odor of the name of Christ, as with a field, the world is filled: His is the blessing from the dew of heaven, that is, from the rain of divine words; and from the fatness of the earth, that is, from the gathering of peoples: His is the abundance of corn and wine, that is, the multitude which corn and wine collect in the Sacrament of His body and blood.

Ei serviunt gentes, ipsum adorent principes. Ipse est dominus fratris sui, quia populus ejus dominatur Judaeis. Ipsum adorant filii patris ejus, hoc est, filii Abrahae secundum fidem: quia et ipse filius est Abrahae secundum carnem. Ipsum qui maledixerit, maledictus; et qui benedixerit, benedictus est. Christus, inquam, noster etiam ex ore Judaeorum, quamvis errantium, sed tamen Legem Prophetasque cantantium benedicitur, id est veraciter dicitur; et alius benedici putatur, qui ab eis errantibus exspectatur. Ecce benedictionem promissam repetente majore, expavescit Isaac, et alium pro alio se benedixisse cognoscens miratur, et quisnam ille sit, percunctatur: nec tamen se deceptum esse conqueritur; imo confestim revelato sibi intus in corde magno sacramento devitat indignationem, confirmat benedictionem. Quis ergo, inquit, venatus est mihi venationem, et intulit mihi, et manducavi ab omnibus, antequam tu venires, et benedixi eum, et sit benedictus (Gen. XXVII, 27-29, 33)? Quis non hic maledictionem potius exspectaret irati, si haec non superna inspiratione, sed terreno more gererentur? O res, gestas sed prophetice gestas; in terra, sed coelitus; per homines, sed divinitus! Si excutiantur singula tantis fecunda mysteriis, multa sunt implenda volumina: sed huic operi modus moderate imponendus nos in alia festinare compellit.

Caput XXXVIII.

De misso Jacob in Mesopotamiam ad accipiendam uxorem, et de visione quam in itinere somniavit, et de quatuor ipsius feminis, cum unam petiisset uxorem.

1. Mittitur Jacob a parentibus in Mesopotamiam, ut ibi ducat uxorem. Patris mittentis haec verba sunt: Non accipies uxorem ex filiabus Chananaeorum: surgens fuge in Mesopotamiam in domum Bathuel, patris matris tuae, et sume tibi inde uxorem de filiabus Laban, fratris matris tuae. Deus autem meus benedicat te, et augeat te, et multiplicet te; et eris in congregationes gentium; et det tibi benedictionem Abrahae patris tui, tibi et semini tuo post te, ut haeres fias terrae incolatus tui, quam dedit Deus Abrahae (Gen. XXVIII, 1-4). Hic jam intelligimus segregatum semen Jacob ab alio semine Isaac, quod factum est per Esau. Quando enim dictum est, In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen (Id. XXII, 12), pertinens utique semen ad civitatem Dei; separatum est inde aliud semen Abrahae, quod erat in ancillae filio, et quod futurum erat in filiis Cethurae. Sed adhuc erat ambiguum de duobus geminis filiis Isaac, an ad utrumque, an ad unum eorum illa benedictio pertineret; et si ad unum, quisnam esset illorum. Quod nunc declaratum est, cum prophetice a patre benedicitur Jacob, et dicitur ei: Et eris in congregationes gentium, et det tibi benedictionem Abrahae patris tui.

Nations serve Him, princes adore Him. He is the lord of His brother, because His people dominate the Jews. The sons of His father adore Him, that is, the sons of Abraham according to faith: because He Himself is also the son of Abraham according to the flesh. He who shall curse Him is cursed; and he who shall bless Him is blessed. Our Christ, I say, is blessed, that is, is truly spoken of, even from the mouth of the Jews, although erring, but nevertheless singing the Law and the Prophets; and another is thought to be blessed, who is expected by them in their error. Behold, when the elder repeats the promised blessing, Isaac is terrified, and recognizing that he had blessed one for another, he marvels, and inquires who that might be: yet he does not complain that he was deceived; rather, a great mystery having been revealed to him inwardly in his heart, he immediately avoids indignation and confirms the blessing. "Who therefore," he said, "hath hunted venison for me, and brought it to me, and I have eaten of all, before thou camest, and I have blessed him, and he shall be blessed?" Who would not expect here rather the curse of one angry, if these things were carried out not by celestial inspiration, but in a terrestrial manner? O things, done but done prophetically; on earth, but from heaven; through men, but divinely! If each point fertile with such great mysteries were shaken out, many volumes would have to be filled: but the limit to be moderately imposed on this work compels us to hasten to other things.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Of Jacob being sent into Mesopotamia to take a wife, and of the vision which he dreamed on the way, and of his four women, when he had sought one wife.

1. Jacob is sent by his parents into Mesopotamia, that he might take a wife there. These are the words of the father sending him: "Thou shalt not take a wife from the daughters of the Canaanites: rising up flee into Mesopotamia into the house of Bethuel, the father of thy mother, and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, the brother of thy mother. And may my God bless thee, and increase thee, and multiply thee; and thou shalt be into congregations of nations; and may He give thee the blessing of Abraham thy father, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou mayest become heir of the land of thy sojourning, which God gave to Abraham." Here we already understand the seed of Jacob to be separated from the other seed of Isaac, which was made through Esau. For when it was said, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called," the seed certainly pertaining to the City of God; the other seed of Abraham was separated from it, which was in the son of the bondwoman, and which was to be in the sons of Keturah. But it was still ambiguous concerning the two twin sons of Isaac, whether to both, or to one of them, that blessing pertained; and if to one, which of them it might be. Which has now been declared, when Jacob is blessed prophetically by his father, and it is said to him: "And thou shalt be into congregations of nations, and may He give thee the blessing of Abraham thy father."

2. Pergens itaque in Mesopotamiam Jacob, in somnis accepit oraculum, de quo sic scriptum est: Et exiit Jacob a Puteo jurationis, et profectus est in Charram, et devenit in locum, et dormivit ibi: occiderat enim sol: et sumpsit ex lapidibus loci, et posuit ad caput suum, et dormivit in loco illo, et somniavit. Et ecce scala stabilita super terram, cujus caput pertingebat ad coelum: et Angeli Dei ascendebant et descendebant per illam; et Dominus incumbebat super illam; et dixit: Ego sum Deus Abraham patris tui, et Deus Isaac, noli timere: terram in qua tu dormis super eam, tibi dabo illam, et semini tuo: et erit semen tuum sicut arena terrae; et dilatabitur super Mare, et in Africum, et in Aquilonem, et ad Orientem: et benedicentur in te omnes tribus terrae, et in semine tuo. Et ecce ego sum tecum, custodiens te in omni via quacumque ibis; et reducam te in terram hanc: quia non te derelinquam, donec faciam omnia, quae tecum locutus sum. Et surrexit Jacob de somno suo, et dixit: Quia Dominus est in loco hoc, ego autem nesciebam. Et timuit, et dixit: Quam terribilis locus hic! non est hoc nisi domus Dei, et haec porta est coeli. Et surrexit Jacob, et sumpsit lapidem quem supposuit ibi ad caput, et statuit illum in titulum, et superfudit oleum in cacumen ejus: et vocavit Jacob nomen loci illius, Domus Dei (Gen. XXVIII, 10-19). Hoc ad prophetiam pertinet: nec more idololatriae lapidem perfudit oleo Jacob, velut faciens illum deum; neque enim adoravit eumdem lapidem, vel ei sacrificavit: sed quoniam Christi nomen a chrismate est, id est ab unctione; profecto figuratum est hic aliquid, quod ad magnum pertineat sacramentum. Scalam vero istam intelligitur ipse Salvator nobis in memoriam revocare in Evangelio, ubi cum dixisset de Nathanaele, Ecce vere Israelita, in quo dolus non est; quia Israel viderat istam visionem, ipse est enim Jacob: eodem loco ait, Amen, amen dico vobis, videbitis coelum apertum, et Angelos Dei ascendentes et descendentes super Filium hominis (Joan. 1, 47, 51).

3. Perrexit ergo Jacob in Mesopotamiam, ut inde acciperet uxorem. Unde autem illi acciderit quatuor habere feminas, de quibus duodecim filios et unam filiam procreavit, cum earum nullam concupisceret illicite, divina Scriptura indicat. Ad unam quippe accipiendam venerat (Gen. XXIX); sed cum illi altera pro altera supposita fuisset, nec ipsam dimisit, qua nesciens usus fuerat in nocte, ne ludibrio eam videretur habuisse; et eo tempore, quando multiplicandae posteritatis causa plures uxores lex nulla prohibebat, accepit etiam illam, cui uni jam futuri conjugii fidem fecerat.

2. Therefore Jacob, proceeding into Mesopotamia, received an oracle in sleep, concerning which it is thus written: "And Jacob went out from the Well of the oath, and set out for Haran, and came to a place, and slept there: for the sun had set: and he took of the stones of the place, and put it at his head, and slept in that place, and dreamed. And behold a ladder established upon the earth, whose head reached to heaven: and the Angels of God were ascending and descending by it; and the Lord leaned upon it; and said: I am the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac, fear not: the land on which thou sleepest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed: and thy seed shall be as the sand of the earth; and it shall be dilated over the Sea, and toward the South, and toward the North, and toward the East: and in thee all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed, and in thy seed. And behold I am with thee, keeping thee in every way wherever thou shalt go; and I will bring thee back into this land: because I will not leave thee, until I do all things which I have spoken with thee. And Jacob rose from his sleep, and said: Because the Lord is in this place, but I knew it not. And he feared, and said: How terrible is this place! this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. And Jacob rose, and took the stone which he had placed there at his head, and set it up for a title, and poured oil upon the top of it: and Jacob called the name of that place, The House of God." This pertains to prophecy: nor did Jacob pour oil upon the stone in the manner of idolatry, as if making it a god; for neither did he adore the same stone, nor sacrifice to it: but since the name of Christ is from chrism, that is, from unction; surely something was figured here, which pertains to a great sacrament. Truly this ladder the Savior Himself is understood to recall to our memory in the Gospel, where when He had said of Nathanael, "Behold truly an Israelite, in whom there is no guile"; because Israel had seen that vision, for he himself is Jacob: in the same place He says, "Amen, amen I say to you, you shall see heaven open, and the Angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man."

3. Jacob therefore proceeded into Mesopotamia, that he might take a wife from thence. But how it happened that he had four women, from whom he procreated twelve sons and one daughter, when he lusted after none of them illicitly, the divine Scripture indicates. For he had come to take one; but when one had been substituted for the other, he did not dismiss her, whom he had unknowingly used in the night, lest he should seem to have held her in mockery; and at that time, when no law prohibited several wives for the sake of multiplying posterity, he took also that one, to whom alone he had already pledged the faith of future marriage.

Qua cum esset sterilis, ancillam suam, de qua filios ipsa susciperet, marito dedit: quod etiam major soror ejus, quamvis peperisset, imitata, quoniam multiplicare prolem cupiebat, effecit. Nullam Jacob legitur petiisse praeter unam, nec usus plurimis nisi gignendae prolis officio, conjugali jure servato, ut neque hoc faceret, nisi uxores ejus id fieri flagitassent, quae corporis viri sui habebant legitimam potestatem. Genuit ergo duodecim filios et unam filiam ex quatuor mulieribus. Deinde ingressus est in Aegyptum per filium suum Joseph, qui venditus ab invidentibus fratribus eo perductus fuit, atque ibidem sublimatus.

Caput XXXIX.

Quae ratio fuerit ut Jacob etiam Israel cognominaretur.

Jacob autem etiam Israel, sicut paulo ante dixi, vocabatur: quod nomen magis populus ex illo procreatus obtinuit. Hoc autem nomen illi ab Angelo impositum est, qui cum illo fuerat in itinere de Mesopotamia redeunte luctatus, typum Christi evidentissime gerens. Nam quod ei praevaluit Jacob, utique volenti, ut mysterium figuraret, significat passionem Christi, ubi visi sunt ei praevalere Judaei. Et tamen benedictionem ab eodem angelo, quem superaverat, impetravit: ac sic hujus nominis impositio benedictio fuit. Interpretatur autem Israel, Videns Deum: quod erit in fine praemium omnium sanctorum. Tetigit porro illi idem angelus velut praevalenti latitudinem femoris, eumque isto modo claudum reddidit (Gen. XXXII, 24-29). Erat itaque unus atque idem Jacob et benedictus et claudus; benedictus in eis qui in Christum ex eodem populo crediderunt, atque in infidelibus claudus. Nam femoris latitudo, generis est multitudo. Plures quippe sunt in ea stirpe, de quibus prophetice praedictum est: Et claudicaverunt a semitis suis (Psal. XVII, 46).

Caput XL.

Quomodo Jacob cum septuaginta quinque animabus Aegyptum narretur ingressus; cum plerique ex his qui commemorantur, tempore posteriore sint geniti.

Ingressi itaque referuntur in Aegyptum simul cum ipso Jacob septuaginta quinque homines (Gen. XLVI, 27, sec. LXX, et Act. VII, 14), annumerato ipso cum filiis suis. In quo numero duae tantum feminae commemorantur, una filia, neptis altera. Sed res diligenter considerata non indicat, quod tantus numerus fuerit in progenie Jacob die vel anno quo ingressus est Aegyptum. Commemorati sunt quippe in eis etiam pronepotes Joseph, qui nullo modo jam tunc esse potuerunt: quoniam tunc centum triginta annorum erat Jacob, filius vero ejus Joseph triginta novem; quem cum accepisse tricesimo anno suo, vel amplius, constet uxorem, quomodo potuit per novem annos habere pronepotes de filiis, quos ex eadem uxore suscepit?

When she was barren, she gave her handmaid to her husband, from whom she herself might receive sons: which also her elder sister, although she had given birth, imitated, because she desired to multiply offspring. Jacob is read to have sought none besides one, nor did he use several except in the office of begetting offspring, the conjugal right being preserved, so that he did not even do this, unless his wives had demanded that it be done, who had legitimate power over the body of their husband. He begot therefore twelve sons and one daughter from four women. Then he entered into Egypt through his son Joseph, who having been sold by his envious brothers was led there, and in the same place was sublimated.

Chapter XXXIX.

What was the reason that Jacob was also surnamed Israel.

But Jacob was also called Israel, as I said a little before: which name the people procreated from him more especially obtained. Moreover, this name was imposed on him by the Angel, who had wrestled with him on the way returning from Mesopotamia, most evidently bearing the type of Christ. For that Jacob prevailed over him, certainly to him willing, that he might figure a mystery, signifies the passion of Christ, where the Jews seemed to prevail over Him. And yet he obtained a blessing from the same angel, whom he had overcome: and so the imposition of this name was a blessing. Moreover, Israel is interpreted, "Seeing God": which will be the reward of all the saints in the end. Further, the same angel touched the breadth of his thigh as if he were prevailing, and in this way rendered him lame. Therefore one and the same Jacob was both blessed and lame; blessed in those of the same people who believed in Christ, and lame in the unfaithful. For the breadth of the thigh is the multitude of the race. For there are more in that stock, of whom it was prophetically foretold: "And they have limped from their paths."

Chapter XL.

How Jacob is narrated to have entered Egypt with seventy-five souls; although most of those who are commemorated were born at a later time.

Therefore seventy-five men together with Jacob himself are reported to have entered into Egypt, he himself being numbered with his sons. In which number only two women are commemorated, one daughter, the other a granddaughter. But the matter diligently considered does not indicate that there was so great a number in the progeny of Jacob on the day or in the year in which he entered Egypt. For even the great-grandsons of Joseph are commemorated among them, who in no way could already have been there then: since then Jacob was a hundred and thirty years old, but his son Joseph thirty-nine; since it is certain that he took a wife in his thirtieth year, or more, how could he have great-grandsons through nine years from the sons whom he received from the same wife?

Cum igitur nec filios haberent Ephraem et Manasses filii Joseph, sed eos pueros infra quam novennes Jacob Aegyptum ingressus invenerit, quo pacto eorum non solum filii, sed etiam nepotes, in illis septuaginta quinque numerantur, qui tunc Aegyptum ingressi sunt cum Jacob? Nam commemoratur ibi Machir filius Manasse, nepos Joseph, et ejusdem Machir filius, id est Galaad, nepos Manasse, pronepos Joseph: ibi est et quem genuit Ephraem, alter filius Joseph, id est Utalaam, nepos Joseph; et filius ipsius Utalaae Edem, nepos Ephraem, pronepos Joseph (Gen. L, 22; Num. XXVI, 29 sqq.): qui nullo modo esse potuerunt, quando Jacob in Aegyptum venit, et filios Joseph nepotes suos, avos istorum, minores quam novem annorum pueros invenit. Sed nimirum introitus Jacob in Aegyptum, quando eum in septuaginta quinque animabus Scriptura commemorat, non unus dies, vel unus annus, sed totum illud est tempus, quamdiu vixit Joseph, per quem factum est ut iutrarent. Nam de ipso Joseph eadem Scriptura sic loquitur: Et habitavit Joseph in Aegypto, ipse et fratres ejus, et omnis cohabitatio patris ejus: et vixit annos centum et decem, et vidit Joseph filios Ephraem usque in tertiam generationem. Ipse est ille pronepos ejus ab Ephraem tertius. Generationem quippe tertiam dicit, filium, nepotem, pronepotem. Deinde sequitur: Et filii Machir, filii Manasse, nati sunt supra femora Joseph (Gen. L, 22). Et hic ille ipse est nepos Manasse, pronepos Joseph. Sed pluraliter appellati sunt, sicut Scriptura consuevit; quae unam quoque filiam Jacob filias nuncupavit: sicut in latinae linguae consuetudine liberi dicuntur pluraliter filii, etiamsi non sint uno amplius. Cum ergo ipsius Joseph praediceretur felicitas, quia videre potuit pronepotes, nullo modo putandi sunt jam fuisse tricesimo nono anno proavi sui Joseph, quando ad eum in Aegyptum Jacob pater ejus advenit. Illud autem est, quod fallit minus ista diligenter intuentes, quoniam scriptum est, Haec autem nomina filiorum Israel, qui intraverunt in Aegyptum simul cum Jacob patre suo (Id. XLVI, 8). Hoc enim dictum est, quia simul cum ille computantur septuaginta quinque, non quia simul jam erant omnes, quando Aegyptum ingressus est ipse: sed, ut dixi, totum tempus habetur ejus ingressus, quo vixit Joseph, per quem videtur ingressus.

Caput XLI.

De benedictione, quam Jacob in Judam filium suum promisit.

Since therefore Ephraim and Manasseh the sons of Joseph did not have sons, but Jacob entering Egypt found them boys less than nine years old, in what way are not only their sons, but also their grandsons, numbered in those seventy-five who then entered Egypt with Jacob? For Machir the son of Manasseh, the grandson of Joseph, is commemorated there, and the son of the same Machir, that is Gilead, the grandson of Manasseh, the great-grandson of Joseph: there also is he whom Ephraim begot, the other son of Joseph, that is Shuthelah, the grandson of Joseph; and the son of the same Shuthelah, Eran, the grandson of Ephraim, the great-grandson of Joseph: who in no way could have been there when Jacob came into Egypt, and found the sons of Joseph his grandsons, the grandfathers of these, boys less than nine years old. But doubtless the entrance of Jacob into Egypt, when the Scripture commemorates him in seventy-five souls, is not one day, or one year, but all that time as long as Joseph lived, through whom it was brought about that they entered. For the same Scripture speaks thus of Joseph himself: "And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he and his brothers, and all the cohabitation of his father: and he lived a hundred and ten years, and Joseph saw the sons of Ephraim even to the third generation." That is his great-grandson third from Ephraim. For it calls the third generation, the son, the grandson, the great-grandson. Then follows: "And the sons of Machir, the sons of Manasseh, were born upon the thighs of Joseph." And here that is the grandson of Manasseh, the great-grandson of Joseph. But they were called in the plural, as the Scripture is accustomed; which also called the one daughter of Jacob "daughters": just as in the custom of the Latin language "children" (liberi) are called "sons" (filii) in the plural, even if they are not more than one. Since therefore the happiness of Joseph himself was foretold, because he was able to see great-grandsons, they are in no way to be thought to have been already in the thirty-ninth year of their great-grandfather Joseph, when Jacob his father arrived to him in Egypt. But that is what deceives those looking into these things less diligently, because it is written, "These are the names of the sons of Israel, who entered into Egypt together with Jacob their father." For this was said because seventy-five are computed together with him, not because all were already there together when he himself entered Egypt: but, as I said, all the time of his entrance is held, in which Joseph lived, through whom he is seen to have entered.

Chapter XLI.

Of the blessing which Jacob promised in his son Judah.

Igitur propter populum christianum, in quo Dei civitas peregrinatur in terris, si carnem Christi in Abrahae semine requiramus, remotis concubinarum filiis, occurrit Isaac: si in semine Isaac, remoto Esau, qui est etiam Edom, occurrit Jacob, qui est et Israel: si in semine Israel ipsius, remotis caeteris, occurrit Judas, quia de tribu Juda exortus est Christus. Ac per hoc cum in Aegypto moriturus Israel filios suos benediceret, quemadmodum Judam prophetice benedixerit, audiamus: Juda, inquit, te laudabunt fratres tui. Manus tuae super dorsum inimicorum tuorum: adorabunt te filii patris tui. Catulus leonis Juda: ex germinatione, fili mi, ascendisti: recumbens dormisti ut leo, et ut catulus leonis, quis suscitabit eum? Non deficiet princeps ex Juda, et dux de femoribus ejus, donec veniant quae reposita sunt ei: et ipse exspectatio gentium; alligans ad vitem pullum suum, et cilicio pullum asinae suae. Lavabit in vino stolam suam, et in sanguine uvae amictum suum. Fulvi oculi ejus a vino, et dentes candidiores lacte (Gen. XLIX, 8-12). Exposui haec adversus Manichaeum Faustum disputans (Contra Faustum Manichaeum, lib. 12, cap. 42): et satis esse arbitror, quantum veritas prophetiae hujus elucet; ubi et mors Christi praedicta est verbo dormitionis, et non necessitas, sed potestas in morte, nomine leonis. Quam potestatem in Evangelio ipse praedicat, dicens: Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. Nemo eam tollit a me: sed ego eam pono a me, et iterum sumo eam (Joan. X, 18, 17). Sic leo fremuit, sic quod dixit implevit. Ad eam namque pertinet potestatem, quod de resurrectione ejus adjunctum est, Quis suscitabit eum? hoc est, quia nullus hominum, nisi se ipse, qui etiam de corpore suo dixit, Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo resuscitabo illud (Id. II, 19). Ipsum autem genus mortis, hoc est sublimitas crucis, in uno verbo intelligitur, quod ait, Ascendisti. Quod vero addidit, Recumbens dormisti, evangelista exponit, ubi dicit, et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum (Id. XIX, 30). Aut certe sepultura ejus agnoscitur, in qua recubuit dormiens; et unde illum nullus hominum, sicut Prophetae aliquos, vel sicut ipse alios suscitavit, sed sicut a somno ipse surrexit. Stola porro ejus quam lavat in vino, id est, mundat a peccatis in sanguine suo, cujus sanguinis sacramentum baptizati sciunt, unde et adjungit, Et in sanguine uvae amictum suum, quid est nisi Ecclesia? Et fulvi oculi ejus a vino: spirituales ejus inebriati poculo ejus, de quo canit Psalmus, Et calix tuus inebrians quam praeclarus est (Psal. XXII, 5)!

Therefore, for the sake of the Christian people, in which the City of God (civitas Dei) sojourns as a pilgrim on earth, if we seek the flesh of Christ in the seed of Abraham, leaving aside the sons of the concubines, Isaac occurs; if in the seed of Isaac, leaving aside Esau, who is also Edom, Jacob occurs, who is also Israel; if in the seed of Israel himself, leaving aside the rest, Judah occurs, because Christ arose from the tribe of Judah. And through this, when Israel was about to die in Egypt and was blessing his sons, let us hear how prophetically he blessed Judah: "Judah," he said, "your brothers shall praise you. Your hands shall be upon the back of your enemies: the sons of your father shall adore you. Judah is a lion's whelp: from the shoot, my son, you have ascended: reclining you have slept as a lion, and as a lion's whelp, who shall rouse him? A prince shall not fail from Judah, and a leader from his thighs, until those things come which are laid up for him: and he is the expectation of the nations (exspectatio gentium); binding his foal to the vine, and his ass's colt to the haircloth. He shall wash his robe in wine, and his garment in the blood of the grape. His eyes are red with wine, and his teeth whiter than milk (Gen. XLIX, 8-12). I have explained these things while disputing against Faustus the Manichaean (Contra Faustum Manichaeum, lib. 12, cap. 42): and I think it is enough, how much the truth of this prophecy shines forth; where both the death of Christ is predicted by the word of sleeping, and not necessity, but power in death, by the name of the lion. Which power he himself preaches in the Gospel, saying: "I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it up again. No one takes it from me: but I lay it down of myself, and I take it up again (John X, 18, 17). Thus the lion roared, thus he fulfilled what he said. For to that power belongs what is added concerning his resurrection, "Who shall rouse him?" that is, because no man shall, except himself, who also said concerning his own body, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (Id. II, 19). Moreover, the very kind of death, that is, the loftiness of the cross, is understood in one word, which he says, "You have ascended." But what he added, "Reclining you have slept," the Evangelist explains, where he says, "and having bowed his head, he gave up the spirit" (Id. XIX, 30). Or certainly his burial is recognized, in which he reclined sleeping; and from where no man roused him, as some of the Prophets, or as he himself roused others, but as from sleep he himself arose. Furthermore, his robe which he washes in wine, that is, cleanses from sins in his own blood, the sacrament of which blood the baptized know, whence he also adds, "And in the blood of the grape his garment," what is it but the Church? And his eyes are red with wine: his spiritual ones inebriated with his cup, of which the Psalm sings, "And how excellent is your inebriating cup!" (Psalm XXII, 5)!

Et dentes ejus candidiores lacte: quod potant apud Apostolum parvuli, verba scilicet nutrientia, nondum idonei solido cibo (I Cor. III, 2). Ipse igitur est in quo reposita erant promissa Judae, quae donec venirent, nunquam principes, hoc est reges, Israel ab illa stirpe defuerunt. Et ipse exspectatio gentium: quod clarius est videndo, quam sit exponendo.

Caput XLII.

De filiis Joseph, quos Jacob prophetica manuum suarum transmutatione benedixit.

Sicut autem duo Isaac filii, Esau et Jacob, figuram praebuerunt duorum populorum in Judaeis et Christianis (quamvis quod ad carnis propaginem pertinet, nec Judaei venerint ex semine Esau, sed Idumaei; nec Christianae gentes de Jacob, sed potius Judaei, ad hoc enim tantum figura valuit, quod dictum est, Major serviet minori [Gen. XXV, 23]); ita factum est etiam in duobus filiis Joseph: nam major gessit typum Judaeorum, Christianorum autem minor. Quos cum benediceret Jacob, manum dexteram ponens super minorem, quem habebat ad sinistram; sinistram super majorem, quem habebat ad dextram: grave visum est patri eorum, et admonuit patrem velut corrigens ejus errorem, et quisnam eorum esset major ostendens. At ille mutare manus noluit, sed dixit: Scio, fili, scio. Et hic erit in populum, et et hic exaltabitur: sed frater ejus junior major illo erit, semen ejus erit in multitudinem gentium (Gen. XLVIII, 19). Etiam hic duo illa promissa demonstrat. Nam ille in populum, iste in multitudinem gentium: quid evidentius quam his duabus promissionibus contineri populum Israelitarum orbemque terrarum in semine Abrahae, illum secundum carnem, istum secundum fidem?

Caput XLIII.

De temporibus Moysi, et Jesu Nave, ac Judicum, atque exinde Regum, quorum quidem Saül primus est, sed David praecipuus et sacramento habetur et merito.

1. Defuncto Jacob, defuncto etiam Joseph, per reliquos centum quadraginta quatuor annos, donec exiretur de terra Aegypti, in modum incredibilem illa gens crevit, etiam tantis attrita persecutionibus, ut quodam tempore nati masculi necarentur, cum mirantes Aegyptios nimia populi illius incrementa terrerent.

And his teeth whiter than milk: which the little ones drink with the Apostle, namely, nourishing words, not yet fit for solid food (I Cor. III, 2). He therefore is the one in whom the promises of Judah were laid up, which until they should come, princes, that is kings, of Israel never failed from that stock. And he is the expectation of the nations: which is clearer in seeing than it would be in explaining.

Chapter XLII.

Of the sons of Joseph, whom Jacob blessed by the prophetic transmutation of his hands.

Moreover, just as the two sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob, presented a figure of the two peoples in the Jews and Christians (although as far as pertains to the offspring of the flesh, neither the Jews came from the seed of Esau, but the Edomites; nor the Christian nations from Jacob, but rather the Jews, for the figure was valid only for this, that it was said, "The elder shall serve the younger"); so it happened also in the two sons of Joseph: for the elder bore the type of the Jews, but the younger of the Christians. When Jacob was blessing them, placing his right hand upon the younger, whom he had at his left; and his left upon the elder, whom he had at his right: it seemed grievous to their father, and he admonished his father as if correcting his error, and showing which of them was the elder. But he would not change his hands, but said: "I know, my son, I know. Both this one shall be into a people, and this one shall be exalted: but his younger brother shall be greater than he, his seed shall be into a multitude of nations (multitudinem gentium) (Gen. XLVIII, 19). Here also he demonstrates those two promises. For the one "into a people," the other "into a multitude of nations": what is more evident than that in these two promises are contained the people of the Israelites and the world in the seed of Abraham, the former according to the flesh (secundum carnem), the latter according to faith (secundum fidem)?

Chapter XLIII.

Of the times of Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the Judges, and thereafter the Kings, of whom indeed Saul is the first, but David is the chief and is held in sacrament and merit.

1. Jacob being dead, and Joseph also being dead, through the remaining hundred and forty-four years, until the departure from the land of Egypt, that nation grew in an incredible manner, even though worn down by so many Wood-down by so many persecutions, so that at a certain time the male children born were killed, when the Egyptians, wondering, were terrified by the excessive increases of that people.

Tunc Moyses subtractus furto trucidatoribus parvulorum, ad domum regiam, ingentia per eum Deo praeparante, pervenit, nutritusque et adoptatus a filia Pharaonis (quod nomen in Aegypto omnium regum fuit), in tantum pervenit virum, ut ipse illam gentem mirabiliter multiplicatam, ex durissimo et gravissimo, quod ibi ferebat, jugo servitutis extraheret, imo per eum Deus, qui hoc promiserat Abrahae. Prius quippe exinde fugiens, quod, cum Israelitam defenderet, Aegyptium occiderat, et fuerat territus; postea divinitus missus in potestate Spiritus Dei superavit resistentes Pharaonis magos. Tunc per eum Aegyptiis illatae sunt decem memorabiles plagae, cum dimittere populum Dei nollent; aqua in sanguinem versa, ranae et sciniphes, cynomyia, mors pecorum, ulcera, grando, locusta, tenebrae, mors primogenitorum. Ad extremum Israelitas, quos plagis tot tantisque perfracti tandem aliquando dimiserant, Aegyptii in mari Rubro dum persequuntur, exstincti sunt. Illis quippe abeuntibus divisum mare viam fecit: hos autem insequentes in se rediens unda submersit. Deinde per annos quadraginta, duce Moyse, Dei populus per desertum actus est, quando Tabernaculum testimonii nuncupatum est, ubi Deus sacrificiis futura praenuntiantibus colebatur: cum scilicet jam data lex fuisset in monte multum terribiliter; attestabatur enim evidentissima mirabilibus signis vocibusque divinitas. Quod factum est mox ut exitum est de Aegypto, et in deserto populus esse coepit, quinquagesimo die post celebratum Pascha per ovis immolationem: qui usque adeo typus Christi est, praenuntians eum per victimam passionis de hoc mundo transiturum ad Patrem (Pascha quippe hebraea lingua Transitus interpretatur [Exod. XII, 11,]), ut jam cum revelaretur Testamentum novum, posteaquam Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus, quinquagesimo die veniret de coelo Spiritus sanctus: qui dictus est in Evangelio digitus Dei (Luc. XI, 20), ut recordationem nostram in primi praefigurati facti memoriam revocaret; quia et legis illae tabulae digito Dei scriptae referuntur (Exod. XXXI, 18).

2. Defuncto Moyse, populum rexit Jesus Nave, et in terram promissionis introduxit, eamque populo divisit. Ab his duobus mirabilibus ducibus bella etiam prosperrime ac mirabiliter gesta sunt, Deo contestante non tam propter merita Hebraei populi, quam propter peccata earum quae debellabantur gentium, illas eis provenisse victorias.

Then Moses, having been secretly withdrawn from the slayers of the little ones, arrived at the royal house, God preparing great things through him, and having been nourished and adopted by the daughter of Pharaoh (which name was that of all the kings in Egypt), he became so great a man that he himself might extract that wonderfully multiplied nation from the very hard and heavy yoke of servitude which it bore there, or rather God through him, who had promised this to Abraham. For first fleeing from there, because, when he defended an Israelite, he had killed an Egyptian, and had been terrified; afterwards, being divinely sent in the power of the Spirit of God, he overcame the resisting magicians of Pharaoh. Then through him ten memorable plagues were brought upon the Egyptians, when they would not dismiss the people of God; water turned into blood, frogs and gnats, dog-flies, death of cattle, boils, hail, locusts, darkness, death of the first-born. At last, while the Egyptians were pursuing the Israelites in the Red Sea (mari Rubro), whom at long last they had dismissed, broken by so many and so great plagues, they were extinguished. For the divided sea made a way for those departing: but the wave, returning upon itself, submerged those following. Then for forty years, with Moses as leader, the people of God were led through the desert, when the Tabernacle of the testimony (Tabernaculum testimonii) was named, where God was worshipped with sacrifices foretelling future things: namely, when the law had already been given on the mountain very terribly; for the divinity attested itself most evidently by wonderful signs and voices. Which was done as soon as there was a departure from Egypt, and the people began to be in the desert, on the fiftieth day after the Passover (Pascha) was celebrated through the sacrifice of a sheep: which is so much a type of Christ, foretelling that he would pass through the victim of his passion from this world to the Father (for Passover in the Hebrew language is interpreted as Passage [Transitus]), that already when the New Testament (Testamentum novum) was revealed, after Christ our Passover was sacrificed, on the fiftieth day the Holy Spirit came from heaven: who is called in the Gospel the finger of God (digitus Dei), that he might recall our record into the memory of the first prefigured fact; because those tables of the law also are reported to have been written by the finger of God (Exod. XXXI, 18).

2. Moses being dead, Joshua the son of Nun (Jesus Nave) ruled the people, and introduced them into the land of promise, and divided it to the people. By these two wonderful leaders wars also were carried out most prosperously and wonderfully, God contesting that those victories came to them not so much on account of the merits of the Hebrew people, as on account of the sins of those nations which were being conquered.

Post istos duces, Judices fuerunt, jam in terra promissionis populo collocato: ut inciperet interim reddi Abrahae prima promissio de gente una, id est Hebraea, et terra Chanaan; nondum de omnibus gentibus et toto orbe terrarum: quod Christi adventus in carne, et non veteris Legis observationes, sed Evangelii fides fuerat impletura. Cujus rei praefiguratio facta est, quod non Moyses, qui legem populo acceperat in monte Sina, sed Jesus, cui etiam nomen Deo praecipiente mutatum fuerat ut Jesus vocaretur, populum in terram promissionis induxit. Temporibus autem Judicum, sicut se habebant et peccata populi et misericordia Dei, alternaverunt prospera et adversa bellorum.

3. Inde ventum est ad Regum tempora: quorum primus regnavit Saül: quo reprobato et bellica clade prostrato, ejusque stirpe rejecta, ne inde reges orirentur, David successit in regnum, cujus maxime Christus dictus est filius. In quo articulus quidam factus est et exordium quodammodo juventutis populi Dei: cujus generis quaedam velut adolescentia ducebatur ab ipso Abraham usque ad hunc David. Neque enim frustra Matthaeus evangelista sic generationes commemoravit, ut hoc primum intervallum quatuordecim generationibus commendaret, ab Abraham scilicet usque ad David (Matth. I, 17). Ab adolescentia quippe incipit homo posse generare: propterea generationum ex Abraham sumpsit exordium; qui etiam pater gentium constitutus est, quando mutatum nomen accepit. Ante hunc ergo velut pueritia fuit hujus generis populi Dei, a Noe usque ad ipsum Abraham: et ideo prima lingua inventa est, id est hebraea. A pueritia namque homo incipit loqui post infantiam, quae hinc appellata est, quia fari non potest. Quam profecto aetatem primam demergit oblivio, sicut aetas prima generis humani est deleta diluvio. Quotus enim quisque est, qui suam recordetur infantiam? Quamobrem in isto procursu civitatis Dei, sicut superior unam eamdemque primam, ita duas aetates secundam et tertiam liber iste contineat, in qua tertia propter vaccam trimam, capram trimam, et arietem trimum (Gen. XV, 9), impositum est Legis jugum, et apparuit abundantia peccatorum, et regni terreni surrexit exordium, ubi non defuerunt spirituales, quorum in turture et columba (Ibid.) figuratum est sacramentum.

After these leaders, there were Judges, the people being already placed in the land of promise: so that in the meantime the first promise to Abraham concerning one nation, that is the Hebrew, and the land of Canaan (terra Chanaan), might begin to be rendered; not yet concerning all nations and the whole world: which the coming of Christ in the flesh, and not the observations of the old Law, but the faith of the Gospel, was to fulfill. Of which thing a prefiguration was made, in that not Moses, who had received the law for the people on Mount Sinai, but Joshua (Jesus), whose name also had been changed by God's command so that he should be called Joshua, introduced the people into the land of promise. Moreover, in the times of the Judges, just as the sins of the people and the mercy of God held themselves, prosperous and adverse fortunes of wars alternated.

3. Then it came to the times of the Kings: of whom Saul (Saül) first reigned: who being reproved and prostrated by a warlike slaughter, and his stock rejected, lest kings should arise from there, David succeeded into the kingdom, of whom Christ was especially called the son. In whom a certain joint was made and a beginning, in a way, of the youth of the people of God: of which kind a certain adolescence was led from Abraham himself even to this David. Nor was it in vain that Matthew the Evangelist so commemorated the generations, that he commended this first interval with fourteen generations, namely from Abraham even to David (Matth. I, 17). For from adolescence a man begins to be able to generate: therefore he took the beginning of the generations from Abraham; who also was constituted the father of nations, when he received his changed name. Before him therefore there was, as it were, the childhood (pueritia) of this kind of people of God, from Noah even to Abraham himself: and therefore the first language was found, that is Hebrew. For from childhood a man begins to speak after infancy (infantiam), which was so called from this, because he cannot speak (fari non potest). Which first age indeed oblivion drowns, just as the first age of the human race was deleted by the flood (diluvio). For how many a one is there, who remembers his own infancy? Wherefore in this progress of the City of God, just as the former book contained the one and the same first age, so let this book contain two ages, the second and the third, in which third, on account of the heifer of three years old, the she-goat of three years old, and the ram of three years old (Gen. XV, 9), the yoke of the Law was imposed, and the abundance of sins appeared, and the beginning of the earthly kingdom arose, where there were not wanting spiritual men, whose sacrament was figured in the turtle-dove and pigeon (turture et columba) (Ibid.).

Liber D

ECIMUS SEPTIMUS.

In quo agitur de civitatis Dei procursu temporibus Regum et Prophetarum a Samuele et David usque ad Christum, et quae sacris Litteris mandatae sunt vaticinationes eorumdem temporum in Regum, Psalmorum et Salomonis libris de Christo et Ecclesia exponuntur.

Caput Primum.

De temporibus Prophetarum.

Promissiones Dei, quae factae sunt ad Abraham, cujus semini et gentem Israeliticam secundum carnem et omnes gentes deberi secundum fidem, Deo pollicente, didicimus, quemadmodum compleantur, per ordinem temporum procurrens Dei civitas indicabit. Quoniam ergo superioris libri usque ad regnum David factus est finis, nunc ab eodem regno, quantum suscepto operi sufficere videtur, caetera quae sequuntur attingimus. Hoc itaque tempus, ex quo sanctus Samuel prophetare coepit, et deinceps donec populus Israel captivus in Babyloniam duceretur, atque inde secundum sancti Jeremiae prophetiam post septuaginta annos reversis Israelitis (Jerem. XXV, 11) Dei domus instauraretur totum tempus est Prophetarum. Quamvis enim et ipsum Noe patriarcham, in cujus diebus universa terra diluvio deleta est, et alios supra et infra usque ad hoc tempus, quo reges in Dei populo esse coeperunt, propter quaedam per eos futura sive quoquo modo significata, sive praedicta, quae pertinerent ad civitatem Dei regnumque coelorum, non immerito possimus appellare prophetas; praesertim quia nonnullos eorum id expressius legimus nuncupatos, sicut Abraham (Gen. XX, 7), sicut Moysen (Deut. XXXIV, 10): tamen dies Prophetarum praecipue maximeque hi dicti sunt, ex quo coepit prophetare Samuel, qui et Saülem prius, et eo reprobato ipsum David, Deo praecipiente, unxit in regem, de cujus caeteri stirpe succederent, quousque illos succedere sic oporteret. Quae igitur a Prophetis sunt praedicta de Christo, cum moriendo decedentibus et nascendo succedentibus suis membris civitas Dei per ista curreret tempora, si omnia velim commemorare, in immensum pergitur.

BOOK SEVENTEENTH.

In which is treated the progress of the City of God in the times of the Kings and Prophets from Samuel and David even to Christ, and the prophecies of the same times which were committed to the sacred Letters in the books of the Kings, Psalms, and Solomon concerning Christ and the Church are explained.

Chapter I.

Of the times of the Prophets.

The promises of God, which were made to Abraham, to whose seed we have learned, by God's promising, that both the Israelite nation according to the flesh (secundum carnem) and all nations according to faith (secundum fidem) are due, the City of God (civitas Dei) proceeding through the order of times will indicate how they are fulfilled. Since therefore the end of the previous book was made up to the kingdom of David, now from the same kingdom, as much as seems to suffice for the undertaken work, we touch upon the rest which follow. This time, therefore, from which the holy Samuel began to prophesy, and thenceforth until the people of Israel were led captive into Babylonia, and thence according to the prophecy of the holy Jeremiah after seventy years the house of God was restored by the returned Israelites (Jerem. XXV, 11), is the whole time of the Prophets. For although we might not unworthily call prophets both the patriarch Noah himself, in whose days the whole earth was deleted by the flood, and others above and below even to this time, in which kings began to be in the people of God, on account of certain future things either signified in whatever way through them, or predicted, which pertained to the City of God and the kingdom of heaven; especially because we read some of them more expressly named so, as Abraham (Gen. XX, 7), as Moses (Deut. XXXIV, 10): yet the days of the Prophets were especially and most of all called these, from which Samuel began to prophesy, who both first anointed Saul (Saülem), and him being reproved anointed David himself as king by God's command, from whose stock the rest should succeed, as long as it was necessary for them so to succeed. Therefore, those things which were predicted by the Prophets concerning Christ, while the City of God ran through these times by its members departing in dying and succeeding in being born, if I should wish to commemorate all, it would go on to an immense length.

Primum quia ipsa Scriptura, quae per ordinem Reges eorumque facta et eventa digerens, videtur tanquam historica diligentia rebus gestis occupata esse narrandis, si adjuvante Dei Spiritu considerata tractetur, vel magis, vel certe non minus praenuntiandis futuris, quam praeteritis enuntiandis, invenietur intenta. Et hoc perscrutando indagare ac disserendo monstrare, quam sit operosum atque prolixum, et quam multis indiguum voluminibus, quis ignorat, qui haec vel mediocriter cogitat? Deinde quia ea ipsa quae ad prophetiam non ambigitur pertinere, ita sunt multa de Christo regnoque coelorum, quae civitas Dei est, ut ad hoc aperiendum major sit disputatio necessaria, quam hujus operis modus flagitat. Proinde ita, si potuero, stilo moderabor meo, ut huic operi in Dei voluntate peragendo, nec ea quae supersint dicam, nec ea quae satis sint praetermittam.

Caput II.

Quo tempore sit impleta promissio Dei de terra Chanaan, quam in possessionem etiam Israel carnalis accepit.

In praecedente libro diximus, ab initio ad Abraham promissionum Dei duas res fuisse promissas: unam scilicet, quod terram Chanaan possessurum fuerat semen ejus; quod significatur, ubi dictum est, Vade in terram, quam tibi demonstravero, et faciam te in gentem magnam: aliam vero longe praestantiorem, non de carnali, sed de spirituali semine, per quod pater est, non unius gentis Israeliticae, sed omnium gentium, quae fidei ejus vestigia consequuntur; quod promitti coepit his verbis: Et benedicentur in te omnes tribus terrae (Gen. XII, 1-3). Et deinceps aliis multis admodum testimoniis haec duo promissa esse monstravimus. Erat igitur jam in terra promissionis semen Abrahae, id est populus Israel, secundum carnem: atque ibi non solum tenendo ac possidendo civitates adversariorum, verum etiam reges habendo, regnare jam coeperat, impletis de ipso populo promissionibus Dei jam magna ex parte; non solum quae illis tribus patribus, Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, et quaecumque aliae temporibus eorum, verum etiam quae per ipsum Moysen, per quem populus idem de servitute Aegyptia liberatus est, et per quem cuncta praeterita revelata sunt temporibus ejus, cum populum per eremum duceret, factae fuerant.

First because the Scripture itself, which by disposing in order the Kings and their deeds and events, seems as if occupied with historical diligence in narrating the things done, if it be handled and considered by the aid of God's Spirit, will be found intent either more, or certainly not less, upon foretelling future things, than upon enunciating past things. And who is ignorant, who thinks on these things even moderately, how laborious and prolix it is to track this out by searching and to show it by discussing, and of how many volumes it is worthy? Then because those very things which are not doubted to pertain to prophecy, are so many concerning Christ and the kingdom of heaven, which is the City of God, that for opening this a greater disputation would be necessary than the mode of this work demands. Accordingly I will so moderate my style, if I can, that in carrying out this work in the will of God, I may neither say those things which are superfluous, nor omit those things which are sufficient.

Chapter II.

At what time the promise of God concerning the land of Canaan was fulfilled, which even carnal Israel (Israel carnalis) received into possession.

In the preceding book we said that from the beginning to Abraham two things were promised in the promises of God: one namely, that his seed should possess the land of Canaan (terra Chanaan); which is signified where it is said, "Go into the land which I shall show you, and I will make you into a great nation": but another far more excellent, not concerning the carnal, but concerning the spiritual seed, through which he is the father, not of the one Israelite nation, but of all nations which follow the footsteps of his faith; which began to be promised in these words: "And in you all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed" (Gen. XII, 1-3). And thereafter we have shown by very many other testimonies that these two things were promised. Therefore the seed of Abraham, that is the people of Israel, was already in the land of promise according to the flesh: and there, not only by holding and possessing the cities of adversaries, but even by having kings, it had already begun to reign, the promises of God concerning the people themselves being already fulfilled in great part; not only those which were made to those three fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and whatever others in their times, but even those which were made through Moses himself, through whom the same people was liberated from Egyptian servitude, and through whom all past things were revealed in his times, while he led the people through the desert.

Neque autem per insignem ducem Jesum Nave, per quem populus ille in promissionis inductus est terram, expugnatisque gentibus, eam duodecim tribubus, quibus Deus jusserat, divisit, et mortuus est; neque post illum toto tempore Judicum impleta fuerat promissio Dei de terra Chanaan, a quodam flumine Aegypti usque ad flumen magnum Euphratem (Gen. XV, 18): nec tamen adhuc prophetabatur futurum, sed exspectabatur implendum. Impletum est autem per David, et ejus filium Salomonem; cujus regnum tanto, quanto promissum fuerat, spatio dilatatum est: universos quippe illos subdiderunt, tributariosque fecerunt. Sic igitur in terra promissionis secundum carnem, hoc est in terra Chanaan, sub his regibus semen Abrahae fuerat constitutum, ut nihil deinde superesset, quo terrena illa Dei promissio compleretur, nisi ut in eadem terra, quantum ad prosperitatem attinet temporalem, per posteritatis successionem inconcusso statu usque ad mortalis saeculi hujus terminum gens permaneret Hebraea, si Domini Dei sui legibus obediret. Sed quoniam Deus noverat, hoc eam non esse facturam, usus est ejus etiam temporalibus poenis ad exercendos in ea paucos fideles suos, et admonendos qui postea futuri erant in omnibus gentibus, quod eos admoneri oportebat, in quibus alteram promissionem, revelato novo Testamento, per incarnationem Christi fuerat impleturus.

Caput III.

De tripartitis significationibus Prophetarum, quae nunc ad terrenam, nunc ad coelestem Jerusalem, nunc autem ad utramque referuntur.

1. Quocirca, sicut oracula illa divina ad Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, et quaecumque alia signa, vel dicta prophetica, in sacris Litteris praecedentibus facta sunt: ita etiam caeterae ab isto Regum tempore prophetiae partim pertinent ad gentem carnis Abrahae, partim vero ad illud semen ejus, in quo benedicuntur omnes gentes cohaeredes Christi per Testamentum novum, ad possidendam vitam aeternam regnumque coelorum. Partim ergo ad ancillam, quae in servitutem generat, id est terrenam Jerusalem, quae servit cum filiis suis; partim vero ad liberam civitatem Dei, id est veram Jerusalem aeternam in coelis, cujus filii homines secundum Deum viventes peregrinantur in terris: sed sunt in eis quaedam, quae ad utramque pertinere intelliguntur, ad ancillam proprie, ad liberam figurate.

But neither through the illustrious leader Joshua the son of Nun (Jesus Nave), through whom that people was introduced into the land of promise, and having conquered the nations, he divided it to the twelve tribes to whom God had commanded, and died; nor after him in the whole time of the Judges had the promise of God been fulfilled concerning the land of Canaan, "from a certain river of Egypt even to the great river Euphrates (Euphratem)" (Gen. XV, 18): nor yet was it still prophesied as future, but was expected to be fulfilled. But it was fulfilled through David and his son Solomon (Salomonem); whose kingdom was dilated by as great a space as had been promised: for they subjected all those, and made them tributary. Thus therefore in the land of promise according to the flesh, that is in the land of Canaan, under these kings the seed of Abraham had been constituted, so that nothing thereafter remained for that earthly promise of God to be completed, except that in the same land, as far as pertains to temporal prosperity, the Hebrew nation should remain by succession of posterity in an unshaken state even to the end of this mortal age, if it should obey the laws of the Lord its God. But because God knew that it would not do this, he used its temporal punishments also for exercising in it a few of his faithful ones, and for admonishing those who were afterwards to be in all nations, what it behoved them to be admonished of, in whom he was to fulfill the other promise, the New Testament (novo Testamento) being revealed, through the incarnation of Christ.

Chapter III.

Of the tripartite significations of the Prophets, which are referred now to the earthly, now to the heavenly Jerusalem, and now to both.

1. Wherefore, just as those divine oracles to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and whatever other signs or prophetic sayings were made in the preceding sacred Letters: so also the rest of the prophecies from this time of the Kings pertain partly to the nation of the flesh of Abraham, but partly to that seed of his in which all nations are blessed, co-heirs of Christ through the New Testament (Testamentum novum), for possessing eternal life and the kingdom of heaven. Partly, therefore, to the handmaid (ancillam) who generates into servitude, that is, the earthly Jerusalem (terrenam Jerusalem), which serves with her children; but partly to the free City of God (liberam civitatem Dei), that is, the true eternal Jerusalem in the heavens, whose sons are men living according to God as pilgrims on earth: but there are in them certain things which are understood to pertain to both, to the handmaid properly, to the free one figuratively.

2. Tripartita itaque reperiuntur eloquia Prophetarum: siquidem aliqua sunt ad terrenam Jerusalem spectantia, aliqua ad coelestem, nonnulla ad utramque. Exemplis video probandum esse quod dico. Missus est Nathan propheta, qui regem David argueret de peccato gravi, et ei, quae consecuta sunt mala, futura praediceret (II Reg. XII). Haec atque hujusmodi sive publice, id est pro salute vel utilitate populi, sive privatim, cum pro suis quisque rebus divina promereretur eloquia, quibus pro usu temporalis vitae futuri aliquid nosceretur, ad terrénam civitatem pertinuisse, quis ambigat? Ubi autem legitur, Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et consummabo domui Israel et domui Juda testamentum novum, non secundum testamentum quod disposui patribus eorum, in die qua apprehendi manum eorum, ut educerem eos de terra Aegypti: quoniam ipsi non permanserunt in testamento meo, et ego neglexi eos, dicit Dominus, Quia hoc est testamentum, quod constituam domui Israel: post dies illos, dicit Dominus, dabo leges meas in mentem eorum, et super corda eorum scribam eas, et videbo eos, et ero illis in Deum, et ipsi erunt mihi in plebem (Jerem. XXXI, 31-33; Hebr. VIII, 8-10); Jerusalem sine dubio superna prophetatur, cujus Deus ipse praemium est, eumque habere atque ipsius esse summum ibi est atque totum bonum. Ad utramque vero pertinet hoc ipsum, quod Jerusalem dicitur Dei civitas, et in ea prophetatur futura domus Dei, eaque prophetia videtur impleri, cum Salomon rex aedificat illud nobilissimum templum. Haec enim et in terrena Jerusalem secundum historiam contigerunt, et coelestis Jerusalem figurae fuerunt. Quod genus prophetiae ex utroque veluti compactum atque commixtum in Libris veteribus canonicis, quibus rerum gestarum narrationes continentur, valet plurimum, multumque exercuit et exercet ingenia scrutantium Litteras sacras, ut quod historice praedictum completumque legitur in semine Abrahae secundum carnem, etiam in semine Abrahae secundum fidem quid implendum allegorice significet inquiratur: in tantum ut quibusdam visum sit, nihil esse in eisdem libris vel praenuntiatum et effectum, vel effectum, quamvis non praenuntiatum, quod non insinuet aliquid ad supernam civitatem Dei ejusque filios in hac vita peregrinos figurata significatione referendum. Sed si hoc ita est, jam bipartita, non tripartita erunt eloquia Prophetarum, vel potius illarum Scripturarum omnium, quae veteris Instrumenti appellatione censentur.

2. Therefore tripartite utterances of the Prophets are found: since some look toward the earthly Jerusalem, some to the heavenly, some to both. I see that what I say must be proved by examples. The prophet Nathan was sent to reprove King David for a grave sin, and to predict to him the future evils which followed (2 Sam. 12). Who would doubt that these and such like things pertained to the earthly city, whether publicly, that is for the safety or utility of the people, or privately, when each one for his own affairs merited divine utterances, by which something of the future might be known for the use of temporal life? But where it is read, "Behold, the days come, says the Lord, and I will consummate a new testament (testamentum novum) for the house of Israel and for the house of Judah, not according to the testament which I disposed for their fathers, in the day when I took hold of their hand, that I might lead them out of the land of Egypt: because they did not remain in my testament, and I neglected them, says the Lord, Because this is the testament, which I will constitute for the house of Israel: after those days, says the Lord, I will give my laws into their mind, and upon their hearts I will write them, and I will see them, and I will be to them for a God, and they themselves shall be to me for a people" (Jer. 31:31-33; Heb. 8:8-10); without doubt the heavenly Jerusalem (Jerusalem superna) is prophesied, whose reward is God himself, and there the highest and whole good (summum atque totum bonum) is to have him and to be his. But to both pertains this very thing, that Jerusalem is called the City of God, and in it the future house of God is prophesied, and that prophecy is seen to be fulfilled when King Solomon (Salomon) builds that most noble temple. For these things both happened in the earthly Jerusalem according to history, and were figures of the heavenly Jerusalem. Which kind of prophecy, as if compacted and mixed from both in the ancient canonical Books, in which narrations of things done are contained, is of very great power, and has much exercised and does exercise the talents of those searching the sacred Letters, so that what is read historically predicted and completed in the seed of Abraham according to the flesh (secundum carnem), may also be inquired into as to what it signifies allegorically to be fulfilled in the seed of Abraham according to faith (secundum fidem): so much so that it has seemed to some that there is nothing in the same books either foretold and effected, or effected although not foretold, which does not insinuate something to be referred to the heavenly City of God and its children pilgrims in this life by a figurative signification. But if this is so, the utterances of the Prophets will now be bipartite, not tripartite, or rather of all those Scriptures which are censured by the appellation of the Old Instrument (veteris Instrumenti).

Nihil enim erit illic, quod ad Jerusalem terrenam tantum pertineat, si quidquid ibi de illa, vel propter illam, dicitur atque completur, significat aliquid, quod etiam Jerusalem coelestem allegorica praefiguratione referatur: sed erunt sola duo genera, unum quod ad Jerusalem liberam, alterum quod ad utramque pertineat. Mihi autem sicut multum videntur errare, qui nullas res gestas in eo genere litterarum aliquid aliud praeter id quod eo modo gestae sunt significare arbitrantur; ita multum audere, qui prorsus ibi omnia significationibus allegoricis involuta esse contendunt. Ideo tripartita, non bipartita esse dixi. Hoc enim existimo, non tamen culpans eos, qui potuerint illic de quacumque re gesta sensum intelligentiae spiritualis exsculpere, servata primitus duntaxat historiae veritate. Caeterum quae ita dicuntur, ut rebus humanitus seu divinitus gestis sive gerendis convenire non possint, quis fidelis dubitet non esse inaniter dicta? quis ea non ad intelligentiam spiritualem revocet, si possit, aut ab eo qui potest revocanda esse fateatur?

Caput IV.

De praefigurata commutatione Israelitici regni et sacerdotii, et de his quae Anna mater Samuelis, personam gerens Ecclesiae, prophetavit.

1. Procursus igitur civitatis Dei, ubi pervenit ad Regum tempora, quando David Saüle reprobato ita regnum primus obtinuit, ut ejus deinde posteri in terrena Jerusalem diuturna successione regnarent, dedit figuram, re gesta significans atque praenuntians, quod non est praetereundum silentio, de rerum mutatione futurarum, quod attinet ad duo Testamenta, vetus et novum: ubi sacerdotium regnumque mutatum est per sacerdotem eumdemque regem novum ac sempiternum, qui est Christus Jesus. Nam et Heli sacerdote reprobato substitutus in Dei ministerium Samuel, simul officio functus sacerdotis et judicis, et Saüle abjecto rex David fundatus in regno, hoc quod dico figuraverunt. Mater quoque ipsa Samuelis Anna, quae prius fuit sterilis, et posteriore fecunditate laetata est, prophetare aliud non videtur, cum gratulationem suam Domino fundit exsultans: quando eumdem puerum natum et ablactatum Deo reddit eadem pietate, qua voverat. Dicit enim: Confirmatum est cor meum in Domino, et exaltatum est cornu meum in Deo meo.

For there will be nothing there which pertains to the earthly Jerusalem only, if whatever is said and completed there concerning it, or on account of it, signifies something which also by an allegorical prefiguration is referred to the heavenly Jerusalem: but there will be only two kinds, one which pertains to the free Jerusalem (Jerusalem liberam), the other which pertains to both. But to me, just as they seem to err much who think that no things done in that kind of letters signify anything else besides that they were done in that way; so they seem to dare much who contend that absolutely all things there are involved in allegorical significations. Therefore I said they are tripartite, not bipartite. For I think this, yet not blaming those who have been able to carve out a sense of spiritual intelligence from whatever thing done there, provided the truth of the history be first of all preserved. Otherwise, those things which are so said that they cannot fit things humanly or divinely done or to be done, what faithful man would doubt that they were not said in vain? Who would not recall them to spiritual intelligence, if he can, or confess that they are to be recalled by one who can?

Chapter IV.

Of the prefigured change of the Israelite kingdom and priesthood, and of those things which Hannah (Anna), the mother of Samuel, bearing the person of the Church, prophesied.

1. The progress therefore of the City of God, when it arrived at the times of the Kings, when David, Saul being reproved, first obtained the kingdom in such a way that his posterity thereafter should reign in the earthly Jerusalem in a long succession, gave a figure, signifying and foretelling by the thing done, what is not to be passed over in silence, concerning the change of future things, as pertains to the two Testaments, old and new: where the priesthood and kingdom were changed through the same priest and new and everlasting king, who is Christ Jesus. For both Samuel being substituted into the ministry of God, the priest Eli (Heli) being reproved, having at the same time functioned in the office of priest and judge, and King David being founded in the kingdom, Saul being cast off, figured this which I say. The mother also of Samuel herself, Hannah (Anna), who was first sterile, and was gladdened by later fecundity, seems to prophesy nothing else, when she pours out her gratulation to the Lord, exulting: when she renders the same boy, born and weaned, to God with the same piety with which she had vowed. For she says: "My heart is confirmed in the Lord, and my horn is exalted in my God.

Dilatatum es super inimicos meos os meum; laetata sum in salutari tuo. Quoniam non est sanctus, sicut Dominus; et non est justus, sicut Deus noster; non est sanctus praeter te. Nolite gloriari superbe, et nolite loqui excelsa, neque procedat magniloquium de ore vestro. Quoniam Deus scientiarum Dominus, et Deus praeparans adinventiones suas. Arcum potentium fecit infirmum, et infirmi praecincti sunt virtute. Pleni panibus minorati sunt, et esurientes transierunt terram. Quia sterilis peperit septem, et multa in filiis infirmata est. Dominus mortificat et vivificat; deducit ad inferos, et reducit. Dominus pauperes facit, et ditat; humiliat, et exaltat. Suscitat a terra pauperem, et de stercore erigit inopem: ut collocet eum cum potentibus populi, et sedem gloriae haereditatem dans eis: dans votum voventi, et benedixit annos justi: quoniam non in virtute potens est vir. Dominus infirmum faciet adversarium suum, Dominus sanctus. Non glorietur prudens in prudentia sua, et non glorietur potens in potentia sua, et non glorietur dives in divitiis suis: sed in hoc glorietur, qui gloriatur, intelligere et scire Dominum, et facere judicium et justitiam in medio terrae. Dominus ascendit in coelos, et tonuit: ipse judicabit extrema terrae quia justus est; et dat virtutem regibus nostris, et exaltabit cornu Christi sui (I Reg. II, 1-10, sec. LXX).

2. Itane vero verba haec unius putabuntur esse mulierculae, de nato sibi filio gratulantis? tantumne mens hominum a luce veritatis aversa est, ut non sentiat supergredi modum feminae hujus dicta quae fudit? Porro qui rebus ipsis, quae jam coeperunt etiam in hac terrena peregrinatione compleri, convenienter movetur, nonne intendit, et aspicit, et agnoscit per hanc mulierem, cujus etiam nomen. id est Anna, Gratia ejus interpretatur, ipsam religionem christianam, ipsam civitatem Dei, cujus rex est et conditor Christus, ipsam postremo Dei gratiam prophetico spiritu sic locutam, a qua superbi alienantur, ut cadant, qua humiles implentur, ut surgant, quod maxime hymnus iste personuit? Nisi quisquam forte dicturus est, nihil istam prophetasse mulierem, sed Deum tantummodo propter filium, quem precata impetravit, exsultanti praedicatione laudasse. Quid ergo sibi vult quod ait: Arcum potentium fecit infirmum, et infirmi praecincti sunt virtute: pleni panibus minorati sunt, et esurientes transierunt terram: quia sterilis peperit septem, et multa in filiis infirmata est? Numquid septem ipsa pepererat, quamvis sterilis fuerit?

My mouth is dilated over my enemies; I have been gladdened in your salvation. Because there is none holy as the Lord; and there is none just as our God; there is none holy besides you. Do not boast proudly, and do not speak high things, nor let big words proceed from your mouth. Because the Lord is the God of sciences, and God preparing his inventions. He has made the bow of the powerful weak, and the weak are girded with virtue. Those full of bread are diminished, and the hungry have passed through the land. Because the sterile has borne seven, and she that has many children is weakened. The Lord kills and makes alive; he leads down to hell (inferos), and brings back. The Lord makes poor, and enriches; he humiliates, and exalts. He raises the poor from the earth, and lifts the needy from the dunghill: that he may place him with the powerful of the people, and giving them the seat of glory for an inheritance: giving the vow to him that vows, and he blessed the years of the just: because not in virtue is a man powerful. The Lord shall make his adversary weak, the holy Lord. Let not the prudent boast in his prudence, and let not the powerful boast in his power, and let not the rich boast in his riches: but in this let him boast, who boasts, to understand and know the Lord, and to do judgment and justice in the midst of the earth. The Lord ascended into the heavens, and thundered: he himself shall judge the ends of the earth because he is just; and he gives virtue to our kings, and will exalt the horn of his Christ (Christi sui) (1 Sam. 2:1-10, sec. LXX).

2. Will these words indeed be thought to be those of one little woman, congratulating herself on a son born to her? Is the mind of men so much turned away from the light of truth, that it does not feel that the sayings which this woman poured out exceed her measure? Furthermore, he who is suitably moved by the things themselves, which have already begun to be fulfilled even in this earthly pilgrimage, does he not intend, and behold, and recognize through this woman, whose name also, that is Hannah (Anna), is interpreted as His Grace (Gratia ejus), the Christian religion itself, the City of God (civitas Dei) itself, whose king and founder is Christ, and finally the grace of God itself speaking thus by a prophetic spirit, from which the proud are alienated that they may fall, and with which the humble are filled that they may rise, which this hymn especially sounded forth? Unless someone perchance is going to say, that this woman prophesied nothing, but only praised God with exulting preaching on account of the son whom she obtained by praying. What therefore does that mean which she says: "He has made the bow of the powerful weak, and the weak are girded with virtue: those full of bread are diminished, and the hungry have passed through the land: because the sterile has borne seven, and she that has many children is weakened"? Had she herself borne seven, although she had been sterile?

Unicum habebat, quando ista dicebat: sed nec postea septem peperit, sive sex, quibus septimus esset ipse Samuel; sed tres mares, et duas feminas (I Reg. II, 20). Deinde in illo populo cum adhuc nemo regnaret, quod in extremo posuit, Dat virtutem regibus nostris, et exaltabit cornu Christi sui; unde dicebat, si non prophetabat?

3. Dicat ergo Ecclesia Christi, civitas Regis magni, gratia plena, prole fecunda; dicat quod tanto ante de se prophetatum per os hujus piae matris agnoscit Confirmatum est cor meum in Domino, et exaltatum est cornu meum in Deo meo. Vere confirmatum cor, et cornu vere exaltatum; quia non in se, sed in Domino Deo suo. Dilatatum est super inimicos meos os meum: quia et in angustiis pressurarum sermo Dei non est alligatus, nec in praeconibus alligatis. Laetata sum, inquit, in salutari tuo. Christus est iste Jesus, quem Simeon, sicut in Evangelio legitur, senex amplectens parvum, agnoscens magnum, Nunc dimittis, inquit, Domine, servum tuum in pace, quoniam viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum (Luc. II, 29 et 30). Dicat itaque Ecclesia, Laetata sum in salutari tuo. Quoniam non est sanctus, sicut Dominus; et non est justus, sicut Deus noster; tanquam sanctus et sanctificans, justus et justificans. Non est sanctus praeter te: quia nemo fit nisi abs te. Denique sequitur, Nolite gloriari superbe, et nolite loqui excelsa, neque exeat magniloquium de ore vestro. Quoniam Deus scientiarum Dominus. Ipse vos scit, et ubi nemo scit: quoniam qui putat se aliquid esse, cum nihil sit, se ipsum seducit (Galat. VI, 3). Haec dicuntur adversariis civitatis Dei ad Babyloniam pertinentibus, de sua virtute praesumentibus, in se, non in Domino gloriantibus; ex quibus sunt etiam carnales Israelitae, terrenae Jerusalem cives terrigenae, qui, ut dicit Apostolus, ignorantes Dei justitiam, id est quam dat homini Deus, qui solus est justus justificans; et suam volentes constituere, id est, velut a se sibi partam, non ab illo impertitam; justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 3). utique quia superbi, de suo putantes, non de Dei, posse placere se Deo, qui est Deus scientiarum, atque ideo et arbiter conscientiarum, ibi videns cogitationes hominum, quoniam vanae sunt (Psal. XCIII, 11), si hominum sunt, et ab illo non sunt. Et praeparans, inquit, adinventiones suas. Quas adinventiones putamus, nisi ut superbi cadant, et humiles surgant? Has quippe adinventiones exsequitur, dicens, Arcus potentium infirmatus est, et infirmi praecincti sunt virtute. Infirmatus est arcus, id est, intentio eorum qui tam potentes sibi videntur, ut sine Dei dono atque adjutorio humana sufficientia divina possint implere mandata; et praecinguntur virtute, quorum interna vox est, Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum (Psal. VI, 3).

She had an only one when she said these things: but neither did she bear seven afterwards, or six, of whom Samuel himself should be the seventh; but three males and two females (1 Sam. 2:21). Then in that people, when as yet no one reigned, what she placed at the end, "He gives virtue to our kings, and will exalt the horn of his Christ"; whence was she saying it, if she was not prophesying?

3. Therefore let the Church of Christ, the city of the great King, full of grace, fecund with offspring, speak; let her speak what she recognizes was prophesied of herself so long before by the mouth of this pious mother: "My heart is confirmed in the Lord, and my horn is exalted in my God." Truly is the heart confirmed, and truly the horn exalted; because not in itself, but in the Lord its God. "My mouth is dilated over my enemies": because even in the straits of pressures the word of God is not bound, nor in the bound preachers. "I have been gladdened," she says, "in your salvation." This is that Jesus Christ whom the aged Simeon, as is read in the Gospel, embracing when small, recognizing as great, said: "Now you dismiss, Lord, your servant in peace, because my eyes have seen your salvation" (Luke 2:29-30). Therefore let the Church say, "I have been gladdened in your salvation." "Because there is none holy as the Lord; and there is none just as our God"; as holy and sanctifying, just and justifying. "There is none holy besides you": because no one becomes so except from you. Finally it follows, "Do not boast proudly, and do not speak high things, nor let big words go out from your mouth. Because the Lord is the God of sciences." He himself knows you, even where no one knows: because "he who thinks himself to be something, when he is nothing, seduces himself" (Galat. 6:3). These things are said to the adversaries of the City of God belonging to Babylon, presuming on their own virtue, boasting in themselves, not in the Lord; of whom are also the carnal Israelites, earth-born citizens of the earthly Jerusalem, who, as the Apostle says, "ignoring the justice of God," that is, which God gives to man, who alone is just and justifying; "and willing to establish their own," that is, as if produced by themselves for themselves, not imparted by him; "are not subject to the justice of God" (Rom. 10:3). surely because being proud, thinking by their own, not by God's, that they can please God, who is the God of sciences, and therefore also the arbiter of consciences, seeing there the thoughts of men, that they are vain (Psalm 93:11), if they are of men, and are not from him. "And preparing," she says, "his inventions." What inventions do we think, except that the proud should fall, and the humble rise? Indeed he follows out these inventions, saying, "The bow of the powerful is made weak, and the weak are girded with virtue." The bow is made weak, that is, the intention of those who seem so powerful to themselves, that without the gift and help of God, by human sufficiency, they can fulfill the divine mandates; and they are girded with virtue, whose internal voice is, "Have mercy on me, Lord, because I am weak" (Psalm 6:3).

4. Pleni panibus, inquit, minorati sunt, et esurientes transierunt terram. Qui sunt intelligendi pleni panibus, nisi iidem ipsi quasi potentes, id est Israelitae, quibus credita sunt eloquia Dei (Rom. III, 2)? Sed in eo populo ancillae filii minorati sunt: quo verbo minus quidem latino, bene tamen expressum est, quod ex majoribus minores facti sunt: quia et in ipsis panibus, id est divinis eloquiis, quae Israelitae soli tunc ex omnibus gentibus acceperunt, terrena sapiunt. Gentes autem quibus lex illa non erat data, posteaquam per novum Testamentum ad eloquia illa venerunt, multum esuriendo terram transierunt; quia in eis non terrena, sed coelestia sapuerunt. Et hoc, velut quaereretur causa cur factum sit, Quia sterilis, inquit, peperit septem, et multa in filiis infirmata est. Hic totum quod prophetabatur eluxit agnoscentibus numerum septenarium, quo est universae Ecclesiae significata perfectio. Propter quod et Joannes apostolus ad septem scribit Ecclesias (Apoc. I, 4), eo modo se ostendens ad unius plenitudinem scribere: et in Proverbiis Salomonis hoc antea praefigurans Sapientia, aedificavit sibi domum, et suffulsit columnas septem (Prov. IX, 1). Sterilis enim erat in omnibus gentibus Dei civitas, antequam iste fetus, quem cernimus, oriretur. Vemos también que la que era mucha en hijos, la Jerusalén terrena, ahora está debilitada. Quoniam quicumque filii liberae in ea erant, virtus ejus erant: nunc vero ibi quoniam littera est, et spiritus non est, amissa virtute infirmata est.

5. Dominus mortificat, et vivificat: mortificavit illam, quae multa erat in filiis; et vivificavit hanc sterilem, quae peperit septem. Quamvis commodius possit intelligi eosdem vivificare, quos mortificaverit. Id enim velut repetivit addendo, Deducit ad inferos, et reducit. Quibus enim dicit Apostolus, Si mortui estis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens: salubriter utique mortificantur a Domino: quibus adjungit, Quae sursum sunt sapite, non quae super terram; ut ipsi sint illi, qui esurientes transierunt terram. Mortui enim estis, inquit: ecce quomodo salubriter mortificat Deus. Deinde sequitur, Et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo (Coloss. III, 1-3): ecce quomodo eosdem ipsos vivificat Deus. Sed numquid eosdem deduxit ad inferos et reduxit? Hoc utrumque sine controversia fidelium in illo potius videmus impletum, Capite scilicet nostro, cum quo vitam nostram in Deo Apostolus dixit absconditam. Nam cum proprio Filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum (Rom. VIII, 32), isto modo utique mortificavit cum. Et quia resuscitavit a mortuis, eumdem rursus vivificavit.

4. "Those full of bread," she says, "are diminished, and the hungry have passed through the land." Who are to be understood as full of bread, except those same ones as if powerful, that is, the Israelites, to whom the oracles of God were credited (Rom. 3:2)? But in that people the sons of the handmaid were diminished: by which word, although less Latin, it is well expressed that from greater they were made lesser: because even in the breads themselves, that is, the divine oracles, which the Israelites alone then received from all nations, they savor of earthly things. But the Gentiles to whom that law had not been given, after they came to those oracles through the new Testament, much hungering, passed through the land; because in them they savored not of earthly, but of heavenly things. And this, as if the cause were asked why it was done, "Because the sterile," she says, "has borne seven, and she that has many children is weakened." Here all that was prophesied shone out to those recognizing the septenary number, by which the perfection of the universal Church is signified. On account of which also the apostle John writes to the seven Churches (Apoc. 1:4), in that way showing himself to write to the fullness of one: and Wisdom prefiguring this before in the Proverbs of Solomon, "built herself a house, and supported seven columns" (Prov. 9:1). For the city of God was sterile among all nations, before this offspring, which we see, should arise. We see also, that she who had many in children, the earthly Jerusalem, is now weakened. Because whichever sons of the free woman were in her, they were her virtue: but now there, because the letter is, and the spirit is not, she is weakened, her virtue being lost.

5. "The Lord kills, and makes alive": he killed her who had many in children; and he made alive this sterile one, who bore seven. Although it can more commodiously be understood that he makes alive the same ones whom he has killed. For he as it were repeated this by adding, "He leads down to hell (inferos), and brings back." For those to whom the Apostle says, "If you are dead with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God" (Coloss. 3:1): they are surely salubriously killed by the Lord: to whom he adds, "Savor the things that are above, not those which are upon the earth"; so that they themselves may be those who hungering have passed through the land. "For you are dead," he says: behold how salubriously God kills. Then it follows, "And your life is hidden with Christ in God" (Coloss. 3:3): behold how God makes alive those same ones. But did he lead the same ones down to hell and bring them back? This both, without controversy of the faithful, we see fulfilled rather in him, our Head namely, with whom the Apostle said our life was hidden in God. For when "he did not spare his own Son, but delivered him for us all" (Rom. 8:32), in that way surely he killed him. And because he resuscitated him from the dead, he again made the same one alive.

Et quia in prophetia vox ejus agnoscitur, Non derelinques animam meam in inferno (Psalm. XV, 10), eumdem deduxit ad inferos et reduxit. Hac ejus paupertate ditati sumus. Dominus enim pauperes facit, et ditat. Nam quid hoc sit ut sciamus, quod sequitur audiamus: Humiliat, et exaltat; utique superbos humiliat, et humiles exaltat. Quod enim alibi legitur, Deus superbis resistis, humilibus autem dat gratiam (Jacobi IV, 6); hoc totus habet sermo hujus, cujus nomen interpretatur Gratia ejus.

6. Jam vero quod adjungitur, Suscitat a terra pauperem: de nullo melius quam de illo intelligo, qui propter nos factus est pauper, cum dives esset, ut ejus paupertate, sicut paulo ante dictum est, ditaremur. (II Cor. VIII, 9). Ipsum enim de terra suscitavit tam cito, ut caro ejus non videret corruptionem. Nec illud ab illo alienabo, quod additum est, Et de stercore erigit inopem. Inops quippe idem qui pauper. Stercus vero unde erectus est, rectissime intelliguntur persecutores Judaei, in quorum numero cum se dixisset Apostolus Ecclesiam persecutum, Quae mihi, inquit, fuerunt lucra, haec propter Christum damna esse duxi: nec solum detrimenta, verum etiam stercora existimavi esse, ut Christum lucrifacerem (Philipp. III, 7 et 8). De terra ergo suscitatus est ille supra omnes divites pauper, et de illo stercore erectus est supra omnes opulentos ille inops: ut sedeat cum potentibus populi, quibus ait, Sedebitis super duodecim sedes. Et sedem gloriae haereditatem dans eis. Dixerant enim potentes illi, Ecce nos dimisimus omnia, et secuti sumus te (Matth. XIX, 28, 27), hoc votum potentissime voverant.

7. Sed unde hoc eis, nisi ab illo, de quo hic continuo dictum est, Dans votum voventi? Alioquin ex illis essent potentibus, quorum infirmatus est arcus. Dans, inquit, votum voventi. Non enim Domino quisquam quidquam rectum voveret, nisi qui ab illo acciperet quod voveret. Sequitur, Et benedixit annos justi: ut cum illo scilicet sine fine vivat, cui dictum est, Et anni tui non deficient (Psal. CI, 28). Ibi enim stant anni, hic autem transeunt, imo pereunt: antequam enim veniant, non sunt; cum autem venerint, non erunt, quia cum suo fine veniunt. Horum autem duorum, id est, Dans votum voventi, et benedixit annos justi; unum est quod facimus, alterum quod sumimus. Sed hoc alterum Deo largitore non sumitur, nisi cum ipso adjutore primum illud efficitur: quia non in virtute potens est vir. Dominus infirmum faciet adversarium ejus: illum scilicet qui homini voventi invidet, et resistit, ne valeat implere quod vovit. Potest ex ambiguo graeco intelligi et adversarium suum.

And because in prophecy his voice is recognized, "You will not leave my soul in hell (inferno)" (Psalm 15:10), he led the same one down to hell and brought him back. By this poverty of his we have been enriched. For "the Lord makes poor, and enriches." For that we may know what this is, let us hear what follows: "He humiliates, and exalts"; surely he humiliates the proud, and exalts the humble. For what is read elsewhere, "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble" (James 4:6); this the whole speech of this woman has, whose name is interpreted His Grace (Gratia ejus).

6. Now indeed that which is added, "He raises the poor from the earth": I understand of no one better than of him, who "for us was made poor, though he was rich, that by his poverty," as was said a little before, "we might be enriched" (2 Cor. 8:9). For he raised him from the earth so quickly, that his flesh should not see corruption. Nor will I alienate from him what was added, "And from the dunghill (stercore) he lifts the needy." For the needy is the same as the poor. But the dunghill from whence he was raised, most rightly are understood the Jewish persecutors, in whose number when the Apostle had said he persecuted the Church, "The things which were gains to me," he said, "these I have thought losses for Christ: nor only detriments, but I have also thought them to be dunghills (stercora), that I might gain Christ" (Philipp. 3:7-8). From the earth therefore was that poor man raised above all rich men, and from that dunghill was that needy man lifted above all opulent men: "that he may sit with the powerful of the people," to whom he says, "You shall sit upon twelve seats" (Matth. 19:28). "And giving them the seat of glory for an inheritance." For those powerful ones had said, "Behold we have left all things, and have followed you" (Matth. 19:27), they had vowed this vow most powerfully.

7. But whence is this to them, unless from him of whom it is immediately said here, "Giving a vow to the one who vows"? Otherwise they would be of those powerful ones whose bow was weakened. "Giving," she says, "a vow to the one who vows." For no one would vow anything right to the Lord, unless he who received from him what he should vow. It follows, "And he blessed the years of the just": that he may live, namely, without end with him to whom it was said, "And your years shall not fail" (Psalm 101:28). For there the years stand, but here they pass, or rather perish: for before they come, they are not; and when they have come, they will not be, because they come with their own end. But of these two things, that is, "Giving a vow to the one who vows," and "he blessed the years of the just"; one is what we do, the other what we receive. But this second is not received from God the giver, unless that first one is performed with him as the helper: "because a man is not powerful in strength." The Lord will make his adversary weak: him, namely, who envies the man making a vow, and resists him, lest he be able to fulfill what he vowed. It can be understood from the ambiguous Greek as "his own adversary."

Cum enim Dominus possidere nos coeperit, profecto adversarius qui noster fuerat ipsius fit, et vincitur a nobis; sed non viribus nostris: quia non in virtute potens est vir. Dominus ergo infirmum faciet adversarium suum, Dominus sanctus: ut vincatur a sanctis, quos Dominus sanctus sanctorum effecit sanctos.

8. Ac per hoc, Non glorietur prudens in prudentia sua, et non glorietur potens in potentia sua, et non glorietur dives in divitiis suis: sed in hoc glorietur qui glorietur, intelligere et scire Dominum, et facere judicium et justitiam in medio terrae. Non parva ex parte intelligit et scit Dominum, qui intelligit et scit etiam hoc a Domino sibi dari, ut intelligat et sciat Dominum. Quid enim habes, ait Apostolus, quod non accepisti? Si autem et accepisti, quid gloriaris, quasi non acceperis (I Cor. IV, 7)? Id est, quasi a te ipso tibi sit, unde gloriaris. Facit autem judicium et justitiam, qui recte vivit. Recte autem vivit, qui obtemperat praecipienti Deo: et finis praecepti, id est, ad quod refertur praeceptum, charitas est de corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta (I Tim. I, 5, 15). Porro ista charitas, sicut Joannes apostolus testatur, ex Deo est (I Joan. IV, 7). Facere igitur judicium et justitiam, ex Deo est. Sed quid est, in medio terrae? Neque enim non debent facere judicium et justitiam qui habitant in extremis terrae? quis hoc dixerit? Cur ergo additium est, in medio terrae? Quod si non adderetur, et tantummodo diceretur, facere judicium et justitiam, magis hoc praeceptum ad utrosque homines pertineret, et mediterraneos et maritimos. Sed ne quisquam putaret post finem vitae, quae in hoc agitur corpore, superesse tempus judicium justitiamque faciendi, quam dum esset in carne non fecit, et sic divinum evadi posse judicium; in medio terrae, mihi videtur dictum, cum quisque vivit in corpore. In hac quippe vita suam terram quisque circumfert, quam moriente homine recipit terra communis, resurgenti utique redditura. Proinde in medio terrae, id est, cum anima nostra isto terreno clauditur corpore, faciendum est judicium et justitia, quod nobis prosit in posterum, quando recipiet quisque secundum ea quae per corpus gessit, sive bonum, sive malum (II Cor. V, 10). Per corpus quippe ibi dixit Apostolus, per tempus quo vixit in corpore. Neque enim si quis maligna mente atque impia cogitatione blasphemet, neque id ullis membris corporis operetur, ideo non erit reus, quia id non motu corporis gessit, cum hoc per illud tempus gesserit, quo gesserit et corpus.

For when the Lord begins to possess us, surely the adversary who had been ours becomes his, and is conquered by us; but not by our strengths: "because a man is not powerful in strength." The Lord therefore will make his own adversary weak, the holy Lord: that he may be conquered by the holy ones, whom the holy Lord of holies has made holy.

8. And by this, "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, and let not the powerful man glory in his power, and let not the rich man glory in his riches: but in this let him who glories glory, to understand and to know the Lord, and to do judgment and justice in the middle of the earth." Not in small part does he understand and know the Lord, who understands and knows even this to be given to him by the Lord, that he may understand and know the Lord. "For what do you have," says the Apostle, "that you have not received? But if you have also received, why do you glory, as if you had not received?" (1 Cor. 4:7). That is, as if that from which you glory were to you from yourself. But he does judgment and justice, who lives rightly. But he lives rightly, who obeys God commanding: and "the end of the commandment," that is, to which the commandment is referred, "is charity from a pure heart, and a good conscience, and a faith unfeigned" (1 Tim. 1:5). Furthermore that charity, as the apostle John testifies, "is from God" (1 John 4:7). To do judgment and justice, therefore, is from God. But what is, "in the middle of the earth"? For surely those who dwell in the ends of the earth ought not to fail to do judgment and justice? who would say this? Why then is it added, "in the middle of the earth"? For if it were not added, and it were only said, "to do judgment and justice," this commandment would rather pertain to both kinds of men, both those of the midlands and those of the coast. But lest anyone should think that after the end of life, which is spent in this body, there remains time for doing judgment and justice, which he did not do while he was in the flesh, and so divine judgment could be escaped; "in the middle of the earth," seems to me to be said, while each one lives in the body. For in this life each one carries about his own earth, which common earth receives when the man dies, surely to be restored to him when he rises. Accordingly "in the middle of the earth," that is, when our soul is enclosed in this earthly body, judgment and justice must be done, which may profit us for the future, when "each one shall receive according to those things which he did through the body, whether good or evil" (2 Cor. 5:10). For "through the body" the Apostle said there, through the time in which he lived in the body. For if anyone should blaspheme with a malignant mind and impious thought, nor work it with any members of the body, he will not therefore be less guilty, because he did not do it by a motion of the body, since he did it through that time in which he also bore the body.

Isto modo congruenter intelligi potest etiam illud quod in Psalmo legitur, Deus autem rex noster ante saecula operatus est salutem in medio terrae (Psal. LXXIII, 12): ut Dominus Jesus accipiatur Deus noster qui est ante saecula, quia per ipsum facta sunt saecula, operatus salutem nostram in medio terrae, cum Verbum caro factum est, et terreno habitavit in corpore (Joan. I, 14).

9. Deinde posteaquam prophetatum est in his verbis Annae, quomodo gloriari debeat qui gloriatur, non in se utique, sed in Domino; propter retributionem quae in die judicii futura est, Dominus, inquit, ascendit in coelos, et tonuit: ipse judicabit extrema terrae, quia justus est. Prorsus ordinem tenuit confessionis fidelium. Ascendit enim in coelum Dominus Christus, et inde venturus est ad vivos et mortuos judicandos. Nam quis ascendit, sicut dicit Apostolus, nisi qui et descendit in inferiores partes terrae? Qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes coelos, ut adimpleret omnia (Ephes. IV, 9 et 10.) Per nubes ergo suas tonuit, quas Spiritu sancto, cum ascendisset, implevit. De quibus ancillae Jerusalem, hoc est ingratae vineae, comminatus est apud Isaiam prophetam, ne pluant super eam imbrem (Isai. V, 6). Sic autem dictum est, Ipse judicabit extrema terrae: ac si diceretur, Etiam extrema terrae. Non enim alias partes non judicabit, qui omnes homines procul dubio judicabit. Sed melius intelliguntur extrema terrae, extrema hominis: quoniam non judicabuntur, quae in melius vel in deterius medio tempore commutantur, sed in quibus extremis inventus fuerit qui judicabitur. Propter quod dictum est, Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit (Matth. X, 22). Qui ergo perseveranter facit judicium et justitiam in medio terrae, non damnabitur, cum judicabuntur extrema terrae. Et dat, inquit, virtutem regibus nostris: ut non eos judicando condemnet. Dat eis virtutem, qua carnem sicut reges regant, et in illo mundum, qui propter eos fudit sanguinem, vincant. Et exaltabit cornu Christi sui. Quomodo Christus exaltabit cornu Christi sui? De quo enim supra dictum est, Dominus ascendit in coelos, et intellectus est Dominus Christus; ipse, sicut hic dicitur, exaltabit cornu Christi sui. Quis ergo est Christus Christi sui? An cornu exaltabit uniuscujusque fidelis sui, sicut ista ipsa in principio hujus hymni ait: Exaltatum est cornu meum in Deo meo? Omnes quippe unctos ejus chrismate, recte christos possumus dicere: quod tamen totum eum suo capite corpus unus est Christus. Haec Anna prophetavit, Samuelis mater, sancti viri, multumque laudati. In quo quidem tunc figurata est mutatio veteris sacerdotii, et nunc impleta, quando infirmata est quae multa erat in filiis, ut novum haberet in Christo sacerdotium sterilis, quae peperit septem.

In this way that also can be congruously understood which is read in the Psalm, "But God our king before the ages has worked salvation in the middle of the earth" (Psalm 73:12): that the Lord Jesus may be accepted as our God who is before the ages, because through him the ages were made, having worked our salvation in the middle of the earth, when the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in an earthly body (John 1:14).

9. Then after it was prophesied in these words of Hannah, how he ought to glory who glories, not in himself namely, but in the Lord; because of the retribution which is to be in the day of judgment, "The Lord," she says, "ascended into the heavens, and thundered: he himself will judge the ends of the earth, because he is just." Truly she held the order of the confession of the faithful. For the Lord Christ ascended into heaven, and from thence he is to come to judge the living and the dead. For "who ascended," as the Apostle says, "unless he who also descended into the lower parts of the earth?" He who descended, he himself is also he who ascended above all heavens, that he might fulfill all things (Ephes. 4:9-10). He thundered therefore through his clouds, which he filled with the Holy Spirit, when he had ascended. Concerning which he threatened the handmaids of Jerusalem, that is the ungrateful vine, in the prophet Isaiah, that they should not rain rain upon it (Isai. 5:6). But so it was said, "He himself will judge the ends of the earth": as if it were said, Even the ends of the earth. For he will not fail to judge other parts, who without doubt will judge all men. But the ends of the earth are better understood as the ends of man: since those things will not be judged which are changed in the meantime for the better or for the worse, but those ends in which he who shall be judged was found. On account of which it was said, "He who shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved" (Matth. 10:22). He therefore who perseveringly does judgment and justice in the middle of the earth, will not be condemned when the ends of the earth shall be judged. "And he gives," she says, "strength to our kings": so that he may not condemn them by judging. He gives them strength, by which they may rule the flesh as kings, and in him may conquer the world, who shed his blood for them. "And he will exalt the horn of his Christ." How will Christ exalt the horn of his Christ? For he of whom it was said above, "The Lord ascended into the heavens," and was understood as the Lord Christ; he himself, as is said here, "will exalt the horn of his Christ." Who then is the Christ of his Christ? Or will he exalt the horn of each one of his faithful, as she herself says in the beginning of this hymn: "My horn is exalted in my God"? For all who are anointed with his chrism, we can rightly call christs: which whole body nevertheless with its head is one Christ. These things Hannah prophesied, the mother of Samuel, a holy man, and much praised. In whom indeed then was figured the change of the old priesthood, and now fulfilled, when she who had many in children was weakened, so that the sterile one who bore seven should have a new priesthood in Christ.

Caput V.

De his quae ad Heli sacerdotem homo Dei prophetico locutus est spiritu, significans sacerdotium, quod secundum Aaron institutum fuerat, auferendum.

1. Sed hoc evidentius ad ipsum Heli sacerdotem missus loquitur homo Dei, cujus quidem nomen tacetur, sed intelligitur officio ministerioque suo sine dubitatione propheta. Sic enim scriptum est: Et venit homo Dei ad Heli, et dixit: Haec dicit Dominus: Revelans revelatus sum ad domum patris tui, cum essent in terra Aegypti servi in domo Pharaonis; et elegi domum patris tui ex omnibus sceptris Israel mihi sacerdotio fungi, ut ascenderent ad altare meum, et incenderent incensum, et portarent Ephod; et dedi domui patris tui omnia quae sunt ignis filiorum Israel in escam. Et utquid respexisti in incensum meum, et in sacrificium meum impudenti oculo, et glorificasti filios tuos super me, benedicere primitias omnis sacrificii in Israel in conspectu meo? Propter hoc haec dicit Dominus Deus Israel: Dixi, Domus tua et domus patris tui transibunt coram me usque in aeternum. Et nunc dicit Dominus: Nequaquam, sed glorificantes me glorificabo; et qui spernit me, spernetur. Ecce dies veniunt, et exterminabo semen tuum et semen domus patris tui, et non erit tibi senior in domo mea omnibus diebus, et virum exterminabo tibi ab altari meo, ut deficiant oculi ejus, et defluat anima ejus; et omnis qui superaverit domus tuae, decidet in gladio virorum. Et hoc tibi signum, quod veniet super duos filios tuos hos, Ophni et Phinees; una die morientur ambo. Et suscitabo mihi sacerdotem fidelem, qui omnia quae in corde meo et quae in anima mea, faciat; et aedificabo ei domum fidelem, et transibit coram Christo meo omnibus diebus. Et erit, qui superaverit in domo tua, veniet adorare ei obolo argenti, dicens: Jacta me in unam partem sacerdotii tui manducare panem (I Reg. II, 27-36).

2. Non est ut dicatur ista prophetia, ubi sacerdotii veteris tanta manifestatione praenuntiata mutatio est, in Samuele fuisse completa. Quanquam enim non esset de alia tribu Samuel, quam quae constituta fuerat a Domino, ut serviret altari; tamen non erat de filiis Aaron, cujus progenies fuerat deputata, unde fierent sacerdotes: ac per hoc in ea quoque re gesta, eadem mutatio, quae per Christum Jesum futura fuerat, adumbrata est:

Chapter V.

Concerning those things which the man of God spoke in a prophetic spirit to the priest Eli, signifying that the priesthood, which had been instituted according to Aaron, was to be taken away.

1. But a man of God, whose name indeed is suppressed, but who is understood without doubt to be a prophet by his office and ministry, speaks this more evidently, being sent to the priest Eli himself. For so it is written: "And a man of God came to Eli, and said: Thus says the Lord: Revealing I was revealed to the house of your father, when they were in the land of Egypt servants in the house of Pharaoh; and I chose the house of your father out of all the sceptres of Israel to perform the priesthood for me, that they might ascend to my altar, and burn incense, and bear the Ephod; and I gave to the house of your father all the things which are of the fire of the children of Israel for food. And why did you look upon my incense, and upon my sacrifice with an impudent eye, and glorified your sons above me, to bless the first-fruits of every sacrifice in Israel in my sight? On account of this, thus says the Lord God of Israel: I said, Your house and the house of your father shall pass before me even unto eternity. And now says the Lord: By no means, but those glorifying me I will glorify; and he who despises me, shall be despised. Behold the days come, and I will exterminate your seed and the seed of the house of your father, and there shall not be to you an elder in my house for all days, and I will exterminate the man from you from my altar, that his eyes may fail, and his soul may flow away; and every one who shall remain of your house, shall fall by the sword of men. And this shall be a sign to you, which shall come upon these two sons of yours, Hophni and Phinehas; in one day they both shall die. And I will raise up to me a faithful priest, who shall do all things which are in my heart and which are in my soul; and I will build for him a faithful house, and he shall pass before my Christ for all days. And it shall be, that he who shall remain in your house, shall come to adore him for an obol of silver, saying: Cast me into one part of your priesthood to eat bread" (1 Sam. 2:27-36).

2. It is not to be said that this prophecy, where the change of the old priesthood was preannounced with such manifestation, was fulfilled in Samuel. For although Samuel was not from another tribe than that which had been established by the Lord to serve the altar, yet he was not of the sons of Aaron, whose progeny had been deputed from whence priests should be made: and by this in that thing also performed, the same change which was to be through Christ Jesus was shadowed forth:

et ad vetus Testamentum proprie, figurate vero pertinebat ad novum, prophetia facti etiam ipsa, non verbi; id scilicet facto significans, quod verbo ad Heli sacerdotem dictum est per Prophetam. Nam fuerunt postea sacerdotes ex genere Aaron, sicut Sadoch et Abiathar regnante David (II Reg. XV), et alii deinceps, antequam tempus veniret, quo ista quae de sacerdotio mutando tanto ante praedicta sunt, effici per Christum oportebat. Quis autem nunc fideli oculo haec intuens non videat esse completa? quandoquidem nullum tabernaculum, nullum templum, nullum altare, nullum sacrificium, et ideo nec ullus sacerdos remansit Judaeis, quibus, ut de semine Aaron ordinaretur, in Dei fuerat lege mandatum. Quod et hic commemoratum est, illo dicente propheta, Haec dicit Dominus Deus Israel: Dixi, Domus tua et domus patris tui transibunt coram me usque in aeternum. Et nunc dicit Dominus: Nequaquam, sed glorificantes me glorificabo; et qui me spernit, spernetur. Quod enim nominat domum patris ejus, non eum de proximo patre dicere, sed de illo Aaron, qui primus sacerdos est institutus, de cujus progenie caeteri sequerentur, superiora demonstrant, ubi ait, Revelatus sum ad domum patris tui, cum essent in terra Aegypti servi in domo Pharaonis, et elegi domum patris tui ex omnibus sceptris Israel, mihi sacerdotio fungi. Quis patrum fuit hujus in illa Aegyptia servitute, unde, cum liberati essent, electus est ad sacerdotium, nisi Aaron? De hujus ergo stirpe isto loco dixit futurum fuisse, ut non essent ulterius sacerdotes: quod jam videmus impletum. Vigilet fides, praesto sunt res, cernuntur, tenentur, et videre nolentium oculis ingeruntur. Ecce, inquit, dies veniunt, et exterminabo semen tuum, et semen domus patris tui, et non erit tibi senior in domo mea omnibus diebus, et virum exterminabo tibi ab altari meo, ut deficiant oculi ejus, et defluat anima ejus. Ecce dies qui praenuntiati sunt, jam venerunt. Nullus sacerdos est secundum ordinem Aaron: et quicumque ex ejus genere est homo, cum videt sacrificium Christianorum toto orbe pollere, sibi autem honorem illum magnum esse subtractum, deficiunt oculi ejus, et defluat anima ejus tabe moeroris.

and to the Old Testament it pertained properly, but figuratively to the New, being also itself a prophecy of deed, not of word; signifying namely by deed that which was said by word to the priest Eli through the Prophet. For there were afterwards priests from the race of Aaron, as Zadok and Abiathar during the reign of David (2 Sam. 15), and others thereafter, before the time should come, in which it behooved those things which were predicted so long before concerning the changing of the priesthood, to be effected through Christ. But who now beholding these things with a faithful eye does not see them to be fulfilled? since no tabernacle, no temple, no altar, no sacrifice, and therefore no priest has remained to the Jews, to whom it had been commanded in the law of God that he should be ordained from the seed of Aaron. Which also was commemorated here, that prophet saying, "Thus says the Lord God of Israel: I said, Your house and the house of your father shall pass before me even unto eternity." And now says the Lord: By no means, but those glorifying me I will glorify; and he who despises me, shall be despised. For that he names the house of his father, he does not speak of his immediate father, but of that Aaron, who was first instituted as priest, from whose progeny the others should follow, as the previous words demonstrate, where he says, "I was revealed to the house of your father, when they were in the land of Egypt servants in the house of Pharaoh, and I chose the house of your father out of all the sceptres of Israel, to perform the priesthood for me." Who of the fathers of this man was in that Egyptian servitude, from whence, when they had been liberated, he was chosen to the priesthood, unless Aaron? Concerning the stock of this man therefore he said in this place that it would come to pass that they would no longer be priests: which we now see fulfilled. Let faith be vigilant, the things are at hand, they are discerned, they are held, and they are thrust upon the eyes of those unwilling to see. "Behold," he says, "days come, and I will exterminate your seed, and the seed of the house of your father, and there shall not be to you an elder in my house for all days, and I will exterminate the man from you from my altar, that his eyes may fail, and his soul may flow away." Behold the days which were preannounced have already come. There is no priest according to the order of Aaron: and whatever man is of his race, when he sees the sacrifice of Christians flourish in the whole world, but that great honor to have been withdrawn from himself, his eyes fail, and his soul flows away with the wasting of grief.

3. Proprie autem ad hujus domum Heli, cui haec dicebantur, quod sequitur pertinet: Et omnis qui superaverit domus tuae, decidet in gladio virorum. Et hoc tibi signum, quod veniet super duos filios tuos hos, Ophni et Phinees; die uno morientur ambo. Hoc ergo signum factum est mutandi sacerdotii de domo hujus, quo signo significatum est mutandum sacerdotium domus Aaron. Mors quippe filiorum hujus significavit mortem, non hominum, sed ipsius sacerdotii de filiis Aaron. Quod autem sequitur, ad illum jam pertinet sacerdotem, cujus figuram gessit huic succedendo Samuel. Proinde quae sequuntur, de Christo Jesu, novi Testamenti vero sacerdote, dicuntur: Et suscitabo mihi sacerdotem fidelem, qui omnia quae in corde meo et quae in anima mea, faciat; et aedificabo ei domum fidelem. Ipsa est aeterna et superna Jerusalem. Et transibit, inquit, coram Christo meo omnibus diebus. Transibit, dixit, conversabitur: sicut superius dixerat de domo Aaron, Dixi, Domus tua et domus patris tui transibunt coram me in aeternum. Quod autem ait, coram Christo meo transibit; de ipsa domo utique intelligendum est, non de illo sacerdote, qui est Christus ipse Mediator atque Salvator. Domus ergo ejus coram illo transibit. Potest et transibit intelligi de morte ad vitam, omnibus diebus, quibus peragitur usque in finem saeculi hujus ista mortalitas. Quod autem ait Deus, Qui omnia quae in corde meo, et quae in anima mea, faciat; non arbitremur habere animam Deum, cum sit conditor animae: sed ita hoc de Deo tropice, non proprie, dicitur, sicut manus et pedes et alia corporis membra. Et, ne secundum hoc credatur homo in carnis hujus effigie factus ad imaginem Dei, adduntur et alae, quas utique non habet homo; et dicitur Deo, Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me (Psal. XVI, 8): ut intelligant homines de illa ineffabili natura, non propriis, sed translatis rerum vocabulis ista dici.

4. Quod vero adjungitur, Et erit, qui superaverit in domo tua, veniet adorare ei: non proprie de domo dicitur hujus Heli, sed illius Aaron, de qua usque ad adventum Jesu Christi homines remanserunt, de quo genere etiam nunc usque non desunt. Nam de illa domo hujus Heli jam supra dictum erat, Et omnis qui superaverit domus tuae, decidet in gladio virorum. Quomodo ergo hic vere dici potuit, Et erit, qui superaverit in domo tua, veniet adorare ei; si illud est verum, quod ultore gladio nemo inde supererit: nisi quia illos intelligi voluit, qui pertinent ad stirpem, sed illius totius sacerdotii secundum ordinem Aaron?

3. But that which follows pertains properly to the house of this Eli, to whom these things were said: "And every one who shall remain of your house, shall fall by the sword of men." "And this shall be a sign to you, which shall come upon these two sons of yours, Hophni and Phinehas; in one day they both shall die." This sign therefore was made of the changing of the priesthood from the house of this man, by which sign it was signified that the priesthood of the house of Aaron was to be changed. For the death of his sons signified the death, not of men, but of the priesthood itself from the sons of Aaron. But that which follows pertains now to that priest, whose figure Samuel bore in succeeding this man. Accordingly the things which follow are said concerning Christ Jesus, the true priest of the New Testament: "And I will raise up to me a faithful priest, who shall do all things which are in my heart and which are in my soul; and I will build for him a faithful house." This is the eternal and supernal Jerusalem. "And he shall pass," he says, "before my Christ for all days." "He shall pass," he said, he shall converse: just as he had said above concerning the house of Aaron, "I said, Your house and the house of your father shall pass before me even unto eternity." But as to what he says, "he shall pass before my Christ"; it is surely to be understood of the house itself, not of that priest, who is Christ himself the Mediator and Savior. His house therefore shall pass before him. "He shall pass" can also be understood as from death to life, for all days in which this mortality is performed even unto the end of this age. But as to what God said, "Who shall do all things which are in my heart and which are in my soul"; let us not suppose that God has a soul, since he is the creator of the soul: but this is said of God tropically, not properly, just as hands and feet and other members of the body. And, lest man should be believed to have been made in the image of God according to this effigy of this flesh, wings are also added, which man surely does not have; and it is said to God, "Protect me under the shadow of your wings" (Psalm 16:8): that men may understand that those things are said of that ineffable nature, not by proper, but by transferred vocabularies of things.

4. But that which is added, "And it shall be, that he who shall remain in your house, shall come to adore him": is not said properly of the house of this Eli, but of that Aaron, from which house men remained even unto the advent of Jesus Christ, of which race even until now they are not lacking. For concerning that house of this Eli it had already been said above, "And every one who shall remain of your house, shall fall by the sword of men." How then could it truly be said here, "And it shall be, that he who shall remain in your house, shall come to adore him"; if that is true, that no one shall remain from thence because of the avenging sword: unless because he wished those to be understood who pertain to the stock, but of that whole priesthood according to the order of Aaron?

Ergo si de illis est praedestinatis reliquiis, de quibus alius propheta dixit, Reliquiae salvae fient (Isai. X, 22); unde et Apostolus, Sic ergo, inquit, et in hoc tempore reliquiae per electionem gratiae salvae factae sunt (Rom. XI, 5); quia de talibus reliquiis bene intelligitur esse de quo dictum est, Qui superaverit in domo tua: profecto credit in Christum; sicut temporibus Apostolorum ex ipsa gente plurimi crediderunt; neque nunc desunt, qui, licet rarissime, tamen credant, et impletur in eis quod hic iste homo Dei continuo secutus adjunxit, Veniet adorare ei obolo argenti: cui adorare, nisi illi summo sacerdoti, qui et Deus est? Neque enim in illo sacerdotio secundum ordinem Aaron, ad hoc veniebant homines ad templum vel altare Dei, ut sacerdotem adorarent. Quid est autem quod ait, obolo argenti, nisi brevitate verbi fidei, de quo commemorat Apostolus dictum, Verbum consummans et brevians faciet Dominus super terram (Rom. IX, 28; Isai. X, 23); Argentum autem pro eloquio poni, Psalmus testis est, ubi canitur: Eloquia Domini eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum (Psal. XI, 7).

5. Quid ergo dicit iste, qui venit adorare sacerdoti Dei et sacerdoti Deo? Jacta me in unam partem sacerdotii tui, manducare panem. Nolo in patrum meorum collocari honore, qui nullus est: jacta me in partem sacerdotii tui. Elegi enim abjectus esse in domo Dei (Psal. LXXXIII, 11): qualecumque et quantulumcumque membrum esse cupio sacerdotii tui. Sacerdotium quippe hic ipsam plebem dicit, cujus plebis ille sacerdos est Mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus. Cui plebi dicit apostolus Petrus, Plebs sancta, regale sacerdotium (I Petr. II, 9). Quamvis nonnulli, sacrificii tui sint interpretati; non, sacerdotii tui: quod nihilominus eumdem significat populum christianum. Unde dicit apostolus Paulus, Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus (I Cor. X, 17). Quod ergo additium est, manducare panem, etiam ipsum sacrificii genus eleganter expressit, de quo dicit sacerdos ipse, Panis quem ego dedero, caro mea est pro saeculi vita (Joan. VI, 52). Ipsum est sacrificium, non secundum ordinem Aaron, sed secundum ordinem Melchisedech: qui legit, intelligat. Brevis itaque ista confessio et salubriter humilis, qua dicitur, Jacta me in partem sacerdotii tui, manducare panem, ipse est obolus argenti; quia et breve est, et eloquium Domini est habitantis in corde credentis. Quia enim dixerat superius dedisse se domui Aaron cibos de victimis veteris Testamenti, ubi ait, Dedi domui patris tui omnia quae sunt ignis filiorum Israel in escam; haec quippe fuerant sacrificia Judaeorum: ideo hic dixit, manducare panem; quod est in novo Testamento sacrificium Christianorum.

Therefore if it is of those predestined remnants, concerning which another prophet said, "The remnants shall be saved" (Isai. 10:22); whence also the Apostle says, "Even so then at this time also there are remnants saved according to the election of grace" (Rom. 11:5); since concerning such remnants it is well understood to be he of whom it was said, "He who shall remain in your house": surely he believes in Christ; as in the times of the Apostles very many from that same nation believed; nor are they lacking now, who, although very rarely, yet believe, and there is fulfilled in them what this man of God immediately followed and added, "He shall come to adore him for an obol of silver": whom to adore, unless that highest priest, who is also God? For in that priesthood according to the order of Aaron, men did not come to the temple or altar of God for this, that they might adore the priest. But what is it that he says, "for an obol of silver," unless for the brevity of the word of faith, concerning which the Apostle commemorates it to have been said, "A finishing and shortening word will the Lord perform upon the earth" (Rom. 9:28; Isai. 10:23)? But that silver is put for speech, the Psalm is a witness, where it is sung: "The speeches of the Lord are chaste speeches, silver examined by fire" (Psalm 11:7).

5. What therefore does he say, who comes to adore the priest of God and the priest God? "Cast me into one part of your priesthood, to eat bread." I do not wish to be placed in the honor of my fathers, which is null: cast me into a part of your priesthood. "For I have chosen to be an abject in the house of God" (Psalm 83:11): I desire to be whatever kind and however small a member of your priesthood. For by priesthood here he calls the people itself, of which people that priest is the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus. To which people the apostle Peter says, "A holy people, a royal priesthood" (1 Peter 2:9). Although some have interpreted "of your sacrifice"; not "of your priesthood": which nevertheless signifies the same Christian people. Whence the apostle Paul says, "One bread, one body we many are" (1 Cor. 10:17). That which he added therefore, "to eat bread," also elegantly expressed the kind of sacrifice itself, concerning which the priest himself says, "The bread which I shall give, is my flesh for the life of the age" (John 6:52). This is the sacrifice, not according to the order of Aaron, but according to the order of Melchizedek: let him who reads understand. Therefore that short and salubriously humble confession, by which it is said, "Cast me into a part of your priesthood, to eat bread," is the obol of silver itself; because it is both short, and it is the speech of the Lord dwelling in the heart of the believer. For because he had said above that he had given to the house of Aaron foods from the victims of the Old Testament, where he says, "I gave to the house of your father all things which are of the fire of the children of Israel for food"; for these had been the sacrifices of the Jews: therefore here he said, "to eat bread"; which is the sacrifice of Christians in the New Testament.

Caput VI.

De Judaico sacerdotio et regno, quae cum in aeternum dicantur statuta, non permanent; ut alia intelligantur, quorum spondetur aeternitas.

1. Cum igitur haec tanta tunc altitudine praenuntiata sint, tanta nunc manifestatione clarescant; non frustra tamen moveri quispiam potest, ac dicere: Quomodo confidimus venire omnia, quae in libris illis ventura praedicta sunt, si hoc ipsum quod ibi divinitus dictum est, Domus tua et domus patris tui transibunt coram me in aeternum, effectum habere non potuit? Quoniam videmus illud sacerdotium fuisse mutatum; et quod illi domui promissum est, nec sperari aliquando complendum: quia illud quod ei reprobato mutatoque succedit, hoc potius praedicatur aeternum. Hoc qui dicit, nondum intelligit, aut non recolit, etiam ipsum secundum ordinem Aaron sacerdotium, tanquam umbram futuri aeterni sacerdotii constitutum: ac per hoc quando ei aeternitas promissa est, non ipsi umbrae ac figurae, sed ei quod per ipsam adumbrabatur figurabaturque, promissum est. Sed ne putaretur ipsa umbra esse mansura, ideo etiam mutatio ejus debuit prophetari.

2. Regnum quoque isto modo etiam Saülis ipsius, qui certe reprobatus atque rejectus est, futuri regni erat umbra in aeternitate mansuri. Oleum quippe illud quo unctus est, et ab eo chrismate christus est dictus, mystice accipiendum, et magnum sacramentum intelligendum est: quod in eo tantum veneratus est ipse David, ut percusso corde pavitaverit, quando in tenebroso occultatus antro, quo etiam Saül urgente intraverat necessitate naturae, exiguam particulam vestis ejus retrorsum latenter abscidit, ut haberet unde monstraret, quomodo ei pepercerit, cum posset occidere; atque ita suspicionem de animo ejus, qua sanctum David putans inimicum suum vehementer persequebatur, auferret. Ne itaque reus esset tanti sacramenti in Saüle violati, quia vel indumentum ejus sic attrectavit, extimuit. Ita enim scriptum est: Et percussit cor David super eum, quia abstulit pinnulam chlamydis ejus. Viris autem, qui cum illo erant, et ut Saülem in manus suas traditum interimeret suadebant, Non mihi, inquit, contingat a Domino, si fecero hoc verbum domino meo christo Domini, inferre manum meam super eum; quia christus Domini est hic (I Reg. XXIV, 6, 7). Huic ergo umbrae futuri non propter ipsam, sed propter illud quod praefigurabat, tanta veneratio exhibebatur.

Chapter VI.

Concerning the Jewish priesthood and kingdom, which although they are said to be established forever, do not remain; so that others may be understood, whose eternity is pledged.

1. Since therefore these things were then preannounced with such depth, and now shine with such manifestation; yet not in vain can anyone be moved, and say: How do we trust that all things shall come, which are predicted in those books to be about to come, if this very thing which was divinely said there, "Your house and the house of your father shall pass before me forever," could not have effect? Since we see that priesthood to have been changed; and that which was promised to that house, is not even hoped to be fulfilled at any time: because that which succeeds it being rejected and changed, this rather is preached as eternal. He who says this, does not yet understand, or does not recall, that even the priesthood itself according to the order of Aaron was established as a shadow of the future eternal priesthood: and by this when eternity was promised to it, it was promised not to the shadow and figure itself, but to that which was shadowed and figured through it. But lest the shadow itself should be thought to be about to remain, therefore its change also ought to have been prophesied.

2. The kingdom also of Saul himself, who was certainly reprobated and rejected, was in this way a shadow of the future kingdom which is to remain in eternity. For that oil with which he was anointed, and from that chrism was called christ, is to be accepted mystically, and understood as a great sacrament: which in him David himself so much venerated, that he trembled with a smitten heart, when being hidden in a dark cave, which Saul also had entered urged by a necessity of nature, he secretly cut off a small part of his garment from behind, that he might have whence he might show how he spared him, when he could have killed him; and so might remove the suspicion from his mind, by which thinking holy David to be his enemy he was vehemently persecuting him. Lest therefore he should be guilty of violating so great a sacrament in Saul, because he had even so touched his clothing, he was afraid. For so it is written: "And the heart of David smote him, because he had taken away the flap of his cloak." But to the men who were with him, and were persuading him that he should kill Saul delivered into his hands, "May it not happen to me," he said, "from the Lord, if I shall do this word to my lord the Lord's christ, to lay my hand upon him; because he is the Lord's christ here" (1 Sam. 24:6-7). To this shadow of the future, therefore, not on account of itself, but on account of that which it prefigured, so great a veneration was exhibited.

Unde et illud quod ait Saüli Samuel, Quoniam non servasti mandatum meum, quod mandavit tibi Dominus; quemadmodum nunc paraverat Dominus regnum tuum usque in aeternum super Israel, et nunc regnum tuum non stabit tibi; et quaeret Dominus sibi hominem secundum cor suum, et mandabit ei Dominus esse in principem super populum suum; quia non custodisti quae mandavit tibi Dominus (Id. XIII, 13, 14): non sic accipiendum est, ac si ipsum Saülem Deus in aeternum praeparaverit regnaturum, et hoc postea noluerit servare peccanti; neque enim eum peccaturum esse nesciebat: sed praeparaverat regnum ejus, in quo figura esset regni aeterni. Ideo addidit, Et nunc regnum tuum non stabit tibi. Stetit ergo, et stabit, quod in illo significatum est: sed non huic stabit, quia non in aeternum ipse fuerat regnaturus, nec progenies ejus, ut saltem per posteros alterum alteri succedentes videretur impleri quod dictum est, in aeternum. Et quaeret, inquit, Dominus sibi hominem: sive David, sive ipsum Mediatorem significans Testamenti novi, qui figurabatur in chrismate etiam quo unctus est ipse David et progenies ejus. Non autem quasi nesciat ubi sit, ita Deus sibi hominem quaerit: sed per hominem more hominum loquitur; quia et sic loquendo nos quaerit. Non solum enim Deo Patri, verum etiam ipsi quoque Unigenito ejus, qui venit quaerere quod perierat (Luc. XIX, 10), usque adeo jam eramus noti, ut in ipso essemus electi ante constitutionem mundi (Ephes. I, 4). Quaeret sibi ergo dixit, suum habebit. Unde in latina lingua hoc verbum accipit praepositionem, et, Acquirit, dicitur: quod satis apertum est quid significet. Quanquam et sine additamento praepositionis Quaerere intelligatur Acquirere: ex quo lucra vocantur et quaestus.

Caput VII.

De disruptione regni Israelitici, qua praefiguratur perpetua divisio Israelis spiritualis ab Israele carnali.

1. Rursus peccavit Saül per inobedientem, et rursus Samuel ait illi in verbo Domini: Quia sprevisti verbum Domini, sprevit te Dominus, ut non sis rex super Israel. Et rursus pro eodem peccato, cum id confiteretur Saül, et veniam precaretur, rogaretque Samuelem, ut reverteretur cum illo ad placandum Deum: Non revertar, inquit, tecum; quia sprevisti verbum Domini, et spernet te Dominus, ne sis rex super Israel. Et convertit Samuel faciem suam, ut abiret: et tenuit Saül pinnulam diploidis ejus, et disrupit eam.

Whence also that which Samuel said to Saul, "Since you have not kept my commandment, which the Lord commanded you; just as now the Lord had prepared your kingdom even forever over Israel, and now your kingdom shall not stand for you; and the Lord will seek for himself a man according to his heart, and the Lord will command him to be for a prince over his people; because you have not guarded the things which the Lord commanded you" (Id. 13:13-14): is not to be accepted so as if God had prepared Saul himself to reign forever, and afterwards would not keep this for him when he sinned; for he was not ignorant that he would sin: but he had prepared his kingdom, in which there was a figure of the eternal kingdom. Therefore he added, "And now your kingdom shall not stand for you." That therefore stood, and shall stand, which was signified in him: but it shall not stand for this man, because he himself was not to reign forever, nor his progeny, so that at least through posterity succeeding one another it might seem to be fulfilled what was said, "forever." "And the Lord will seek," he says, "for himself a man": signifying either David, or the Mediator himself of the New Testament, who was figured in the chrism even with which David himself and his progeny were anointed. But not as if he is ignorant where he is, does God so seek for himself a man: but he speaks through a man in the manner of men; because even by so speaking he seeks us. For not only to God the Father, but even also to his only-begotten himself, who came to seek that which had perished (Luke 19:10), we were already known to such a degree, that in him we were chosen before the constitution of the world (Ephes. 1:4). "He will seek for himself" therefore he said, he will have as his own. Whence in the Latin language this word receives a preposition, and, "Acquires" (Acquirit), it is called: which is open enough what it signifies. Although even without the addition of the preposition "to seek" (Quaerere) may be understood as "to acquire" (Acquirit): from whence gains are called "lucre" (lucra) and "quest" (quaestus).

Chapter VII.

Concerning the disruption of the Israelite kingdom, by which is prefigured the perpetual division of spiritual Israel from carnal Israel.

1. Again Saul sinned through disobedience, and again Samuel said to him in the word of the Lord: "Because you have despised the word of the Lord, the Lord has despised you, that you should not be king over Israel." And again for the same sin, when Saul confessed it, and prayed for pardon, and asked Samuel that he would return with him to placate God: "I will not return," he said, "with you; because you have despised the word of the Lord, and the Lord will despise you, lest you should be king over Israel. And Samuel turned his face, that he might go away: and Saul held the flap of his cloak (diploidis), and tore it.

Et dixit ad eum Samuel, Disrupit Dominus regnum ab Israel de manu tua hodie, et dabit proximo tuo bono super te, et dividetur Israel in duo: et non convertetur, neque poenitebit eum; quoniam non est sicut homo, ut poeniteat eum: ipse minatur, et non permanet (I Reg. XV, 23-29). Iste cui dicitur, Spernet Dominus, ne sis rex super Israel; et, Disrupit Dominus regnum ab Israel de manu tua hodie; quadraginta annos regnavit super Israel, tanto scilicet spatio temporis, quanto et ipse David, et audivit hoc primo tempore regni sui: ut intelligamus ideo dictum, quia nullus de stirpe ejus fuerat regnaturus; et respiciamus ad stirpem David, unde exortus est secundum carnem Mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus.

2. Non autem habet Scriptura, quod in plerisque latinis codicibus legitur, Disrupit Dominus regnum Israel de manu tua; sed sicut a nobis positum est inventum in graecis, Disrupit Dominus regnum ab Israel de manu tua: ut hoc intelligatur, de manu tua; quod est, ab Israel. Populi ergo Israel personam figurate gerebat homo iste, qui populus regnum fuerat amissurus, Christo Jesu Domino nostro per novum Testamentum, non carnaliter, sed spiritualiter regnaturo. De quo cum dicitur, Et dabit illud proximo tuo, ad carnis cognationem id refertur: ex Israel enim Christus secundum carnem, unde et Saül. Quod vero additum est, bono super te, potest quidem intelligi, meliori te; nam et quidam sic sunt interpretati: sed melius sic accipitur, bono super te, ut quia ille bonus est, ideo sit super te, juxta illud aliud propheticum, Donec ponam omnes inimicos tuos sub pedibus tuis (Psal. CIX, 1). In quibus est et Israel, cui suo persecutori regnum abstulit Christus. Quamvis fuerit illic et Israel, in quo dolus non erat (Joan. I, 47), quoddam quasi frumentum illarum palearum. Nam utique inde erant Apostoli, inde tot martyres, quorum prior Stephanus; inde tot Ecclesiae, quas apostolus Paulus commemorat, in conversione ejus magnificantes Deum (Galat. I, 24).

3. De qua re non dubito intelligendum esse quod sequitur, Et dividetur Israel in duo: in Israel scilicet inimicum Christo, et Israel adhaerentem Christo; in Israel ad ancillam, et Israel ad liberam pertinentem. Nam ista duo genera primum simul erant, velut Abraham adhuc adhaereret ancillae, donec sterilis per Christi gratiam fecundata clamaret, Ejice ancillam et filium ejus (Gen. XXI, 10).

And Samuel said to him, The Lord has disrupted the kingdom from Israel from your hand today, and will give it to your neighbor who is good above you, and Israel shall be divided into two: and he shall not be turned, nor shall he repent; since he is not like a man, that he should repent: he himself threatens, and does not remain (1 Sam. 15:23-29). This man to whom it is said, "The Lord will despise you, lest you be king over Israel"; and, "The Lord has disrupted the kingdom from Israel from your hand today"; reigned forty years over Israel, namely for as much space of time as David himself, and he heard this in the first time of his reign: so that we may understand it to have been said for this reason, because no one of his stock was to reign; and we may look back to the stock of David, whence according to the flesh arose the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus.

2. But the Scripture does not have what is read in most Latin codices, "The Lord has disrupted the kingdom of Israel from your hand"; but as it has been placed by us found in the Greek, "The Lord has disrupted the kingdom from Israel from your hand": so that this may be understood, "from your hand"; which is, "from Israel." This man therefore figuratively bore the person of the people of Israel, which people was to lose the kingdom, when Christ Jesus our Lord was to reign through the New Testament, not carnally, but spiritually. Concerning whom when it is said, "And he will give it to your neighbor," it is referred to the kinship of the flesh: for from Israel was Christ according to the flesh, whence also was Saul. But that which was added, "good above you," can indeed be understood as "better than you"; for some have also so interpreted it: but it is better so accepted, "good above you," that because he is good, therefore he is above you, according to that other prophetic word, "Until I place all your enemies under your feet" (Psalm 109:1). Among whom is also Israel, from which, his persecutor, Christ took away the kingdom. Although there was also there an "Israel in whom there was no guile" (John 1:47), a certain kind as it were of grain of those chaffs. For surely from thence were the Apostles, from thence so many martyrs, of whom Stephen was the first; from thence so many Churches, which the apostle Paul commemorates, magnifying God in his conversion (Galat. 1:24).

3. Concerning which matter I do not doubt that that which follows is to be understood, "And Israel shall be divided into two": into Israel namely the enemy to Christ, and Israel adhering to Christ; into Israel pertaining to the handmaid, and Israel pertaining to the free woman. For those two kinds were first together, as if Abraham were still adhering to the handmaid, until the sterile one fecundated through the grace of Christ should cry out, "Cast out the handmaid and her son" (Gen. 21:10).

Propter peccatum quidem Salomonis regnante filio ejus Roboam, scimus Israel in duo fuisse divisum, atque ita perseverasse, habentibus singulis partibus reges suos, donec illa gens tota a Chaldaeis esset ingenti vastatione subversa atque translata. Sed hoc quid ad Saülem, cum si tale aliquid comminandum esset, ipsi David fuerit potius comminandum, cujus erat filius Salomon? Postremo nunc inter se gens Hebraea divisa non est, sed indifferenter in ejusdem erroris societate dispersa per terras. Divisio vero illa, quam Deus sub persona Saülis, illius regni et populi figuram gerentis, eidem regno populoque minatus est, aeterna atque immutabilis significata est, per hoc quod adjunctum est, Et non convertetur, neque poenitebit eum; quoniam non est sicut homo, ut poeniteat eum: ipse minatur, et non permanet: id est, homo minatur, et non permanet; non autem Deus, quem non poenitet, sicut hominem. Ubi enim legitur quod poeniteat eum, mutatio rerum significatur, immutabili praescientia manente divina. Ubi ergo non poenitere dicitur, non mutare intelligitur.

4. Prorsus insolubilem videmus per haec verba prolatam divinitus fuisse sententiam de ista divisione populi Israel, et omnino perpetuam. Quicumque enim ad Christum transierunt, vel transeunt, vel transibunt inde, non erant inde secundum Dei praescientiam, non secundum generis humani unam eamdemque naturam. Prorsus quicumque ex Israelitis adhaerentes Christo perseverant in illo, nunquam erunt cum eis Israelitis, qui ejus inimici usque in finem vitae hujus esse persistunt: sed in divisione, quae hic praenuntiata est, perpetuo permanebunt. Nihil enim prodest Testamentum vetus de monte Sina in servitutem generans (Galat. IV, 24), nisi quia testimonium perhibet Testamento novo. Alioquin quamdiu legitur Moyses, velamen super corda eorum positum est: cum autem quisque inde transierit ad Christum, auferetur velamen (I Cor. III, 15 et 16). Transeuntium quippe intentio ipsa mutatur de vetere ad novum; ut non jam quisque intendat accipere carnalem, sed spiritualem felicitatem. Propter quod ipse magnus propheta Samuel, antequam unxisset regem Saül, quando exclamavit ad Dominum pro Israel, et exaudivit eum; et cum offerret holocaustosim, accedentiibus alienigenis ad pugnam contra populum Dei, tonuit Dominus super eos, et confusi sunt, et offenderunt coram Israel, atque superati sunt: assumpsit lapidem unum, et statuit illum inter Massephat novam et veterem, et vocavit nomen ejus Abennezer, quod est latine Lapis adjutoris: et dixit, Usque huc adjuvit nos Dominus (I Reg. VII, 5-12). Massephat interpretatur Intentio.

On account of the sin of Solomon indeed, during the reign of his son Rehoboam, we know Israel to have been divided into two, and to have so persevered, each part having its own kings, until that whole nation was subverted and translated by the Chaldeans with a huge devastation. But what is this to Saul, since if something such were to be threatened, it should rather have been threatened to David himself, whose son Solomon was? Finally, the Hebrew nation is not now divided among itself, but is dispersed indifferently through the lands in the society of the same error. But that division, which God under the person of Saul, bearing the figure of that kingdom and people, threatened to the same kingdom and people, was signified as eternal and immutable, by this which was added, "And he shall not be turned, nor shall he repent; since he is not like a man, that he should repent: he himself threatens, and does not remain": that is, a man threatens, and does not remain; but not God, whom it does not repent, like a man. For where it is read that it repents him, a change of things is signified, the immutable divine foreknowledge remaining. Where therefore it is said not to repent, it is understood not to change.

4. We see an altogether insoluble sentence divinely brought forth through these words concerning that division of the people of Israel, and altogether perpetual. For whoever have passed over to Christ, or pass over, or shall pass over from thence, they were not from thence according to the foreknowledge of God, not according to the one and the same nature of the human race. Altogether whoever from the Israelites adhering to Christ persevere in him, will never be with those Israelites who persist in being his enemies even unto the end of this life: but they will remain perpetually in the division which is here preannounced. For the Old Testament from mount Sinai generating unto servitude profits nothing (Galat. 4:24), unless because it provides testimony to the New Testament. Otherwise as long as Moses is read, a veil is placed over their hearts: but when each one shall pass over from thence to Christ, the veil shall be taken away (2 Cor. 3:15-16). For the intention itself of those passing over is changed from the old to the new; so that each one may no longer intend to receive carnal, but spiritual happiness. Because of which the great prophet Samuel himself, before he had anointed king Saul, when he cried out to the Lord for Israel, and he heard him; and when he was offering a holocaust, the foreigners approaching for battle against the people of God, the Lord thundered over them, and they were confounded, and they stumbled before Israel, and were overcome: he took one stone, and set it between the new and the old Mizpah (Massephat), and called its name Ebenezer (Abennezer), which is in Latin Stone of the helper: and said, "Hitherto the Lord has helped us" (1 Sam. 7:5-12). Mizpah (Massephat) is interpreted Intention.

Lapis ille adjutoris medietas est Salvatoris, per quem transeundum est a Massephat vetere ad novam, id est, ab intentione qua exspectabatur in carnali regno beatitudo falsa carnalis, ad intentionem qua per novum Testamentum exspectatur in regno coelorum beatitudo verissima spiritualis: qua quoniam nihil est melius, huc usque adjuvat Deus.

CAPUT VIII.---De promissionibus ad David in filio ejus, quae nullatenus in Salomone, sed plenissime inveniuntur in Christo. 1. Jam nunc video esse monstrandum quid ipsi David, qui Saüli successit in regnum, cujus mutatione finalis illa mutatio figurata est, propter quam divinitus cuncta dicta, cuncta conscripta sunt, Deus promiserit, quod ad rem qua de agimus pertinet. Cum regi David multa prospera provenissent, cogitavit facere Deo domum, templum illud scilicet excellentissime diffamatum, quod a rege Salomone filio ejus postea fabricatum est. Hoc eo cogitante, factum est verbum Domini ad Nathan prophetam, quod perferret ad regem. Ubi cum dixisset Deus quod non ab ipso David sibi aedificaretur domus, neque per tantum tempus se mandasse cuiquam in populo suo, ut sibi fieret domus cedrina: Et nunc, inquit, haec dices servo meo David: Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens: Accepi te de ovili ovium, ut esses in ducem super populum meum in Israel, et eram tecum in omnibus quibus ingrediebaris, et exterminavi omnes inimicos tuos a facie tua, et feci te nominatum secundum nomen magnorum qui sunt super terram: et ponam locum populo meo Israel, et plantabo illum, et inhabitabit seorsum, et non sollicitus erit ultra; et non apponet filius iniquitatis humiliare eum, sicut ab initio a diebus quibus constitui judices super populum meum Israel. Et requiem tibi dabo ab omnibus inimicis tuis: et nuntiabit tibi Dominus, quoniam domum aedificabis ipsi. Et erit cum repleti fuerint dies tui, et dormies cum patribus tuis, et suscitabo semen tuum post te, qui erit de ventre tuo, et praeparabo regnum ejus. Hic aedificabit mihi domum nomini meo, et dirigam thronum illius usque in aeternum. Ego ero illi in patrem, et ille erit mihi in filium. Et si venerit iniquitas ejus, redarguam illum in virga virorum, et in tactibus filiorum hominum: misericordiam autem meam non amoveam ab eo, sicut amovi a quibus amovi a facie mea : et fidelis erit domus ejus, et regnum ejus usque in aeternum coram me, et thronus ejus erit erectus usque in aeternum (II Reg. VII, 8-16).

That stone of the helper is the mediation of the Savior, through whom one must pass from the old Mizpah to the new, that is, from the intention by which false carnal bliss was expected in a carnal kingdom, to the intention by which through the New Testament the truest spiritual bliss is expected in the kingdom of heavens: because since nothing is better than this, God helps us hitherto.

CHAPTER VIII.---On the promises to David in his son, which are by no means found in Solomon, but most fully in Christ. 1. Now I see that it must be shown what God promised to David himself, who succeeded Saul in the kingdom—whose change figured that final change for the sake of which all things were divinely spoken and all things written—which pertains to the matter of which we are treating. When many prosperous things had happened to King David, he thought to make a house for God, namely that most excellently renowned temple which was afterwards built by King Solomon his son. While he was thinking this, the word of the Lord came to Nathan the prophet, which he should carry to the king. Where, when God had said that a house should not be built for Him by David himself, nor had He commanded anyone among His people for so long a time that a house of cedar should be made for Him: "And now," He said, "thus shall you say to my servant David: Thus says the Lord Almighty: I took you from the sheepfold, that you should be a leader over my people in Israel, and I was with you in all things in which you walked, and I exterminated all your enemies from before your face, and I made you named according to the name of the great ones who are upon the earth: and I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and I will plant them, and they shall dwell apart, and they shall be solicitous no further; and the son of iniquity shall not add to humiliate them, as from the beginning from the days in which I constituted judges over my people Israel. And I will give you rest from all your enemies: and the Lord will announce to you, that you shall build a house for Him. And it shall be when your days are fulfilled, and you sleep with your fathers, and I will raise up your seed after you, who shall be of your womb, and I will prepare his kingdom. He shall build a house for me to my name, and I will direct his throne even unto eternity. I will be to him for a father, and he shall be to me for a son. And if his iniquity shall come, I will rebuke him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the sons of men: but my mercy I will not remove from him, as I removed it from those from whom I removed it from before my face: and his house shall be faithful, and his kingdom even unto eternity before me, and his throne shall be erected even unto eternity" (2 Sam. 7:8-16).

2. Hanc tam grandem promissionem qui putat in Salomone fuisse completam, multum errat. Attendit enim quod dictum est, Hic aedificabit mihi domum; quoniam Salomon templum illud nobile exstruxit: et non attendit, Fidelis erit domus ejus, et regnum ejus usque in aeternum coram me. Attendat ergo et aspiciat Solomonis domum plenam mulieribus alienigenis colentibus deos falsos, et ipsum ab eis regem aliquando sapientem in eamdem idololatriam seductum atque dejectum: et non audeat existimare Deum vel hoc promisisse mendaciter, vel talem Salomonem domumque ejus futuram non potuisse praescire. Non hinc autem deberemus ambigere, nec si non in Christo Domino nostro, qui factus est ex semine David secundum carnem (Rom. I, 3), jam videremus ista compleri; ne vane atque inaniter hic alium aliquem requiramus, sicut carnales Judaei. Nam et ipsi usque adeo filium, quem loco isto regi David promissum legunt, intelligunt non fuisse Salomonem, ut eo qui promissus est tanta jam manifestatione declarato adhuc mirabili caecitate alium sperare se dicant. Facta est quidem nonnulla imago rei futurae etiam in Salomone, in eo quod templum aedificavit, et pacem habuit secundum nomen suum (Salomon quippe Pacificus est latine), et in exordio regni sui mirabiliter laudabilis fuit: sed eadem sua persona per umbram futuri praenuntiabat etiam ipse Christum Dominum nostrum, non exhibebat. Unde quaedam de illo ita scripta sunt, quasi de ipso ista praedicta sint, dum Scriptura sancta etiam rebus gestis prophetans, quodammodo in eo figuram delineat futurorum. Nam praeter libros divinae historiae, ubi regnasse narratur, Psalmus etiam septuagesimus primus titulo nominis ejus inscriptus est: in quo tam multa dicuntur, quae omnino ei convenire non possunt, Domino autem Christo aptissima perspicuitate conveniunt, ut evidenter appareat, quod in illo figura qualiscumque adumbrata sit, in isto autem ipsa veritas praesentata. Notum est enim quibus terminis regnum conclusum fuerit Salomonis: et tamen in eo psalmo legitur, ut alia taceam, Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrae (Psal. LXXI, 8); quod in Christo videmus impleri. A flumine quippe dominandi sumpsit exordium, ubi baptizatus a Joanne, eodem monstrante coepit agnosci a discipulis, qui eum non solum magistrum, verum etiam Dominum appellaverunt .

3. Nec ob aliud, vivente adhuc patre suo David, regnare Salomon coepit, quod nulli illorum regum contigit, nisi ut hinc quoque satis eluceat non esse ipsum, quem prophetia ista praesignat , quae ad ejus patrem loquitur, dicens: Et erit, cum repleti fuerint dies tui, et dormies cum patribus tuis, et suscitabo semen tuum post te, qui erit de ventre tuo, et praeparabo regnum illius.

2. He who thinks that this so great a promise was fulfilled in Solomon, errs much. For he attends to what was said, "He shall build a house for me"; since Solomon built that noble temple: and he does not attend to, "His house shall be faithful, and his kingdom even unto eternity before me." Let him therefore attend and behold Solomon's house full of foreign women worshipping false gods, and the king himself, once wise, seduced and cast down by them into the same idolatry: and let him not dare to think either that God promised this falsely, or that He could not have foreknown that such would be Solomon and his house. But we should not doubt from this, even if we did not already see these things being fulfilled in Christ our Lord, who was made from the seed of David according to the flesh (Rom. 1:3); lest we vainly and fruitlessly seek someone else here, like the carnal Jews. For even they understand to such a degree that the son who is read as promised in this place to King David was not Solomon, that although he who was promised has already been declared with such manifestation, they still say by a wonderful blindness that they hope for another. A certain image of the future thing was indeed made even in Solomon, in that he built the temple, and had peace according to his name (for Solomon is "Peaceful" in Latin), and in the beginning of his reign he was wonderfully laudable: but his person itself through the shadow of the future was also announcing Christ our Lord, not exhibiting Him. Whence certain things were so written about him, as if these things were predicted about him himself, while Holy Scripture, prophesying even by things done, in a certain way delineates in him the figure of future things. For besides the books of divine history, where he is narrated to have reigned, the seventy-first Psalm is also inscribed with the title of his name: in which so many things are said which can by no means suit him, but suit the Lord Christ with most fitting perspicuity, so that it clearly appears that in the former a figure of some kind was shadowed forth, but in the latter the truth itself was presented. For it is known by what boundaries the kingdom of Solomon was enclosed: and yet in that psalm it is read, to say nothing of other things, "He shall rule from sea even unto sea, and from the river even unto the ends of the orb of the earth" (Psalm 72:8); which we see fulfilled in Christ. For from the river He took the beginning of His ruling, where, baptized by John, he began to be recognized by his disciples as the same one pointed out, who called Him not only Teacher, but also Lord.

3. Nor for any other reason did Solomon begin to reign while his father David was still living, which happened to none of those kings, except that from this also it might be sufficiently clear that it is not he himself whom this prophecy prefigures, which speaks to his father, saying: "And it shall be, when your days are fulfilled, and you sleep with your fathers, and I will raise up your seed after you, who shall be of your womb, and I will prepare his kingdom."

Quomodo ergo propter id quod sequitur, Hic aedificabit mihi domum, iste Salomon putabitur prophetatus: et non potius propter id quod praecedit, Cum repleti fuerint dies tui, et dormies cum patribus tuis, suscitabo semen tuum post te, alius pacificus intelligitur esse promissus, qui non ante, sicut iste, sed post mortem David praenuntiatus est suscitandus? Quamlibet enim longo interposito tempore Jesus Christus venireet, procul dubio post mortem regis David, cui sic est promissus, eum venire oportebat, qui aedificaret domum Deo, non de lignis et lapidibus, sed de hominibus, qualem illum aedificare gaudemus. Huic enim domui dicit Apostolus, hoc est, fidelibus Christi: Templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos (I Cor. III, 17).

CAPUT IX.---Quam similis in Psalmo octogesimo octavo sit prophetia de Christo, his quae in Regnorum libris Nathan prophetante promittuntur. Propter quod et in Psalmo octogesimo et octavo, cujus est titulus, Intellectus ipsi Aethan Israelitae, commemorantur promissiones Dei factae regi David, et istis, quae in libro Regnorum sunt posita, quaedam ibi similia dicuntur; sicut est: Juravi David servo meo: Usque in aeternum praeparabo semen tuum. Et iterum: Tunc locutus es in aspectu filiis tuis, et dixisti: Posui adjutorium super potentem, et exaltavi electum de populo meo. Inveni David servum meum, in oleo sancto meo unxi eum. Manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei, et brachium meum confortabit eum. Non proficiet inimicus in eo, et filius iniquitatis non apponet nocere ei. Et concidam inimicos ejus a facie ejus, et eos qui oderunt eum, fugabo. Et veritas mea et misericordia mea cum ipso, et in nomine meo exaltabitur cornu ejus. Et ponam in mari manum ejus, et in fluminibus dexteram ejus. Ipse invocabit me: Pater meus es tu, Deus meus et susceptor salutis meae. Et ego primogenitum ponam illum, excelsum apud reges terrae. In aeternum servabo illi misericordiam meam, et testamentum meum fidele ipsi. Et ponam in saeculum saeculi semen ejus , et thronum ejus sicut dies coeli (Psal. LXXXVIII, 4, 5, 20-30). Quae omnia de Domino Jesu intelliguntur, quando recte intelliguntur, sub nomine David, propter formam servi, quam de semine David idem Mediator assumpsit ex virgine.

Continuo etiam dicitur de peccatis filiorum ejus tale aliquid, quale in Regnorum libro positum est, et quasi de Salomone proclivius accipitur. Ibi namque, hoc est in Regnorum libro, Et si venerit, inquit, iniquitas ejus, redarguam illum in virga virorum, et in tactibus filiorum hominum: misericordiam autem meam non amoveam ab eo (II Reg. VII, 14 et 15): tactibus significans plagas correptionis. Unde illud est, Ne tetigeritis christos meos (Psal. CIV, 15). Quod quid est aliud, quam, Ne laeseritis?

How then, because of that which follows, "He shall build a house for me," shall this Solomon be thought to be prophesied: and not rather, because of that which precedes, "When your days are fulfilled, and you sleep with your fathers, I will raise up your seed after you," is another peaceful one understood to be promised, who was preannounced to be raised up not before, like this one, but after the death of David? For however long an intervening time Jesus Christ should come, without doubt after the death of King David, to whom He was so promised, it behooved Him to come, who should build a house for God, not of wood and stones, but of men, such as we rejoice that He builds. For to this house the Apostle says, that is, to the faithful of Christ: "For the temple of God is holy, which you are" (1 Cor. 3:17).

CHAPTER IX.---How similar in Psalm 88 is the prophecy about Christ to those which are promised in the books of Kings by the prophecy of Nathan. Because of which also in the eighty-eighth Psalm, the title of which is, "Understanding to Ethan the Israelite himself," the promises of God made to King David are commemorated, and certain things similar to those which are placed in the book of Kings are said there; such as: "I have sworn to David my servant: Even unto eternity I will prepare your seed." And again: "Then you spoke in vision to your sons, and said: I have placed help upon the powerful one, and have exalted the chosen one from my people. I have found David my servant, in my holy oil I have anointed him. For my hand shall help him, and my arm shall comfort him. The enemy shall not profit in him, and the son of iniquity shall not add to harm him. And I will cut down his enemies from before his face, and those who hate him, I will put to flight. And my truth and my mercy shall be with him, and in my name shall his horn be exalted. And I will place his hand in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers. He himself shall call upon me: You are my Father, my God and the sustainer of my salvation. And I will place him as the firstborn, high among the kings of the earth. In eternity I will keep my mercy for him, and my testament faithful to him. And I will place his seed for age after age, and his throne as the days of heaven" (Psalm 89:3-4, 19-29). All which things are understood of the Lord Jesus, when they are rightly understood, under the name of David, because of the form of a servant which the same Mediator assumed from the seed of David from the Virgin.

Immediately also something such is said of the sins of his sons, as is placed in the book of Kings, and is more readily accepted as if of Solomon. For there, that is in the book of Kings, "And if his iniquity shall come," He said, "I will rebuke him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the sons of men: but my mercy I will not remove from him" (2 Sam. 7:14 and 15): signifying by "stripes" (touches) the plagues of correction. Whence is that saying: "Touch not my anointed ones" (Psalm 105:15). Which what else is it, than, Harm them not?

In Psalmo vero cum ageret tanquam de David, ut quiddam ejusmodi etiam ibi diceret, Si dereliquerint, inquit, filii ejus legem meam, et in judiciis meis non ambulaverint; si justificationes meas profanaverint, et mandata mea non custodierint; visitabo in virga iniquitates eorum, et in flagellis delicta eorum: misericordiam autem meam non dispergam ab eo (Psal. LXXXVIII, 31-34). Non dixit, Ab eis, cum loqueretur de filiis ejus, non de ipso: sed dixit, ab eo; quod bene intellectum tantumdem valet. Non enim Christi ipsius, quod est caput Ecclesiae, possent inveniri ulla peccata, quae opus esset humanis correptionibus servata misericordia divinitus coerceri; sed in ejus corpore ac membris, quod populus ejus est. Ideo in libro Regnorum, iniquitas ejus dicitur; in Psalmo autem, filiorum ejus: ut intelligamus de ipso dici quodammodo, quod de ejus corpore dicitur. Propter quod etiam ipse de coelo, cum corpus ejus, quod sunt fideles ejus, Saulus persequeretur, Saule, inquit, Saule, quid me persequeris (Act. IX, 4)? Deinde in consequentibus Psalmi, Ne neque nocebo, inquit, in veritate mea, neque profanabo testamentum meum, et quae procedunt de labiis meis non reprobabo. Semel juravi in sancto meo, si David mentiar: id est, nequaquam David mentiar, Solet enim sic loqui Scriptura. Quid autem non mentiatur, adjungit, et dicit, Semen ejus in aeternum manebit; et sedes ejus sicut sol in conspectu meo, et sicut luna perfecta in aeternum, et testis in coelo fidelis (Psal. LXXXVIII, 34-38).

CAPUT X.---Quam diversa acta sint in regno terrenae Jerusalem, ab his quae promiserat Deus, ut intelligeretur promissionis veritas ad alterius Regis et regni gloriam pertinere. Post haec tantae promissionis validissima firmamenta, ne putarentur in Salomone completa, tanquam id speraretur, nec inveniretur: Tu vero, inquit, repulisti, et ad nihilum deduxisti, Domine. Hoc quippe factum est de regno Salomonis in posteris ejus, usque ad eversionem ipsius terrenae Jerusalem, quae regni ejusdem sedes fuit; et maxime ipsius templi labem, quod fuerat a Salomone constructum . Sed ne ob hoc putaretur Deus contra sua promissa fecisse, continuo subjecit, Distulisti Christum tuum (Psal. LXXXVIII, 39). Non est ergo ille Salomon, sed nec ipse David, si dilatus est Christus Domini. Cum enim christi ejus dicerentur omnes reges mystico illo chrismate consecrati, non solum a rege David et deinceps, sed ab illo etiam Saüle, qui populo eidem rex primus est unctus (I Reg. XXIV, 7); ipse quippe David eum christum Domini appellat: erat tamen unus verus Christus, cujus illi figuram prophetica unctione gestabant; qui secundum opinionem hominum, qui eum putabant in David vel in Salomone intelligendum, differebatur in longum; secundum autem dispositionem Dei venturus suo tempore parabatur.

In the Psalm indeed when he was acting as if concerning David, that he might say something of that kind there also: "If his sons shall forsake my law," he said, "and walk not in my judgments; if they shall profane my justifications, and keep not my mandates; I will visit their iniquities with a rod, and their sins with scourges: but my mercy I will not disperse from him" (Psalm 89:30-33). He did not say, "from them," when he was speaking of his sons, not of himself: but he said, "from him"; which, well understood, amounts to as much. For no sins of Christ Himself, who is the head of the Church, could be found, which would need to be coerced divinely with human corrections while mercy was preserved; but in His body and members, which is His people. Therefore in the book of Kings, "his iniquity" is said; but in the Psalm, "of his sons": so that we may understand it to be said in a certain way of Himself, what is said of His body. Because of which also He himself from heaven, when Saul was persecuting His body, which are His faithful: "Saul," He said, "Saul, why do you persecute me?" (Acts 9:4). Then in the following parts of the Psalm, "Neither will I harm," he said, "in my truth, nor will I profane my testament, and that which proceeds from my lips I will not reject. Once have I sworn in my holiness, if I lie to David": that is, I will by no means lie to David, for Scripture is accustomed so to speak. But what he may not lie, he joins and says, "His seed shall remain in eternity; and his seat as the sun in my sight, and as the moon perfect in eternity, and a faithful witness in heaven" (Psalm 89:33-37).

CHAPTER X.---How different were the acts in the kingdom of the earthly Jerusalem from those which God had promised, that the truth of the promise might be understood to pertain to the glory of another King and kingdom. After these most valid supports of so great a promise, lest they should be thought completed in Solomon, as if it were hoped for and not found: "But you," he says, "have repulsed, and brought to nothing, O Lord." This indeed was done concerning the kingdom of Solomon in his posterity, even unto the subversion of that earthly Jerusalem, which was the seat of the same kingdom; and especially the fall of the temple itself, which had been constructed by Solomon. But lest on this account God should be thought to have acted against His promises, he immediately added, "You have delayed your Christ" (Psalm 89:38). Therefore it is not that Solomon, nor even David himself, if the Christ of the Lord was delayed. For although all the kings consecrated with that mystic chrism were called His anointed ones (christs), not only from King David and thereafter, but even from that Saul, who was the first anointed king over that same people (1 Sam. 24:6); for David himself calls him the Lord's anointed: yet there was one true Christ, whose figure they bore by the prophetic unction; who, according to the opinion of men who thought He was to be understood in David or in Solomon, was delayed for a long time; but according to the disposition of God was being prepared to come in His own time.

Interea dum ille differtur, quid factum sit de regno terrenae Jerusalem, ubi sperabatur utique regnaturus, secutus iste psalmus adjunxit, atque ait: Evertisti testamentum servi tui, profanasti in terra sanctitatem ejus. Destruxisti omnes macerias ejus, posuisti munitiones ejus in formidinem. Diripuerunt eum omnes transeuntes viam, factus est opprobrium vicinis suis. Exaltasti dexteram inimicorum ejus, jucundasti omnes inimicos ejus. Avertisti adjutorium gladii ejus, et non es opitulatus ei in bello. Dissolvisti eum ab emundatione, sedem ejus in terram collisisti. Minuisti dies sedis ejus, perfudisti eum confusione (Psal. LXXXVIII, 40-46). Haec omnia venerunt super ancillam Jerusalem, in qua regnaverunt nonnulli etiam filii liberae, regnum illud tenentes in dispensatione temporaria: regnum autem coelestis Jerusalem, cujus erant filii, in vera fide habentes, et in vero Christo sperantes. Quomodo autem ista venerint super illud regnum, index est rerum gestarum, si legatur, historia.

CAPUT XI.---De substantia populi Dei, quae per susceptionem carnis in Christo est: qui solus eruendi ab inferis animam suam habuit potestatem. Post haec autem prophetata ad precandum Deum Propheta convertitur: sed et ipsa precatio prophetatio est. Usquequo, Domine, avertis in finem (Psal. LXXXVIII. 47)? subauditur, faciem tuam: sicu talibi dicitur, Usquequo avertis faciem tuam a me (Psal. XII, 1) Nam ideo quidam codices hic non habent, avertis; sed, averteris: quanquam possit intelligi, Avertis misericordiam tuam, quam promisisti David. Quod autem dixit, in finem; quid est, nisi, Usque in finem? Qui finis intelligendus est ultimum tempus, quando in Christum Jesum etiam illa gens est creditura, ante quem finis illa fieri oportebat, quae superius aerumnosa deflevit. Propter quae et hic sequitur, Exardescet sicut ignis ira tua. Memento quae est mea substantia. Nihil hic melius, quam ipse Jesus intelligitur, substantia populi ejus, ex quo natura est carnis ejus. Non enim vane, inquit, constituisti omnes filios hominum. (Psal. LXXXVIII, 48). Nisi enim esset unus Filius hominis substantia Israel, per quem Filium hominis liberarentur multi filii hominum, vane utique constituti essent omnes filii hominum. Nunc vero omnis quidem humana natura per peccatum primi hominis in vanitatem de veritate collapsa est, propter quod dicit alius psalmus, Homo vanitati similis factus est, dies ejus velut umbra praetereunt (Psal. CXLIII, 4): sed non vane Deus constituit omnes filios hominum; quia et multos a vanitate liberat per mediatorem Jesum, et quos liberandos non esse praescivit, ad utilitatem liberandorum et comparationem duarum inter se a contrario civitatum, non utique vane in totius rationalis creaturae pulcherrima atque justissima ordinatione constituit.

Meanwhile, while He is delayed, what happened to the kingdom of the earthly Jerusalem, where He was certainly hoped for to reign, the following psalm added and said: "You have overturned the testament of your servant, you have profaned his holiness on the earth. You have destroyed all his walls, you have placed his fortifications in fear. All who pass by the way have plundered him, he has become a reproach to his neighbors. You have exalted the right hand of his enemies, you have gladdened all his enemies. You have turned away the help of his sword, and you have not aided him in war. You have dissolved him from cleansing, you have dashed his seat to the ground. You have diminished the days of his seat, you have poured confusion over him" (Psalm 89:39-45). All these things came upon the handmaid Jerusalem, in which reigned also some sons of the free woman, holding that kingdom in a temporary dispensation: but having the kingdom of the heavenly Jerusalem, of which they were sons, in true faith, and hoping in the true Christ. But how these things came upon that kingdom, the history of deeds done is the index, if it be read.

CHAPTER XI.---On the substance of the people of God, which is through the assumption of the flesh in Christ: who alone had the power of rescuing his soul from the lower regions. But after these things have been prophesied, the Prophet turns to praying to God: but the prayer itself is a prophecy. "How long, O Lord, do you turn away unto the end?" (Psalm 89:46). "Your face" is understood: as it is said elsewhere, "How long do you turn away your face from me?" (Psalm 13:1). For on this account some codices here do not have "you turn away" (avertis); but "you shall be turned away" (averteris): although it can be understood, "You turn away your mercy, which you promised to David." But what he said, "unto the end"; what is it, but, "Even unto the end"? Which end is to be understood as the last time, when even that nation is to believe in Christ Jesus, before which end those things had to happen, which he above weepingly lamented as calamitous. Because of which also follows here, "Your wrath shall burn like fire." Remember what is my substance." Nothing better is understood here than Jesus himself, the substance of His people, from whom is the nature of His flesh. "For not in vain," he says, "have you constituted all the sons of men" (Psalm 89:47). For unless there were one Son of Man as the substance of Israel, through which Son of Man many sons of men should be liberated, all the sons of men would certainly have been constituted in vain. But now indeed all human nature through the sin of the first man has collapsed from truth into vanity, because of which another psalm says, "Man is made like unto vanity, his days pass away like a shadow" (Psalm 144:4): but God did not in vain constitute all the sons of men; because He both liberates many from vanity through the mediator Jesus, and those whom He foreknew were not to be liberated, He constituted not in vain in the most beautiful and most just ordination of the whole rational creature, for the utility of those to be liberated and for the comparison of the two cities between themselves from the contrary.

Deinde sequitur, Quis est homo qui vivet, et non videbit mortem; eruet animam suam de manu inferi (Psal. LXXXVIII, 49)? Quis est iste, nisi substantia illa Israel ex semine David, Christus Jesus? De quo dicit Apostolus, quod surgens a mortuis, jam non moritur, et mors ei ultra non dominabitur (Rom. VI, 9). Sic enim vivet et non videbit mortem, ut tamen mortuus fuerit; sed animam suam eruerit de manu inferi, quo propter quorumdam solvenda inferni vincla descenderat : eruerit autem potestate illa, de qua in Evangelio dicit, Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam (Joan. X, 18).

CAPUT XII.---Ad quorum personam pertinere intelligenda sit flagitatio promissorum, de quibus in Psalmo dicitur, Ubi sunt misericordiae tuae, Domine, antiquae, etc. Sed caetera psalmi hujus, quae ita se habent, Ubi sunt miserationes tuae antiquae, Domine, quas jurasti David in veritate tua? Memento, Domine, opprobrii servorum tuorum, quod continui in sinu meo multarum gentium: quod exprobraverunt inimici tui, Domine; quod exprobraverunt, commutationem Christi tui: utrum ex persona dicta sint illorum Israelitarum, qui desiderabant reddi sibi promissionem, quae facta est ad David; an potius Christianorum, qui non secundum carnem, sed secundum spiritum sunt Israelitae, merito, quaeri potest. Dicta sunt quippe ista vel scripta tempore quo fuit Aethan, de cujus nomine titulum iste psalmus accepit; et idem tempus regni David fuit: ac per hoc non diceretur, Ubi sunt miserationes tuae antiquae, Domine, quas jurasti David in veritate tua? nisi eorum personam in se Propheta transfiguraret, qui longe postea futuri erant, quibus hoc tempus esset antiquum, quando regi David ista promissa sunt. Potest autem intelligi multas gentes, quando persequebantur Christianos, exprobrasse illis passionem Christi, quam Scriptura commutationem vocat; quoniam moriendo immortalis est factus. Potest et commutatio Christi secundum hoc accipi exprobrata Israelitis, quia cum eorum speraretur futurus, factus est gentium: et hoc eis nunc exprobrant multae gentes, quae crediderunt in eum per novum Testamentum, illis in vetustate remanentibus: ut ideo dicatur, Memento, Domine, opprobrii servorum tuorum; quia non eos obliviscente, sed potius miserante Domino, et ipsi post hoc opprobrium credituri sunt. Sed ille quem prius posui, convenientior sensus mihi videtur.

Then follows, "Who is the man who shall live, and shall not see death; shall he rescue his soul from the hand of the lower region?" (Psalm 89:48). Who is that one, but that substance of Israel from the seed of David, Christ Jesus? Of whom the Apostle says, that "rising from the dead, he now dies no more, and death shall no further rule over him" (Rom. 6:9). For so He shall live and shall not see death, although He shall have been dead; but He shall have rescued His soul from the hand of the lower region, to which He had descended for the sake of loosening the chains of certain ones in hell: but He shall have rescued it by that power, of which He says in the Gospel, "I have power of laying down my soul, and I have power of taking it up again" (John 10:18).

CHAPTER XII.---To whose person the demand for the promises is to be understood to pertain, concerning which it is said in the Psalm, "Where are your ancient mercies, O Lord," etc. But the rest of this psalm, which run thus: "Where are your ancient mercies, O Lord, which you swore to David in your truth? Remember, O Lord, the reproach of your servants, which I have held in my bosom of many nations: with which your enemies have reproached, O Lord; with which they have reproached the exchange of your Christ": whether they were spoken from the person of those Israelites who desired that the promise made to David be restored to them; or rather of the Christians, who are Israelites not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit, may deservedly be asked. For these things were spoken or written in the time when Ethan was, from whose name this psalm received its title; and the same was the time of David's reign: and therefore it would not be said, "Where are your ancient mercies, O Lord, which you swore to David in your truth?" unless the Prophet transfigured into himself the person of those who were to be long after, to whom this time should be ancient, when these things were promised to King David. But it can be understood that many nations, when they were persecuting the Christians, reproached them with the passion of Christ, which Scripture calls an "exchange"; since by dying He was made immortal. The exchange of Christ can also be accepted according to this as reproached to the Israelites, because when He was hoped for as being about to be theirs, He was made the nations'; and this many nations now reproach them with, who have believed in Him through the New Testament, while they remain in antiquity: so that it is therefore said, "Remember, O Lord, the reproach of your servants"; because, the Lord not forgetting them but rather having mercy, they also are to believe after this reproach. But that which I first proposed seems to me a more convenient sense.

Inimicis enim Christi, quibus exprobratur, quod eos ad gentes transiens reliquerit Christus, incongrue vox ista coaptatur, Memento, Domine, opprobrii servorum tuorum; non enim servi Dei nuncupandi sunt tales Judaei: sed eis verba ista competunt, qui cum graves humilitates persecutionum pro Christi nomine paterentur, recordari potuerunt excelsum regnum semini David fuisse promissum; et ejus desiderio dicere, non desperando, sed petendo, quaerendo, pulsando, Ubi sunt miserationes tuae antiquae, Domine, quas jurasti David in veritate tua? Memento, Domine, opprobrii servorum tuorum, quod continui in sinu meo multarum gentium; hoc est, In interioribus meis patienter pertuli. Quod exprobraverunt inimici tui, Domine; quod exprobraverunt, commutationem Christi tui: non eam putantes commutationem, sed consumptionem .

Quid est autem, Memento, Domine, nisi, ut miserearis, et pro tolerata patienter humilitate mea, reddas celsitudinem, quam jurasti David in veritate tua? Si autem Judaeis assignemus haec verba, illi servi Dei talia dicere potuerunt, qui expugnata terrena Jerusalem, antequam Jesus Christus humanitus nasceretur, in captivitatem ducti sunt, intelligentes commutationem Christi, quia scilicet non per eum terrena carnalisque felicitas, qualis paucis annis regis Salomonis apparuit, sed coelestis ac spiritualis esset fideliter exspectanda: quam tunc ignorans infidelitas gentium, cum Dei populum exsultabat atque insultabat esse captivum, quid aliud quam Christi commutationem, sed scientibus nesciens, exprobrabat? Et ideo quod sequitur, ubi psalmus iste concluditur, Benedictio Domini in aeternum: fiat, fiat (Psal. LXXXVIII, 50-53); universo populo Dei ad coelestem Jerusalem pertinenti, sive in illis qui latebant in Testamento vetere, antequam revelaretur novum, sive in his qui jam Testamento novo revelato manifeste pertinere cernuntur ad Christum, satis congruit. Benedictio quippe Domini in semine David, non ad aliquod tempus, qualis diebus Salomonis apparuit, sed in aeternum speranda est, in qua certissima spe dicitur, Fiat, fiat. Illius enim spei est confirmatio verbi hujus iteratio. Hoc ergo intelligens David ait in secundo Regnorum libro, unde ad istum psalmum digressi sumus: Et locutus es pro domo servi tui in longinquum. Ideo autem post paululum ait: Nunc incipe, et benedic domum servi tui usque in aeternum (II Reg. VII, 19, 29), et caetera; quia tunc geniturus erat filium, ex quo progenies ejus duceretur ad Christum, per quem futura erat domus ejus aeterna, eademque domus Dei.

For to the enemies of Christ, to whom it is reproached that Christ left them in passing over to the nations, this voice is incongruously adapted, "Remember, O Lord, the reproach of your servants"; for such Jews are not to be called servants of God: but these words fit those who, when they suffered heavy humiliations of persecutions for the name of Christ, were able to remember that a high kingdom had been promised to the seed of David; and in desire of it to say, not by despairing, but by asking, seeking, knocking: "Where are your ancient mercies, O Lord, which you swore to David in your truth? Remember, O Lord, the reproach of your servants, which I have held in my bosom of many nations"; that is, I have patiently endured in my inner parts. With which your enemies have reproached, O Lord; with which they have reproached the exchange of your Christ": not thinking it an exchange, but a consumption.

But what is, "Remember, O Lord," except that you should have mercy, and for my patiently tolerated humiliation, restore the loftiness which you swore to David in your truth? But if we assign these words to the Jews, those servants of God could say such things who, when the earthly Jerusalem was conquered, before Jesus Christ was born according to humanity, were led into captivity, understanding the exchange of Christ, because namely not through Him was an earthly and carnal happiness, such as appeared for a few years of King Solomon, to be faithfully expected, but a heavenly and spiritual one: which then the ignorance of the infidelity of the nations, when it exulted and insulted that the people of God were captive, what else was it reproaching than the exchange of Christ, but unknowingly to those who knew? And therefore that which follows, where this psalm is concluded, "Blessing of the Lord even unto eternity: so be it, so be it" (Psalm 89:52); is sufficiently congruent to the whole people of God pertaining to the heavenly Jerusalem, whether in those who were hidden in the Old Testament before the New was revealed, or in those who, the New Testament being already revealed, are clearly seen to pertain to Christ. For the blessing of the Lord in the seed of David is to be hoped for not for some time, such as appeared in the days of Solomon, but even unto eternity, in which it is said with most certain hope, "So be it, so be it." For the repetition of this word is the confirmation of that hope. David, therefore, understanding this, said in the second book of Kings, whence we digressed to this psalm: "And you have spoken for the house of your servant into the distance." And therefore after a little while he said: "Now begin, and bless the house of your servant even unto eternity" (2 Sam. 7:19, 29), and the rest; because he was then about to beget a son, from whom his progeny should be led to Christ, through whom his house was to be eternal, and the same house of God.

Domus enim David, propter genus David; domus autem Dei eadem ipsa, propter templum Dei, de hominibus factum, non de lapidibus, ubi habitet in aeternum populus cum Deo et in Deo suo, et Deus cum populo atque in populo suo: ita ut Deus sit implens populum suum, et populus plenus Deo suo, cum Deus erit omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 28), ipse in pace praemium, qui virtus in bello. Ideo cum in verbis Nathan dictum sit, Et nuntiabit tibi Dominus quoniam domum aedificabis ipsi: postea dictum est in verbis David, Quoniam tu Dominus omnipotens Deus Israel, revelasti aurem servi tui, dicens, Domum aedificabo tibi (II Reg. VII, 11, 27). Hanc enim domum et nos aedificamus bene vivendo, et Deus ut bene vivamus opitulando: quia nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum, in vanum luborabunt aedificantes eam (Psal. CXXVI, 1). Cujus domus cum venerit ultima dedicatio, tunc fiet illud, quod hic per Nathan locutus est Deus, dicens: Et ponam locum populo meo Israel, et plantabo illum, et inhabitabit seorsum, et non sollicitus erit ultra: et non apponet filius iniquitatis humiliare eum, sicut ab initio a diebus quibus constitui judices super populum meum Israel (II Reg. VII, 10 et 11).

Caput XIII.

An promissae pacis veritas illis temporibus possit adscribi, quae sub Salomone fluxerunt.

Hoc tam magnum bonum quisquis in hoc saeculo et in hac terra sperat, insipienter sapit. An quispiam putabit in pace regni Salomonis id esse completum? Pacem quippe illam Scriptura in umbra futuri excellenti praedicatione commendat. Sed huic suspicioni vigilanter occursum est, cum, posteaquam dictum est, Et non apponet filius iniquitatis humiliare eum; continuo subjunctum est, Sicut ab initio a diebus quibus constitui judices super populum meum Israel. Judices namque, priusquam Reges ibi esse coepissent, super illum populum fuerant constituti, ex quo terram promissionis accepit. Et utique humiliabat eum filius iniquitatis, hoc est hostis alienigena, per intervalla temporum, quibus leguntur paces alternasse cum bellis: et inveniuntur illic pacis tempora prolixiora quam Salomon habuit, qui quadraginta regnavit annos. Nam sub eo Judice qui appellatus est Aod, octoginta anni pacis fuerunt (Judicum III, 30). Absit ergo, ut Salomonis tempora in hac promissione praedicta esse credantur: multo minus utique cujuslibet regis alterius.

For it is the house of David, because of the race of David; but the same itself is the house of God, because of the temple of God, made of men, not of stones, where the people may dwell in eternity with God and in their God, and God with the people and in His people: so that God may be filling His people, and the people full of their God, when God shall be all in all (1 Cor. 15:28), He himself the reward in peace, who was the virtue in war. Therefore when it was said in the words of Nathan, "And the Lord will announce to you that you shall build a house for Him": it was afterwards said in the words of David, "Since you, Lord Almighty, God of Israel, have revealed the ear of your servant, saying, A house I will build for you" (2 Sam. 7:11, 27). For this house we also build by living well, and God by helping us that we may live well: because "unless the Lord shall build the house, in vain shall they labor who build it" (Psalm 127:1). Of which house when the final dedication shall come, then shall happen that which God spoke here through Nathan, saying: "And I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and I will plant them, and they shall dwell apart, and they shall be solicitous no further: and the son of iniquity shall not add to humiliate them, as from the beginning from the days in which I constituted judges over my people Israel" (2 Sam. 7:10 and 11).

Chapter XIII.

Whether the truth of the promised peace can be ascribed to those times which passed under Solomon.

Whoever hopes for this so great good in this age and in this earth, is foolishly wise. Or will anyone think that this was completed in the peace of Solomon's kingdom? Scripture indeed commends that peace with excellent preaching in the shadow of the future. But this suspicion was vigilantly met, when, after it was said, "And the son of iniquity shall not add to humiliate them"; there was immediately subjoined, "As from the beginning from the days in which I constituted judges over my people Israel." For judges, before kings had begun to be there, had been constituted over that people, from the time when they received the land of promise. And certainly the son of iniquity humiliated them, that is, the foreign enemy, through intervals of times in which we read that peaces alternated with wars: and there are found there times of peace more prolonged than Solomon had, who reigned forty years. For under that judge who was called Ehud (Aod), there were eighty years of peace (Judges 3:30). Far be it, therefore, that Solomon's times should be believed to have been predicted in this promise: much less certainly those of any other king.

Non enim quisquam eorum in tanta, quanta ille, pace regnavit: nec unquam omnino gens illa ita regnum tenuit, ut sollicita non fuerit ne hostibus subderetur; quia in tanta mutabilitate rerum humanarum nulli aliquando populo concessa est tanta securitas, ut huic vitae hostiles non formidaret incursus. Locus ergo iste qui promittitur tam pacatae ac securae habitationis, aeternus est, aeternisque debetur in matre Jerusalem libera, ubi erit veraciter populus Israel: hoc enim nomen interpretatur Videns Deum: cujus praemii desiderio pia per fidem vita in hac aerumnosa peregrinatione ducenda est.

Caput XIV.

De studio David in dispositione mysterioque Psalmorum.

Procurrente igitur per tempora civitate Dei, primo in umbra futuri, in terrena scilicet Jerusalem regnavit David. Erat autem David vir in canticis eruditus, qui harmoniam musicam non vulgari voluptate, sed fideli voluntate dilexerit; eaque Deo suo, qui verus est Deus, mystica rei magnae figuratione servierit. Diversorum enim sonorum rationabilis moderatusque concentus concordi varietate compactam bene ordinatae civitatis insinuat unitatem. Denique omnis fere prophetia ejus in Psalmis est, quos centum quinquaginta liber continet, quem Psalmorum vocamus. In quibus nonnulli volunt, eos solos factos esse a David, qui ejus nomine inscripti sunt. Sunt item qui putant non ab eo factos, nisi qui praenotantur, Ipsius David: qui vero habent in titulis, Ipsi David, ab aliis factos, personae ipsius fuisse coaptatos. Quae opinio voce evangelica Salvatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait, quod ipse David in Spiritu Christum dixerit esse Dominum suum (Matth. XXII, 43): quoniam Psalmus centesimus nonus sic incipit: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum (Psal. CIX, 1). Et certe idem psalmus non habet in titulo, Ipsius David; sed, Ipsi David, sicut plurimi. Mihi autem credibilius videntur existimare qui omnes illos centum et quinquaginta Psalmos ejus operi tribuunt, eumque aliquos praenotasse etiam nominibus aliorum, aliquid quod ad rem pertineat figurantibus, caeteros autem nullius hominis nomen in titulis habere voluisse: sicut ei varietatis hujus dispositionem, quamvis latebrosam, non tamen inanem Dominus inspiravit.

For none of them reigned in as much peace as he did: nor did that nation ever at all so hold the kingdom that it was not solicitous lest it be subjected to enemies; because in such great mutability of human things, such great security was never granted to any people that it should not fear hostile incursions in this life. Therefore this place of so peaceful and secure a habitation which is promised is eternal, and is due to the eternal ones in the mother Jerusalem the free, where the people of Israel shall truly be: for this name is interpreted "Seeing God": in desire of which reward a pious life through faith is to be led in this calamitous pilgrimage.

Chapter XIV.

Of David's study in the disposition and mystery of the Psalms.

As the City of God, therefore, proceeded through the times, first in the shadow of the future, namely, in the earthly Jerusalem, David reigned. Now David was a man learned in songs, who loved musical harmony not with a vulgar pleasure, but with a faithful will; and by it he served his God, who is the true God, with a mystical figuration of a great matter. For the rational and moderate concord of diverse sounds suggests, by its harmonious variety, the compact unity of a well-ordered city. Finally, almost all his prophecy is in the Psalms, which a book of one hundred and fifty contains, which we call the Book of Psalms. In these, some wish that those only were made by David which are inscribed with his name. There are likewise those who think that none were made by him except those which are pre-noted, 'Of David himself'; but those which have in their titles, 'For David himself,' were made by others, and adapted to his person. Which opinion is refuted by the evangelical voice of the Saviour Himself, where He says that David himself in the Spirit called Christ his Lord (Matt. 22:43): since the hundred and ninth Psalm begins thus: 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool' (Ps. 109:1). And certainly the same psalm has not in its title, 'Of David himself'; but, 'For David himself,' like very many. But to me they seem to think more credibly who attribute all those hundred and fifty Psalms to his work, and that he pre-noted some even with the names of others, figuring something that pertains to the matter, but wished the others to have the name of no man in their titles: just as the Lord inspired him with the disposition of this variety, although hidden, yet not vain.

Nec movere debet ad hoc non credendum, quod nonnullorum nomina Prophetarum, qui longe post David regis tempora fuerunt, quibusdam psalmis in eo libro leguntur inscripta; et quae ibi dicuntur, velut ab eis dici videntur. Neque enim non potuit propheticus Spiritus prophetanti regi David haec etiam futurorum Prophetarum nomina revelare, ut aliquid, quod eorum personae conveniret, prophetice cantaretur: sicut rex Josias exorturus et regnaturus post annos amplius quam trecentos, cuidam prophetae, qui etiam facta ejus futura praedixit, cum suo nomine revelatus est (III Reg. XIII).

Caput XV.

An omnia quae in Psalmis de Christo et Ecclesia prophetantur, ad contextum hujus operis coaptanda sint.

Nunc jam exspectari a me video, ut hoc loco libri hujus aperiam quid in Psalmis David de Domino Jesu Christo vel ejus Ecclesia prophetaverit. Ego autem ut hoc non ita faciam, sicut videtur ipsa exspectatio postulare (quamvis jam in uno fecerim), copia quam inopia magis impedior. Omnia enim ponere vitandae prolixitatis causa prohibeor: vereor autem ne, cum aliqua elegero, multis qui ea noverunt, videar magis necessaria praeterisse; deinde, quia testimonium quod profertur, de contextione totius Psalmi debet habere suffragium ut certe nihil sit quod ei refragetur, si non omnia suffragantur), ne more centonum ad rem quam volumus, tanquam versiculos decerpere videamur, velut de grandi carmine, quod non de re illa, sed de alia longeque diversa reperiatur esse conscriptum. Hoc autem ut in quocumque psalmo possit ostendi, exponendus est totus: quod quanti operis sit, et aliorum, et nostra volumina, in quibus hoc fecimus, satis indicant. Legat ergo illa, qui voluerit, et potuerit: inveniet quot et quanta rex David idemque propheta de Christo et ejus Ecclesia prophetaverit, de Rege scilicet et civitate quam condidit.

Caput XVI.

De his quae in quadragesimo quarto Psalmo ad Christum et Ecclesiam pertinentia, aut aperte dicuntur, aut tropice.

Nor ought it to move to disbelief in this, that the names of some Prophets, who were long after the times of King David, are read inscribed on certain psalms in that book; and the things which are said there seem to be said as if by them. For neither was the prophetic Spirit unable to reveal these names also of future Prophets to King David while prophesying, that something which should suit their persons might be prophetically sung: just as King Josiah, who was to arise and reign after more than three hundred years, was revealed by his name to a certain prophet, who also foretold his future deeds (1 Kings 13).

Chapter XV.

Whether all things which are prophesied in the Psalms concerning Christ and the Church are to be adapted to the context of this work.

I see that it is now expected of me that I should open in this place of this book what David prophesied in the Psalms concerning the Lord Jesus Christ or His Church. But that I do not do this as the expectation itself seems to require (although I have already done so in one), I am hindered more by abundance than by scarcity. For I am prohibited from setting down all things for the sake of avoiding prolixity: but I fear lest, when I shall have chosen some, I may seem to many who know them to have passed over more necessary things; then, because the testimony which is produced ought to have the support of the context of the whole Psalm (so that at least there be nothing which contradicts it, if all things do not support it), lest after the manner of centos we seem to pluck out little verses for the matter which we wish, as if from a great poem, which might be found to have been written not about that matter, but about another and a far different one. But that this might be shown in any psalm whatever, the whole must be expounded: which, how great a work it is, both the volumes of others and our own, in which we have done this, sufficiently indicate. Let him, therefore, read those who will and can: he will find how many and how great things King David, the same also a prophet, prophesied concerning Christ and His Church, namely, concerning the King and the city which He founded.

Chapter XVI.

Of those things which in the forty-fourth Psalm, pertaining to Christ and the Church, are said either openly or tropically.

1. Quamlibet enim de quacumque re propriae sint atque manifestae propheticae locutiones, necesse est ut eis etiam tropicae misceantur: quae maxime propter tardiores ingerunt doctoribus laboriosum disputandi exponendique negotium. Quaedam tamen Christum et Ecclesiam ipsa prima facie, mox ut dicuntur, ostendunt; etsi ex otio restant exponenda, quae in eis minus intelliguntur: quale illud est in eodem Psalmorum libro: Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum, dico ego opera mea regi. Lingua mea calamus scribae velociter scribentis. Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum: diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis, propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum. Accingere gladium tuum circa femur, potentissime. Specie tua et pulchritudine, intende, prospere procede, et regna. Propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et justitiam; et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua. Sagittae tuae acutae potentissimae. Populi sub te cadent, in corde inimicorum regis. Sedes tua, Deus, in saecula saeculorum, virga directionis virga regni tui. Dilexisti justitiam, et odio habuisti iniquitatem: propterea unxit te, Deus, Deus tuus oleo exsultationis prae participibus tuis. Myrrha et gutta et casia a vestimentis tuis, a domibus eburneis: ex quibus delectaverunt te filiae regum in honore tuo (Psal. XLIV, 2-10). Quis non hic Christum, quem praedicamus, et in quem credimus, quamlibet sit tardus, agnoscat: cum audiat Deum, cujus sedes est in saecula saeculorum; et unctum a Deo, utique sicut ungit Deus, non visibili, sed spirituali atque intelligibili chrismate? Quis enim tam rudis est in hac religione, vel tam surdus adversus ejus famam longe lateque diffusam, ut Christum a chrismate, hoc est ab unctione, appellatum esse non noverit? Agnito autem rege Christo, jam caetera quae hic tropice dicta sunt, quomodo sit speciosus forma prae filiis hominum, quadam tanto magis amanda atque miranda, quanto minus corporea pulchritudine; quis gladius ejus, quae sagittae, et caetera isto modo non proprie, sed tropice posita, jam subditus ei qui regnat propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et justitiam, inquirat ex otio.

2. Deinde aspiciat ejus Ecclesiam, tanto viro suo spirituali connubio et divino amore conjunctam: de qua dicitur in his quae sequuntur: Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumamicta varietate. Audi, filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam, et obliviscere populum tuum, et domum patris tui. Quoniam concupivit rex speciem tuam, quia ipse est Dominus Deus tuus. Et adorabunt eum filiae Tyri in muneribus: vultum tuum deprecabuntur divites plebis. Omnis gloria ejus filiae regis intrinsecus, in fimbris aureis, circumamicta varietate.

1. For however proper and manifest prophetic utterances may be concerning any matter, it is necessary that tropical ones also be mixed with them: which, especially on account of the slower-witted, bring upon teachers the laborious business of disputing and expounding. Yet some things show Christ and the Church at the first glance, as soon as they are said; even if there remain to be expounded at leisure those things in them which are less understood: such as that in the same book of Psalms: 'My heart hath uttered a good word: I speak my works to the king.' My tongue is the pen of a writer writing swiftly. Beautiful in form above the sons of men: grace is poured out on thy lips, therefore God hath blessed thee for ever. Gird thy sword about thy thigh, O most mighty. In thy splendor and thy beauty, bend thy bow, proceed prosperously, and reign. Because of truth and meekness and justice; and thy right hand shall lead thee wonderfully. Thy arrows are sharp, most mighty. Peoples shall fall under thee, in the heart of the king's enemies. Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the rod of direction is the rod of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved justice, and hated iniquity: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of exultation above thy fellows. Myrrh and stacte and cassia from thy garments, from ivory houses: out of which the daughters of kings have delighted thee in thy honor (Ps. 44:2-10). Who could not here recognize Christ, whom we preach and in whom we believe, however slow he may be: when he hears of God, whose throne is for ever and ever; and of one anointed by God, surely as God anoints, not with a visible but with a spiritual and intelligible chrism? For who is so unlearned in this religion, or so deaf against its fame spread far and wide, as not to know that Christ is named from chrism, that is, from anointing? Now, Christ the King being recognized, let him who is already subject to Him who reigns because of truth and meekness and justice, inquire at leisure into the other things which are said here tropically—how He is beautiful in form above the sons of men, with a certain beauty so much more to be loved and wondered at as it is less corporeal; what His sword is, what His arrows, and the other things placed in this manner not properly but tropically.

2. Then let him behold His Church, joined to so great a Husband in spiritual wedlock and divine love: of which it is said in what follows: 'The queen stood at thy right hand in a vesture of gold, girt about with variety.' Hear, daughter, and see, and incline thy ear, and forget thy people and thy father's house. Because the king hath desired thy beauty, because he is the Lord thy God. And the daughters of Tyre shall adore him with gifts: the rich of the people shall entreat thy face. All the glory of that daughter of the king is within, in golden fringes, girt about with variety.

Afferentur regi virgines post eam, proximae ejus afferentur tibi. Afferentur in laetitia et exsultatione: adducentur in templum regis. Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii: constitues eos principes super omnem terram. Memores erunt nominis tui, in omni generatione et generatione. Propterea populi confitebuntur tibi in aeternum, et in saeculum saeculi (Psal. XLIV, 10-18).

Non opinor quemquam ita desipere, ut hic aliquam mulierculam praedicari credat atque describi: conjugem videlicet illius, cui dictum est, Sedes tua, Deus, in saecula saeculorum: virga directionis virga regni tui. Dilexisti justitiam, et odio habuisti iniquitatem: propterea unxit te, Deus, Deus tuus oleo exsultationis prae participibus tuis: Christum utique prae Christianis. Hi sunt enim participes ejus, ex quorum in omnibus gentibus unitate atque concordia fit ista regina: sicut in alio psalmo de illa dicitur, Civitas Regis magni (Psal. XLVII, 3). Ipsa est Sion spiritualiter: quod nomen latine interpretatum Speculatio est. Speculatur enim futuri saeculi magnum bonum: quoniam illuc dirigitur ejus intentio. Ipsa est et Jerusalem eodem modo spiritualiter, unde multa jam diximus. Ejus inimica est civitas diaboli Babylon, quae Confusio interpretatur. Ex qua tamen Babylone regina ista in omnibus gentibus regeneratione liberatur, et a pessimo rege ad optimum Regem, id est, a diabolo transit ad Christum. Propter quod ei dicitur, Obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui. Cujus civitatis impiae portio sunt et Israelitae sola carne, non fide: inimici etiam ipsi magni hujus Regis, ejusque reginae. Ad ipsos enim veniens, et ab eis Christus occisus, magis aliorum factus est, quos non vidit in carne. Unde per cujusdam psalmi prophetiam dicit Rex ipse noster, Erues me de contradictionibus populi, constitues me in caput gentium. Populus quem non cognovi, servivit mihi; in obauditu auris obaudivit mihi (Psal. XVII, 44 et 45). Populus ergo iste gentium, quem non cognovit Christus praesentia corporali, in quem tamen Christum sibi annuntiatum credidit, ut merito de illo diceretur, In obauditu auris obaudivit mihi; quia fides ex auditu est (Rom. X, 17); iste, inquam, populus additus veris et carne et fide Israelitis civitas est Dei, quae ipsum quoque secundum carnem peperit Christum, quando in solis illis Israelitis fuit. Inde quippe erat virgo Maria, in qua carnem Christus, ut homo esset, assumpsit. De qua civitate psalmus alius ait, Mater Sion, dicet homo, et homo factus est in ea, et ipsa fundavit eam Altissimus (Psal. LXXXVI, 5). Quis est iste Altissimus, nisi Deus? Et per hoc Christus Deus, antequam in illa civitate per Mariam fieret homo, ipse in Patriarchis et Prophetis fundavit eam.

Virgins shall be brought to the king after her, her neighbors shall be brought to thee. They shall be brought in gladness and exultation: they shall be led into the temple of the king. Instead of thy fathers, sons are born to thee: thou shalt make them princes over all the earth. They shall be mindful of thy name in every generation and generation. Therefore shall the peoples confess to thee for ever, and for ever and ever (Ps. 44:10-18).

I do not think anyone so foolish as to believe that some little woman is here praised and described: namely, the spouse of Him to whom it was said: 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the rod of direction is the rod of thy kingdom.' Thou hast loved justice and hated iniquity: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of exultation above thy fellows—Christ, certainly, above Christians. For these are His fellows, out of whose unity and concord in all nations this queen is made: as in another psalm it is said of her: 'The city of the great King' (Ps. 47:3). She is Zion spiritually: which name interpreted in Latin is 'Speculation' (Speculatio). For she speculates upon the great good of the future age: because thither her intention is directed. She is also Jerusalem in the same way spiritually, of which we have already said many things. Her enemy is the city of the devil, Babylon, which is interpreted 'Confusion' (Confusio). Yet from this Babylon this queen is liberated in all nations by regeneration, and passes from the worst king to the best King, that is, from the devil she passes to Christ. For which reason it is said to her: 'Forget thy people and thy father's house.' A portion of this impious city are also the Israelites in the flesh only, not in faith: enemies even themselves of this great King and of His queen. For Christ coming to them, and being slain by them, became more the King of others, whom He did not see in the flesh. Whence through the prophecy of a certain psalm our King Himself says: 'Thou shalt deliver me from the contradictions of the people, thou shalt set me for the head of the nations.' A people whom I have not known hath served me; in the hearing of the ear it hath obeyed me (Ps. 17:44-45). This people of the nations, therefore, whom Christ did not know by His bodily presence, yet who believed in Christ announced to them, so that it might deservedly be said of it, 'In the hearing of the ear it hath obeyed me'; because faith is from hearing (Rom. 10:17); this people, I say, added to the true Israelites both in flesh and in faith, is the City of God, which also brought forth Christ Himself according to the flesh, when He was in those Israelites alone. For thence indeed was the Virgin Mary, in whom Christ assumed flesh that He might be man. Of which city another psalm says: 'Mother Zion, a man shall say, and a man was made in her, and the Highest Himself founded her' (Ps. 86:5). Who is this Highest, but God? And by this Christ being God, before He became man in that city through Mary, Himself founded it in the Patriarchs and Prophets.

Cum igitur huic reginae civitati Dei tanto ante dictum sit per prophetiam, quod jam videmus impletum, Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii, constitues eos principes super omnem terram: ex filiis quippe ejus per omnem terram sunt praepositi et patres ejus, cum confiteantur ei populi concurrentes ad eam cum confessione laudis aeternae in saeculum saeculi : procul dubio quidquid hic tropicis locutionibus subobscure dictum est, quoquo modo intelligatur, debet his rebus manifestissimis convenire.

Caput XVII.

De his quae ad sacerdotium Christi in Psalmo centesimo nono, et de his quae in Psalmo vigesimo primo ad passionem ipsius spectant.

Sicut etiam in illo psalmo, ubi sacerdos Christus, quemadmodum hic rex, apertissime praedicatur - Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum. Sedere Christus ad dexteram Dei Patris creditur, non videtur: ejus etiam inimicos poni sub pedibus ejus nondum apparet; id agitur, apparebit in fine; etiam hoc nunc creditur, post videbitur. Verum quod sequitur, Virgam virtutis tuae emittet Dominus ex Sion, et dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum, ita clarum est, ut non solum infideliter et infeliciter, sed etiam impudenter negetur. Et ipsi quippe fatentur inimici, ex Sion missam fuisse legem Christi, quod Evangelium nos vocamus, et eam virgam virtutis ejus agnoscimus. Dominari vero eum in medio inimicorum suorum, iidem ipsi inter quos dominatur, dentibus frendendo et tabescendo, et nihil adversus eum valendo, testantur. Deinde quod paulo post dicit, Juravit Dominus, et non poenitebit eum: quibus verbis immutabile futurum esse significat, quod adjungit, Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech (Psal. CIX, 1, 2, 4), ex eo quod jam nusquam est sacerdotium et sacrificium secundum ordinem Aaron, et ubique offertur sub sacerdote Christo, quod protulit Melchisedech, quando benedixit Abraham (Gen. XIV, 18 sqq.), quis ambigere permittitur, de quo ista dicantur? Ad haec itaque manifesta referuntur, quae paulo obscurius in eodem psalmo posita sunt, quando recte intelliguntur: quod in nostris jam popularibus Sermonibus fecimus. Sic et in illo ubi humilitatem passionis suae per prophetiam Christus eloquitur, dicens, Foderunt manus meas et pedes, dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea. Ipsi vero consideraverunt et conspexerunt me. Quibus utique verbis in cruce corpus significavit extentum, manibus pedibusque confixis et clavorum transverberatione confossis, eoque modo se spectaculum considerantibus et conspicientibus praebuisse.

Since, therefore, it was said so long before by prophecy to this queenly City of God, what we now see fulfilled, 'Instead of thy fathers, sons are born to thee, thou shalt make them princes over all the earth'—for indeed out of her sons throughout the whole earth are her overseers and fathers appointed, while the peoples concurrent to her confess to her with the confession of eternal praise for ever and ever—without doubt whatever is here said somewhat obscurely in tropical locutions, in whatever way it may be understood, ought to agree with these most manifest things.

Chapter XVII.

Of those things which in the hundred and ninth Psalm look to the priesthood of Christ, and of those things which in the twenty-first Psalm look to His passion.

As also in that psalm where Christ the Priest, as here the King, is most openly preached: 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.' That Christ sits at the right hand of God the Father is believed, not seen: that His enemies also are placed under His feet does not yet appear; this is being done, and will appear at the end; this also is now believed, and will afterwards be seen. But what follows: 'The Lord shall send the rod of Thy strength out of Zion: rule Thou in the midst of Thine enemies,' is so clear that it is denied not only faithlessly and unhappily, but even impudently. For even the enemies themselves confess that the law of Christ was sent out of Zion, which we call the Gospel, and acknowledge as the rod of His strength. But that He rules in the midst of His enemies, those same among whom He rules testify by gnashing their teeth and pining away, and being able to do nothing against Him. Then, what He says a little later: 'The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent,' by which words He signifies that what He adds will be immutable: 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek' (Ps. 109:1, 2, 4)—from the fact that now the priesthood and sacrifice according to the order of Aaron is nowhere, and everywhere there is offered under Christ the Priest what Melchizedek brought forth when he blessed Abraham (Gen. 14:18 ff.)—who is permitted to doubt of whom these things are said? To these manifest things, therefore, are referred those which are set down somewhat more obscurely in the same psalm, when they are rightly understood: which we have done in our popular Sermons. So also in that one where Christ through prophecy speaks of the humility of His passion, saying: 'They pierced my hands and my feet; they numbered all my bones.' But they themselves considered and beheld me. By which words surely He signified His body extended on the cross, with hands and feet fixed and pierced through by the driving of nails, and in that manner He offered Himself as a spectacle to those considering and beholding.

Addens etiam, Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem (Psal. XXI, 17-19). Quae prophetia quemadmodum impleta sit, evangelica narratur historia (Matth. XXVII, 35). Tunc profecto et alia recte intelliguntur, quae ibi minus aperte dicta sunt, cum congruunt his quae tanta manifestatione claruerunt: praesertim quia et illa quae non transacta credimus, sed praesentia contuemur, sicut in eodem psalmo leguntur tanto ante praedicta, ita nunc exhibita jam toto orbe cernuntur. Ibi enim paulo post dicitur: Commemorabuntur, et convertentur ad Dominum universi fines terrae, et adorabunt in conspectu ejus universae patriae gentium; quoniam Domini est regnum, et ipse dominabitur gentium (Psal. XXI, 28, 29).

Caput XVIII.

De Psalmo tertio, et de quadragesimo, et de quinto decimo, et de sexagesimo septimo, in quibus mors et resurrectio Domini prophetantur.

1. De resurrectione quoque ejus nequaquam Psalmorum oracula tacuerunt. Nam quid est aliud quod in Psalmo tertio ex persona ejus canitur, Ego dormivi, et somnum cepi; exsurrexi quoniam Dominus suscipiet me (Psal. III, 6)? An forte quisquam ita desipit, ut credat velut aliquid magnum nobis indicare voluisse Prophetam, quod dormierit, et exsurrexerit, nisi somnus iste mors esset, et evigilatio resurrectio, quam de Christo sic oportuit prophetari? Nam et in quadragesimo multo manifestius id ostenditur, ubi ex persona ejusdem Mediatoris, more solito, tanquam praeterita narrantur, quae futura prophetabantur; quoniam quae ventura erant jam in praedestinatione et praescientia Dei velut facta erant, quia certa erant. Inimici, inquit, mei dixerunt mala mihi: Quando morietur, et peribit nomen ejus? Et si ingrediebatur ut videret, vana locutum est cor ejus, congregavit iniquitatem sibi. Egrediebatur foras, et loquebatur simul in unum. Adversus me susurrabant omnes inimici mei, adversus me cogitabant mala mihi. Verum iniquum disposuerunt adversus me: Numquid qui dormit, non adjiciet ut resurgat? Hic certe ita posita sunt verba haec, ut nihil aliud dixisse intelligatur, quam si diceret, Numquid qui moritur, non adjiciet ut reviviscat? Superiora quippe demonstrant mortem ipsius cogitasse et disposuisse inimicos ejus, et hoc actum esse per eum qui ingrediebatur ut videret, et egrediebatur ut proderet. Cui autem hic non occurrat ex discipulo ejus factus traditor Judas?

Adding also: 'They divided my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots' (Ps. 21:17-19). How which prophecy was fulfilled is told by the evangelical history (Matt. 27:35). Then surely other things also which were less openly said there are rightly understood, when they agree with these things which have shone forth with so much manifestation: especially because those things also which we believe not as past, but behold as present, as they are read predicted so long before in the same psalm, so now being exhibited they are seen in all the world. For there it is said a little later: 'All the ends of the earth shall remember, and shall be converted to the Lord: and all the kindreds of the nations shall adore in His sight. For the kingdom is the Lord's: and He shall rule the nations' (Ps. 21:28-29).

Chapter XVIII.

Of the third Psalm, and the fortieth, and the fifteenth, and the sixty-seventh, in which the death and resurrection of the Lord are prophesied.

1. Nor have the oracles of the Psalms been silent concerning His resurrection also. For what else is that which is sung in the third Psalm from His person: "I slept, and took my rest; I rose again, for the Lord will sustain me" (Ps. 3:5)? Or is anyone perhaps so foolish as to believe that the Prophet wished to indicate to us as if something great, that he slept and rose again, unless that sleep were death, and the awakening a resurrection, which it was fitting should thus be prophesied concerning Christ? For in the fortieth also this is shown much more manifestly, where from the person of the same Mediator, as usual, those things which were prophesied as future are narrated as if past; because those things which were to come were already as if done in the predestination and foreknowledge of God, because they were certain. "My enemies," He says, "spoke evil of me: When shall he die, and his name perish? And if he came in to see, his heart spoke vain things; he gathered iniquity to himself. He went out, and spoke together at the same time. All my enemies whispered against me; against me they devised evils for me. They disposed an iniquitous word against me: Shall he that sleeps no more rise again?" Here certainly these words are so placed that it is understood that he said nothing else than if he were to say: "Shall he who dies not live again?" For the preceding words show that His enemies thought of and disposed His death, and that this was done through him who entered in to see, and went out to betray. And who would not here think of Judas, made a traitor from being His disciple?

Quia ergo facturi erant quod moliebantur, id est, occisuri erant eum, ostendens illos vana malitia frustra occisuros resurrecturum, sic adjecit hunc versum, velut si diceret, Quid agitis vani? quod vestrum scelus erit, meus somnus erit. Numquid qui dormit, non adjiciet ut resurgat? Et tamen eos tam magnum nefas non impune facturos, consequentibus indicat versibus, dicens: Etenim homo pacis meae in quem speravi, qui edebat panes meos, ampliavit super me calcaneum; hoc est, conculcavit me. Tu autem, inquit, Domine, miserere mei, et resuscita me, et reddam illis (Psal. XL, 6-11). Quis hoc jam neget, qui Judaeos post passionem resurrectionemque Christi de sedibus suis bellica strage et excidio funditus eradicatos videt? Occisus enim ab eis resurrexit, et reddidit eis interim temporariam disciplinam, excepto quod non correctis servat, quando vivos et mortuos judicabit. Nam Dominus ipse Jesus istum ipsum traditorem suum per panem porrectum ostendens Apostolis (Joan. XIII, 26), hunc etiam versum psalmi hujus commemoravit, et in se dixit impletum: Qui edebat panes meos, ampliavit super me calcaneum. Quod autem ait, In quem speravi, non congruit capiti, sed corpori. Neque enim nesciebat eum ipse Salvator, de quo ante jam dixerat, Unus ex vobis diabolus est (Id. VI, 71). Sed solet in se membrorum suorum transferre personam, et sibi tribuere quod esset illorum, quia caput et corpus unus est Christus: unde illud est in Evangelio, Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare. Quod exponens ait: Quando uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis (Matth. XXV, 35, 40). Se itaque dixit sperasse, quod tunc speraverant de Juda discipuli ejus, quando est connumeratus Apostolis.

2. Judaei autem Christum, quem sperant, moriturum esse non sperant. Ideo quem Lex et Prophetae annuntiaverunt, nostrum esse non putant; sed nescio quem suum, quem sibi alienum a mortis passione confingunt. Ideo mirabili vanitate atque caecitate verba quae posuimus, non mortem et resurrectionem, sed somnum et evigilationem significasse contendunt. Sed clamat eis etiam Psalmus quintus decimus: Propter hoc jucundatum est cor meum, et exsultavit lingua mea, insuper et caro mea requiescet in spe: quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem (Psal. XV, 9 et 10). Quis in ea spe diceret requievisse carnem suam, ut non derelicta anima sua in inferno, sed cito ad eam redeunte revivisceret, ne corrumperetur, sicut cadavera corrumpi solent, nisi qui die tertio resurrexit? Quod utique dicere non possunt de propheta et rege David.

Since therefore they were about to do what they were striving for, that is, they were about to kill Him, showing that they by vain malice would kill Him in vain since He would rise again, He thus added this verse, as if He were to say: "What are you doing, vain ones? what will be your crime, will be my sleep. Shall he that sleeps no more rise again?" And yet that they would not do so great a wickedness with impunity, He indicates in the following verses, saying: "Even the man of my peace in whom I trusted, who ate my bread, has magnified the heel over me"; that is, he has trampled me under foot. "But Thou, O Lord," He says, "have mercy on me, and raise me up, and I will requite them" (Ps. 40:5-10). Who can now deny this, who sees the Jews, after the passion and resurrection of Christ, thoroughly eradicated from their seats by martial slaughter and destruction? For He who was killed by them rose again, and rendered to them meanwhile a temporary discipline, besides what He reserves for the uncorrected, when He shall judge the living and the dead. For the Lord Jesus Himself, pointing out this same traitor of His to the Apostles by the bread reached to him (John 13:26), also commemorated this verse of this psalm, and said it was fulfilled in Himself: "He who ate my bread has magnified the heel over me." But what He says, "In whom I trusted," does not suit the head, but the body. For the Savior Himself was not ignorant of him, of whom He had already said before, "One of you is a devil" (Id. 6:70). But He is accustomed to transfer to Himself the person of His members, and to attribute to Himself what was theirs, because the head and the body are one Christ: whence is that in the Gospel, "I was hungry, and you gave me to eat." Which explaining He says: "When you did it to one of these my least ones, you did it to me" (Matt. 25:35, 40). He said therefore that He had trusted, what His disciples had then trusted concerning Judas, when he was numbered among the Apostles.

2. But the Jews do not expect that the Christ whom they expect will die. Therefore they do not think that He whom the Law and the Prophets announced is ours; but they fashion for themselves some one of their own, whom they feign to be alien from the passion of death. Therefore with wonderful vanity and blindness they contend that the words which we have set down signified not death and resurrection, but sleep and awakening. But the fifteenth Psalm also cries out to them: "Therefore my heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced; moreover my flesh also shall rest in hope. Because Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; nor wilt Thou give Thy Holy One to see corruption" (Ps. 15:9-10). Who would say that his flesh had rested in that hope, that his soul not being left in hell, but soon returning to it, he should live again, lest he should be corrupted, as cadavers are wont to be corrupted, unless He who rose on the third day? Which surely they cannot say of the prophet and king David.

Clamat et sexagesimus septimus Psalmus: Deus noster, Deus salvos faciendi, et Domini exitus mortis (Psal. LXVII, 21). Quid apertius diceretur? Deus enim salvos faciendi Dominus est Jesus, quod interpretatur Salvator, sive Salutaris. Nam ratio nominis hujus haec reddita est, quando priusquam ex virgine nasceretur dictum est: Pariet filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Jesum. Ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum (Matth. I, 21). In quorum peccatorum remissionem quoniam sanguis ejus effusus est, non utique oportuit eum de hac vita exitus alios habere quam mortis. Ideo cum dictum esset, Deus noster, Deus salvos faciendi; continuo subjunctum est, Et Domini exitus mortis; ut ostenderetur moriendo salvos esse facturus. Sed mirando dictum est, Et Domini; tanquam diceretur, Talis est ista vita mortalium, ut nec ipse Dominus aliter ab illa exiret, nisi per mortem.

Caput XIX.

De Psalmo sexagesimo octavo, in quo Judaeorum pertinax infidelitas declaratur.

Sed ut Judaei tam manifestis hujus prophetiae testimoniis, etiam rebus ad effectum tam clarum certumque perductis, omnino non cedant, profecto in eis illud impletur, quod in eo psalmo qui hunc sequitur, scriptum est. Cum enim et illic ex persona Christi, quae ad ejus passionem pertinent, prophetice dicerentur, commemoratum est quod in Evangelio patuit: Dederunt in escam meam fel, et in siti mea potum mihi dederunt acetum (Psal. LXVIII, 22; Matth. XXVII, 34, 48). Et velut post tale convivium epulasque sibi hujuscemodi exhibitas mox intulit, Fiat mensa eorum coram ipsis in muscipulam, et in retributionem, et in scandalum: obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant, et dorsum eorum semper incurva (Psal. LXVIII, 23, 24): et caetera, quae non optando sunt dicta, sed optandi specie prophetando praedicta. Quid ergo mirum, si haec manifesta non vident, quorum oculi sunt obscurati, ne videant? quid mirum, si coelestia non suspiciunt, qui ut in terrena sint proni, dorsum eorum semper incurvum est? His enim verbis translatis a corpore, vitia significantur animorum. Ista de Psalmis, hoc est de prophetia regis David, satis dicta sint, ut aliquis modus sit. Ignoscant autem qui haec legunt, et cuncta illa noverunt; et de his quae fortasse firmiora me praetermisisse vel intelligunt, vel existimant, non querantur.

CAPUT XX.---De regno ac merito David, et de filio ipsius Salomone, eaque prophetia quae ad Christum pertinens invenitur, vel in eis libris qui scriptis ipsius copulantur, vel in eis quos ipsius esse non dubium est.

The sixty-seventh Psalm also cries out: "Our God is the God of making safe; and of the Lord are the exits of death" (Ps. 67:21). What could be said more clearly? For the God of making safe is the Lord Jesus, which is interpreted Savior, or Salutary. For the reason of this name was given this, when before He was born of the virgin it was said: "She shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus. For He shall save His people from their sins" (Matt. 1:21). In the remission of which sins since His blood was shed, surely it was not fitting that He should have other exits from this life than those of death. Therefore when it had been said, "Our God is the God of making safe," it was immediately added, "And of the Lord are the exits of death," that it might be shown that by dying He was about to make safe. But it was said wonderfully, "And of the Lord"; as if it were said, Such is this life of mortals, that not even the Lord Himself should go out from it otherwise than by death.

Chapter XIX.

Of the sixty-eighth Psalm, in which the persistent infidelity of the Jews is declared.

But that the Jews should not yield at all to such manifest testimonies of this prophecy, even when things have been brought to such a clear and certain effect, surely that is fulfilled in them which is written in that psalm which follows this one. For when there also, from the person of Christ, things pertaining to His passion were said prophetically, that was commemorated which was made clear in the Gospel: "They gave me gall for my food, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink" (Ps. 68:22; Matt. 27:34, 48). And as if after such a banquet and dainties of this sort exhibited to Him, He immediately brought in: "Let their table become a snare before them, and a retribution, and a stumbling-block: let their eyes be darkened that they see not, and ever bow down their back" (Ps. 68:23, 24): and the rest, which are said not by way of wishing, but predicted by way of prophesying under the appearance of wishing. What wonder then, if they do not see these manifest things, whose eyes are darkened, that they see not? what wonder if they do not look up to heavenly things, whose back is always bowed down, that they may be prone to earthly things? For by these words translated from the body, the vices of minds are signified. Let these things from the Psalms, that is, from the prophecy of king David, be enough said, that there may be some limit. But let those who read these things, and know all those, forgive me; and concerning those things which perhaps more firm they understand or think me to have passed over, let them not complain.

CHAPTER XX.---Of the reign and merit of David, and of his son Solomon, and that prophecy which is found pertaining to Christ, either in those books which are joined to his writings, or in those which there is no doubt are his.

1. Regnavit ergo David in terrena Jerusalem, filius coelestis Jerusalem, divino multum testimonio praedicatus: quia et delicta ejus tanta pietate superata sunt, per saluberrimam poenitendi humilitatem, ut prorsus inter eos sit, de quibus ipse ait, Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata (Psal. XXXI, 1). Post hunc regnavit eidem populo universo Salomon ejus filius, qui, ut supra dictum est, patre suo vivente coepit regnare. Hic bonis initiis, malos exitus habuit. Quippe secundae res, quae sapientium animos fatigant, magis huic obfuerunt, quam profuit ipsa sapientia, etiam nunc et deinceps memorabilis, et tunc longe lateque laudata. Prophetasse etiam ipse reperitur in suis libris, qui tres recepti sunt in auctoritatem canonicam, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, et Canticum canticorum. Alii vero duo, quorum unus Sapientia, alter Ecclesiasticus dicitur, propter eloquii nonnullam similitudinem, ut Salomonis dicantur, obtinuit consuetudo: non autem esse ipsius, non dubitant doctiores; eos tamen in auctoritatem, maxime occidentalis, antiquitus recepit Ecclesia: quorum in uno, qui appellatur Sapientia Salomonis, passio Christi apertissime prophetatur. Impii quippe interfectores ejus commemorantur dicentes: Circumveniamus justum, quoniam insuavis est nobis, et contrarius est operibus nostris, et improperat nobis peccata legis, et infamat in nos peccata disciplinae nostrae. Promittit scientiam Dei se habere, et filium Dei se nominat. Factus est nobis in traductionem cogitationum nostrarum. Gravis est nobis etiam ad videndum, quoniam dissimilis est aliis vita illius, et immutatae viae ejus. Tanquam nugaces aestimati sumus ab illo, et abstinet se a viis nostris quasi ab immunditiis: praefert novissima justorum, et gloriatur patrem Deum se habere. Videamus ergo si sermones illius veri sunt, et tentemus quae ventura sunt illi, et sciemus quae erunt novissima ejus. Si enim justus est filius Dei, suscipiet illum, et liberabit eum de manu contrariorum. Contumelia et tormento interrogemus illum, ut sciamus reverentiam illius, et probemus patientiam ipsius. Morte turpissima condemnemus illum: erit enim ei respectus ex sermonibus illius. Haec cogitaverunt, et erraverunt: excaecavit enim illos malitia ipsorum (Sap. II, 12-21). In Ecclesiastico autem fides gentium futura praedicitur isto modo: Miserere nostri, dominator Deus omnium, et immitte timorem tuum super omnes gentes: extolle manum tuam super gentes alienas, et videant potentiam tuam. Sicut coram illis sanctificatus es in nobis, ita coram nobis magnificeris in illis, ut agnoscant te secundum quod et nos agnovimus te, quia non est Deus praeter te, Domine (Eccli. XXXVI, 1-5). Hanc optandi et precandi specie prophetiam per Jesum Christum videmus impletam. Sed adversus contradictores non tanta firmitate proferuntur, quae scripta non sunt in canone Judaeorum.

1. David therefore reigned in the earthly Jerusalem, a son of the celestial Jerusalem, much extolled by divine testimony: because even his sins were overcome by so much piety, through the most salutary humility of repentance, that he is altogether among those of whom he himself says: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered" (Ps. 31:1). After him Solomon his son reigned over the same whole people, who, as was said above, began to reign while his father was living. He, with good beginnings, had bad endings. For indeed prosperity, which fatigues the minds of the wise, was more of a hindrance to him than wisdom itself was a benefit, even now and henceforth memorable, and then far and wide lauded. He also is found to have prophesied in his books, of which three are received into canonical authority: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. But the other two, of which one is called Wisdom, the other Ecclesiasticus, on account of some similarity of style, custom has obtained that they be called Solomon's: but that they are not his, the more learned do not doubt; yet the Church, especially the Western, has from of old received them into authority: in one of which, which is called the Wisdom of Solomon, the passion of Christ is most openly prophesied. For his impious murderers are commemorated saying: "Let us lie in wait for the righteous, because he is not for our turn, and he is contrary to our doings, and upbraideth us with our sins of the law, and objecteth to our infamy the sins of our discipline. He professeth to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the child of the Lord. He was made to reprove our thoughts. He is grievous unto us even to behold: for his life is not like other men's, and his ways are of another fashion. We are esteemed of him as counterfeits, and he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness: he pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed, and maketh his boast that God is his father. Let us see if his words be true, and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him. For if the just man be the son of God, He will help him, and deliver him from the hand of his enemies. Let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience. Let us condemn him with a shameful death: for by his own saying he shall be respected. These things they did imagine, and were deceived: for their own wickedness hath blinded them" (Wisd. 2:12-21). But in Ecclesiasticus the future faith of the nations is predicted in this manner: "Have mercy upon us, O Lord God of all, and send Thy fear upon all the nations: lift up Thy hand against the strange nations, and let them see Thy power. As Thou wast sanctified in us before them, so be Thou magnified among them before us, that they may know Thee, according as we also have known Thee, that there is no God but only Thou, O Lord" (Ecclus. 36:1-5). We see this prophecy, under the appearance of wishing and praying, fulfilled through Jesus Christ. But against contradicters those things are not produced with so much firmness which are not written in the canon of the Jews.

2. In tribus vero illis, quos Salomonis esse constat, et Judaei canonicos habent, ut ostendatur ad Christum et Ecclesiam pertinere quod in eis ejusmodi reperitur, operosa disputatio necessaria est, quae nos ultra quam oportet, si nunc adhibetur, extendit. Tamen quod in Proverbiis legitur, viros impios dicere, Abscondamus in terra virum justum injuste, absorbeamus vero eum tanquam infernus viventem, et auferamus ejus memoriam de terra, possessionem ejus pretiosam apprehendamus (Prov. I, 11-13); non ita obscurum est, ut de Christo et possessione ejus Ecclesia sine laboriosa expositione non possit intelligi. Tale quippe aliquid etiam Dominus ipse Jesus per evangelicam parabolam ostendit dixisse malos colonos: Hic est haeres, venite, occidamus eum, et nostra erit haereditas (Matth. XXI, 38). Itemque illud in eodem libro, quod jam ante perstrinximus, cum ageremus de sterili quae peperit septem (Supra, cap. 4, n. 4), nonnisi de Christo et Ecclesia mox ut fuerit pronuntiatum consuevit intelligi ab eis, qui Christum Sapientiam Dei esse noverunt. Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, et suffulsit columnas septem; immolavit suas victimas, miscuit in cratere vinum suum, et paravit mensam suam. Misit servos suos convocans cum excellenti praedicatione ad craterem, dicens: Quis est insipiens? divertat ad me. Et inopibus sensu dixit: Venite, manducate de meis panibus, et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis (Prov. IX, 1-5). Hic certe agnoscimus Dei Sapientiam, hoc est, Verbum Patri coaeternum, in utero virginali domum sibi aedificasse corpus humanum, et huic, tanquam capiti membra, Ecclesiam subjunxisse, martyrum victimas immolasse, mensam in vino et panibus praeparasse, ubi apparet etiam sacerdotium secundum ordinem Melchisedech, insipientes et inopes sensu vocasse; quia, sicut dicit Apostolus, infirma hujus mundi elegit, ut confunderet fortia (I Cor. I, 27). Quibus tamen infirmis quod sequitur dicit: Derelinquite insipentiam, ut vivatis; et quaerite prudentiam, ut habeatis vitam (Prov. IX, 6). Participem autem fieri mensae illius, ipsum est incipere habere vitam. Nam et in alio libro, qui vocatur Ecclesiastes, ubi ait, Non est bonum homini, nisi quod manducabit et bibet (Eccle. VIII, 15); quid credibilius dicere intelligitur, quam quod ad participationem mensae hujus pertinet, quam sacerdos ipse Mediator Testamenti novi exhibet secundum ordinem Melchisedech de corpore et sanguine suo? Id enim sacrificium successit omnibus illis sacrificiis veteris Testamenti, quae immolabantur in umbra futuri: propter quod etiam vocem illam in Psalmo tricesimo et nono ejusdem Mediatoris per prophetiam loquentis agnoscimus: Sacrificium et oblationem noluisti, corpus autem perfecisti mihi (Psal. XXXIX, 7). Quia pro illis omnibus sacrificiis et oblationibus corpus ejus offertur, et participantibus ministratur.

2. But in those three, which it is certain are Solomon's, and which the Jews hold as canonical, that it may be shown that what is found in them of this sort pertains to Christ and the Church, a laborious disputation is necessary, which if now applied, would extend us further than is fitting. Yet what is read in Proverbs, that impious men say: "Let us hide the righteous man in the earth unjustly, let us swallow him up alive as hell, and let us take away his memory from the earth, let us seize his precious possession" (Prov. 1:11-13); it is not so obscure that it cannot be understood of Christ and His possession the Church without laborious exposition. For the Lord Jesus Himself showed by an evangelical parable that the evil husbandmen said something of this sort: "This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be ours" (Matt. 21:38). And likewise that in the same book, which we have already touched upon before, when we were dealing with the barren woman who bore seven (Above, chap. 4, n. 4), has been accustomed to be understood only of Christ and the Church as soon as it was pronounced by those who know that Christ is the Wisdom of God. Wisdom hath builded her a house, and hath hewn out her seven pillars; she hath killed her victims, she hath mingled her wine in a cup, and hath furnished her table. She hath sent forth her servants, calling with a high proclamation to the cup, saying: Whoso is simple, let him turn in to me. And to those wanting in sense she said: Come, eat of my breads, and drink the wine which I have mingled for you" (Prov. 9:1-5). Here certainly we recognize that the Wisdom of God, that is, the Word co-eternal with the Father, builded a house for Himself in the virginal womb, a human body, and joined to this, as members to the head, the Church; sacrificed the victims of the martyrs; prepared a table in wine and breads, where also appears the priesthood after the order of Melchizedek; called the simple and those wanting in sense; because, as the Apostle says, He hath chosen the weak things of this world to confound the strong (1 Cor. 1:27). To which weak ones, however, that which follows says: "Forsake foolishness, that you may live; and seek prudence, that you may have life" (Prov. 9:6). But to become a partaker of that table, is itself to begin to have life. For also in another book, which is called Ecclesiastes, where he says: "It is not good for a man, except what he shall eat and drink" (Eccles. 8:15); what is he more credibly understood to say, than what pertains to the participation of this table, which the Priest Himself, the Mediator of the New Testament, exhibits after the order of Melchizedek of His own body and blood? For that sacrifice succeeded to all those sacrifices of the Old Testament, which were sacrificed in the shadow of the future: on account of which we also recognize that voice in the thirty-ninth Psalm of the same Mediator speaking through prophecy: "Sacrifice and oblation Thou wouldest not, but a body Thou hast perfected for me" (Ps. 39:6). Because for all those sacrifices and oblations His body is offered, and is administered to those participating.

Nam istum Ecclesiastem in hac sententia manducandi et bibendi, quam saepe repetit, plurimumque commendat, non sapere carnalis epulas voluptatis, satis illud ostendit, ubi ait, Melius est ire in domum luctus, quam ire in domum potus: et paulo post, Cor, inquit, sapientium in domo luctus, et cor insipientium in domo epularum (Eccle. VII, 3, 5). Sed illud magis commemorandum existimo de hoc libro, quod pertinet ad civitates duas, unam diaboli; alteram Christi, et earum reges diabolum et Christum: Vae tibi, terra, inquit, cujus rex adolescens, et principes tui mane comedunt. Beata tu, terra, cujus rex tuus filius ingenuorum, et principes tui in tempore comedunt, in fortitudine, et non in confusione (Id. X, 16 et 17). Adolescentem dixit diabolum, propter stultitiam, et superbiam, et temeritatem, et petulantiam, caeteraque vitia, quae huic aetati assolent abundare: Christum autem filium ingenuorum, sanctorum scilicet Patriarcharum, pertinentium ad liberam civitatem, ex quibus est in carne progenitus. Principes illius civitatis mane manducantes, id est ante horam congruam; quia non exspectant opportunam, quae vera est, in futuro saeculo felicitatem, festinanter beari hujus saeculi celebritate cupientes. Principes autem civitatis Christi tempus non fallacis beatitudinis patienter exspectant. Hoc ait, in fortitudine, et non in confusione: quia non eos fallit spes; de qua dicit Apostolus, Spes autem non confundit (Rom. V, 5). Dicit et Psalmus, Etenim qui te exspectant, non confundentur (Psal. XXIV, 3). Jam vero Canticum canticorum spiritualis quaedam sanctarum est voluptas mentium, in conjugio illius Regis et reginae civitatis, quod est Christus et Ecclesia. Sed haec voluptas allegoricis tegminibus involuta est, ut desideretur ardentius, nudeturque jucundius, et appareat sponsus, cui dicitur in eodem Cantico, Aequitas dilexit te (Cantic. I, 3); et sponsa quae ibi audit, Charitas in deliciis tuis (Id. VII, 6). Tacita multa transimus, cura hujus operis terminandi.

Caput XXI.

De regibus post Salomonem, sive in Juda, sive in Israel.

Caeteri post Salomonem reges Hebraeorum vix inveniuntur per aliqua aenigmata dictorum suorum rerumve gestarum, quod ad Christum et Ecclesiam pertineat, prophetasse, sive in Juda, sive in Israel. Sic enim appellatae sunt illius populi partes, ex quo propter Salomonis offensam tempore filii ejus Roboam, qui patri successit in regnum, Deo vindicante divisus est. Proinde tribus decem, quas accepit Jeroboam servus Salomonis, rex eis in Samaria constitutus, proprie vocabantur Israel, quamvis hoc universi populi illius nomen esset.

For that this Ecclesiastes in this sentence of eating and drinking, which he often repeats and very much commends, does not savor of the banquets of carnal pleasure, that sufficiently shows where he says: "It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of drinking": and a little later: "The heart," he says, "of the wise is in the house of mourning, and the heart of the foolish in the house of banquets" (Eccles. 7:2, 4). But that I think more to be commemorated from this book, which pertains to the two cities, one of the devil, the other of Christ, and their kings the devil and Christ: "Woe to thee, O land," he says, "whose king is a youth, and thy princes eat in the morning. Blessed art thou, O land, whose king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, in strength and not in confusion" (Id. 10:16-17). He called the devil a youth, on account of foolishness, and pride, and rashness, and petulance, and other vices which are wont to abound in this age: but Christ the son of nobles, of the holy Patriarchs, namely, pertaining to the free city, from whom He is procreated in the flesh. The princes of that city eating in the morning, that is before the fitting hour; because they do not expect the opportune one, which is true, in the world to come, happiness, desiring hastily to be blessed by the celebrity of this world. But the princes of the city of Christ patiently expect the time of no fallacious happiness. This he says, "in strength, and not in confusion": because hope does not deceive them; of which the Apostle says: "But hope confoundeth not" (Rom. 5:5). The Psalm also says: "For they who expect Thee shall not be confounded" (Ps. 24:3). Now indeed the Song of Songs is a certain spiritual pleasure of holy minds, in the marriage of that King and Queen of the city, which is Christ and the Church. But this pleasure is wrapped in allegorical coverings, that it may be desired more ardently, and laid bare more joyfully, and the bridegroom appear, to whom it is said in the same Song: "Equity hath loved thee" (Cant. 1:4); and the bride who there hears: "Charity in thy delights" (Id. 7:6). Many things we pass over in silence, out of care for terminating this work.

Chapter XXI.

Of the kings after Solomon, either in Judah or in Israel.

The rest of the kings of the Hebrews after Solomon are hardly found, through any enigmas of their sayings or deeds, to have prophesied what pertains to Christ and the Church, whether in Judah or in Israel. For so the parts of that people were called, from the time when, on account of Solomon's offense, in the time of his son Rehoboam, who succeeded his father in the kingdom, it was divided by the avenging God. Accordingly, the ten tribes which Jeroboam the servant of Solomon received, a king being appointed for them in Samaria, were properly called Israel, although this was the name of that whole people.

Duabus vero tribubus, Judae scilicet et Benjamin, quae propter David, ne penitus regnum stirpis ejus fuisset eradicatum, remanserant subjacentes civitati Jerusalem, Judae nomen fuit: quia ipsa erat tribus unde David. Benjamin vero tribus altera ad idem regnum, sicut dixi, pertinens, erat unde fuit Saül rex ante David. Sed simul istae duae tribus, ut dictum est, Juda vocabantur; et hoc nomine discernebantur ab Israel, quod appellabantur proprie decem tribus habentes suum regem. Nam tribus Levi, quoniam sacerdotalis fuit, Dei, non regum servitio mancipata, tertia decima numerabatur. Joseph quippe unus ex duodecim filiis Israel, non unam, sicut caeteri singulas, sed duas tribus fecit, Ephraem et Manassen. Verumtamen etiam tribus Levi ad regnum Jerosolymitanum pertinebat magis, ubi erat Dei templum, cui serviebat. Diviso igitur populo, primus regnavit in Jerusalem Roboam, rex Juda, filius Salomonis; et in Samaria Jeroboam, rex Israel, servus Salomonis. Et cum voluisset Roboam tanquam tyrannidem divisae illius partis bello persequi, prohibitus est populus pugnare cum fratribus suis, dicente Deo per prophetam, se hoc fecisse (III Reg. XII, 24). Unde apparuit nullum in ea re, vel regis Israel, vel populi fuisse peccatum, sed voluntatem Dei vindicantis impletam. Qua cognita, pars utraque inter se pacata conquievit: non enim religionis, sed regni fuerat facta divisio.

CAPUT XXII.---De Jeroboam, qui impietate idololatriae subditum sibi populum profanavit, in quo tamen non destitit Deus et Prophetas inspirare, et multos ab idololatriae crimine custodire.

Verum rex Israel Jeroboam mente perversa non credens Deo, quem veracem promisso sibi regno datoque probaverat, timuit ne veniendo ad templum Dei, quod erat in Jerusalem, quo secundum divinam legem sacrificandi causa universae illi genti veniendum fuit, seduceretur ab eo populus, et stirpi David tanquam regio semini redderetur; et instituit idololatriam in regno suo, et populum Dei secum simulacrorum cultu obstrictum nefanda impietate decepit. Nec tamen omnimodo cessavit Deus non solum illum regem, verum etiam successores ejus et impietatis imitatores, populumque ipsum, arguere per Prophetas. Nam ibi exstiterunt et magni illi insignesque Prophetae, qui etiam mirabilia multa fecerunt, Elias et Elisaeus discipulus ejus. Etiam ibi dicenti Eliae, Domine Prophetas tuos occiderunt, altaria tua suffoderunt, et ego relictus sum solus, et quaerunt animam meam (III Reg. XIX, 10); responsum est, illic esse septem millia virorum, qui non curvaverunt genua ante Baal.

But to the two tribes, namely of Judah and Benjamin, which on account of David, lest the kingdom of his stock should have been thoroughly eradicated, had remained subject to the city of Jerusalem, the name was Judah: because that was the tribe whence David was. But the other tribe Benjamin, pertaining to the same kingdom, as I said, was that whence was Saul the king before David. But together these two tribes, as was said, were called Judah; and by this name they were discerned from Israel, as the ten tribes having their own king were properly called. For the tribe of Levi, because it was priestly, being delivered over to the service of God, not of kings, was numbered the thirteenth. For Joseph, one of the twelve sons of Israel, made not one, as the others single ones, but two tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. Nevertheless even the tribe of Levi pertained more to the kingdom of Jerusalem, where was the temple of God, which it served. The people therefore being divided, Rehoboam, king of Judah, the son of Solomon, first reigned in Jerusalem; and in Samaria Jeroboam, king of Israel, the servant of Solomon. And when Rehoboam had wished to pursue that divided part as a tyranny with war, the people were prohibited from fighting with their brethren, God saying through a prophet that He had done this (1 Kings 12:24). Whence it appeared that in that matter there was no sin either of the king of Israel or of the people, but the will of the avenging God was fulfilled. Which being known, both parts being pacified among themselves rested: for the division had been made not of religion, but of the kingdom.

CHAPTER XXII.---Of Jeroboam, who profaned the people subject to him by the impiety of idolatry, in whom however God did not cease to inspire Prophets, and to keep many from the crime of idolatry.

But Jeroboam the king of Israel, with a perverse mind not believing God, whom he had proved true by the kingdom promised and given to him, feared lest the people by coming to the temple of God, which was in Jerusalem, whither according to the divine law the whole of that nation had to come for the sake of sacrificing, should be seduced from him, and be restored to the stock of David as to the royal seed; and he instituted idolatry in his kingdom, and deceived the people of God bound together with himself by the worship of idols with unspeakable impiety. Nor yet did God altogether cease to rebuke not only that king, but also his successors and imitators of impiety, and the people itself, through the Prophets. For there stood forth both those great and distinguished Prophets, who also did many wonders, Elijah and Elisha his disciple. Even there to Elijah saying: "Lord, they have killed Thy Prophets, they have digged down Thine altars, and I am left alone, and they seek my life" (1 Kings 19:10); it was answered, that there were there seven thousand men who had not bowed their knees before Baal.

CAPUT XXIII.---De vario utriusque regni Hebraeorum statu, donec ambo populi in captivitatem diverso tempore ducerentur, revocato postea Juda in regnum suum, quod novissime in Romanorum transiit potestate.

Itemque in regno Juda pertinente ad Jerusalem, etiam succedentium regum temporibus non defuerunt Prophetae: sicut Deo placebat eos mittere, vel ad praenuntiandum quod opus erat, vel ad corripienda peccata, praecipiendamque justitiam. Nam et illic, etsi longe minus quam in Israel, tamen exstiterunt reges qui suis impietatibus Deum graviter offenderent, et moderatis flagellis cum populo simili plecterentur. Piorum sane regum merita ibi non parva laudantur. In Israel autem reges alios magis, alios minus, omnes tamen reprobos legimus. Utraque igitur pars, sicut jubebat divina providentia, vel sinebat, variis et erigebatur prosperitatibus, et adversitatibus premebatur: et sic affligebatur, non solum externis, verum etiam inter se civilibus bellis, ut certis existentibus causis, misericordia Dei vel ira patesceret; donec ejus indignatione crescente, universa gens illa a Chaldaeis debellantibus, non solum subverteretur in sedibus suis, sed etiam ex maxima sui parte transferretur in terras Assyriorum, prius illa pars, quae vocabatur Israel in tribubus decem; postea vero etiam Judas, eversa Jerusalem et templo illo nobilissimo: in quibus terris per annos septuaginta captivum egit otium. Post quos inde dimissa, templum quod eversum fuerat, instauravit: et quamvis plurimi ejus in alienigenarum degerent terris, non habuit tamen deinceps duas regni partes, et duos diversos in singulis partibus reges: sed in Jerusalem princeps eorum unus erat; atque ad Dei templum, quod ibi erat, omnes undique, ubicumque essent, et undecumque possent, per certa tempora veniebant. Sed nec tunc eis hostes ex aliis gentibus expugnatoresque defuerunt: nam etiam Romanorum jam tributarios eos Christus invenit.

Caput XXIV.

De Prophetis qui vel apud Judaeos postremi fuerunt, vel quos circa tempus nativitatis Christi evangelica prodit historia.

Toto autem illo tempore, ex quo redierunt de Babylonia, post Malachiam, Aggaeum et Zachariam, qui tunc prophetaverunt, et Esdram, non habuerunt Prophetas usque ad Salvatoris adventum, nisi alium Zachariam patrem Joannis, et Elisabeth ejus uxorem, Christi nativitate jam proxima; et eo jam nato, Simeonem senem, et Annam viduam jamque grandaevam, et ipsum Joannem novissimum: qui juvenis, jam juvenem Christum, non quidem futurum praedixit, sed tamen incognitum prophetica cognitione monstravit: propter quod ipse Dominus ait, Lex et Prophetae usque ad Joannem (Matth. XI, 13).

CHAPTER XXIII.---Of the varying state of both kingdoms of the Hebrews, until both peoples should be led into captivity at different times, Judah being afterwards recalled into its kingdom, which latest passed into the power of the Romans.

Likewise in the kingdom of Judah pertaining to Jerusalem, even in the times of the succeeding kings, Prophets were not wanting: as it pleased God to send them, either for foreannouncing what was necessary, or for rebuking sins, and commanding righteousness. For there also, although far less than in Israel, yet there stood forth kings who by their impieties gravely offended God, and were punished with moderate scourges together with a similar people. The merits of pious kings there are praised not a little. But in Israel we read that some kings were more, some less, yet all were reprobate. Each part therefore, as divine providence commanded or permitted, was both raised up by various prosperities, and pressed down by adversities: and was so afflicted, not only by external, but even among themselves by civil wars, that certain causes existing, the mercy of God or His wrath might be made manifest; until His indignation increasing, that whole nation was not only subverted in its own seats by the Chaldeans warred upon, but was also for the greatest part of itself transferred into the lands of the Assyrians, first that part which was called Israel in the ten tribes; but afterwards also Judah, Jerusalem and that most noble temple being overthrown: in which lands it spent a captive leisure for seventy years. After which being sent away from thence, it restored the temple which had been overthrown: and although very many of it dwelt in the lands of foreigners, yet it had not henceforth two parts of the kingdom, and two diverse kings in single parts: but in Jerusalem their prince was one; and to the temple of God, which was there, all from every side, wherever they were, and from whence they could, came at certain times. But neither then did enemies from other nations and conquerors fail them: for even Christ found them already tributaries of the Romans.

Chapter XXIV.

Of the Prophets who were latest among the Jews, or whom the evangelical history brings forth about the time of the birth of Christ.

In all that time, however, from when they returned from Babylonia, after Malachi, Haggai, and Zechariah, who then prophesied, and Ezra, they had no Prophets until the advent of the Savior, except another Zechariah the father of John, and Elizabeth his wife, when the birth of Christ was already near; and He being already born, Simeon the old man, and Anna the widow and now of great age, and John himself the latest: who as a youth, showed the now youthful Christ, not indeed as about to come, but yet unknown, by prophetic knowledge: on account of which the Lord Himself says: "The Law and the Prophets were until John" (Matt. 11:13).

Sed istorum quinque prophetatio ex Evangelio nobis nota est: ubi et ipsa Virgo mater Domini ante Joannem prophetasse invenitur (Luc. I, 46-55). Sed hanc istorum prophetiam Judaei reprobi non accipiunt: acceperunt autem, qui ex eis innumerabiles Evangelio crediderunt. Tunc enim vere Israel divisus est in duo, divisione illa, quae per Samuelem prophetam Saüli regi est immutabilis praenuntiata. Malachiam vero, Aggaeum, Zachariam, et Esdram, etiam Judaei reprobi in auctoritatem canonicam receptos novissimos habent. Sunt enim et scripta eorum, sicut aliorum, qui in magna multitudine Prophetarum perpauci ea scripserunt, quae auctoritatem canonis obtinerent. De quorum praedictis, quae ad Christum Ecclesiamque ejus pertinent, nonnulla mihi in hoc opere video esse ponenda: quod commodius fiet, adjuvante Domino, sequenti libro; ne hunc tam prolixum ulterius oneremus.

But the prophesying of these five is known to us from the Gospel: where also the Virgin mother of the Lord herself is found to have prophesied before John (Luke 1:46-55). But this prophecy of these the reprobate Jews do not receive: but they have received it, who from them incalculable in number believed the Gospel. For then truly was Israel divided into two, by that division which through Samuel the prophet was foreannounced as immutable to king Saul. But Malachi, Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra, even the reprobate Jews have as the latest received into canonical authority. For there are also their writings, as of others, who in a great multitude of Prophets were very few who wrote those things which should obtain the authority of the canon. Concerning whose predictions, which pertain to Christ and His Church, I see that some things must be set down by me in this work: which will be done more commodiously, the Lord helping, in the following book; lest we further burden this one so prolix.

Liber D

ECIMUS OCTAVUS.

Dicit de terrenae civitatis a tempore Abraham ad mundi finem procursu cum ipsa civitate coelesti: et attingit oracula de Christo, cum Sibyllarum, tum maxime sacrorum Vatum, qui ab regni Romanorum exordio scripserunt, Osee, Amos, Isaiae, Michaeae, et subsequentium.

Caput Primum.

De his quae usque ad tempora Salvatoris decem et septem voluminibus disputata sunt.

De civitatum duarum, quarum Dei una, saeculi hujus est altera, in qua nunc est, quantum ad hominum genus pertinet, etiam ista peregrina, exortu et procursu et debitis finibus me scripturum esse promisi: cum prius inimicos civitatis Dei, qui conditori ejus Christo deos suos praeferunt, et livore sibi perniciosissimo atrociter invident Christianis, quantum me adjuvaret ejus gratia, refellissem; quod voluminibus decem prioribus feci. De hac vero mea, quam modo commemoravi, tripartita promissione, decimum sequentibus quatuor libris ambarum est digestus exortus; deinde procursus ab homine primo usque ad diluvium libro uno, qui est hujus operis quintus decimus; atque inde usque ad Abraham rursus ambae, sicut in temporibus, ita et in nostris litteris cucurrerunt. Sed a patre Abraham usque ad Regum tempus Israelitarum, ubi sextum decimum volumen absolvimus, et inde usque ad ipsius in carne Salvatoris adventum, quousque decimus septimus liber tenditur, sola videtur in meo stilo cucurrisse Dei civitas: cum in hoc saeculo non sola cucurrerit, sed ambae utique in genere humano, sicut ab initio simul, suo procursu tempora variaverint. Verum hoc ideo feci, ut prius, ex quo apertiores Dei promissiones esse coeperunt, usque ad ejus ex Virgine nativitatem, in quo fuerant quae primo promittebantur implenda, sine interpellatione a contrario alterius civitatis, ista quae Dei est procurrens, distinctius appareret; quamvis usque ad revelationem Testamenti novi, non in lumine, sed in umbra cucurrerit. Nunc ergo, quod intermiseram, video esse faciendum, ut ex Abrahae temporibus quomodo etiam illa cucurrerit, quantum satis videtur, attingam, ut ambae inter se possint consideratione legentium comparari.

Caput II.

De terrenae civitatis regibus atque temporibus, quibus ab exortu Abrahae sanctorum tempora supputata conveniunt.

BOOK EIGHTEENTH.

It speaks of the progress of the earthly city from the time of Abraham to the end of the world with the heavenly city itself: and it touches upon the oracles concerning Christ, both of the Sibyls, and especially of the sacred Prophets, who wrote from the beginning of the Roman kingdom, Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Micah, and those following.

Chapter I.

Of those things which have been discussed in seventeen volumes up to the times of the Savior.

I promised that I would write about the origin, progress, and appointed ends of the two cities, one of which is of God, the other of this world, in which even the former is now a pilgrim so far as pertains to the human race: after I had first refuted, as far as His grace might help me, the enemies of the City of God, who prefer their own gods to its founder, Christ, and with most pernicious envy atrociously begrudge the Christians; which I did in the first ten volumes. Regarding this tripartite promise of mine which I just mentioned, the origin of both was set forth in the following four books; then their progress from the first man even to the flood in one book, which is the fifteenth of this work; and from there even to Abraham again both ran along, as in the times, so also in our writings. But from the father Abraham even to the time of the Israelite Kings, where we finished the sixteenth volume, and from there even to the advent of the Savior Himself in the flesh, to which point the seventeenth book extends, only the City of God seems to have run in my writing: although in this world it did not run alone, but both surely in the human race, just as from the beginning together, have diversified the times in their progress. But I did this for the reason that first, from the time when the promises of God began to be more open, even to His birth from the Virgin, in which those things which were first promised were to be fulfilled, this city which is of God might appear more distinctly in its progress, without interruption from the contrary of the other city; although even until the revelation of the New Testament, it ran not in light, but in shadow. Now, therefore, what I had omitted I see must be done, that I may touch upon how that other city also ran from the times of Abraham, as much as seems sufficient, so that both may be compared between themselves by the consideration of the readers.

Chapter II.

Of the kings and times of the earthly city, which coincide with the times of the saints from the birth of Abraham.

Societas igitur usquequaque mortalium diffusa per terras et in locorum quantislibet diversitatibus, unius tamen ejusdemque naturae quadam communione devincta, utilitates et cupiditates suas quibusque sectantibus, dum id quod appetitur, aut nemini, aut non omnibus sufficit, quia non est idipsum, adversum se ipsam plerumque dividitur, et pars partem, quae praevalet, opprimit. Victrici enim victa succumbit, dominationi scilicet, vel etiam libertati qualemcumque pacem praeferens ac salutem: ita ut magnae fuerint admirationi qui perire quam servire maluerunt. Nam in omnibus fere gentibus quodammodo vox naturae ista personuit, ut subjugari victoribus mallent, quibus contigit vinci, quam bellica omnifariam vastatione deleri. Hinc factum est ut non sine Dei providentia, in cujus potestate est ut quisque bello aut subjugetur aut subjuget, quidam essent regnis praediti, quidam regnantibus subditi: sed inter plurima regna terrarum, in quae terrenae utilitatis vel cupiditatis est divisa societas (quam civitatem mundi hujus universali vocabulo nuncupamus), duo regna cernimus longe caeteris provenisse clariora, Assyriorum primum, deinde Romanorum, ut temporibus, ita locis inter se ordinata atque distincta. Nam quo modo illud prius, hoc posterius; eo modo illud in Oriente, hoc id Occidente surrexit: denique in illius fine hujus initium confestim fuit. Regna caetera, caeterosque reges velut appendices istorum dixerim.

Ninus ergo jam secundus rex erat Assyriorum, qui patri suo Belo successerat, regni illius primo regi, quando in terra Chaldaeorum natus est Abraham. Erat etiam tempore illo regnum Sicyoniorum admodum parvum, a quo ille undecumque doctissimus Marcus Varro scribens de Gente populi Romani, velut antiquo tempore, exorsus est. Ab his enim Sicyoniorum regibus ad Athenienses pervenit, a quibus ad Latinos, inde ad Romanos; sed ante conditam Romam in comparatione regni Assyriorum perexigua ista memorantur. Quamvis Athenienses in Graecia plurimum claruisse fateatur etiam Sallustius Romanus historicus, plus tamen fama, quam re ipsa. Nam loquens de illis: Atheniensium, inquit, res gestae, sicuti ego existimo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere: verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia (Belli Catil., cap. 8).

The society of mortals, therefore, diffused everywhere through the lands and in whatever diversities of places, bound by a certain communion of one and the same nature, while each pursues its own utilities and desires—since that which is sought either suffices for no one or not for all, because it is not the same thing—is for the most part divided against itself, and the part which prevails oppresses the other part. For the conquered succumbs to the victor, preferring a peace and safety of whatever kind to domination or even to liberty; so that those who chose to perish rather than to serve have been objects of great admiration. For in almost all nations that voice of nature has somehow sounded forth, that those who happened to be conquered should prefer to be subjugated to the victors than to be destroyed by warlike devastation in every way. Hence it has come to pass that not without the providence of God, in whose power it is that anyone should either be subjugated or subjugate in war, some should be endowed with kingdoms, others subject to those reigning: but among the many kingdoms of the earth, into which the society of earthly utility or desire is divided (which we call by the universal name of the city of this world), we see two kingdoms to have come forth far more illustrious than the rest, first that of the Assyrians, then that of the Romans, ordered and distinct between themselves in times as in places. For just as that one was earlier, this one later; in that way that one rose in the East, this one in the West: finally, at the end of the former was immediately the beginning of the latter. The other kingdoms and other kings I would call, as it were, appendages of these.

Ninus, therefore, was already the second king of the Assyrians, who had succeeded his father Belus, the first king of that kingdom, when Abraham was born in the land of the Chaldeans. There was also at that time the very small kingdom of the Sicyonians, from which that most learned Marcus Varro, writing of the Race of the Roman People, began as from an ancient time. For from these kings of the Sicyonians it came to the Athenians, from whom to the Latins, thence to the Romans; but before the founding of Rome these are mentioned as very small in comparison with the kingdom of the Assyrians. Although Sallust, the Roman historian, confesses that the Athenians were most illustrious in Greece, yet more by fame than by the reality itself. For speaking of them, he says: 'The achievements of the Athenians, as I judge, were sufficiently ample and magnificent: but somewhat smaller, nevertheless, than they are reported by fame. But because great geniuses of writers arose there, the deeds of the Athenians are celebrated throughout the world as the greatest. Thus the virtue of those who performed them is held as great as the illustrious geniuses were able to extol it in words' (Bell. Catil., cap. 8).

Accedit huic civitati non parva etiam ex litteris et philosophis gloria, quod ibi potissimum talia studia viguerunt. Nam quantum attinet ad imperium, nullum majus primis temporibus, quam Assyriorum fuit, nec tam longe lateque diffusum. Quippe ubi Ninus rex, Beli filius, universam Asiam, quae totius orbis ad numerum partium tertia dicitur, ad magnitudinem vero dimidia reperitur, usque ad Libyae fines subegisse traditur. Solis quippe Indis in partibus Orientis non dominabatur: quos tamen eo defuncto Semiramis uxor ejus est agressa bellando. Ita factum est, ut quicumque in illis terris populi, sive reges erant, Assyriorum regno ditionique parerent, et quidquid imperaretur efficerent. Abraham igitur in eo regno apud Chaldaeos Nini temporibus natus est. Sed quoniam res Graecae multo sunt nobis quam Assyriae notiores, et per Graecos ad Latinos, ac deinde ad Romanos, qui etiam ipsi Latini sunt, temporum seriem deduxerunt qui gentem populi Romani in originis ejus antiquitate rimati sunt; ob hoc debemus, ubi opus est, Assyrios memorare reges: ut appareat quemadmodum Babylonia, quasi prima Roma, cum peregrina in hoc mundo Dei civitate procurrat. Res autem quas propter comparationem civitatis utriusque, terrenae scilicet et coelestis, huic operi oportet inserere, magis ex Graecis et Latinis, ubi et ipsa Roma quasi secunda Babylonia est, debemus assumere.

3. Quando ergo natus est Abraham, secundi reges erant, apud Assyrios Ninus, apud Sicyonios Europs : primi autem, illic Belus, hic Aegialeus fuerunt. Cum vero egresso Abraham de Babylonia, promisit ei Deus ex illo magnam gentem futuram, et in ejus semine omnium gentium benedictionem, Assyrii quartum regem habebant, Sicyonii quintum: apud illos enim regnabat filius Nini post matrem Semiramidem, quae ab illo interfecta perhibetur, ausa filium mater incestare concubitu. Hanc putant nonnulli condidisse Babylonem, quam quidem potuit instaurare. Quando autem, vel quomodo condita fuerit, in sexto decimo libro diximus (Cap. 4). Filium porro Nini et Semiramidis, qui matri successit in regnum, quidam etiam ipsum Ninum, quidam vero derivato a patre vocabulo Ninyam vocant. Sicyoniorum autem regnum tunc tenebat Telxion. Quo regnante usque adeo ibi mitia et laeta tempora fuerunt, ut eum defunctum velut deum colerent sacrificando, et ludos celebrando, quos ei primitus institutos ferunt.

CAPUT III.---Quibus regnantibus apud Assyrios atque Sicyonios Abrahae centenario Isaac de promissione sit natus, vel ipsi Isaac sexagenario Esau et Jacob gemini de Rebecca sint editi.

To this city is added no small glory also from literature and philosophers, because such studies flourished there especially. For as pertains to empire, none was greater in the first times than that of the Assyrians, nor so far and wide diffused. Since there the king Ninus, son of Belus, is recorded to have subdued all Asia, which is said to be the third part of the whole world by the number of parts, but is found to be half by magnitude, even to the borders of Libya. For he did not rule over the Indians alone in the parts of the East: whom nevertheless, after he had died, his wife Semiramis attacked in war. Thus it came to pass that whatever peoples or kings were in those lands, they obeyed the kingdom and dominion of the Assyrians, and performed whatever was commanded. Abraham, therefore, was born in that kingdom among the Chaldeans in the times of Ninus. But since Greek affairs are much better known to us than the Assyrian, and through the Greeks to the Latins, and then to the Romans, who themselves also are Latins, those who have searched into the antiquity of the origin of the race of the Roman people have deduced the series of times; for this reason we ought, where there is need, to mention the Assyrian kings: that it may appear how Babylonia, as it were a first Rome, runs along with the City of God which is a pilgrim in this world. But the things which it is proper to insert into this work for the comparison of both cities, namely the earthly and the heavenly, we ought rather to take from the Greeks and Latins, where Rome herself also is, as it were, a second Babylonia.

3. When, therefore, Abraham was born, the kings were the second in order: Ninus among the Assyrians, Europs among the Sicyonians; but the first were Belus there, and Aegialeus here. But when Abraham went out from Babylonia, and God promised him that a great nation should come from him, and in his seed the blessing of all nations, the Assyrians had their fourth king, the Sicyonians their fifth: for among the former reigned the son of Ninus after his mother Semiramis, who is said to have been killed by him, the mother having dared to defile her son by incestuous intercourse. Some think that she founded Babylon, which she might indeed have restored. But when or how it was founded, we have said in the sixteenth book (Chap. 4). Furthermore, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, who succeeded his mother in the kingdom, some call Ninus himself, others Ninyas, a name derived from his father. But at that time Telxion held the kingdom of the Sicyonians. During whose reign the times were so mild and joyful there, that they worshipped him after his death as a god by sacrificing and by celebrating games, which they say were first instituted for him.

CHAPTER III.—Under whose reign among the Assyrians and Sicyonians Isaac was born of the promise to the centenarian Abraham, or the twins Esau and Jacob were born of Rebekah to Isaac himself at the age of sixty.

Hujus temporibus etiam Isaac ex promissione Dei natus est centenario patri filius Abrahae de Sarra conjuge, quae sterilis et anus jam spem prolis amiserat. Tunc et Assyriis quintus erat rex Arrius. Ipsi vero Isaac sexagenario nati sunt gemini, Esau et Jacob, quos ei Rebecca uxor peperit, avo eorum Abraham adhuc vivente, et centum sexaginta aetatis annos agente: qui expletis centum septuaginta quinque defunctus est; regnantibus apud Assyrios Xerxe illo antiquiore, qui etiam Baleus vocabatur, et apud Sicyonios Thuriaco, quem quidam Thurimachum scribunt, septimis regibus. Regnum autem Argivorum simul cum Abrahae nepotibus ortum est, ubi primus regnavit Inachus. Sane quod praetereundum non fuit, etiam apud sepulcrum septimi sui regis Thuriaci sacrificare Sicyonios solere, Varro refert. Regnantibus porro octavis regibus, Armamitre Assyriorum, Sicyoniorum Leucippo, et primo Argivorum Inacho, Deus locutus est ad Isaac, atque ipsi quoque eadem quae patri ejus duo illa promisit, semini scilicet ejus terram Chanaan, et in ejus semine benedictionem cunctarum gentium. Haec ipsa promissa sunt etiam filio ejus; nepoti Abrahae, qui est appellatus primo Jacob, post Israel, cum jam Belocus rex nonus Assyriis, et Phoroneus Inachi filius secundus regnaret Argivis, Leucippo adhuc apud Sicyonios permanente. His temporibus Graecia sub Phoroneo Argolico rege legum et judiciorum quibusdam clarior facta est institutis: Phegous tamen frater hujus Phoronei junior, cum esset mortuus, ad ejus sepulcrum templum est constitutum, in quo coleretur ut deus, et ei boves immolarentur. Credo honore tanto ideo dignum putarunt, quia in regni sui parte (pater quippe loca ambobus distribuerat, in quibus eo vivente regnarent) iste sacella constituerat ad colendos deos, et docuerat observari tempora per menses atque annos, quid eorum quatenus metirentur atque numerarent. Haec in eo nova mirantes rudes adhuc homines, morte obita deum esse factum sive opinati sunt, sive voluerunt. Nam et lo filia Inachi fuisse perhibetur, quae postea Isis appellata, ut magna dea culta est in Aegypto: quamvis alii scribant eam ex Aethiopia in Aegyptum venisse reginam; et quod late justeque imperaverit, eisque multa commoda et litteras instituerit, hunc honorem illi habitum esse divinum posteaquam ibi mortua est, et tantum honorem, ut capitali crimine reus fieret, si quis eam fuisse hominem diceret.

In his times also Isaac was born of the promise of God to the centenarian father, the son of Abraham from his wife Sarah, who, being sterile and now an old woman, had already lost hope of offspring. Then also the fifth king among the Assyrians was Arrius. To Isaac himself at the age of sixty were born twins, Esau and Jacob, whom his wife Rebekah bore to him, while their grandfather Abraham was still living and passing the hundred and sixtieth year of his age: who, having completed a hundred and seventy-five years, died; while the seventh kings were reigning, that earlier Xerxes among the Assyrians, who was also called Baleus, and Thuriacus among the Sicyonians, whom some write as Thurimachus. Moreover, the kingdom of the Argives arose at the same time as the grandsons of Abraham, where Inachus reigned first. Indeed, what ought not to be passed over, Varro relates that the Sicyonians were also accustomed to sacrifice at the tomb of their seventh king Thuriacus. Furthermore, during the reigns of the eighth kings, Armamitre of the Assyrians, Leucippus of the Sicyonians, and Inachus the first of the Argives, God spoke to Isaac, and promised to him also those same two things which He had to his father, namely the land of Canaan to his seed, and in his seed the blessing of all nations. These same things were promised also to his son, the grandson of Abraham, who was first called Jacob, afterwards Israel, when now Belocus the ninth king was reigning over the Assyrians, and Phoroneus the son of Inachus was the second reigning over the Argives, Leucippus still remaining among the Sicyonians. In these times Greece became more illustrious under Phoroneus the Argive king through certain institutions of laws and judgments: yet Phegous, the younger brother of this Phoroneus, when he had died, a temple was established at his tomb, in which he might be worshipped as a god, and oxen might be sacrificed to him. I believe they thought him worthy of such great honor for this reason, because in his part of the kingdom (for the father had distributed places to both in which they might reign while he lived) he had established chapels for worshipping the gods, and had taught that the times should be observed through months and years, and to what extent each of them should be measured and numbered. Wondering at these new things in him, the men as yet rude either thought or chose that he had become a god upon his death. For Io also is recorded to have been the daughter of Inachus, who afterwards was called Isis and worshipped as a great goddess in Egypt: although others write that she came from Ethiopia into Egypt as a queen; and because she ruled widely and justly, and instituted many advantages and letters for them, this divine honor was paid to her after she died there, and such great honor that if anyone said she had been a human being, he became liable to a capital crime.

Caput IV.

De temporibus Jacob et filii ejus Joseph.

Regnantibus Assyriorum decimo rege Baleo, et Sicyoniorum nono Messapo, qui etiam Cephisos a quibusdam traditur (si tamen duorum nominum homo unus fuit, ac non potius alterum pro altero putaverunt fuisse hominem, qui in suis posuerunt scriptis alterum nomen), cum rex Argivorum tertius Apis esset, mortuus est Isaac annorum centum octoginta, et reliquit geminos suos annorum centum et viginti: quorum minor Jacob pertinens ad civitatem Dei, de qua scribimus, majore utique reprobato, habebat duodecim filios; quorum illum, qui vocabatur Joseph, mercatoribus in Aegyptum transeuntibus fratres, adhuc Isaac avo eorum vivente, vendiderant. Stetit autem ante Pharaonem Joseph, quando ex humilitate, quam pertulit, sublimatus est, cum triginta esset annorum: quoniam somnia regis divine interpretatus, praenuntiavit septem ubertatis annos futuros, quorum abundantiam praepollentem consequentes alii septem steriles fuerant consumpturi; et ob hoc eum rex praefecerat Aegypto, de carcere liberatum, quo eum conjecerat integritas castitatis; quam fortiter servans male amanti dominae, et male credulo domino mentiturae, veste etiam derelicta de manibus attrahentis aufugiens, non consensit ad stuprum. Secundo autem anno septem annorum sterilium, Jacob in Aegyptum cum suis omnibus venit ad filium, agens annos centum et triginta, sicut interroganti regi ipse respondit (Gen. XLVII, 9); cum Joseph ageret triginta et novem, ad triginta scilicet quos agebat, quando a rege honoratus est, additis septem ubertatis, et duobus famis.

Caput V.

De Api rege Argivorum, quem Aegyptii Serapim nominatum divino honore coluerunt.

His temporibus rex Argivorum Apis navibus transvectus in Aegyptum, cum ibi mortuus fuisset, factus est Serapis omnium maximus Aegyptiorum deus. Nominis autem hujus, cur non Apis etiam post mortem, sed Serapis appellatus sit, facillimam rationem Varro reddidit. Quia enim arca in qua mortuus ponitur, quod omnes jam sarcophagum vocant, σορός dicitur graece; et ibi eum venerari sepultum coeperant, priusquam templum ejus esset exstructum: velut Soros et Apis, Sorapis primo, deinde una littera, ut fieri assolet, commutata, Serapis dictus est.

Chapter IV.

Of the times of Jacob and of his son Joseph.

While Baleus the tenth king of the Assyrians was reigning, and the ninth of the Sicyonians, Messapus, who is also called Cephisus by some (if indeed he was one man of two names, and they did not rather think him to have been one man for another, who put the other name in their writings), when the third king of the Argives was Apis, Isaac died at the age of a hundred and eighty, and left his twins aged a hundred and twenty: of whom the younger, Jacob, pertaining to the City of God of which we write, the elder having surely been reprobated, had twelve sons; one of whom, who was called Joseph, his brothers had sold to merchants passing into Egypt, while their grandfather Isaac was still living. Moreover, Joseph stood before Pharaoh, when he was sublimated from the humility which he endured, when he was thirty years of age: because, having interpreted the dreams of the king divinely, he foretold that there would be seven years of plenty, whose surpassing abundance another seven sterile years following were to consume; and for this reason the king had set him over Egypt, having been freed from prison, into which the integrity of his castity had cast him; which, maintaining bravely against an evil-loving mistress and an evil-believing master about to lie, even leaving his garment in the hands of her who was dragging him and fleeing, he did not consent to the debauchery. But in the second year of the seven sterile years, Jacob came into Egypt with all his own to his son, being a hundred and thirty years of age, as he himself responded to the king who questioned him (Gen. XLVII, 9); when Joseph was thirty and nine, namely, to the thirty which he was when he was honored by the king, the seven of plenty and two of famine being added.

Chapter V.

Of Apis, king of the Argives, whom the Egyptians worshipped with divine honor, named Serapis.

In these times Apis, king of the Argives, having crossed over to Egypt in ships, when he had died there, became Serapis, the greatest god of all the Egyptians. Moreover, Varro has given a very easy reason for this name, why he was not called Apis even after death, but Serapis. For since the chest in which a dead person is placed, which everyone now calls a sarcophagus, is called 'soros' in Greek; and they had begun to worship him there as buried, before his temple had been built: as it were 'Soros' and 'Apis', first 'Sorapis', then one letter being changed, as is wont to happen, he was called 'Serapis'.

Et constitutum est etiam de illo, ut quisquis eum hominem dixisset fuisse, capitalem penderet poenam. Quoniam fere in omnibus templis, ubi colebantur Isis et Serapis, erat etiam simulacrum, quod digito labiis impresso admonere videretur, ut silentium fieret; hoc significare idem Varro existimat, ut homines eos fuisse taceretur. Ille autem bos, quem mirabili vanitate decepta Aegyptus in ejus honorem deliciis affluentibus alebat, quoniam eum sine sarcophago vivum venerabantur, Apis, non Serapis vocabatur. Quo bove mortuo, quoniam quaerebatur et reperiebatur vitulus coloris ejusdem, hoc est, albis quibusdam maculis similiter insignitus; mirum quiddam et divinitus sibi procuratum esse credebant. Non enim magnum erat daemonibus ad eos decipiendos phantasiam talis tauri, quam sola cerneret, ostentare vaccae concipienti atque praegnanti, unde libido matris attraheret quod in ejus fetu jam corporaliter appareret: sicut Jacob de virgis variatis, ut oves et caprae variae nascerentur, effecit (Gen. XXX, 37-42). Quod enim homines coloribus et corporibus veris, hoc daemones figuris fictis facillime possunt animalibus concipientibus exhibere.

Caput VI.

Quo regnante apud Argivos, quove apud Assyrios, Jacob in Aegypto sit mortuus.

Apis ergo rex, non Aegyptiorum, sed Argivorum, mortuus est in Aegypto. Huic filius Argus successit in regnum, ex cujus nomine et Argi, et ex hoc Argivi, appellati sunt: superioribus autem regibus nondum vel locus vel gens habebat hoc nomen. Hoc ergo regnante apud Argivos, et apud Sicyonios Erato, apud Assyrios vero adhuc manente Baleo, mortuus est Jacob in Aegypto annorum centum quadraginta septem, cum moriturus filios suos et nepotes ex Joseph benedixisset, Christumque apertissime prophetasset, dicens in benedictione Judae, Non deficiet princeps ex Juda, et dux de femoribus ejus, donec veniant quae reposita sunt ei: et ipse exspectatio gentium (Gen. XLIX, 10). Regnante Argo suis coepit uti frugibus Graecia, et habere segetes in agricultura, delatis aliunde seminibus. Argus quoque post obitum deus haberi coepit, templo et sacrificiis honoratus. Qui honor eo regnante ante illum delatus est homini privato et fulminato cuidam Homogyro, eo quod primus ad aratrum boves junxerit.

Caput VII.

Quorum regum tempore Joseph in Aegypto defunctus sit.

And it was also established concerning him, that whoever said he had been a human being should pay the capital penalty. And since in almost all temples where Isis and Serapis were worshipped, there was also an image which, with a finger pressed to the lips, seemed to admonish that silence be kept; Varro thinks this signifies the same thing, that it should be kept silent that they had been human beings. But that bull which Egypt, deceived by a wonderful vanity, reared in his honor with affluent delights, since they worshipped it alive without a sarcophagus, was called Apis, not Serapis. When this bull died, since a calf of the same color was sought and found, that is, similarly marked with certain white spots, they believed it was something marvelous and divinely procured for them. For it was not a great thing for demons, in order to deceive them, to display to a conceiving and pregnant cow the phantom of such a bull, which the cow alone might see, whence the desire of the mother might attract what would now appear corporally in her offspring: just as Jacob brought it about by the variegated rods, that sheep and goats should be born variegated (Gen. XXX, 37-42). For what men can do with true colors and bodies, demons can very easily exhibit to conceiving animals by feigned figures.

Chapter VI.

Under what king among the Argives, or under what king among the Assyrians, Jacob died in Egypt.

Apis, therefore, the king, not of the Egyptians but of the Argives, died in Egypt. His son Argus succeeded him in the kingdom, from whose name both Argos and from this the Argives were called: for under the earlier kings neither the place nor the nation yet had this name. Therefore, while he was reigning among the Argives, and Eratus among the Sicyonians, but while Baleus still remained among the Assyrians, Jacob died in Egypt at the age of a hundred and forty-seven, after he, when about to die, had blessed his sons and his grandsons by Joseph, and had most openly prophesied Christ, saying in the blessing of Judah: 'The prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until those things come which are laid up for him: and he is the expectation of the nations' (Gen. XLIX, 10). While Argus was reigning, Greece began to use its own fruits, and to have crops in agriculture, seeds having been brought from elsewhere. Argus also began to be held as a god after his death, honored with a temple and sacrifices. Which honor, while he was reigning, had been conferred before him upon a certain private man, Homogyrus, who was struck by lightning, because he first joined oxen to the plow.

Chapter VII.

During the time of which kings Joseph died in Egypt.

Regnantibus Assyriorum duodecimo Mamito, et undecimo Sicyoniorum Plemnaeo, et Argis adhuc manente, Argo, mortuus est Joseph in Aegypto annorum centum et decem (Gen. L. 25). Post cujus mortem populus Dei mirabiliter crescens mansit in Aegypto centum quadraginta quinque annos, tranquille prius, donec morerentur quibus Joseph notus fuit: deinde quia invidebatur incrementis ejus, erantque suspecta, quousque inde liberaretur, persecutionibus (inter quas tamen divinitus fecundata multiplicatione crescebat) et laboribus premebatur intolerabilis servitutis. In Assyria vero et Graecia per idem tempus regna eadem permanebant.

Caput VIII.

Quorum regum aetate Moyses natus sit, et quorum deorum iisdem temporibus sit orta religio.

Cum ergo regnaret Assyriis quartus decimus Saphrus, et Sicyoniis duodecimus Orthopolis, et Criasus quintus Argivis, natus est in Aegypto Moyses, per quem populus Dei de servitute Aegyptia liberatus est, in qua eum ad desiderandum sui Creatoris auxilium sic exerceri oportebat. Regnantibus memoratis regibus fuisse a quibusdam creditur Prometheus; quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia sapientiae optimus doctor fuisse perhibetur: nec tamen ostenditur qui ejus temporibus fuerint sapientes. Frater ejus Atlas magnus fuisse astrologus dicitur: unde occasionem fabula invenit, ut eum coelum portare confingeret: quamvis mons ejus nomine nuncupetur, cujus altitudine potius coeli portatio in opinionem vulgi venisse videatur. Multa quoque alia ex illis in Graecia temporibus confingi fabulosa coeperunt: sed usque ad Cecropem regem Atheniensium, quo regnante eadem civitas etiam tale nomen accepit, et quo regnante Deus per Moysen eduxit ex Aegypto populum suum, relati sunt in deorum numerum aliquot mortui caeca et vana consuetudine ac superstitione Graecorum. In quibus Criasi regis conjux Melantomice, et Phorbas filius eorum, qui post patrem rex Argivorum sextus fuit, et septimi regis Triopae filius Iasus, et rex nonus Sthenelas, sive Stheneleus, sive Sthenelus, varie quippe in diversis auctoribus invenitur. His temporibus etiam Mercurius fuisse perhibetur, nepos Atlantis, ex Maia filia: quod vulgatiores etiam litterae personant. Multarum autem artium peritus claruit, quas et hominibus tradidit: quo merito eum post mortem deum esse voluerunt, sive etiam crediderunt.

While Mamitus, the twelfth of the Assyrians, and Plemnaeus, the eleventh of the Sicyonians, were reigning, and Argus still remaining at Argos, Joseph died in Egypt at the age of a hundred and ten years (Gen. L. 25). After whose death the people of God, increasing wonderfully, remained in Egypt for a hundred and forty-five years, peacefully at first, until those died to whom Joseph was known: then, because their increases were envied and were suspected, until they were liberated from there, they were oppressed with persecutions (among which, nevertheless, they grew with a divinely fecundated multiplication) and with the labors of an intolerable servitude. Moreover, in Assyria and Greece during the same time, the same kingdoms remained.

Chapter VIII.

In the age of which kings Moses was born, and of which gods the religion arose at the same times.

Therefore, when Saphrus the fourteenth king was reigning over the Assyrians, and Orthopolis the twelfth over the Sicyonians, and Criasus the fifth over the Argives, Moses was born in Egypt, through whom the people of God was liberated from the Egyptian servitude, in which it was necessary for them to be thus exercised to desire the help of their Creator. During the reigns of the mentioned kings, Prometheus is believed by some to have existed; whom they say for this reason formed men out of clay, because he is reported to have been an excellent teacher of wisdom: yet it is not shown who were the wise men in his times. His brother Atlas is said to have been a great astrologer: whence fable found an occasion to feign that he carries the sky; although a mountain is called by his name, by whose height the carrying of the sky seems rather to have come into the opinion of the vulgar. Many other fabulous things also began to be feigned in Greece from those times: but even to Cecrops the king of the Athenians, under whose reign that same city also received such a name, and under whose reign God led out His people from Egypt through Moses, several dead persons were referred into the number of the gods by the blind and vain custom and superstition of the Greeks. Among whom were Melantomice, the wife of King Criasus, and Phorbas their son, who after his father was the sixth king of the Argives, and Iasus the son of Triopas the seventh king, and the ninth king Sthenelas, or Stheneleus, or Sthenelus, for it is found variously indeed in diverse authors. In these times also Mercury is reported to have existed, the grandson of Atlas by his daughter Maia: which even more common literature proclaims. Moreover, he became illustrious as skilled in many arts, which he also handed down to men: for which merit they willed him to be a god after death, or even believed it.

Posterior fuisse Hercules dicitur, ad ea tamen tempora pertinens Argivorum: quamvis nonnulli eum Mercurio praeferant tempore; quos falli existimo. Sed quolibet tempore nati sint, constat inter historicos graves, qui haec antiqua litteris mandaverunt, ambos homines fuisse, et quod mortalibus ad istam vitam commodius ducendam beneficia multa contulerint, honores ab eis meruisse divinos. Minerva vero longe his antiquior. Nam temporibus Ogygii ad lacum, qui Tritonis dicitur, virginali apparuisse fertur aetate; unde et Tritonia nuncupata est: multorum sane operum inventrix; et tanto proclivius dea credita, quanto minus origo ejus innotuit. Quod enim de capite Jovis nata canitur, poetis et fabulis, non historiae rebusque gestis est applicandum. Quanquam Ogygius ipse quando fuerit, cujus temporibus etiam diluvium magnum factum est, non illud maximum quo nulli homines evaserunt, nisi qui in arca esse potuerunt, quod gentium nec Graeca nec Latina novit historia, sed tamen majus quam postea tempore Deucalionis fuit, inter scriptores historiae non convenit. Nam Varro inde exorsus est librum, cujus mentionem superius feci, et nihil sibi, ex quo perveniat ad res Romanas, proponit antiquius quam Ogygii diluvium, hoc est, Ogygii factum temporibus. Nostri autem qui Chronica scripserunt, prius Eusebius, post Hieronymus, qui utique praecedentes aliquos historicos in hac opinione secuti sunt, post annos amplius quam trecentos jam secundo Argivorum Phoroneo rege regnante Ogygii diluvium fuisse commemorant. Sed quolibet tempore fuerit, jam tamen Minerva tanquam dea colebatur, regnante Atheniensibus Cecrope, sub quo rege etiam ipsam vel instauratam ferunt, vel conditam civitatem.

Caput IX.

Quando Atheniensium civitas sit condita, et quam causam nominis ejus Varro perhibeat.

Nam ut Athenae vocarentur, quod certe nomen a Minerva est, quae graece Ἀθηνᾶ dicitur, hanc causam Varro indicat. Cum apparuisset illic repente olivae arbor, et alio loco aqua erupisset, regem prodigia ista moverunt, et misit ad Apollinem Delphicum sciscitatum quid intelligendum esset, quid faciendum. Ille respondit quod olea Minervam significaret, unda Neptunum, et quod esset in civium potestate, ex cujus nomine potius duorum deorum, quorum signa illa essent, civitas vocaretur.

Hercules is said to have been later, belonging nevertheless to those times of the Argives: although some prefer him to Mercury in time; whom I think to be mistaken. But at whatever time they were born, it is certain among grave historians who have committed these ancient things to writing, that both were men, and that because they conferred many benefits upon mortals for leading this life more commodiously, they earned divine honors from them. But Minerva was far more ancient than these. For in the times of Ogygius she is said to have appeared in a virginal age at the lake which is called Tritonis; whence she was also named Tritonia: an inventress, indeed, of many works; and believed a goddess so much more readily as her origin was less known. For that she is sung as born from the head of Jove is to be applied to poets and fables, not to history and things performed. Although when Ogygius himself existed, in whose times also a great flood occurred—not that greatest one from which no men escaped except those who were able to be in the ark, which the history of nations, neither Greek nor Latin, knows, but yet greater than that which afterwards occurred in the time of Deucalion—there is no agreement among the writers of history. For Varro began the book from there, of which I made mention above, and he proposes to himself nothing more ancient, from which he may arrive at Roman affairs, than the flood of Ogygius, that is, what happened in the times of Ogygius. But our own who wrote Chronicles, first Eusebius and afterwards Jerome, who surely followed some preceding historians in this opinion, record that the flood of Ogygius occurred more than three hundred years later, when Phoroneus the second king was already reigning over the Argives. But at whatever time it was, Minerva was already worshipped as a goddess when Cecrops was reigning over the Athenians, under which king they also say that the city itself was either restored or founded.

Chapter IX.

When the city of the Athenians was founded, and what reason Varro gives for its name.

For that it was called Athens, which name is certainly from Minerva, who in Greek is called Athena, Varro indicates this reason. When an olive tree had suddenly appeared there, and water had burst forth in another place, these prodigies moved the king, and he sent to the Delphic Apollo to inquire what was to be understood, what was to be done. He responded that the olive signified Minerva, the wave Neptune, and that it was in the power of the citizens from which name rather of the two gods, whose signs those were, the city should be called.

Isto Cecrops oraculo accepto, cives omnes utriusque sexus (mos enim tunc in eisdem locis erat, ut etiam feminae publicis consultationibus interessent) ad ferendum suffragium convocavit. Consulta igitur multitudine mares pro Neptuno, feminae pro Minerva tulere sententias: et quia una plus est inventa feminarum, Minerva vicit. Tunc Neptunus iratus marinis fluctibus exaestuantibus terras Atheniensium populatus est: quoniam spargere latius quaslibet aquas difficile daemonibus non est. Cujus ut iracundia placaretur, triplici supplicio dicit idem auctor ab Atheniensibus affectas esse mulieres: ut nulla ulterius ferrent suffragia, ut nullus nascentium maternum nomen acciperet, ut ne quis eas Athenaeas vocaret. Ita illa civitas mater ac nutrix liberalium doctrinarum, et tot tantorumque philosophorum, qua nihil habuit Graecia clarius atque nobilius, ludificantibus daemonibus de lite deorum suorum, maris et feminae, et de victoria per feminas feminae Athenas nomen accepit: et a victo laesa ipsam victricis victoriam punire compulsa est, plus aquas Neptuni quam Minervae arma formidans. Nam in mulieribus quae sic punitae sunt, et Minerva quae vicerat, victa est; nec adfuit suffragatricibus suis, ut suffragiorum deinceps perdita potestate, et alienatis filiis a nominibus matrum, Athenaeas saltem vocari liceret, et ejus deae mereri vocabulum, quam viri dei victricem fecerant ferendo suffragium. Quae et quanta hinc dici possent, nisi sermo ad alia properaret?

Caput X.

Quid Varro tradat de nuncupatione Areopagi, et de diluvio Deucalionis.

Attamen Marcus Varro non vult fabulosis adversus deos fidem adhibere figmentis, ne de majestatis eorum dignitate indignum aliquid sentiat. Et ideo nec Areopagon, ubi cum Atheniensibus Paulus apostolus disputavit (Act. XVII, 19 seqq.), ex quo loco Areopagitae appellati sunt curiales urbis ejusdem, vult inde accepisse nomen, quod Mars, qui graece Ἄρης dicitur, cum homicidii crimine reus fieret, judicantibus duodecim diis in eo pago, sex sententiis absolutus est; quia ubi paris numeri sententiae fuissent, praeponi absolutio damnationi solebat. Sed contra istam, quae multo est amplius celebrata, opinionem, aliam quamdam de obscurarum notitia litterarum causam nominis hujus conatur astruere, ne Areopagon Athenienses de nomine Martis et pagi, quasi Martis pagum nominasse credantur; in injuriam videlicet numinum, a quibus litigia vel judicia existimat aliena:

Cecrops, having received this oracle, convoked all the citizens of both sexes (for the custom then in those places was that even women should be present at public consultations) to cast their vote. The multitude having been consulted, therefore, the males gave their sentences for Neptune, the females for Minerva: and because one more was found of the females, Minerva conquered. Then Neptune, being angry, devastated the lands of the Athenians with overflowing marine waves: since it is not difficult for demons to scatter any waters more widely. That his wrath might be appeased, the same author says that the women were afflicted by the Athenians with a triple punishment: that they should no longer cast any votes, that no one born should receive his mother's name, and that no one should call them Athenians. Thus that city, the mother and nurse of liberal doctrines, and of so many and so great philosophers, than which Greece had nothing more illustrious or more noble, through the mocking demons concerning the strife of their gods, male and female, and concerning the victory of a female through females, received the name Athens: and being injured by the conquered, it was compelled to punish the very victory of the victress, fearing the waters of Neptune more than the arms of Minerva. For in the women who were thus punished, Minerva also, who had conquered, was conquered; nor did she help her supporters, so that, the power of voting being henceforth lost, and children being alienated from the names of their mothers, it might at least be permitted them to be called Athenians, and to deserve the name of that goddess whom they had made victress over a male god by casting their vote. What and how great things could be said here, were it not that the discourse hastens to other matters?

Chapter X.

What Varro relates concerning the naming of the Areopagus, and concerning the flood of Deucalion.

However, Marcus Varro does not wish to give credence to fabulous fictions against the gods, lest he should think anything unworthy of the dignity of their majesty. And therefore he does not wish the Areopagus, where the apostle Paul disputed with the Athenians (Acts XVII, 19 seqq.), from which place the curiales of the same city were called Areopagites, to have received its name from this: that Mars, who in Greek is called Ares, when he was made a defendant on the charge of homicide, was acquitted by six votes while twelve gods were judging in that village (pagus); because where there were sentences of equal number, acquittal was wont to be preferred to condemnation. But against this opinion, which is much more widely celebrated, he tries to establish another cause of this name from the knowledge of obscure letters, lest the Athenians be believed to have named the Areopagus from the name of Mars and the village, as if it were 'the village of Mars'; namely, to the injury of the deities, from whom he considers strifes and judgments to be foreign:

non minus hoc, quod de Marte dicitur, falsum esse asseverans, quam illud quod de tribus deabus, Junone scilicet, et Minerva, et Venere, quae pro malo aureo adipiscendo, apud judicem Paridem de pulchritudinis excellentia certasse narrantur; et ad placandos ludis deos, qui delectantur seu veris, seu falsis istis criminibus suis, inter theatricos plausus cantantur atque saltantur. Haec Varro non credit, ne deorum naturae seu moribus credat incongrua: et tamen, non fabulosam, sed historicam rationem de Athenarum vocabulo reddens, tantam Neptuni et Minervae litem suis litteris inserit, de cujus nomine potius illa civitas vocaretur, ut, cum prodigiorum ostentatione contenderent, inter eos judicare nec Apollo consultus auderet, sed deorum jurgium finiendum, sicut memoratarum trium dearum ad Paridem Jupiter, ita et iste ad homines mitteret, ubi vinceret Minerva suffragiis, et in poena suarum suffragatricium vinceretur, quae in adversariis suis viris obtinere Athenas potuit, et amicas suas feminas Athenaeas habere non potuit. His temporibus, ut Varro scribit, regnante Atheniensibus Cranao, successore Cecropis, ut autem nostri Eusebius et Hieronymus, adhuc eodem Cecrope permanente, diluvium fuit, quod appellatum est Deucalionis, eo quod ipse regnabat in earum terrarum partibus, ubi maxime factum est. Hoc autem diluvium nequaquam ad Aegyptum atque ad ejus vicina pervenit.

Caput XI.

Quo tempore Moyses populum de Aegypto eduxerit; et de Jesu Nave, qui eidem successit, quorum regum aetate sit mortuus.

Eduxit ergo Moyses ex Aegypto populum Dei, novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret Ascatades, apud Sicyonios Marathus, apud Argivos Triopas. Educto autem populo in monte Sina divinitus acceptam tradidit legem: quod vetus dicitur Testamentum, quia promissiones terrenas habet; et per Jesum Christum futurum fuerat Testamentum novum, quo regnum coelorum promitteretur. Hunc enim ordinem servari oportebat, sicut in unoquoque homine, qui in Deum proficit, id agitur, quod ait Apostolus, ut non sit prius quod spirituale est; sed quod animale, postea spirituale: quoniam sicut dicit, et verum est, Primus homo de terra, terrenus; secundus homo de coelo, coelestis (I Cor. XV, 46 et 47). Rexit autem populum Moyses per annos quadraginta in deserto: et mortuus est annorum centum et viginti, cum Christum etiam ipse prophetasset per figuras observationum carnalium in tabernaculo, et sacerdotio, et sacrificiis, aliisque mysticis plurimisque mandatis.

asserting that this which is said of Mars is no less false than that which is said of the three goddesses, namely, Juno, and Minerva, and Venus, who are related to have contended for the excellence of beauty before the judge Paris for the sake of obtaining the golden apple; and for the sake of appeasing the gods by games, who are delighted with these crimes of theirs, whether true or false, they are sung and danced amidst theatrical applause. These things Varro does not believe, lest he should believe things incongruous with the nature or morals of the gods: and yet, while rendering not a fabulous but a historical reason for the name of Athens, he inserts in his writings so great a strife of Neptune and Minerva, from whose name rather that city should be called, that, when they contended with the display of prodigies, even the consulted Apollo did not dare to judge between them, but just as Jupiter sent the quarrel of the three mentioned goddesses to Paris, so he sent this one to men to be finished, where Minerva conquered by votes, and was conquered in the punishment of her supporters, who was able to obtain Athens against her male adversaries, and was not able to have her female friends called Athenians. In these times, as Varro writes, Cranaus, the successor of Cecrops, reigning over the Athenians, but as our Eusebius and Jerome write, the same Cecrops still remaining, there was a flood, which was called the flood of Deucalion, because he himself reigned in those parts of the lands where it mostly occurred. This flood, however, by no means reached Egypt or its neighboring regions.

Chapter XI.

At what time Moses led the people out of Egypt; and concerning Joshua (Jesus Nave), who succeeded him, in the age of which kings he died.

Moses therefore led the people of God out of Egypt, in the last time of Cecrops king of the Athenians, when Ascatades reigned among the Assyrians, Marathus among the Sicyonians, and Triopas among the Argives. And the people having been led out, he delivered the law received divinely on Mount Sinai: which is called the Old Testament, because it has earthly promises; and through Jesus Christ there was to be a New Testament, by which the kingdom of heaven should be promised. For it was fitting that this order should be observed, just as in each man who profits in God, that is done which the Apostle says, that that which is spiritual is not first, but that which is animal, afterwards the spiritual: since, as he says, and it is true, 'The first man is of the earth, earthly; the second man is from heaven, heavenly' (1 Cor. XV, 46 and 47). Moreover, Moses ruled the people for forty years in the desert: and he died at the age of one hundred and twenty years, although he himself had also prophesied Christ through the figures of carnal observations in the tabernacle, and the priesthood, and the sacrifices, and many other mystical commandments.

Moysi successit Jesus Nave: et in terram promissionis introductum populum collocavit, ex auctoritate divina debellatis gentibus, a quibus eadem loca tenebantur. Qui cum populum rexisset post mortem Moysi viginti et septem annos, etiam ipse defunctus est: regnante apud Assyrios octavo decimo Amynta, apud Sicyonios sexto decimo Corace, apud Argivos decimo Danao, apud Athenienses quarto Erichthonio.

Caput XII.

De sacris falsorum deorum, quae reges Graeciae illis temporibus instituerunt, quae ab exitu Israel ex Aegypto usque ad obitum Jesu Nave dinumerantur.

Per haec tempora, id est, ab exitu Israel ex Aegypto usque ad mortem Jesu Nave, per quem populus idem terram repromissionis accepit, sacra sunt instituta diis falsis a regibus Graeciae, quae memoriam diluvii, et ab eo liberationis hominum, vitaeque tunc aerumnosae modo ad alta, modo ad plana migrantium, solemni celebritate revocarunt. Nam et Lupercorum per sacram viam ascensum atque descensum sic interpretantur, ut ab eis significari dicant homines, qui propter aquae inundationem summa montium petiverunt, et rursus eadem residente ad ima redierunt. His temporibus Dionysium, qui etiam Liber pater dictus est, et post mortem deus habitus, vitem ferunt ostendisse in Attica terra hospiti suo. Tunc Apollini Delphico instituti sunt ludi musici, ut placaretur ira ejus, qua putabant afflictas esse sterilitate Graeciae regiones, quia non defenderint templum ejus, quod rex Danaus, cum easdem terras bello invasisset, incendit. Hos autem ludos ut instituerent oraculo sunt ejus admoniti. In Attica vero rex Erichthonius ei ludos primus instituit: nec ei tantum, sed etiam Minervae, ubi praemium victoribus oleum ponebatur, quod ejus fructus inventricem Minervam, sicut vini Liberum tradunt. Per eos annos a rege Xantho Cretensium, cujus apud alios aliud nomen invenimus, rapta perhibetur Europa, et inde geniti Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon, et Minos, quos magis ex eadem muliere filios Jovis esse vulgatum est.

Joshua the son of Nun (Jesus Nave) succeeded Moses: and he settled the people having been introduced into the land of promise, the nations by whom those same places were held having been subdued by divine authority. Who, when he had ruled the people after the death of Moses for twenty-seven years, also himself died: Amyntas the eighteenth reigning among the Assyrians, Corax the sixteenth among the Sicyonians, Danaus the tenth among the Argives, and Erichthonius the fourth among the Athenians.

Chapter XII.

Concerning the rites of false gods, which the kings of Greece instituted in those times, which are numbered from the departure of Israel from Egypt until the death of Joshua (Jesus Nave).

Through these times, that is, from the departure of Israel from Egypt until the death of Joshua (Jesus Nave), through whom the same people received the land of promise, rites were instituted to false gods by the kings of Greece, which recalled the memory of the flood, and of the liberation of men from it, and of the then wretched life of those migrating now to high places, now to flat ones, by solemn celebration. For they thus interpret the ascent and descent of the Luperci through the sacred way, so as to say that by them are signified men who, on account of the inundation of water, sought the summits of the mountains, and again returned to the lowest parts when the same had subsided. In these times they say that Dionysus, who was also called Father Liber, and was accounted a god after death, showed the vine in the Attic land to his host. Then musical games were instituted to the Delphic Apollo, that his wrath might be appeased, with which they thought the regions of Greece had been afflicted with sterility, because they did not defend his temple, which king Danaus, when he had invaded those same lands in war, burned. Moreover, they were admonished by his oracle to institute these games. But in Attica king Erichthonius first instituted games to him: and not to him only, but also to Minerva, where oil was placed as a prize for the victors, because they relate that Minerva was the discoverer of its fruit, as Liber was of wine. Through those years Europa is related to have been carried off by king Xanthus of the Cretans, whose name we find to be something else among others, and from her were born Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon, and Minos, who it is more commonly reported were the sons of Jupiter by the same woman.

Sed talium deorum cultores illud quod de rege Cretensium diximus, historicae veritati; hoc autem quod de Jove poetae cantant, theatra concrepant, populi celebrant, vanitati deputant fabularum, ut esset unde ludi fierent placandis numinibus etiam falsis eorum criminibus. His temporibus Hercules in Tyria clarus habebatur; sed nimirum alius, non ille de quo supra locuti sumus. Secretiore quippe historia plures fuisse dicuntur et Liberi patres et Hercules. Hunc sane Herculem, cujus ingentia duodecim facta numerant, inter quae Antaei Afri necem non commemorant, quod ea res ad alterum Herculem pertinet, in Oeta monte a se ipso incensum produnt suis litteris, cum ea virtute, qua monstra subegerat, morbum tamen, quo languebat, sustinere non posset. Illo tempore vel rex, vel potius tyrannus Busiris suis diis suos hospites immolabat, quem filium perhibent fuisse Neptuni, ex matre Libya, filia Epaphi. Verum non credatur hoc stuprum perpetrasse Neptunus, ne dii accusentur: sed poetis et theatris ista tribuantur, ut sit unde placentur. Erichthonii regis Atheniensium, cujus novissimis annis Jesus Nave mortuus reperitur, Vulcanus et Minerva parentes fuisse dicuntur. Sed quoniam Minervam virginem volunt, in amborum contentione Vulcanum commotum effudisse aiunt semen in terram, atque inde homini nato ob eam causam tale inditum nomen. Graeca enim lingua ἔρις contentio, et χθών terra est; ex quibus duobus compositum vocabulum est Erichthonius. Verum, quod fatendum est, refellunt et a suis diis repellunt ista doctiores, qui hanc opinionem fabulosam hinc exortam ferunt, quia in templo Vulcani et Minervae, quod ambo unum habebant Athenis, expositus inventus est puer dracone involutus, qui eum significavit magnum futurum, et propter commune templum, cum essent parentes ejus ignoti, Vulcani et Minervae dictum esse filium: nominis tamen ejus originem fabula illa potius quam ista designat historia. Sed quid ad nos? Hoc in veracibus libris homines instruat religiosos, illud in fallacibus ludis daemones delectet impuros: quos tamen illi religiosi tanquam deos colunt; et cum de illis haec negant, ab omni eos crimine purgare non possunt, quoniam ludos eis poscentibus exhibent, ubi turpiter aguntur quae velut sapienter negantur, et his falsis ac turpibus dii placantur, ubi etsi fabula cantat crimen numinum falsum, delectari tamen falso crimine, crimen est verum.

But the worshippers of such gods refer that which we have said of the king of the Cretans to historical truth; but this which the poets sing of Jupiter, the theaters resound with, and the people celebrate, they attribute to the vanity of fables, that there might be something from which games might be made to appease the deities even with their false crimes. In these times Hercules was held famous in Tyre; but doubtless another, not he of whom we spoke above. For in a more secret history many Father Libers and Herculeses are said to have existed. Indeed this Hercules, whose twelve great deeds they number, among which they do not commemorate the slaying of the African Antaeus, because that matter belongs to the other Hercules, they record in their writings was burned on Mount Oeta by himself, since he could not sustain with that virtue, by which he had subdued monsters, the disease with which he was languishing. At that time either a king, or rather a tyrant, Busiris, was wont to sacrifice his guests to his gods, whom they relate to have been the son of Neptune, by his mother Libya, the daughter of Epaphus. But let it not be believed that Neptune committed this adultery, lest the gods be accused: but let those things be attributed to poets and theaters, that there may be something by which they may be appeased. Vulcan and Minerva are said to have been the parents of Erichthonius king of the Athenians, in whose last years Joshua (Jesus Nave) is found to have died. But because they will have Minerva to be a virgin, they say that in the contention of both, Vulcan, being moved, poured out his seed upon the earth, and that from thence a man was born, to whom for that cause such a name was given. For in the Greek language eris is contention, and chthon is earth; from which two the word Erichthonius is composed. But, what must be confessed, the more learned refell and reject these things from their gods, who report that this fabulous opinion arose from this, because in the temple of Vulcan and Minerva, which both had as one at Athens, a boy was found exposed, enveloped by a dragon, which signified that he would be great, and on account of the common temple, since his parents were unknown, he was said to be the son of Vulcan and Minerva: yet that fable rather than this history designates the origin of his name. But what is that to us? Let the one instruct religious men in truthful books, let the other delight impure demons in fallacious games: whom nevertheless those religious men worship as gods; and when they deny these things concerning them, they cannot purge them from every crime, since they exhibit the games at their demand, where those things are basely acted which are, as it were, wisely denied, and the gods are appeased by these false and base things, where even if the fable sings a false crime of the deities, nevertheless to be delighted with a false crime is a true crime.

Caput XIII.

Qualium fabularum figmenta exorta sint eo tempore, quo Hebraeis Judices praeesse coeperunt.

Post mortem Jesu Nave, populus Dei Judices habuit, quibus temporibus alternaverunt apud eos et humilitates laborum pro eorum peccatis, et prosperitates consolationum propter miserationem Dei. His temporibus fabulae fictae sunt de Triptolemo, quod jubente Cerere, anguibus portatus alitibus, indigentibus terris frumenta volando contulerit: de Minotauro, quod bestia fuerit inclusa Labyrintho; quo cum intrassent homines, inextricabili errore, inde exire non poterant: de Centauris, quod equorum hominumque fuerit natura conjuncta: de Cerbero, quod sit triceps inferorum canis: de Phryxo et Helle ejus sorore, quod vecti ariete volaverint: de Gorgone, quod fuerit crinita serpentibus, et aspicientes convertebat in lapides: de Bellerophonte, quod equo pennis volante sit vectus, qui equus Pegasus dictus est: de Amphione, quod citharae suavitate lapides mulserit et attraxerit: de fabro Daedalo, et ejus Icaro filio, quod sibi coaptatis pennis volaverint: de Oedipo, quod monstrum quoddam, quae Sphinga dicebatur, humana facie quadrupedem, soluta quae ab illa proponi solebat velut insolubili quaestione, suo praecipitio perire compulerit: de Antaeo, quem necavit Hercules, quod filius Terrae fuerit, propter quod cadens in terram fortior soleret assurgere: et si qua forte alia praetermisi. Hae fabulae bellum ad usque Trojanum, ubi secundum librum Marcus Varro de populi Romani gente finivit, ex occasione historiarum, quae res veraciter gestas continent, ita sunt ingeniis hominum fictae, ut non sint opprobriis numinum affixae. Porro autem quicumque finxerunt a Jove ad stuprum raptum pulcherrimum puerum Ganymedem, quod nefas rex Tantalus fecit, et Jovi fabula tribuit; vel Danaes per imbrem aureum appetisse concubitum, ubi intelligitur pudicitia mulieris auro fuisse corrupta; quae illis temporibus vel facta vel ficta sunt, aut facta ab aliis et ficta de Jove, dici non potest quantum mali de hominum praesumpserint cordibus, quod possent ista patienter ferre mendacia, quae tamen etiam libenter amplexi sunt: qui utique quanto devotius Jovem colunt, tanto eos qui haec de illo dicere ausi sunt, severius punire debuerunt.

Chapter XIII.

What kind of fabulous fictions arose at the time when the Judges began to preside over the Hebrews.

After the death of Joshua (Jesus Nave), the people of God had Judges, in which times there alternated among them both the humiliations of labors for their sins, and the prosperities of consolations on account of the mercy of God. In these times fables were invented concerning Triptolemus, that at the command of Ceres, being carried by winged serpents, he brought corn by flying to the needy lands: concerning the Minotaur, that he was a beast shut up in the Labyrinth; into which when men had entered, by an inextricable error, they were not able to go out from thence: concerning the Centaurs, that the nature of horses and men was joined together: concerning Cerberus, that he is the three-headed dog of the lower regions: concerning Phryxus and Helle his sister, that they flew being carried by a ram: concerning the Gorgon, that she was hairy with serpents, and turned those looking on into stones: concerning Bellerophon, that he was carried by a horse flying with wings, which horse was called Pegasus: concerning Amphion, that by the sweetness of his lyre he soothed and attracted stones: concerning the craftsman Daedalus, and his son Icarus, that they flew with wings fitted to themselves: concerning Oedipus, that he compelled a certain monster, which was called the Sphinx, a quadruped with a human face, to perish by its own precipice, the question having been solved which was wont to be proposed by it as if an insoluble one: concerning Antaeus, whom Hercules slew, that he was the son of the Earth, on account of which falling to the earth he was wont to rise up stronger: and if perchance there are any other things I have omitted. These fables, as far as the Trojan war, where Marcus Varro finished the second book concerning the race of the Roman people, were so invented by the wits of men on the occasion of histories which contain things truly done, that they might not be attached to the reproaches of the deities. Furthermore, whoever invented that the most beautiful boy Ganymede was snatched by Jupiter for adultery, which wickedness king Tantalus did, and the fable attributed it to Jupiter; or that he sought the embrace of Danae through a golden shower, where the chapel of the woman is understood to have been corrupted by gold; which things in those times were either done or invented, or done by others and invented concerning Jupiter, it cannot be said how much evil they presumed from the hearts of men, that they could patiently bear these lies, which nevertheless they even willingly embraced: who certainly the more devotedly they worship Jupiter, so much the more severely they ought to have punished those who dared to say these things concerning him.

Nunc vero, non solum eis qui ista finxerunt, irati non sunt; sed ut talia figmenta etiam in theatris agerent, ipsos deos potius iratos habere timuerunt. His temporibus Latona Apollinem peperit, non illum cujus oracula solere consuli superius loquebamur, sed illum qui cum Hercule servivit Admeto: qui tamen sic est deus creditus, ut plurimi ac pene omnes unum eumdemque Apollinem fuisse opinentur. Tunc et Liber pater bellavit in India, qui multas habuit in exercitu feminas, quae Bacchae appellatae sunt, non tam virtute nobiles, quam furore. Aliqui sane et victum scribunt istum Liberum et vinctum; nonnulli et occisum in pugna a Perseo, nec ubi fuerit sepultus tacent: et tamen ejus velut dei nomine per immundos daemones Bacchanalia sacra, vel potius sacrilegia sunt instituta: de quorum rabiosa turpitudine post tam multos annos sic senatus erubuit, ut in urbe Roma esse prohiberet. Per ea tempora Perseus et uxor ejus Andromeda posteaquam sunt mortui, sic eos in coelum receptos esse crediderunt, ut imagines eorum stellis designare, eorumque appellare nominibus non erubescerent, non timerent.

Caput XIV.

De theologicis poetis.

Per idem temporis intervallum exstiterunt poetae, qui etiam theologi dicerentur, quoniam de diis carmina faciebant: sed talibus diis, qui licet magni homines, tamen homines fuerunt; aut mundi hujus, quem verus Deus fecit, elementa sunt; aut in principatibus et potestatibus pro voluntate Creatoris et suis meritis ordinati: et si quid de uno vero Deo inter multa vana et falsa cecinerunt, colendo cum illo alios qui dii non sunt, eisque exhibendo famulatum qui uni tantum debetur Deo, non ei utique rite servierunt, nec a fabuloso deorum suorum dedecore etiam ipsi se abstinere potuerunt Orpheus, Musaeus, Linus. Verum isti theologi deos coluerunt, non pro diis culti sunt: quamvis Orpheum nescio quomodo infernis sacris, vel potius sacrilegiis, praeficere soleat civitas impiorum. Uxor autem regis Athamantis quae vocabatur Ino, et ejus filius Melicertes praecipitio spontaneo in mari perierunt, et opinione hominum in deos relati sunt: sicut alii homines eorum temporum, Castor et Pollux. Illam sane Melicertis matrem Leucotheam Graeci, Matutam Latini vocaverunt: utrique tamen putantes deam.

Caput XV.

De occasu regni Argivorum, quo tempore apud Laurentes Picus Saturni filius regnum patris primus accepit.

But now, not only are they not angry with those who invented these things; but they feared to have the gods themselves rather angry, that such fictions should even be acted in the theaters. In these times Latona brought forth Apollo, not that one whose oracles we were speaking above were wont to be consulted, but that one who with Hercules served Admetus: who nevertheless was so believed to be a god, that very many and almost all think that they were one and the same Apollo. Then also Father Liber made war in India, who had many women in his army, who were called Bacchae, not so much noble for virtue as for fury. Indeed some write that this Liber was both conquered and bound; some also that he was killed in battle by Perseus, nor are they silent as to where he was buried: and nevertheless in his name, as it were of a god, through impure demons the Bacchanalia rites, or rather sacrileges, were instituted: concerning whose rabid turpitude after so many years the senate was so ashamed, that it prohibited them from being in the city of Rome. Through those times Perseus and his wife Andromeda after they were dead, they so believed them to have been received into heaven, that they did not blush, they did not fear, to designate their images with stars, and to call them by their names.

Chapter XIV.

Concerning the theological poets.

Through the same interval of time there existed poets, who were also called theologians, because they made songs concerning the gods: but such gods as, although they were great men, yet were men; or they are elements of this world, which the true God made; or ordained in principalities and powers according to the will of the Creator and their own merits: and if they sang anything concerning the one true God among many vain and false things, by worshipping other gods with Him who are not gods, and by exhibiting to them the service which is due to the one God only, they certainly did not serve Him rightly, nor could they themselves abstain from the fabulous disgrace of their gods—Orpheus, Musaeus, Linus. Nevertheless these theologians worshipped the gods, they were not worshipped as gods: although Orpheus is wont to be set over the infernal rites, or rather sacrileges, of the city of the impious in some way. Moreover, the wife of king Athamas who was called Ino, and her son Melicertes, perished by a spontaneous precipice into the sea, and by the opinion of men were referred among the gods: just as other men of their times, Castor and Pollux. Indeed the Greeks called that mother of Melicertes Leucothea, the Latins Matuta: both nevertheless thinking her a goddess.

Chapter XV.

Concerning the decline of the kingdom of the Argives, at which time Picus, the son of Saturn, first received his father's kingdom among the Laurentines.

Per ea tempora regnum finitum est Argivorum, translatum ad Mycenas, unde fuit Agamemnon: et exortum est regnum Laurentum, ubi Saturni filius Picus regnum primus accepit, judicante apud Hebraeos femina Debbora: sed per illam Dei Spiritus id agebat: nam etiam prophetissa erat, cujus prophetia (Judicum V) minus aperta est, quam ut possimus eam sine diuturna expositione de Christo demonstrare prolatam.

Jam ergo regnabant Laurentes utique in Italia, ex quibus evidentior ducitur origo Romana post Graecos: et tamen adhuc regnum Assyriorum permanebat, ubi erat rex vicesimus tertius Lampares, cum primus Laurentum Picus esse coepisset. De hujus Pici patre Saturno viderint quid sentiant talium deorum cultores, qui negant hominem fuisse: de quo et alii scripserunt, quod ante Picum filium suum in Italia ipse regnaverit; et Virgilius notioribus litteris dicit: Is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis Composuit, legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari Maluit; his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris; Aureaque, ut perhibent, illo sub rege fuere Saecula. (Aeneid. lib. 8, vers. 321-325.)

Sed haec poetica opinentur esse figmenta, et Pici patrem Stercen potius fuisse asseverent, a quo peritissimo agricola inventum ferunt, ut fimo animalium agri fecundarentur, quod ab ejus nomine stercus est dictum: hunc quidam Stercutium vocatum ferunt. Qualibet autem ex causa eum Saturnum appellare voluerint, certe tamen hunc Stercen sive Stercutium merito agriculturae fecerunt deum. Picus quoque similiter ejus filium in talium deorum numerum receperunt, quem praeclarum augurem et belligeratorem fuisse asserunt. Picus Faunum genuit, Laurentum regem secundum: etiam iste deus illis vel est, vel fuit. Hos ante Trojanum bellum divinos honores mortuis hominibus detulerunt.

Caput XVI.

De Diomede post Trojae excidium in deos relato, cujus socii traditi sunt in volucres esse conversi.

Troja vero eversa, excidio illo usquequaque cantato puerisque notissimo, quod et magnitudine sui et scriptorum excellentibus linguis insigniter diffamatum atque vulgatum est, gestumque regnante jam Latino Fauni filio, ex quo Latinorum regnum dici coepit, Laurentumque cessavit: Graeci victores, deletam Trojam derelinquentes, et ad propria remeantes, diversis et horrendis cladibus dilacerati atque contriti sunt: et tamen etiam ex eis deorum suorum numerum auxerunt.

Through those times the kingdom of the Argives was ended, transferred to Mycenae, whence was Agamemnon: and the kingdom of the Laurentines arose, where Picus, the son of Saturn, first received the kingdom, while the woman Deborah was judging among the Hebrews: but through her the Spirit of God was doing this: for she was also a prophetess, whose prophecy (Judges V) is less open than that we can demonstrate it was brought forth concerning Christ without a lengthy exposition.

Now therefore the Laurentines were reigning certainly in Italy, from whom the Roman origin is more evidently derived after the Greeks: and yet hitherto the kingdom of the Assyrians remained, where Lampares was the twenty-third king, when Picus had begun to be the first of the Laurentines. Concerning the father of this Picus, Saturn, let the worshippers of such gods see what they think, who deny that he was a man: concerning whom others also have written, that he himself reigned in Italy before his son Picus; and Virgil says in more well-known letters: 'He composed an untaught race and one dispersed on the high mountains, and gave them laws, and preferred that it be called Latium; since he had lain hidden safe in these shores; and the golden ages were, as they relate, under that king.' (Aeneid, book 8, lines 321-325.)

But let them think these to be poetic fictions, and let them assert that the father of Picus was rather Sterces, by whom, a most skilled farmer, they say it was discovered that the fields might be fertilized by the dung of animals, which from his name was called stercus (dung): some say this man was called Stercutius. For whatever cause, however, they wished to call him Saturn, certainly nevertheless they made this Sterces or Stercutius a god by merit of agriculture. Similarly they received his son Picus into the number of such gods, whom they assert to have been a famous augur and warrior. Picus begat Faunus, the second king of the Laurentines: even he is, or was, a god to them. Before the Trojan war they deferred these divine honors to dead men.

Chapter XVI.

Concerning Diomedes, related among the gods after the destruction of Troy, whose companions are handed down as having been converted into birds.

Troy having been truly overturned, by that destruction everywhere sung and most well-known to boys, which both by its own magnitude and by the excellent tongues of writers is remarkably defamed and made public, and carried on already while Latinus, the son of Faunus, was reigning, from whom the kingdom of the Latins began to be called, and that of the Laurentines ceased: the Greek victors, leaving behind the deleted Troy, and returning to their own, were lacerated and crushed by diverse and horrendous slaughters: and yet even from them they increased the number of their gods.

Nam et Diomeden fecerunt deum, quem poena divinitus irrogata perhibent ad suos non revertisse; ejusque socios in volucres fuisse conversos, non fabuloso poeticoque mendacio, sed historica attestatione confirmant: quibus nec deus, ut putant, factus, humanam revocare naturam, vel ipse potuit, vel certe a Jove suo rege tanquam coelicola novitius impetravit. Quin etiam templum ejus esse aiunt in insula Diomedea, non longe a monte Gargano, qui est in Apulia, et hoc templum circumvolare, atque incolere has alites tam mirabili obsequio, ut rostrum aqua impleant et aspergant: et eo si Graeci venerint, vel Graecorum stirpe progeniti, non solum quietas esse, verum et insuper adulare; si autem alienigenas viderint, subvolare ad capita, tamque gravibus ictibus, ut etiam perimant, vulnerare. Nam duris et grandibus rostris satis ad haec praelia perhibentur armatae.

Caput XVII.

De incredibilibus commutationibus hominum quid Varro tradiderit.

Hoc Varro ut astruat, commemorat alia non minus incredibilia de maga illa famosissima Circe, quae socios quoque Ulyssis mutavit in bestias, et de Arcadibus, qui sorte ducti transnatabant quoddam stagnum, atque ibi convertebantur in lupos, et cum similibus feris per illius regionis deserta vivebant. Si autem carne non vescerentur humana, rursus post novem annos eodem renato stagno reformabantur in homines. Denique etiam nominatim expressit quemdam Demaenetum, cum gustasset de sacrificio, quod Arcades immolato puero, deo suo Lycaeo facere solerent, in lupum fuisse mutatum, et anno decimo in figuram propriam restitutum, pugilatu sese exercuisse, et Olympiaco vicisse certamine. Nec idem propter aliud arbitratur historicus in Arcadia tale nomen affictum Pani Lycaeo et Jovi Lycaeo, nisi propter hanc in lupos hominum mutationem, quod eam nisi vi divina fieri non putarent. Lupus enim graece λύκος dicitur, unde Lycaei nomen apparet inflexum. Romanos etiam Lupercos ex illorum mysteriorum velut semine dicit exortos.

Caput XVIII.

Quid credendum sit de transformationibus, quae arte daemonum hominibus videntur accidere

For they even made Diomedes a god, whom they relate did not return to his own because of a punishment divinely imposed; and they confirm by historical attestation, not by fabulous and poetic lie, that his companions were converted into birds: for whom, having become a god as they think, he was either himself unable to revoke their human nature, or certainly obtained it from his king Jove as a novice inhabitant of heaven. Moreover they say his temple is in the island of Diomedea, not far from mount Garganus, which is in Apulia, and that these birds fly around and inhabit this temple with such wonderful service, that they fill their beaks with water and sprinkle it: and if Greeks should come there, or those procreated from the stock of Greeks, not only are they quiet, but even flatter them besides; but if they should see foreigners, they fly up to their heads, and wound them with such heavy blows that they even kill them. For they are related to be armed with hard and large beaks sufficiently for these battles.

Chapter XVII.

Concerning incredible transformations of men, what Varro has handed down.

That Varro may build this up, he commemorates other no less incredible things concerning that most famous witch Circe, who also changed the companions of Ulysses into beasts, and concerning the Arcadians, who, led by lot, used to swim across a certain pool, and there were converted into wolves, and lived with similar wild beasts through the deserts of that region. But if they did not feed on human flesh, again after nine years, by the same pool having been crossed back, they were reformed into men. Finally he even expressed by name a certain Demaenetus, who, when he had tasted of the sacrifice which the Arcadians were accustomed to make to their god Lycaeus by the immolation of a boy, had been changed into a wolf, and in the tenth year, restored into his own proper figure, exercised himself in boxing and conquered in the Olympic contest. Nor does the same historian think that for any other reason such a name was attached in Arcadia to Pan Lycaeus and Jove Lycaeus, except because of this transformation of men into wolves, because they did not think it could happen except by divine power. For wolf is called in Greek lykos (λύκος), whence the name of Lycaeus appears inflected. He says that the Roman Luperci also arose as if from the seed of those mysteries.

Chapter XVIII.

What is to be believed concerning the transformations which seem to happen to men by the art of demons.

1. Sed de ista tanta ludificatione daemonum, nos quid dicamus, qui haec legent, fortassis exspectent. And quid dicemus, nisi de medio Babylonis esse fugiendum? Quod praeceptum propheticum (Isai. XLVIII, 20) ita spiritualiter intelligitur, ut de hujus saeculi civitate, quae profecto et angelorum et hominum societas impiorum est, fidei passibus, quae per dilectionem operatur, in Deum vivum proficiendo fugiamus. Quanto quippe in haec ima potestatem daemonum majorem videmus, tanto tenacius Mediatori est inhaerendum, per quem de imis ad summa conscendimus. Si enim dixerimus ea non esse credenda, non desunt etiam nunc, qui ejusmodi quaedam, vel certissima audisse, vel etiam expertos se esse asseverent. Nam et nos cum essemus in Italy, audiebamus talia de quadam regione illarum partium, ubi stabularias mulieres imbutas his malis artibus, in caseo dare solere dicebant, quibus vellent seu possent viatoribus, unde in jumenta illico verterentur, et necessaria quaeque portarent, postque perfuncta opera iterum ad se redirent: nec tamen in eis mentem fieri bestialem, sed rationalem humanamque servari, sicut Apuleius in libris quos Asini aurei titulo inscripsit, sibi ipsi accidisse, ut accepto veneno, humano animo permanente asinus fieret, aut indicavit, aut finxit.

2. Haec vel falsa sunt, vel tam inusitata, ut merito non credantur. Firmissime tamen credendum est, omnipotentem Deum omnia posse facere quae voluerit, sive vindicando, sive praestando, nec daemones aliquid operari secundum naturae suae potentiam (quia et ipsa angelica creatura est, licet proprio sit vitio maligna), nisi quod ille permiserit, cujus judicia occulta sunt multa, injusta nulla. Nec sane daemones naturas creant, si aliquid tale faciunt, de qualibus factis ista vertitur quaestio; sed specie tenus, quae a vero Deo sunt creata, commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt. Non itaque solum animum, sed nec corpus quidem ulla ratione crediderim daemonum arte vel potestate in membra et lineamenta bestialia veraciter posse converti: sed phantasticum hominis, quod etiam cogitando sive somniando per rerum innumerabilia genera variatur, et cum corpus non sit, corporum tamen similes mira celeritate formas capit, sopitis aut oppressis corporeis hominis sensibus, ad aliorum sensum nescio quo ineffabili modo figura corporea posse perduci:

1. But concerning that so great ludification of demons, what we may say, those who shall read these things, perhaps expect. And what shall we say, except that we must flee from the midst of Babylon? Which prophetic precept (Isaiah XLVIII, 20) is so understood spiritually, that we may flee from the city of this world, which certainly is a society of impious angels and men, by the steps of faith, which works through love, by advancing into the living God. For by how much we see the power of demons to be greater in these lowest things, by so much more tenaciously must we adhere to the Mediator, through whom we ascend from the lowest to the highest. For if we should say those things are not to be believed, there are not wanting even now, who assert that they have either heard some such things as most certain, or even experienced them themselves. For we also, when we were in Italy, used to hear such things of a certain region of those parts, where they used to say that stable-women imbued with these evil arts, were accustomed to give in cheese to whatever travelers they wished or could, whence they were immediately turned into beasts of burden, and carried all necessary things, and after the performed works again returned to themselves: yet in them a bestial mind was not made, but a rational and human one was preserved, just as Apuleius in the books which he inscribed with the title of the Golden Ass, either indicated or feigned had happened to himself, that having taken a poison, while his human soul remained, he became an ass.

2. These things are either false, or so unusual, that they are deservedly not believed. Nevertheless it is most firmly to be believed, that the omnipotent God can do all things which He has willed, whether by punishing or by bestowing, nor do demons work anything according to the power of their nature (because even that is an angelic creature, although it is malignant by its own vice), except what He has permitted, whose hidden judgments are many, unjust none. Nor certainly do demons create natures, if they do anything such, concerning which deeds this question is turned; but they change in appearance only those things which were created by the true God, so that they may seem to be what they are not. Therefore I would not believe that not only the soul, but not even the body indeed can by any reason be truly converted into bestial limbs and lineaments by the art or power of demons: but that the phantastic of a man, which also by thinking or dreaming is varied through innumerable kinds of things, and since it is not a body, yet takes forms similar to bodies with wonderful celerity, while the bodily senses of the man are lulled or oppressed, can be brought through to the sense of others in some ineffable way in a bodily figure:

ita ut corpora ipsa hominum alicubi jaceant, viventia quidem, sed multo gravius atque vehementius quam somno suis sensibus obseratis; phantasticum autem illud veluti corporatum in alicujus animalis effigie appareat sensibus alienis, talisque etiam sibi homo esse videatur, sicut talis sibi videri posset in somnis, et portare onera: quae onera, si vera sunt corpora, portantur a daemonibus, ut illudatur hominibus, partim vera onerum corpora, partim jumentorum falsa cernentibus. Nam quidam nomine Praestantius patri suo contigisse indicabat, ut venenum illud per caseum in domo sua sumeret, et jaceret in lecto suo quasi dormiens, qui tamen nullo modo poterat excitari. Post aliquot autem dies eum velut evigilasse dicebat, et quasi somnia narrasse quae passus est, caballum se scilicet factum, annonam inter alia jumenta bajulasse militibus, quae dicitur Retica, quoniam ad Retias deportatur. Quod ita, ut narravit, factum fuisse compertum est: quae tamen ei sua somnia videbantur. Indicavit et alius se domi suae per noctem, antequam requiesceret, vidisse venientem ad se quemdam philosophum sibi notissimum, sibique exposuisse nonnulla Platonica, quae antea rogatus exponere noluisset. Et cum ab eodem philosopho quaesitum fuisset, cur in domo ejus fecerit quod in domo sua petenti negaverat: Non feci, inquit, sed me fecisse somniavi. Ac per hoc alteri per imaginem phantasticam exhibitum est vigilanti, quod alter vidit in somnis.

3. Haec ad nos non quibuscumque, qualibus credere putaremus indignum, sed eis referentibus pervenerunt, quos nobis non existimaremus fuisse mentitos. Proinde quod homines dicuntur, mandatumque est litteris, ab diis vel potius daemonibus Arcadibus, in lupos solere converti, et quod Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssei, (Virgil. Eclog. 8, v. 70.) secundum istum modum mihi videtur fieri potuisse, quem dixi; si tamen factum est.

Diomedeas autem volucres, quandoquidem genus earum per successionem propaginis durare perhibetur, non mutatis hominibus factas, sed subtractis credo fuisse suppositas; sicut cerva pro Iphigenia, regis Agamemnonis filia. Neque enim daemonibus judicio Dei permissis hujusmodi praestigiae difficiles esse potuerunt: sed quia illa virgo postea viva reperta est, suppositam pro illa cervam, esse facile cognitum est. Socii vero Diomedis quia nusquam subito comparuerunt, et postea nullo loco apparuerunt, perdentibus eos ultoribus angelis malis, in eas aves quae pro illis sunt occulte ex aliis locis, ubi est hoc genus avium, ad ea loca perductae ac repente suppositae, creduntur esse conversi.

so that the bodies themselves of the men lie somewhere, living indeed, but much more heavily and vehemently than in sleep with their senses closed up; but that phantastic, as if corporated in the effigy of some animal, appears to the senses of others, and the man seems to himself also to be such, just as he could seem such to himself in dreams, and carry burdens: which burdens, if they are true bodies, are carried by demons, so that it may be illuded to the men, perceiving part true bodies of burdens, part false of beasts of burden. For a certain man named Praestantius was indicating it had happened to his father, that he took that poison through cheese in his own house, and lay in his bed as if sleeping, who nevertheless could in no way be excited. Moreover after some days he was saying that he as if woke up, and narrated as dreams what he suffered, namely that he had become a horse, and among other beasts of burden had carried corn for the soldiers, which is called Rhaetian, because it is carried to the Rhaetias. Which was found to have been so done as he narrated: which nevertheless seemed to him his own dreams. And another indicated that at his own house through the night, before he rested, he saw coming to him a certain philosopher most well-known to him, and he exposed to him some Platonic things, which before, having been asked, he had been unwilling to expose. And when it had been asked from the same philosopher why he did in his house what he had denied to the one seeking in his own house: 'I did not do it,' he said, 'but I dreamed that I had done it.' And through this there was exhibited to one while waking through a phantastic image, what the other saw in dreams.

3. These things have reached us not by just anyone, such as we would think unworthy to believe, but by those reporting them, whom we would not think to have lied to us. Accordingly, what men are said, and is committed to letters, to be accustomed to be converted into wolves by the gods or rather the demons of the Arcadians, and that by her Songs Circe changed the companions of Ulysses (Virgil, Eclog. 8, v. 70), seems to me to have been able to happen according to that mode which I said; if however it was done.

But as for the Diomedean birds, since the genus of them is related to endure through the succession of progeny, I believe they were not made from changed men, but were substituted after men had been withdrawn; just as the hind for Iphigenia, the daughter of king Agamemnon. Nor could such juggleries have been difficult for demons permitted by the judgment of God: but because that virgin was afterwards found alive, it was easily recognized that the hind was substituted for her. But the companions of Diomedes, because they nowhere suddenly appeared, and afterwards appeared in no place, the evil angels being the avengers who lost them, are believed to have been converted into those birds which were led through and suddenly substituted for them from other places where this genus of birds is, secretly.

Quod autem Diomedis in templum aquam rostris afferunt et aspergunt, quod blandiuntur Graecigenis, alienigenas persequuntur, mirandum non est fieri daemonum instinctu; quorum interest, persuadere deum factum esse Diomedem, ad decipiendos homines, ut falsos deos cum veri Dei injuria multos colant, et hominibus mortuis, qui nec cum viverent, vere vixerunt, templis, altaribus, sacrificiis, sacerdotibus (quae omnia cum recta sunt, nonnisi uni Deo vivo et vero debentur) inserviant.

Caput XIX.

Quod eo tempore Aeneas in Italiam venerit, quo Labdon Judex praesidebat Hebraeis.

Eo tempore post captam Trojam atque deletam, Aeneas cum viginti navibus, quibus portabantur reliquiae Trojanorum, in Italiam venit, regnante ibi Latino, et apud Athenienses Menestheo, apud Sicyonios Polyphide, apud Assyrios Tautane; apud Hebraeos autem Judex Labdon fuit. Mortuo autem Latino regnavit Aeneas tribus annis, eisdem in supradictis locis manentibus regibus, nisi quod Sicyoniorum jam Pelasgus erat, et Hebraeorum Judex Samson: qui cum mirabiliter fortis esset, putatus est Hercules.

Sed Aeneam, quoniam quando mortuus est, non comparuit, deum sibi fecerunt Latini. Sabini etiam regem suum primum Sancum, sive ut aliqui appellant Sanctum, retulerunt in deos. Per idem tempus Codrus, rex Atheniensium, Peloponnensibus ejusdem hostibus civitatis se interficiendum ignotus objecit: et factum est. Hoc modo eum praedicant patriam liberasse. Responsum enim acceperant Peloponnenses tum demum se superaturos, si eorum regem non occidissent. Fefellit ergo eos habitu pauperis apparendo, et in suam necem per jurgium provocando. Unde ait Virgilius: Et jurgia Codri (Ecl. V, v. 11). Et hunc Athenienses tanquam deum sacrificiorum honore coluerunt.

Quarto Latinorum rege Silvio Aeneae filio, non de Creusa, de qua fuit Ascanius, qui tertius ibi regnavit, sed de Lavinio Latini filia, quem posthumum Aeneas dicitur habuisse; Assyriorum autem vicesimo et nono Oneo et Melantho Atheniensium sexto decimo. Judice autem Hebraeorum Heli sacerdote, regnum Sicyoniorum consumptum est, quod per annos nongentos quinquaginta et novem traditur fuisse porrectum.

But that they bring water in their beaks into the temple of Diomedes and sprinkle it, that they fawn upon those of Greek birth, and pursue foreigners, it is not to be wondered at that this is done by the instinct of demons; whose interest it is to persuade that Diomedes was made a god, for the purpose of deceiving men, so that they may worship many false gods with injury to the true God, and serve dead men, who did not truly live even when they were living, with temples, altars, sacrifices, and priests (all which things, when they are right, are due only to the one living and true God).

Chapter XIX.

That at that time Aeneas came into Italy, when Labdon the Judge was presiding over the Hebrews.

At that time after Troy was taken and deleted, Aeneas with twenty ships, by which the remnants of the Trojans were carried, came into Italy, while Latinus was reigning there, and among the Athenians Menestheus, among the Sicyonians Polyphides, among the Assyrians Tautanes; moreover among the Hebrews the Judge was Labdon. But Latinus having died, Aeneas reigned for three years, the kings remaining in the same above-mentioned places, except that now the king of the Sicyonians was Pelasgus, and the Judge of the Hebrews was Samson: who, since he was wonderfully strong, was thought to be Hercules.

But the Latins made Aeneas a god for themselves, since when he died, he did not appear. The Sabines also related their first king Sancus, or as some call him Sanctus, among the gods. Through the same time Codrus, king of the Athenians, exposed himself unknown to be killed by the Peloponnesians, enemies of the same city: and it was done. In this way they proclaim that he liberated his fatherland. For the Peloponnesians had received an answer that they would then finally overcome, if they did not kill their king. He deceived them therefore by appearing in the habit of a poor man, and by provoking them to his own slaughter through a quarrel. Whence Virgil says: 'And the quarrels of Codrus' (Ecl. V, v. 11). And the Athenians worshipped this man with the honor of sacrifices as if a god.

While the fourth king of the Latins was Silvius the son of Aeneas—not from Creusa, from whom was Ascanius, who reigned third there, but from Lavinia the daughter of Latinus, whom Aeneas is said to have had as a posthumous son—moreover Oneus was the twenty-ninth of the Assyrians and Melanthus the sixteenth of the Athenians. Moreover while the priest Eli was the Judge of the Hebrews, the kingdom of the Sicyonians was consumed, which is handed down to have been extended through nine hundred and fifty-nine years.

Caput XX.

De successione ordinis regii apud Israelitas post Judicium tempora.

Mox eisdem per loca memorata regnantibus, Israelitarum regnum, finito tempore Judicum, a Saüle rege sumpsit exordium: quo tempore fuit Samuel propheta. Ab illo igitur tempore hi regnes Latinorum esse coeperunt, quos cognominabant Silvios: ab eo quippe qui filius Aeneae primus dictus est Silvius, caeteris subsecutis et propria nomina imponebantur, et hoc non defuit cognomentum; sicut longe postea Caesares cognominati sunt, qui successerunt Caesari Augusto.

Reprobato autem Saüle, ne quisquam ex ejus stirpe regnaret, eoque defuncto, David successit in regnum post annos a Saülis imperio quadraginta. Tunc Athenienses habere deinde reges post Codri interitum destiterunt, et magistratus habere coeperunt administrandae reipublicae. Post David, qui etiam ipse quadraginta regnavit annos, filius ejus Salomon rex Israelitarum fuit, qui templum illud nobilissimum Dei Jerosolymitanum condidit. Cujus tempore apud Latinos condita est Alba, ex qua deinceps non Latinorum, sed Albanorum reges appellari, in eodem tamen Latio, coeperunt. Salomoni successit filius ejus Roboam, sub quo in duo regna populus ille divisus est, et singulae partes suos singulos reges habere coeperunt.

Caput XXI.

De regibus Latii, quorum primus Aeneas, et duodecimus Aventinus dii facti sunt.

Latium post Aeneam, quem deum fecerant, undecim reges habuit, quorum nullus deus factus est. Aventinus autem qui duodecimo loco Aeneam sequitur, cum esset prostratus in bello, et sepultus in eo monte, qui etiam nunc ejus nomine nuncupatur, deorum talium, quales sibi faciebant, numero est additus. Alii sane noluerunt eum in praelio scribere occisum, sed non comparuisse dixerunt: sed nec ex ejus vocabulo appellatum montem, sed ex adventu avium dictum Aventinum. Post hunc non est deus factus in Latio, nisi Romulus conditor Romae.

Chapter XX.

Concerning the succession of the royal order among the Israelites after the times of the Judges.

Soon, while the same were reigning through the mentioned places, the kingdom of the Israelites, the time of the Judges being finished, took its beginning from king Saul: at which time was the prophet Samuel. From that time therefore these kings of the Latins began to be, whom they used to cognominate Silvii: for from him who as the son of Aeneas was first called Silvius, the others following both had proper names imposed on them, and this cognomen was not wanting; just as long after they were cognominated Caesars, who succeeded Caesar Augusto.

But Saul having been reprobated, lest anyone from his stock should reign, and he being deceased, David succeeded into the kingdom after forty years from the empire of Saul. Then the Athenians thereafter ceased to have kings after the death of Codrus, and began to have magistrates for administering the republic. After David, who himself also reigned forty years, his son Solomon was king of the Israelites, who built that most noble temple of God at Jerusalem. In his time Alba was founded among the Latins, from which henceforth they began to be called kings not of the Latins, but of the Albans, nevertheless in the same Latium. Solomon was succeeded by his son Rehoboam, under whom that people was divided into two kingdoms, and the individual parts began to have their own individual kings.

Chapter XXI.

Concerning the kings of Latium, of whom the first, Aeneas, and the twelfth, Aventinus, were made gods.

Latium after Aeneas, whom they had made a god, had eleven kings, of whom none was made a god. But Aventinus, who follows Aeneas in the twelfth place, when he had been prostrated in war, and buried in that mountain which even now is named by his name, was added to the number of such gods as they used to make for themselves. Others certainly were unwilling to write that he was killed in battle, but said that he did not appear: but neither was the mountain called from his name, but the Aventine was said from the advent (arrival) of birds. After this man no one was made a god in Latium, except Romulus the founder of Rome.

Inter istum autem et illum reges reperiuntur duo: quorum primus est, ut Virgiliano eum versu eloquar, Proximus ille Procas, Trojanae gloria gentis. (Aeneid. lib. 6, vers. 767.) Cujus tempore quia jam quodammodo Roma parturiebatur, illud omnium regnorum maximum Assyriorum finem tantae diuturnitatis accepit. Ad Medos quippe translatum est post annos ferme mille trecentos quinque, ut etiam Beli, qui Ninum genuit, et illic parvo contentus imperio primus rex fuit, tempora computentur.

Procas autem regnavit ante Amulium. Porro Amulius fratris sui Numitoris filiam Rheam nomine, quae etiam Ilia vocabatur, Romuli matrem, Vestalem virginem fecerat, quam volunt de Marte geminos concepisse, isto modo struprum ejus honorantes, vel excusantes, et adhibentes argumentum, quod infantes expositos lupa nutriverit. Hoc enim genus bestiae ad Martem existimant pertinere, ut videlicet ideo lupa credatur admovisse ubera parvulis, quia filios domini sui Martis agnovit: quamvis non desint qui dicant, cum expositi vagientes jacerent, a nescio qua primum meretrice fuisse collectos, et primas ejus suxisse mamillas (meretrices autem lupas vocabant, unde etiam nunc turpia loca earum lupanaria nuncupantur), et eos postea ad Faustulum pervenisse pastorem, atque ab ejus Acca uxore nutritos. Quamquam si ad arguendum hominem regem, qui eos in aquam projici crudeliter jusserat, eis infantibus per quos tanta civitas condenda fuerat, de aqua divinitus liberatis, per lactantem feram Deus voluit subvenire, quid mirum est? Amulio successit in regnum Latiale frater ejus Numitor, avus Romuli, cujus Numitoris primo anno condita est Roma; ac per hoc cum suo deinceps, id est Romulo, nepote regnavit.

Caput XXII.

Quod eo tempore Roma sit condita, quo regnum Assyriorum intercidit, et quo Ezechias regnabat in Juda.

Ne multis morer, condita est civitas Roma, velut altera Babylon, et velut prioris filia Babylonis, per quam Deo placuit orbem debellare terrarum, et in unam societatem reipublicae legumque perductum longe lateque pacare. Erant enim jam populi validi et fortes, et armis gentes exercitatae, quae non facile cederent, et quas opus esset ingentibus periculis et vastatione utrimque non parva atque horrendo labore superari.

Between that man and this one are found two kings: of whom the first is, as I may speak of him in a Virgilian verse, 'Next is that Procas, the glory of the Trojan race.' (Aeneid, book 6, line 767.) In whose time, because already in some way Rome was being brought to birth, that greatest of all kingdoms of the Assyrians received an end of such great duration. For it was transferred to the Medes after almost one thousand three hundred and five years, if the times even of Belus are computed, who begat Ninus, and being content there with a small empire was the first king.

Moreover Procas reigned before Amulius. Furthermore Amulius had made the daughter of his brother Numitor, Rhea by name, who was also called Ilia, the mother of Romulus, a Vestal virgin; whom they will have conceived twins from Mars, in this way honoring or excusing her debauchery, and employing as an argument that a she-wolf nourished the exposed infants. For they think this kind of beast to pertain to Mars, so that forsooth a she-wolf should be believed to have moved her teats to the little ones because she recognized the sons of her lord Mars: although there are not wanting those who say that, when they lay wailing, having been exposed, they were first collected by some harlot, and sucked her first breasts (moreover they used to call harlots lupae [she-wolves], whence even now their shameful places are called lupanaria), and they afterwards reached the shepherd Faustulus, and were nourished by his wife Acca. Although if for the purpose of convicting the man king, who had cruelly ordered them to be projected into the water, for those infants through whom so great a city was to be founded, the water having been divinely delivered from them, God wished to help through a suckling wild beast, what wonder is it? Amulius was succeeded in the Latian kingdom by his brother Numitor, the grandfather of Romulus, in the first year of which Numitor Rome was founded; and through this he reigned henceforth with his own grandson, that is, Romulus.

Chapter XXII.

That at that time Rome was founded, when the kingdom of the Assyrians failed, and when Hezekiah was reigning in Judah.

Lest I should delay with many words, the city Rome was founded, as it were another Babylon, and as it were the daughter of the former Babylon, through which it pleased God to conquer the orb of the lands, and to pacify it far and wide having been led through into one society of the republic and of laws. For there were already valid and strong peoples, and nations exercised in arms, which would not easily yield, and whom it would be necessary to be overcome by huge dangers and a non-small vastation on both sides and by horrendous labor.

Nam quando regnum Assyriorum totam pene Asiam subjugavit, licet bellando sit factum, non tamen multum asperis et difficilibus bellis fieri potuit, quia rudes adhuc ad resistendum gentes erant, nec tam multae, vel tam magnae: siquidem post illud maximum atque universale diluvium, cum in arca Noe octo soli homines evaserunt, anni non multo amplius quam mille transierant, quando Ninus Asiam totam, excepta India, subjugavit. Roma vero tot gentes et Orientis et Occidentis, quas imperio Romano subditas cernimus, non ea celeritate ac facilitate perdomuit; quoniam paulatim crescendo robustas eas et bellicosas, quaquaversum dilatabatur, invenit.

Tempore igitur quo Roma condita est, populus Israel habebat in terra promissionis annos septingentos decem et octo. Ex quibus viginti septem pertinent ad Jesum Nave, deinde ad tempus Judicum trecenti viginti novem. Ex quo autem ibi reges esse coeperant, anni erant trecenti sexaginta duo. Et rex tunc erat in Juda, cujus nomen erat Achaz, vel, sicut alii computant, qui ei successit Ezechias, quem quidem constat optimum et piissimum regem Romuli regnasse temporibus. In ea vero Hebraici populi parte quae appellabatur Israel, regnare coeperat Osee.

Caput XXIII.

De Sibylla Erythraea, quae inter alias Sibyllas cognoscitur de Christo evidentia multa cecinisse.

1. Eodem tempore nonnulli Sibyllam Erythraeam vaticinatam ferunt. Sibyllas autem Varro prodidit plures fuisse, non unam. Haec sane Erythraea Sibylla quaedam de Christo manifesta conscripsit: quod etiam nos prius in latina lingua versibus male latinis et non stantibus legimus, per nescio cujus interpretis imperitiam, sicut post cognovimus. Nam vir clarissimus Flaccianus, qui etiam proconsul fuit, homo facillimae facundiae, multaeque doctrinae, cum de Christo colloqueremur, graecum nobis codicem protulit, carmina esse dicens Sibyllae Erythraeae, ubi ostendit quodam loco in capitibus versuum ordinem litterarum ita se habentem, ut haec in eo verba legerentur, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ: quod est latine, Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator. Hi autem versus quorum primae litterae istum sensum, quem diximus, reddunt, sicut eos quidam latinis et stantibus versibus est interpretatus, hoc continent:

For when the kingdom of the Assyrians subjugated almost all Asia, although it was done by warring, nevertheless it could not be done by much sharp and difficult wars, because the nations were hitherto rude for resisting, nor so many, or so great: since indeed after that greatest and universal flood, when only eight men escaped in the ark of Noah, years not much more than a thousand had passed, when Ninus subjugated all Asia, India excepted. But Rome did not subdue so many nations both of the East and of the West, which we see subjected to the Roman empire, with that celerity and facility; since by growing little by little it found them robust and warlike, in whatever direction it was being dilated.

Therefore at the time when Rome was founded, the people Israel had in the land of promise seven hundred and eighteen years. From which twenty-seven pertain to Joshua the son of Nun, then to the time of the Judges three hundred and twenty-nine. Moreover from the time that kings had begun to be there, the years were three hundred and sixty-two. And the king then was in Judah, whose name was Ahaz, or, as others compute, Hezekiah who succeeded him, whom it certainly consists was the best and most pious king and reigned in the times of Romulus. Moreover in that part of the Hebraic people which was called Israel, Hoshea had begun to reign.

Chapter XXIII.

Concerning the Erythraean Sibyl, who among other Sibyls is recognized to have sung many evident things concerning Christ.

1. At the same time some relate the Erythraean Sibyl to have prophesied. Moreover Varro has handed down that there were more Sibyls, not one. This Erythraean Sibyl certainly wrote some manifest things concerning Christ: which we also first read in the Latin language in verses badly Latin and not standing, through the unskillfulness of some interpreter, as we afterwards knew. For the most distinguished man Flaccianus, who also was proconsul, a man of most easy eloquence and of much learning, when we were talking concerning Christ, brought forth to us a Greek codex, saying they were the songs of the Erythraean Sibyl, where he showed in a certain place in the heads of the verses the order of the letters having itself so, that these words were read in it: Ἰησοῦς Χρειστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ: which is in Latin, Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator. Moreover these verses, whose first letters render that sense which we said, as someone interpreted them in Latin and standing verses, contain this:

IJudicii signum tellus sudore madescet. HE coelo Rex adveniet per saecla futurus: ΣScilicet in carne praesens ut judicet orbem. OUnde Deum cernent incredulus atque fidelis ϒCelsum cum sanctis, aevi jam termino in ipso. ΣSic animae cum carne aderunt, quas judicat ipse: XCum jacet incultus densis in vepribus orbis. PRejicient simulacra viri, cunctam quoque gazam: EExuret terras ignis, pontumque polumque IInquirens, tetri portas effringet Averni ΣSanctorum sed enim cunctae lux libera carni TTradetur, sontes aeterna flamma cremabit. OOccultos actus retegens, tunc quisque loquetur ΣSecreta, atque Deus reserabit pectora luci. ΘTunc erit et luctus, stridebunt dentibus omnes. EEripitur solis jubar, et chorus interit astris. OVolvetur coelum, lunaris splendor obibit. ϒDejiciet colles, valles extollet ab imo. ϒNon erit in rebus hominum sublime vel altum. IJam aequantur campis montes, et caerula ponti OOmnia cessabunt, tellus confracta peribit. ΣSic pariter fontes torrentur, fluminaque igni. ΣSed tuba tum sonitum tristem demittet ab alto ΩOrbe, gemens facinus miserum variosque labores: TTartareumque chaos monstrabit terra dehiscens. HEt coram hic Domino reges sistentur ad unum PRecidet e coelis ignisque et sulphuris amnis.

In his latinis versibus de graeco utcumque translatis, ibi non potuit ille sensus occurrere, qui fit cum litterae, quae sunt in eorum capitibus, connectuntur, ubi ϒ littera in graeco posita est; quia non potuerunt verba latina inveniri, quae ab eadem littera inciperent, et sententiae convenirent. Hi autem sunt versus tres, quintus et octavus decimus et nonus decimus. Denique si litteras quae sunt in capitibus omnium versuum connectentes, horum trium quae scriptae sunt non legamus, sed pro eis ϒ litteram, tanquam in eisdem locis ipsa sit posita, recordemur, exprimitur in quinque verbis, Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator; sed cum graece hoc dicitur, non latine. Et sunt versus viginti et septem, qui numerus quadratum ternarium solidum reddit. Tria enim ter ducta fiunt novem: et ipsa novem si ter ducantur, ut ex lato in altum figura consurgat, ad viginti septem perveniunt. Horum autem graecorum quinque verborum, quae sunt, Ἰησους Χρειστὸς Θεοῦ Ὑὶὸς Σωτερ, quod est latine, Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator, si primas litteras jungas, erit Ἰχθύς, id est Piscis, in quo nomine mystice intelligitur Christus, eo quod in hujus mortalitatis abysso velut in aquarum profunditate vivus, hoc est sine peccato, esse potuerit.

Judgment's sign: the earth shall be wet with sweat. From heaven the King shall come, to be through the ages: Namely present in the flesh that He may judge the orb. Whence the unbelieving and the faithful shall discern God High with the saints, already in the term of the age itself. So souls with the flesh shall be present, whom He Himself judges: When the orb lies uncultivated in dense briars. Men shall reject idols, all treasure also: Fire shall burn the lands, and the sea and the pole Searching out, it shall break open the gates of foul Avernus. But indeed for the saints a free light shall be handed over To all flesh, the eternal flame shall burn the guilty. Revealing hidden acts, then everyone shall speak Secret things, and God shall unlock the breasts to the light. Then there shall be also wailing, all shall gnash with teeth. The sun's radiance is snatched away, and the choir perishes from the stars. The heaven shall be rolled up, the lunar splendor shall fail. He shall cast down the hills, shall extol the valleys from the bottom. There shall be nothing sublime or high in the things of men. Already the mountains are made equal to the plains, and the blue things of the sea All shall cease, the broken earth shall perish. So equally the fountains are scorched, and the rivers by fire. But the trumpet then shall send down a sad sound from the high Orb, groaning at the wretched crime and various labors: And the gaping earth shall show the Tartarean chaos. And here before the Lord kings shall be set to a man A river of fire and of sulphur shall fall from the heavens.

In these Latin verses translated from the Greek in whatever way, that sense could not occur there, which happens when the letters which are in their heads are connected, where the Υ letter is placed in the Greek; because Latin words could not be found which would begin from the same letter and would suit the sentence. Moreover these are verses three, the fifth, and the eighteenth and nineteenth. Finally if connecting the letters which are in the heads of all the verses, we do not read those of these three which are written, but for them we record the Υ letter, as if it were placed in the same places, it is expressed in five words, Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator; but when this is said in Greek, not Latin. And there are twenty-seven verses, which number renders a solid ternary square. For three led thrice become nine: and those same nine if they are led thrice, so that the figure rises from the wide into the high, they reach to twenty-seven. Moreover of these five Greek words, which are Ἰησους Χρειστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτερ, which is in Latin Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator, if you join the first letters, it will be Ἰχθύς, that is Fish, in which name Christ is mystically understood, for the reason that He was able to be alive, that is without sin, in the abyss of this mortality as if in the depth of waters.

2. Haec autem Sybilla sive Erythraea, sive, ut quidam magis credunt, Cumaea, ita nihil habet in toto carmine suo, cujus exigua ista particula est, quod ad deorum falsorum sive factorum cultum pertineat; quin imo ita etiam contra eos et contra cultores eorum loquitur, ut in eorum numero deputanda videatur, qui pertinent ad civitatem Dei. Inserit etiam Lactantius operi suo quaedam de Christo vaticinia Sibyllae, quamvis non exprimat cujus. Sed quae ipse singillatim posuit, ego arbitratus sum conjuncta esse ponenda, tanquam unum sit prolixum, quae ille plura commemoravit et brevia. In manus iniquas, inquit, infidelium postea veniet: dabunt autem Deo alapas manibus incestis, et impurato ore exspuent venenatos sputus: dabit vero ad verbera simpliciter sanctum dorsum. Et colaphos accipiens tacebit, ne quis agnoscat, quod verbum, vel unde venit ut inferis loquatur, et corona spinea coronetur. Ad cibum autem fel, et ad sitim acetum dederunt: inhospitalitatis hanc monstrabunt mensam. Ipsa enim incipiens tuum Deum non intellexisti, ludentem mortalium mentibus; sed spinis coronasti, et horridum fel miscuisti. Templi vero velum scindetur: et medio die nox erit tenebrosa nimis in tribus horis. Et morte morietur tribus diebus somno suscepto: et tunc ab inferis regressus ad lucem veniet primus, resurrectionis principio revocatis ostenso. Ista Lactantius carptim per intervalla disputationis suae, sicut ea poscere videbantur, quae probare intenderat, adhibuit testimonia Sibyllina, quae nos nihil interponentes, sed in unam seriem connexa ponentes, solis capitibus, si tamen scriptores deinceps ea servare non negligant, distinguenda curavimus. Nonnulli sane Erythraeam Sibyllam, non Romuli, sed belli Trojani tempore fuisse scripserunt.

CAPUT XXIV.---Quod regnante Romulo septem Sapientes claruerint, quo tempore decem tribus quae Israel dicebantur, in captivitatem a Chaldaeis ductae sunt, idemque Romulus mortuus divino honore donatus est.

Eodem Romulo regnante Thales Milesius fuisse perhibetur, unus e septem Sapientibus, qui post theologos poetas, in quibus Orpheus maxime omnium nobilitatus est, Σοφοί appellati sunt, quod est latine Sapientes. Per idem tempus decem tribus, quae in divisione populi vocatae sunt Israel, debellatae a Chaldaeis, et in eas terras captivae ductae sunt, remanentibus in Judaea terra duabus illis tribubus, quae nomine Judae vocabantur, sedemque regni habebant Jerusalem. Mortuum Romulum, cum et ipse non comparuisset, in deos, quod et vulgo notissimum est, retulere Romani;

2. Moreover, this Sibyl, whether Erythraean or, as some more believe, Cumaean, has nothing in her entire poem, of which this small portion is a part, that pertains to the worship of false or created gods; on the contrary, she speaks against them and against their worshipers in such a way that she seems to be counted among those who belong to the City of God. Lactantius also inserts into his work certain prophecies of the Sibyl concerning Christ, although he does not express whose. But those which he placed separately, I thought should be put together, as if it were one long piece, which he mentioned as several and brief ones. "Into the iniquitous hands," she says, "of the unfaithful He shall afterwards come: they shall give slaps to God with incestuous hands, and with impure mouth they shall spit out poisonous spittle: but He shall give a simple holy back to the scourges. And receiving buffets He shall be silent, lest anyone recognize what word, or whence it comes that He speaks to the lower regions, and be crowned with a thorny crown. Moreover, for food they gave gall, and for thirst vinegar: they shall show this table of inhospitality. For you, starting yourself, did not understand your God, playing with the minds of mortals; but you crowned Him with thorns, and mixed horrid gall. Indeed, the veil of the temple shall be rent: and in the middle of the day there shall be night, exceedingly dark for three hours. And He shall die by death for three days, sleep being undertaken: and then returning from the lower regions to the light He shall come first, showing to the recalled the principle of resurrection." These Sibylline testimonies Lactantius applied piecemeal through the intervals of his disputation, as those things which he had intended to prove seemed to require them, which we, interposing nothing but placing them connected in one series, have taken care to distinguish only by headings, if however the writers henceforth do not neglect to preserve them. Some indeed have written that the Erythraean Sibyl was not at the time of Romulus, but at the time of the Trojan war.

CHAPTER XXIV.—That during the reign of Romulus the seven Sages flourished, at which time the ten tribes which were called Israel were led into captivity by the Chaldeans, and the same Romulus having died was endowed with divine honor.

While the same Romulus was reigning, Thales of Miletus is said to have been, one of the seven Sages, who after the theological poets, among whom Orpheus was most ennobled of all, were called Σοφοί, which is in Latin Sages. Through the same time the ten tribes, which in the division of the people were called Israel, having been defeated by the Chaldeans, were led captive into those lands, while those two tribes remained in the land of Judea, which were called by the name of Judah, and had the seat of their kingdom at Jerusalem. The Romans returned the dead Romulus into the gods, since he himself also had not appeared, which is also very well known to the common people;

quod usque adeo, fieri jam desierat, nec postea nisi adulando, non errando, factum est temporibus Caesarum, ut Cicero magnis Romuli laudibus tribut, quod non rudibus et indoctis temporibus, quando facile homines fallebantur, sed jam expolitis et eruditis meruerit hos honores; quamvis nondum efferbuerat ac pullulaverat philosophorum subtilis et acuta loquacitas. Sed etiamsi posteriora tempora deos homines mortuos non instituerunt, tamen ab antiquis institutos colere ut deos et habere non destiterunt: quin etiam simulacris, quae veteres non habebant, auxerunt vanae atque impiae superstitionis illecebram, id efficientibus immundis in eorum corde daemonibus, per fallacia quoque oracula decipientibus, ut fabulosa etiam crimina deorum, quae jam urbaniore saeculo non fingebantur, per ludos tamen in eorumdem falsorum numinum obsequium turpiter agerentur. Regnavit deinde Numa post Romulum, qui cum illam civitatem putaverit deorum profecto falsorum numerositate muniendam, in eamdam turbam referri mortuus ipse non meruit, tanquam ita putatus sit coelum multitudine numinum constipasse, ut locum ibi reperire non posset. Hoc regnante Romae, et apud Hebraeos initio regni Manasse, a quo impio rege propheta Isaias perhibetur occisus, Samiam fuisse Sibyllam ferunt.

Caput XXV.

Qui philosophi enituerint regnante apud Romanos Tarquinio Prisco, apud Hebraeos Sedechia, cum Jerusalem capta est, templumque subversum.

Regnante vero apud Hebraeos Sedechia, et apud Romanos Tarquinio Prisco, qui successerat Anco Martio, ductus est captivus in Babyloniam populus Judaeorum, eversa Jerusalem et templo illo a Salomone constructo. Increpantes enim eos Prophetae de iniquitatibus et impietatibus suis, haec eis ventura praedixerant, maxime Jeremias, qui etiam numerum definivit annorum (Jerem. XXV, 11). Eo tempore Pittacus Mitylenaeus, alius e septem Sapientibus, fuisse perhibetur. Et quinque caeteros, qui ut septem numerentur, Thaleti, quem supra commemoravimus, et huic Pittaco adduntur, eo tempore fuisse scribit Eusebius, quo captivus Dei populus in Babylonia tenebatur. Hi sunt autem, Solon Atheniensis, Chilo Lacedaemonius, Periander Corinthius, Cleobulus Lindius, Bias Prienaeus. Omnes hi septem appellati Sapientes post poetas theologos claruerunt, quia genere vitae quodam laudabili praestabant hominibus caeteris, et morum nonnulla praecepta sententiarum brevitate complexi sunt.

which had already ceased to happen to such an extent, nor was it done afterwards except by flattering, not by erring, in the times of the Caesars, so that Cicero attributes it to the great praises of Romulus, that he merited these honors not in rude and untaught times, when men were easily deceived, but in already polished and learned times; although the subtle and sharp loquacity of the philosophers had not yet boiled over and sprouted. But even if later times did not institute dead men as gods, nevertheless they did not cease to worship and have those instituted by the ancients as gods: rather they even increased the allure of vain and impious superstition with images, which the ancients did not have, the unclean demons effecting this in their hearts, deceiving also through fallacious oracles, so that the fabulous crimes of the gods also, which were no longer feigned in a more refined age, nevertheless were shamefully acted out through games in the service of the same false divinities. Numa reigned next after Romulus, who since he thought that city should certainly be fortified with a multitude of false gods, himself having died did not merit to be returned into the same crowd, as if he were thought to have so crowded the heaven with a multitude of divinities that he could not find a place there. While he was reigning at Rome, and among the Hebrews at the beginning of the reign of Manasseh, by which impious king the prophet Isaiah is said to have been killed, they say the Samian Sibyl existed.

Chapter XXV.

Which philosophers flourished while Tarquinius Priscus reigned among the Romans, and Zedekiah among the Hebrews, when Jerusalem was captured and the temple overthrown.

While Zedekiah was reigning among the Hebrews, and Tarquinius Priscus among the Romans, who had succeeded Ancus Marcius, the people of the Jews were led captive into Babylonia, Jerusalem and that temple constructed by Solomon having been overturned. For the Prophets, rebuking them concerning their iniquities and impieties, had foretold that these things would come to them, especially Jeremiah, who also defined the number of years (Jer. XXV, 11). At that time Pittacus of Mitylene, another of the seven Sages, is said to have been. And the five others, who so that seven may be numbered are added to Thales, whom we mentioned above, and to this Pittacus, Eusebius writes existed at that time in which the captive people of God were held in Babylonia. Moreover, these are Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedaemon, Periander of Corinth, Cleobulus of Lindus, Bias of Priene. All these called the seven Sages flourished after the theological poets, because they excelled other men by a certain laudable kind of life, and comprised some precepts of morals in brevity of sentences.

Nihil autem monumentorum, quod ad litteras attinet, posteris reliquerunt, nisi quod Solon quasdam leges Atheniensibus dedisse perhibetur; Thales vero physicus fuit, et suorum dogmatum libros reliquit. Eo captivitatis Judaicae tempore, et Anaximander, et Anaximenes, et Xenophanes physici claruerunt. Tunc et Pythagoras, ex quo coeperunt appellari philosophi.

Caput XXVI.

Quod eo tempore, quo impletis septuaginta annis Judaeorum est resoluta captivitas Romani, quoque a dominatu sunt regio liberati.

Per idem tempus Cyrus rex Persarum, qui etiam Chaldaeis et Assyriis imperabat, relaxata aliquanta captivitate Judaeorum, quinquaginta millia hominum ex eis ad instaurandum templum regredi fecit. A quibus tantum prima coepta fundamina, et altare constructum est. Incursantibus autem hostibus, nequaquam progredi aedificando valuerunt, dilatumque opus est usque ad Darium. Per idem tempus etiam illa sunt gesta, quae conscripta sunt in libro Judith: quem sane in canone Scripturarum Judaei non recepisse dicuntur. Sub Darius ergo rege Persarum impletis septuaginta annis, quos Jeremias propheta praedixerat, reddita est Judaeis soluta captivitate libertas, regnante Romanorum septimo rege Tarquinio. Quo expulso etiam ipsi a regum suorum dominatione liberi esse coeperunt. Usque ad hoc tempus Prophetas habuit populus Israel: qui cum multi fuerint, paucorum et apud Judaeos et apud nos canonica scripta retinentur. De quibus me aliqua positurum esse promisi in hoc libro, cum clauderem superiorem, quod jam video esse faciendum.

Caput XXVII.

De temporibus Prophetarum, quorum oracula habentur in libris; quique tunc de vocatione Gentium multa cecinerunt, quando Romanum regnum coepit, Assyriumque defecit.

Tempora igitur eorum ut possimus advertere, in anteriora paululum recurramus. In capite libri Osee prophetae, qui primus in duodecim ponitur, ita scriptum est: Verbum Domini quod factum est ad Osee in diebus Oziae, et Joathan, et Achaz, et Ezechiae regum Juda (Osee I, 1). Amos quoque diebus regis Oziae prophetasse se scribit: addit etiam Jeroboam regem Israel, qui per eosdem dies fuit (Amos I, 1).

Moreover, they left nothing of monuments, as far as pertains to letters, to posterity, except that Solon is said to have given certain laws to the Athenians; Thales indeed was a physicist, and left books of his dogmas. At that time of the Judaic captivity, both Anaximander and Anaximenes and Xenophanes, physicists, flourished. Then also Pythagoras, from whom they began to be called philosophers.

Chapter XXVI.

That at that time, when seventy years having been completed the captivity of the Jews was resolved, the Romans also were liberated from royal dominion.

Through the same time Cyrus, king of the Persians, who also commanded the Chaldeans and Assyrians, some part of the captivity of the Jews having been relaxed, caused fifty thousand men from them to return to restore the temple. By whom only the first begun foundations and the altar were constructed. But since enemies were making incursions, they were by no means able to go forward by building, and the work was delayed until Darius. Through the same time those things also were done which were written in the book of Judith: which indeed the Jews are said not to have received in the canon of Scriptures. Under Darius therefore, king of the Persians, seventy years having been completed, which Jeremiah the prophet had foretold, liberty was restored to the Jews, the captivity being dissolved, while the seventh king of the Romans, Tarquinius, was reigning. Who having been expelled, they themselves also began to be free from the dominion of their kings. Up to this time the people of Israel had Prophets: of whom, though they were many, the canonical writings of few are retained both among the Jews and among us. Concerning whom I promised that I would place some things in this book, when I closed the previous one, which I now see must be done.

Chapter XXVII.

Concerning the times of the Prophets, whose oracles are had in books; and who then sang many things concerning the vocation of the Gentiles, when the Roman kingdom began, and the Assyrian failed.

Therefore, so that we may be able to notice their times, let us run back a little into former things. At the head of the book of the prophet Hosea, who is placed first in the twelve, it is thus written: "The word of the Lord which was made to Hosea in the days of Uzziah, and Jotham, and Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah" (Hosea I, 1). Amos also writes that he prophesied in the days of king Uzziah: he adds also Jeroboam king of Israel, who was through the same days (Amos I, 1).

Necnon Isaias filius Amos, sive supradicti prophetae, sive, quod magis perhibetur, alterius qui non, propheta eodem nomine vocabatur, eosdem reges quatuor quos posuit Osee, in capite libri sui ponit, quorum diebus se prophetasse praeloquitur. Michaeas etiam eadem suae prophetiae commemorat tempora post dies Oziae. Nam tres qui sequuntur reges nominat, quos et Osee nominavit, Joathan, et Achaz, et Ezechiam (Michaeae I, 1). Hi sunt quos eodem tempore simul prophetasse ex eorum litteris invenitur. His adjungitur Jonas eodem Ozia rege regnante, et Joel cum jam regnarat Joathan, qui successit Oziae. Sed istorum prophetarum duorum tempora in Chronicis, non in eorum libris potuimus invenire, quoniam de suis diebus tacent. Tenduntur autem hi dies a rege Latinorum Proca, sive superiore Aventino, usque ad regem Romulum jam Romanorum, vel etiam usque ad regni primordia successoris ejus Numae Pompilii: Ezechias quippe rex Juda eo usque regnavit; ac per hoc per ea tempora isti velut fontes prophetiae pariter eruperunt, quando regnum defecit Assyrium, coepitque Romanum: ut scilicet quemadmodum regni Assyriorum primo tempore exstitit Abraham, cui promissiones apertissimae fierent in ejus semine benedictionis omnium gentium; ita occidentalis Babylonis exordio, qua fuerat Christus imperante venturus, in quo implerentur illa promissa oracula Prophetarum, non solum loquentium, verum etiam scribentium in tantae rei futurae testimonium solverentur. Cum enim prophetae nunquam fere defuissent populo Israel, ex quo ibi reges esse coeperunt, in usum tantummodo eorum fuere, non gentium: quando autem ea scriptura manifestius prophetica condebatur, quae gentibus quandoque prodesset, tunc oportebat inciperet, quando condebatur haec civitas, quae gentibus imperaret.

Caput XXVIII.

De his quae ad Evangelium Christi pertinent, quid Osee et Amos prophetaverint.

Osee igitur propheta, quanto profundius quidem loquitur, tanto operosius penetratur. Sed aliquid inde sumendum est, et hic ex nostra promissione ponendum. Et erit, inquit, in loco quo dictum est eis, Non populus meus vos, vocabuntur et ipsi filii Dei vivi (Osee I, 10). Hoc testimonium propheticum de vocatione populi Gentium, qui prius non pertinebat ad Deum, etiam Apostoli intellexerunt (Rom. IX, 26).

Likewise Isaiah the son of Amoz, either of the aforesaid prophet or, as is more related, of another who was not a prophet, called by the same name, places the same four kings whom Hosea placed, at the head of his book, in whose days he speaks before that he prophesied. Micah also mentions the same times of his prophecy after the days of Uzziah. For he names the three kings who follow, whom Hosea also named, Jotham, and Ahaz, and Hezekiah (Micah I, 1). These are those who are found to have prophesied together at the same time from their writings. To these is added Jonah, the same king Uzziah reigning, and Joel when Jotham had already reigned, who succeeded Uzziah. But the times of these two prophets we were able to find in the Chronicles, not in their books, because they are silent concerning their days. Moreover, these days are stretched from the king of the Latins Procas, or the former Aventinus, up to king Romulus already of the Romans, or even up to the beginnings of the reign of his successor Numa Pompilius: for Hezekiah king of Judah reigned up to that point; and through this, through those times, those like fountains of prophecy broke forth together, when the Assyrian kingdom failed, and the Roman began: so that, namely, just as in the first time of the kingdom of the Assyrians Abraham existed, to whom very open promises were made in his seed of the blessing of all nations; so in the beginning of the western Babylon, under whose command Christ was to come, in whom those promised oracles of the Prophets would be fulfilled, not only of those speaking but also of those writing, they would be released in testimony of so great a future thing. For since prophets had almost never been lacking to the people of Israel, from the time when kings began to be there, they were for their use only, not for the nations: but when that script was more manifestly established as prophetic, which would someday benefit the nations, then it ought to begin, when this city was being established, which would command the nations.

Chapter XXVIII.

Concerning those things which pertain to the Gospel of Christ, what Hosea and Amos prophesied.

The prophet Hosea, therefore, speaks as much more profoundly as he is more laboriously penetrated. But something must be taken from there and placed here according to our promise. “And it shall be,” he says, “in the place where it was said to them, ‘You are not my people,’ they themselves shall also be called sons of the living God” (Hosea I, 10). The Apostles also understood this prophetic testimony concerning the calling of the people of the Gentiles, who previously did not belong to God (Rom. IX, 26).

Et quia ipse quoque populus Gentium spiritualiter est in filiis Abrahae, ac per hoc recte dicitur Israel, propterea sequitur, et dicit: Et congregabuntur filii Juda et filii Israel in idipsum, et ponent sibimet principatum unum, et ascendent a terra (Osee I, 11). Hoc si adhuc velimus exponere, eloquin prophetici obtundetur sapor. Recolatur tamen lapis ille angularis, et duo illi parietes, unus ex Judaeis, alter ex Gentibus (Ephes. II, 14, 15, 20-22); ille nomine filiorum Juda, iste nomine filiorum Israel, eidem uni principatui suo in idipsum innitentes, et ascendentes agnoscantur a terra. Istos autem carnales Israelitas, qui nunc nolunt credere in Christum, postea credituros, id est, filios eorum (nam utique isti in suum locum moriendo transibunt), idem propheta testatur, dicens: Quoniam diebus multis sedebunt filii Israel sine rege, sine principe, sine sacrificio, sine altari, sine sacerdotio, sine manifestationibus. Quis non videat, nunc sic esse Judaeos? Sed quid adjungat, audiamus: Et postea, inquit, revertentur filii Israel, et inquirent Dominum Deum suum, et David regem suum: et stupescent in Domino, et in bonis ipsius, in novissimis diebus (Osee III, 4, 5, sec. LXX). Nihil est ista prophetia manifestius, cum David regis nomine significatus intelligatur Christus, qui factus est, sicut dicit Apostolus, ex semine David secundum carnem (Rom. I, 3). Praenuntiavit iste propheta etiam tertio die Christi resurrectionem futuram, sicut eam prophetica altitudine praenuntiari oportebat, ubi ait: Sanabit nos post biduum, in die tertio resurgemus (Osee VI, 3). Secundum hoc enim nobis dicit Apostolus, Si resurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite (Coloss. III, 1). Amos quoque de rebus talibus sic prophetat: Praepara, inquit, te, ut invoces Deum tuum Israel; quia ecce ego firmans tonitruum, et creans spiritum, et annuntians in hominibus Christum suum (Amos IV, 12 et 13, sec. LXX). Et alio loco: In illa die, inquit, resuscitabo tabernaculum David quod cecidit, et reaedificabo quae ceciderunt ejus, et destructa ejus resuscitabo, et reaedificabo ea, sicut dies saeculi; ita ut exquirant me residui hominum, et omnes gentes in quibus invocatum est nomen meum super eos, dicit Dominus faciens haec (Id. IX, 11 et 12, sec. LXX).

Caput XXIX.

Quae ab Isaia de Christo et Ecclesia sint praedicta.

And because the people of the Gentiles themselves are also spiritually in the sons of Abraham, and through this are rightly called Israel, therefore he follows and says: "And the sons of Judah and the sons of Israel shall be gathered together into that very thing, and they shall place for themselves one leadership, and they shall ascend from the earth" (Hosea I, 11). If we should still wish to explain this, the flavor of the prophetic speech will be dulled. Yet let that cornerstone be recalled, and those two walls, one from the Jews, the other from the Gentiles (Eph. II, 14, 15, 20-22); the former under the name of the sons of Judah, the latter under the name of the sons of Israel, leaning upon the same one leadership of theirs into that very thing, and let them be recognized as ascending from the earth. Moreover, the same prophet testifies that those carnal Israelites, who now refuse to believe in Christ, will believe later—that is, their sons (for certainly these will pass by dying into their own place)—saying: "Because for many days the sons of Israel shall sit without a king, without a prince, without a sacrifice, without an altar, without a priesthood, without manifestations." Who does not see that the Jews are now thus? But let us hear what he adds: "And afterward," he says, "the sons of Israel shall return, and shall seek the Lord their God, and David their king: and they shall be amazed in the Lord, and in His goods, in the last days" (Hosea III, 4, 5, according to the LXX). Nothing is clearer than that prophecy, since by the name of king David, Christ is understood to be signified, who was made, as the Apostle says, "from the seed of David according to the flesh" (Rom. I, 3). This prophet also foretold that the resurrection of Christ would be on the third day, as it was fitting for it to be foretold with prophetic height, where he says: "He will heal us after two days, on the third day we shall rise again" (Hosea VI, 3). According to this, indeed, the Apostle says to us: "If you have risen with Christ, seek those things which are above" (Col. III, 1). Amos also thus prophesies concerning such things: "Prepare yourself," he says, "that you may invoke your God, Israel; because behold, I am He that establishes the thunder, and creates the spirit, and announces His Christ among men" (Amos IV, 12-13, according to the LXX). And in another place: "In that day," he says, "I will raise up the tabernacle of David which has fallen, and I will rebuild those things of it which have fallen, and I will raise up its destroyed things, and I will rebuild them as the days of the age; so that the remnant of men may seek me, and all the nations in which my name has been invoked upon them, says the Lord who does these things" (Amos IX, 11-12, according to the LXX).

Chapter XXIX.

What things were foretold by Isaiah concerning Christ and the Church.

1. Isaias propheta non est in libro duodecim Prophetarum, qui propterea dicuntur minores, quia sermones eorum sunt breves, in eorum comparatione qui majores ideo vocantur, quia prolixa volumina condiderunt: ex quibus est hic Isaias, quem propter eadem prophetiae tempora subjungo supradictis duobus. Isaias ergo inter illa quae arguit iniqua, et justa praecepit, et peccatori populo mala futura praedixit, etiam de Christo et Ecclesia, hoc est de Rege et ea quam condidit civitate, multo plura quam caeteri prophetavit: ita ut a quibusdam evangelista, quam propheta potius diceretur. Sed propter rationem operis terminandi, unum de multis hoc loco ponam. Ex persona quippe Dei Patris loquens: Ecce, inquit, intelliget puer meus, et exaltabitur, et glorificabitur valde. Quemadmodum stupescent super te multi, ita gloria privabitur ab hominibus species tua et gloria tua ab hominibus: ita mirabuntur gentes multae super eum, et continebunt reges os suum: quoniam quibus non est annuntiatum de illo, videbunt; et qui non audierunt, intelligent. Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro, et brachium Domini cui revelatum est? Annuntiavimus coram illo, ut infans, ut radix in terra sitienti: non est species illi, neque gloria. Et vidimus eum, et non habebat speciem, neque decorem: sed species ejus sine honore, deficiens prae omnibus hominibus. Homo in plaga positus, et sciens ferre infirmitatem: quoniam aversa est facies ejus: inhonoratus est, nec magni aestimatus est. Hic peccata nostra portat, et pro nobis dolet: et nos existimavimus illum esse in dolore, et in plaga, et in afflictione. Ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras, et infirmatus est propter peccata nostra. Eruditio pacis nostrae in eo: livore ejus nos sanati sumus. Omnes ut oves erravimus, homo a via sua erravit: et Dominus tradidit illum pro peccatis nostris: et ipse propter quod afflictus est, non aperuit os suum. Ut ovis ad immolandum ductus est, et ut agnus ante eum qui se tondet, sine voce, sic non aperuit os suum. In humilitate judicium ejus sublatum est. Generationem ejus quis enarrabit? Quoniam tolletur de terra vita ejus. Ab iniquitatibus populi mei ductus est ad mortem. Et dabo malignos pro sepultura ejus, et divites pro morte ejus. Quoniam iniquitatem non fecit, nec dolum in ore suo: et Dominus vult purgare eum de plaga. Si dederitis pro peccato animam vestram, videbitis semen longaevum: et Dominus vult auferre a dolore animam ejus, ostendere illi lucem, et formare intellectum, justificare justum bene servientem pluribus: et peccata eorum ipse portabit. Propterea ipse haereditabit plures, et fortium dividet spolia: propter quod tradita est ad mortem anima ejus; et inter iniquos aestimatus est, et ipse peccata multorum portavit, et propter peccata eorum traditus est (Isai. LII, 13-15; LIII, 1-12, sec. LXX).

1. The prophet Isaiah is not in the book of the twelve Prophets, who are therefore called minor because their speeches are brief, in comparison with those who are therefore called major because they established lengthy volumes: of which this Isaiah is one, whom I subjoin to the aforesaid two on account of the same times of prophecy. Isaiah, therefore, among those things in which he argued against iniquities, and commanded just things, and foretold future evils to the sinful people, prophesied also concerning Christ and the Church—that is, concerning the King and the city which He established—far more things than the others: so that he might rather be called an evangelist by some than a prophet. But for the sake of finishing the work, I will place one of many in this spot. Speaking indeed from the person of God the Father: "Behold," he says, "my servant shall understand, and shall be exalted, and shall be glorified exceedingly. Just as many shall be amazed over you, so shall your appearance be deprived of glory among men, and your glory among men: so shall many nations wonder over him, and kings shall keep their mouths closed: because they to whom it has not been announced concerning him, shall see; and they who have not heard, shall understand. Lord, who has believed our hearing, and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? We have announced before him, as an infant, as a root in a thirsty land: there is no appearance in him, nor glory. And we saw him, and he had no appearance, nor beauty: but his appearance was without honor, failing before all men. A man placed in a plague, and knowing how to bear infirmity: because his face was turned away: he was dishonored, nor was he highly esteemed. This man bears our sins, and grieves for us: and we thought him to be in grief, and in a plague, and in affliction. But he was wounded on account of our iniquities, and was weakened on account of our sins. The instruction of our peace is in him: by his bruise we are healed. All we as sheep have wandered, man has wandered from his way: and the Lord has delivered him for our sins: and he, on account of that for which he was afflicted, did not open his mouth. He was led as a sheep to be sacrificed, and as a lamb before him who shears him, without voice, so he did not open his mouth. In humility his judgment was taken away. His generation, who shall relate? Because his life shall be taken from the earth. By the iniquities of my people he was led to death. And I will give the wicked for his burial, and the rich for his death. Because he did not commit iniquity, nor was there guile in his mouth: and the Lord wishes to cleanse him from the plague. If you shall give your soul for sin, you shall see a long-lived seed: and the Lord wishes to take away his soul from grief, to show him light, and to form understanding, to justify the just one serving well to many: and he himself shall bear their sins. Therefore he himself shall inherit many, and shall divide the spoils of the strong: on account of which his soul was delivered up to death; and he was esteemed among the iniquitous, and he himself bore the sins of many, and on account of their sins he was delivered up (Isa. LII, 13-15; LIII, 1-12, according to the LXX).

Haec de Christo.

2. Jam vero de Ecclesia, quod sequitur, audiamus: Laetare, inquit, sterilis, quae non paris; erumpe et clama, quae non parturis: quoniam multi filii desertae magis, quam ejus quae habet virum. Dilata locum tabernaculi tui, et aulaearum tuarum: fige, noli parcere, prolonga funiculos tuos, et palos tuos conforta; adhuc in dexteram et sinistram partem extende. Et semen tuum haereditabit gentes; et civitates desertas inhabitabis. Ne timeas, quoniam confusa es; neque reverearis, quia exprobrata es: quoniam confusionem aeternam oblivisceris, et opprobrii viduitatis tuae non eris memor. Quoniam Dominus faciens te, Dominus Sabaoth nomen ejus: et qui eruit te, ipse Deus Israel universae terrae vocabitur (Id. LIV, 1-5), et caetera. Verum ista sint satis: et in eis sunt exponenda nonnulla; sed sufficere arbitror quae ita sunt aperta, ut etiam inimici intelligere cogantur inviti.

Caput XXX.

Quae Michaeas, et Jonas et Joel novo Testamento congruentia prophetaverint.

1. Michaeas propheta Christum in figura ponens magni cujusdam montis, haec loquitur: Erit in novissimis diebus manifestus mons Domini paratus super vertices montium; et exaltabitur super colles. Et festinabunt ad eum plebes, et ibunt gentes multae, et dicent: Venite, ascendamus in montem Domini, et in domum Dei Jacob, et ostendet nobis viam suam, et ibimus in semitis ejus: quia ex Sion procedet lex, et verbum Domini ex Jerusalem. Et judicabit inter plebes multas, et redarguet gentes potentes usque in longinquum (Michaeae IV, 1-3). Praedicens iste propheta et locum in quo natus est Christus: Et tu, inquit, Bethlehem domus Ephrata, minima es, ut sis in millibus Juda: ex te mihi prodiet, ut sit in principem Israel: et egressus ejus ab initio, et ex diebus aeternitatis. Propterea dabit eos usque ad tempus parturientis pariet, et residui fratres ejus convertentur ad filios Israel. Et stabit, et videbit, et pascet gregem suum in virtute Domini, et in honore nominis Domini Dei sui erunt: quoniam nunc magnificabitur usque ad summum terrae (Mich. V, 2-4, sec. LXX).

2. Jonas autem propheta non tam sermone Christum, quam sua quadam passione prophetavit, profecto apertius, quam si ejus mortem et resurrectionem voce clamaret. Utquid enim exceptus est ventre belluino, et die tertio redditus, nisi ut significaret Christum de profundo inferni die tertio rediturum?

These things are concerning Christ.

2. Now indeed concerning the Church, let us hear what follows: "Rejoice," he says, "O barren one, who do not bear; break forth and cry out, you who do not travail: because many more are the sons of the deserted one, than of her who has a husband." "Enlarge the place of your tabernacle, and of your curtains: fix, do not spare, prolong your cords, and strengthen your stakes; extend yet to the right and left part." "And your seed shall inherit the nations; and you shall inhabit the deserted cities." "Do not fear, because you were confounded; nor be ashamed, because you were reproached: because you shall forget eternal confusion, and you shall not be mindful of the reproach of your widowhood." "Because the Lord who made you, the Lord of Hosts is his name: and he who rescued you, the God of Israel himself shall be called the God of the whole earth" (Id. LIV, 1-5), and the rest. But let these be enough: and in them some things are to be explained; but I judge those things to suffice which are so open, that even enemies are compelled to understand them against their will.

Chapter XXX.

What things Micah, and Jonah, and Joel prophesied congruent with the New Testament.

1. The prophet Micah, placing Christ in the figure of a certain great mountain, speaks these things: "It shall be in the last days that the mountain of the Lord shall be manifest, prepared above the peaks of the mountains; and it shall be exalted above the hills." And peoples shall hasten to it, and many nations shall go, and shall say: Come, let us ascend into the mountain of the Lord, and into the house of the God of Jacob, and he will show us his way, and we will walk in his paths: because from Sion shall proceed the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge between many peoples, and shall rebuke powerful nations even unto far off (Micah IV, 1-3). This prophet also foretelling the place in which Christ was born: "And you," he says, "Bethlehem house of Ephrata, are the least, that you should be among the thousands of Judah: from you he shall come forth to me, that he may be as the prince of Israel: and his going out is from the beginning, and from the days of eternity." Therefore he will give them until the time of her who brings forth shall bring forth, and the remnant of his brothers shall be converted to the sons of Israel. And he shall stand, and shall see, and shall feed his flock in the strength of the Lord, and in the honor of the name of the Lord their God they shall be: because now he shall be magnified even to the height of the earth (Micah V, 2-4, according to the LXX).

2. But the prophet Jonah prophesied Christ not so much by speech, as by a certain passion of his own, certainly more openly than if he were to cry out His death and resurrection with his voice. For to what end indeed was he received by the belly of the sea monster, and returned on the third day, unless he might signify that Christ would return from the deep of hell on the third day?

3. Joel omnia quae prophetat, multis verbis compellit exponi, ut quae pertinent ad Christum et Ecclesiam dilucescant. Unum tamen, quod etiam Apostoli commemoraverunt, quando in congregatos credentes Spiritus sanctus, sicut a Christo promissus fuerat, desuper venit (Act. II, 17, 18), non praetermittam. Et erit, inquit, post haec, et effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem: et prophetabunt filii vestri et filiae vestrae; et seniores vestri somnia somniabunt, et juvenes vestri visa videbunt: et quidem in servos meos et ancillas meas in illis diebus effundam de Spiritu meo (Joel II, 28 et 29).

Caput XXXI.

Quae in Abdia, in Naum, et Ambacu de salute mundi in Christo praenuntiata reperiantur.

1. Tres prophetae de minoribus, Abdias, Naum, Ambacum, nec sua tempora dicunt ipsi, nec in Chronicis Eusebii et Hieronymi, quando prophetaverint, invenitur. Abdias enim positus est quidem ab eis cum Michaea, sed non eo loco, ubi notantur tempora, quando Michaeam prophetasse ex ejus litteris constat: quod errore negligenter describentium labores alienos existimo contigisse. Duos vero alios commemoratos in codicibus Chronicorum quos habuimus, non potuimus invenire: tamen quia canone continentur, nec ipsi oportet praetereantur a nobis. Abdias, quantum ad scripturam ejus attinet, omnium brevissimus Prophetarum, adversus Idumaeam loquitur, gentem scilicet Esau, ex duobus geminis filiis Isaac, nepotibus Abrahae, majoris illius reprobati. Porro si Idumaeam modo locutionis, quo intelligitur a parte totum, accipiamus positam esse pro gentibus: de Christo agnoscere possumus quod ait inter caetera, In monte autem Sion erit salus, et erit sanctum. Et paulo post in fine ipsius prophetiae: Et ascendent, inquit, resalvati ex monte Sion, ut defendant montem Esau, et erit Domino regnum (Abdiae 17, 21, sec. LXX). Apparet quippe id esse completum, cum resalvati ex monte Sion, id est ex Judaea, credentes in Christum, qui praecipue agnoscuntur Apostoli, ascenderunt, ut defenderent montem Esau. Quomodo defenderent, nisi per Evangelii praedicationem salvos faciendo eos qui crediderunt, ut cruerentur de potestate tenebrarum, et transferrentur in regnum Dei? Quod consequenter expressit addendo, Et erit Domino regnum.

3. Joel compels all things which he prophesies to be explained with many words, so that those things which pertain to Christ and the Church may become clear. Yet one thing, which the Apostles also commemorated, when the Holy Spirit came from above upon the gathered believers, as had been promised by Christ (Acts II, 17, 18), I will not pass over. "And it shall be," he says, "after these things, and I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; and your elders shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions: and indeed upon my servants and my handmaids in those days I will pour out of my Spirit" (Joel II, 28-29).

Chapter XXXI.

What things are found foretold in Obadiah, in Nahum, and in Habakkuk concerning the salvation of the world in Christ.

1. Three prophets from the minor ones, Obadiah, Nahum, and Habakkuk, neither say their own times themselves, nor is it found in the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome when they prophesied. For Obadiah is indeed placed by them with Micah, but not in that place where the times are noted, since it is clear from Micah's writings when he prophesied: which I think happened by the error of those describing the labors of others negligently. But the other two mentioned in the codices of the Chronicles which we had, we were not able to find: yet because they are contained in the canon, it is not fitting that they themselves be passed over by us. Obadiah, as far as pertains to his writing, the shortest of all the Prophets, speaks against Idumaea—namely, the nation of Esau, from the two twin sons of Isaac, grandsons of Abraham, the elder of whom was reprobate. Furthermore, if we accept Idumaea as placed for the nations by that mode of speech in which a part is understood for the whole: we are able to recognize concerning Christ what he says among other things, "But on mount Sion there shall be salvation, and it shall be holy." And a little after at the end of the same prophecy: "And they that have been saved shall ascend from mount Sion," he says, "that they may defend mount Esau, and the kingdom shall be the Lord's" (Obad. 17, 21, according to the LXX). Indeed it appears that this was fulfilled, when they that were saved from mount Sion—that is, from Judea, believing in Christ, who are especially recognized as the Apostles—ascended, that they might defend mount Esau. How should they defend it, unless by making them safe through the preaching of the Gospel who believed, so that they might be rescued from the power of darkness, and be transferred into the kingdom of God? Which he consequently expressed by adding, "And the kingdom shall be the Lord's."

Mons enim Sion Judaeam significat, ubi futura praedicta est salus, et sanctum, quod est Christus Jesus: mons vero Esau Idumaea est, per quam significata est Ecclesia gentium, quam defenderunt, sicut exposui, resalvati ex monte Sion, ut esset Domino regnum. Hoc obscurum erat, antequam fieret; sed factum quis non fidelis agnoscat?

2. Naum vero propheta, imo per illum Deus: Exterminabo, inquit, sculptilia et conflatilia: ponam sepulturam tuam: quia veloces esse super montes pedes evangelizantis, et annuntiantis pacem. Celebra, Juda, dies festos tuos, redde vota tua: quia jam non adjicient ultra, ut transeant in vetustatem. Consummatum est, consumptum est, ablatum est. Ascendit, qui insufflat in faciem tuam, eripiens te ex tribulatione (Naum I, 14 et 15; II, 1, sec. LXX). Quis ascenderit ab inferis, et insufflaverit in faciem Judae, hoc est Judaeorum discipulorum, Spiritum sanctum, recolat qui meminit Evangelium. Ad novum enim Testamentum pertinent, quorum dies festi ita spiritualiter innovantur, ut in vetustatem transire non possint. Porro per Evangelium exterminata sculptilia et conflatilia, id est idola deorum falsorum, et oblivioni tanquam sepulturae tradita jam videmus; et hanc etiam in hac re prophetiam completam esse cognoscimus.

3. Ambacum de quo alio, quam de Christi adventu, qui futurus fuerat, intelligitur dicere, Et respondit Dominus ad me, et dixit, Scribe visum aperte in buxo; ut assequatur qui legit ea: quia adhuc visio ad tempus, et orietur in fine, et non in vacuum: si tardaverit, sustine eum; quia veniens veniet, et non morabitur (Habacuc, II, 2 et 3)?

Caput XXXII.

De prophetia quae in Oratione Ambacu et Cantico continetur.

In Oratione autem sua cum Cantico, cui nisi Domino Christo dicit, Domine, audivi auditionem tuam, et timui; Domine, consideravi opera tua, et expavi? quid enim hoc est, nisi praecognitae, novae, ac repentinae salutis hominum ineffabilis admiratio? In medio duorum animalium cognosceris, quid est, nisi aut in medio duorum Testamentorum, aut in medio duorum latronum, aut in medio Moysi et Eliae cum eo in monte sermocinantium? Dum appropinquant anni, cognosceris; in adventu temporis ostenderis, nec exponendum est.

For mount Sion signifies Judea, where the future salvation was foretold, and the holy one, who is Christ Jesus: but mount Esau is Idumaea, through which the Church of the nations is signified, which they defended, as I have explained, having been saved from mount Sion, so that the kingdom might be the Lord's. This was obscure before it happened; but what faithful person would not recognize it having happened?

2. But the prophet Nahum, or rather God through him: "I will exterminate," he says, "the graven and molten things: I will place your burial: because the feet of him that evangelizes and announces peace are swift upon the mountains." "Celebrate, O Judah, your feast days, return your vows: because they shall no longer add that they should pass into old age." "It is finished, it is consumed, it is taken away. He has ascended who breathes into your face, rescuing you from tribulation" (Nahum I, 14-15; II, 1, according to the LXX). Let him who remembers the Gospel recall who ascended from the lower regions and breathed the Holy Spirit into the face of Judah —that is, of the Jewish disciples. For they belong to the New Testament, whose feast days are thus spiritually renewed, that they cannot pass into old age. Furthermore, we already see the graven and molten things—that is, the idols of the false gods—exterminated through the Gospel, and delivered to oblivion as if to a burial; and we know this prophecy also to have been fulfilled in this thing.

3. Concerning whom else than concerning the advent of Christ, which was to be, is Habakkuk understood to say, "And the Lord answered me, and said, Write the vision openly on a box-tablet; that he who reads them may attain it: because the vision is yet for a time, and it shall arise in the end, and not in vain: if it shall tarry, wait for him; because coming he will come, and will not delay" (Hab. II, 2-3)?

Chapter XXXII.

Concerning the prophecy which is contained in the Prayer and Song of Habakkuk.

In his Prayer indeed with a Song, to whom does he say, unless to the Lord Christ, "Lord, I have heard your hearing, and I was afraid; Lord, I have considered your works, and I was terrified"? For what is this, except an ineffable admiration of the foreknown, new, and sudden salvation of men? "In the midst of two animals you shall be known," what is it, unless either in the midst of the two Testaments, or in the midst of the two thieves, or in the midst of Moses and Elijah talking with him on the mountain? "While the years approach, you shall be known; in the advent of the time you shall be shown," nor is it to be explained.

In eo dum conturbata fuerit anima mea, in ira misericordiae memor eris, quid est, nisi quod Judaeos in se transfiguravit, quorum gentis fuit, qui cum magna ira turbati crucifigerent Christum, ille misericordiae memor dixit, Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt (Luc. XXIII, 34)? Deus de Theman veniet, et sanctus de monte umbroso et condenso. Quod hic dictum est, de Theman veniet; alii interpretati sunt ab Austro, vel ab Africo: per quod significatur meridies, id est fervor charitatis et splendor veritatis. Montem vero umbrosum atque condensum, quamvis multis modis possit intelligi, libentius acceperim Scripturarum altitudinem divinarum, quibus prophetatus est Christus. Multa quippe ibi umbrosa atque condensa sunt, quae mentem quaerentis exerceant. Inde autem venit, cum ibi eum, qui intelligit, invenit. Operuit coelos virtus ejus, et laudis ejus plena est terra, quid est, nisi quod etiam in Psalmo dicitur, Exaltare super coelos, Deus, et super omnem terram gloria tua (Psal. LVI, 6)? Splendor ejus ut lumen erit, quid est, nisi, Fama ejus credentes illuminabit? Cornua in manibus ejus sunt, quid est, nisi tropaeum crucis? Et posuit charitatem firmam fortitudinis suae, nec exponendum est. Ante faciem ejus ibit verbum, et prodiet in campum post pedes ejus, quid est, nisi quod et antequam huc veniret, praenuntiatus est; et posteaquam hinc reversus est, annuntiatus est? Stetit, et terra commota est, quid est, nisi stetit ad subveniendum; et terra commota est ad credendum? Respexit et tabuerunt gentes: hoc est, misertus est, et fecit populos poenitentes. Contriti sunt montes violentia: hoc est, vim facientibus miraculis, elatorum contrita est superbia. Defluxerunt colles aeternales: hoc est, humiliati sunt ad tempus, ut erigerentur in aeternum. Ingressus aeternos ejus pro laboribus vidi: hoc est, non sine mercede aeternitatis laborem charitatis aspexi. Tabernacula Aethiopum expavescent, et tabernacula terrae Madian: hoc est, gentes repente perterritae nuntio mirabilium tuorum, etiam quae non sunt in jure Romano, erunt in populo christiano. Numquid in fluminibus iratus es, Domine, aut in fluminibus furor tuus, vel in mari impetus tuus? Hoc ideo dictum est, quia non venit nunc ut judicet mundum, sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum (Joan. III, 17). Quia ascendes super equos tuos; et equitatio tua salus: hoc est, Evangelistae tui portabunt te, qui reguntur a te; et Evangelium tuum salus est eis, qui credunt in te. Intendens intendes arcum tuum super sceptra, dicit Dominus: hoc est, comminaberis judicium tuum etiam regibus terrae. Fluminibus scindetur terra: hoc est, influentibus sermonibus praedicantium te, aperientur ad confitendum hominum corda, quibus dictum est, Scindite corda vestra, et non vestimenta (Joel II, 13).

"In that while my soul shall have been troubled, in wrath you will be mindful of mercy," what is it, unless that he transfigured in himself the Jews, of whose nation he was, who when troubled with great wrath were crucifying Christ, he mindful of mercy said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke XXIII, 34)? "God shall come from Teman, and the holy one from the shady and thick mountain." What was said here, "he shall come from Teman," others have interpreted "from the South," or "from the African wind": through which the midday is signified—that is, the fervor of charity and the splendor of truth. But the shady and thick mountain, although it can be understood in many ways, I would more willingly accept as the height of the divine Scriptures, by which Christ was prophesied. For there are many shady and thick things there, which may exercise the mind of the seeker. But He comes from there, when He finds him there who understands. "His power covered the heavens, and the earth is full of his praise," what is it, unless what is also said in the Psalm, "Be exalted above the heavens, O God, and your glory above all the earth" (Psalm LVI, 6)? "His splendor shall be as light," what is it, unless, His fame shall illuminate the believers? "Horns are in his hands," what is it, unless the trophy of the cross? "And he placed firm charity of his strength," nor is it to be explained. "Before his face shall go the word, and it shall go forth into the field after his feet," what is it, unless that both before he came here, he was foretold; and after he returned from here, he was announced? "He stood, and the earth was moved," what is it, unless he stood to help; and the earth was moved to believe? "He looked and the nations melted away": that is, he had mercy, and made the peoples penitent. "The mountains were crushed with violence": that is, by the miracles doing force, the pride of the elated was crushed. "The eternal hills flowed down": that is, they were humbled for a time, so that they might be raised up for eternity. "I saw his eternal entrances for labors": that is, not without the reward of eternity did I behold the labor of charity. "The tabernacles of the Ethiopians shall be terrified, and the tabernacles of the land of Midian": that is, the nations suddenly terrified by the news of your wonders, even those which are not under Roman law, shall be among the Christian people. "Were you angry in the rivers, O Lord, or was your fury in the rivers, or your impulse in the sea?" This was said for this reason, because he did not come now to judge the world, but that the world might be saved through him (John III, 17). "Because you shall ascend upon your horses; and your riding is salvation": that is, your Evangelists shall carry you, who are ruled by you; and your Gospel is salvation to them who believe in you. "Stretching you shall stretch your bow over the scepters, says the Lord": that is, you shall threaten your judgment even to the kings of the earth. "The earth shall be rent by rivers": that is, by the flowing speeches of those preaching you, the hearts of men shall be opened to confession, to whom it was said, "Rend your hearts, and not your garments" (Joel II, 13).

Quid est, Videbunt te, et dolebunt populi, nisi ut lugendo sint beati? Quid est, Dispergens aquas incessu, nisi ambulando in eis qui te usquequaque annuntiant, hac atque hac dispergis fluenta doctrinae? Quid est, Abyssus dedit vocem suam? an profunditas cordis humani quid ei videretur expressit? Altitudo phantasiae suae, tanquam versus superioris est expositio; altitudo enim est abyssus. Quod autem ait, phantasiae suae, subaudiendum est, vocem dedit: hoc est, quod diximus, quid ei videretur expressit. Phantasia quippe visio est, quam non tenuit, non operuit, sed confitendo eructavit. Elevatus est sol, et luna stetit in ordine suo: hoc est, ascendit Christus in coelum, et ordinata est Ecclesia sub rege suo. In lucem jacula tua ibunt: hoc est, non in occultum, sed in manifestum verba tua mittentur. In splendorem coruscationis armorum tuorum: subaudiendum est, jacula tua ibunt. Dixerat enim suis, Quae dico vobis in tenebris, dicite in lumine (Matth. X, 27). In comminatione minorabis terram: id est, comminando humiliabis homines. Et in furore dejicies gentes: quia eos qui se exaltant, vindicando collides. Existi in salutem populi tui, ut salvos faceres christos tuos; misisti in capita iniquorum mortem: nihil horum est exponendum. Excitasti vincula usque ad collum. Et bona hic possunt intelligi vincula sapientiae, ut injiciantur pedes in compedes ejus, et collum in torquem ejus. Praecidisti in stupore mentis: subaudiamus, vincula: excitavit enim bona, praecidit mala, de quibus ei dicitur, Disrupisti vincula mea (Psal. CXV, 16): et hoc in stupore mentis, id est, mirabiliter. Capita potentium movebuntur in ea: in ea scilicet admiratione. Adaperient morsus suos, sicut edens pauper absconse. Potentes enim quidam Judaeorum veniebant ad Dominum facta ejus et verba mirati, et esurientes panem doctrinae manducabant absconse propter metum Judaeorum, sicut eos prodidit Evangelium (Joan. XIX, 38). Et immisisti in mare equos tuos turbantes aquas multas: quae nihil sunt aliud, quam populi multi. Non enim alii timore converterentur, alii furore persequerentur, nisi omnes turbarentur. Observavi, et expavit venter meus a voce orationis labiorum meorum: et introivit tremor in ossa mea, et subtus me turbata est habitudo mea. Intendit in ea quae dicebat, et ipsa sua est oratione perterritus, quam prophetice fundebat, et in qua futura cernebat. Turbatis enim populis multis, vidit imminentes Ecclesiae tribulationes, continuoque se membrum ejus agnovit, atque ait, Requiescam in die tribulationis: tanquam ad eos pertinens, qui sunt spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes (Rom. XII, 12). Ut ascendam, inquit, in populum peregrinationis meae: recedens utique a populo maligno carnalis cognationis suae, non peregrinante in hac terra, neque supernam patriam requirente.

What is, "The peoples shall see you, and shall grieve," unless that by mourning they may be blessed? What is, "Scattering the waters by his pace," unless by walking in those who announce you everywhere, here and there you scatter the streams of doctrine? What is, "The abyss gave its voice"? did the depth of the human heart express what it seemed to it? "The height of its fantasy," as if it were an explanation of the upper verse; for the height is the abyss. But what he says, "of its fantasy," must be understood, "it gave its voice": that is, what we said, it expressed what it seemed to it. For fantasy is a vision, which it did not hold, did not cover, but by confessing belched forth. "The sun was raised, and the moon stood in its order": that is, Christ ascended into heaven, and the Church was ordained under its king. "Into light your darts shall go": that is, not into secret, but into manifest your words shall be sent. "Into the splendor of the lightning of your arms": it must be understood, "your darts shall go." For he had said to his own, "What I say to you in darkness, speak in the light" (Matt. X, 27). "In threat you shall diminish the earth": that is, by threatening you shall humble men. "And in fury you shall cast down the nations": because you shall crush those who exalt themselves by taking vengeance. "You went forth into the salvation of your people, that you might save your anointed ones; you sent death into the heads of the iniquitous": none of these is to be explained. "You raised chains even unto the neck." And here good chains of wisdom can be understood, so that the feet may be cast into its fetters, and the neck into its collar. "You cut off in amazement of mind": let us understand, "the chains": for he raised the good, he cut off the evil, concerning which it is said to him, "You have broken my chains" (Psalm CXV, 16): and this "in amazement of mind," that is, wonderfully. "The heads of the powerful shall be moved in it": in that admiration, namely. "They shall open their bites, as a poor man eating secretly." For certain powerful ones of the Jews came to the Lord, having wondered at his deeds and words, and being hungry they ate the bread of doctrine secretly on account of the fear of the Jews, as the Gospel has betrayed them (John XIX, 38). "And you sent into the sea your horses, troubling many waters": which are nothing else than many peoples. For neither would some be converted by fear, and others pursue by fury, unless all were troubled. "I observed, and my belly was terrified from the voice of the prayer of my lips: and trembling entered into my bones, and under me my habit was troubled." He attended to those things which he was saying, and he was terrified by his own prayer, which he was pouring forth prophetically, and in which he was discerning future things. For many peoples being troubled, he saw the tribulations imminent to the Church, and immediately he recognized himself a member of it, and said, "I shall rest in the day of tribulation": as if pertaining to those who are rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation (Rom. XII, 12). "That I may ascend," he says, "into the people of my pilgrimage": departing certainly from the wicked people of his carnal kindred, not pilgrimaging in this earth, nor seeking the supernal country.

Quoniam ficus, inquit, non afferet fructus, et non erunt nativitates in vineis: mentietur opus olivae, et campi non facient escam. Defecerunt ab esca oves, et non supersunt in praesepibus boves. Vidit eam gentem, quae Christum fuerat occisura, ubertatem copiarum spiritualium perdituram, quas per terrenam fecunditatem more prophetico figuravit. Et quia iram Dei talem propterea passa est illa gens, quia Dei ignorans justitiam, suam voluit constituere (Id. X, 3), iste continuo, Ego autem, inquit, in Domino exsultabo, gaudebo in Deo salutari meo. Dominus Deus meus virtus mea, statuet pedes meos in consummationem; super excelsa imponet me, ut vincam in cantico ejus (Habacuc III), scilicet illo cantico, de quo similia quaedam dicuntur in Psalmo: Statuit supra petram pedes meos, et direxit gressus meos; et immisit in os meum canticum novum, hymnum Deo nostro (Psal. XXXIX, 3 et 4). Ipse ergo vincit in cantico Domini, qui placet in ejus laude, non sua, ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur (I Cor. I, 31). Melius autem mihi videntur quidam codices habere, Gaudebo in Deo Jesu meo, quam hi qui volentes id latine ponere, nomen ipsum non posuerunt, quod est nobis amicius et dulcius nominare.

Caput XXXIII.

De Christo et vocatione Gentium quae Jeremias et Sophonias prophetico Spiritu sint praefati.

1. Jeremias propheta de majoribus est, sicut Isaias; non de minoribus, sicut caeteri, de quorum scriptis nonnulla jam posui. Prophetavit autem regnante Josia in Jerusalem, et apud Romanos Anco Martio, jam propinquante captivitate Judaeorum. Tetendit autem prophetiam, usque ad quintum mensem captivitatis: sicut in ejus litteris invenimus. Sophonias autem unus de minoribus adjungitur ei. Nam et ipse in diebus Josiae prophetasse se dicit (Sophon. I, 1): sed quousque, non dicit. Prophetavit ergo Jeremias, non solum Anci Martii, verum etiam Tarquinii Prisci temporibus, quem Romani habuerunt quintum regem. Ipse enim, quando est illa captivitas facta, regnare jam coeperat. Prophetans ergo de Christo Jeremias, Spiritus, inquit, oris nostri Dominus Christus captus est in peccatis nostris (Thren. IV, 20); sic breviter ostendens, et Dominum nostrum Christum, et passum esse pro nobis.

"Since the fig tree," he says, "shall not bring forth fruits, and there shall be no births in the vines: the work of the olive tree shall lie, and the fields shall not make food. The sheep have failed from food, and there are no oxen left in the stalls." He saw that nation, which was to kill Christ, about to lose the abundance of spiritual riches, which he figured by earthly fecundity in the prophetic manner. And because that nation suffered such wrath of God for this reason, because being ignorant of the justice of God, it wished to establish its own (Id. X, 3), he immediately says, "But I will exult in the Lord, I will rejoice in God my savior." "The Lord God is my strength, he will set my feet into consummation; he will place me above high places, that I may overcome in his song" (Habakkuk III), namely that song concerning which certain similar things are said in the Psalm: "He set my feet upon a rock, and directed my steps; and he put into my mouth a new song, a hymn to our God" (Psalm XXXIX, 3 and 4). He therefore overcomes in the song of the Lord, who pleases in His praise, not his own, so that "he who glories, let him glory in the Lord" (I Cor. I, 31). But some codices seem to me to have better, "I will rejoice in God my Jesus," than those who wishing to place it in Latin, did not place the name itself, which is more friendly and sweeter for us to name.

Chapter XXXIII.

Concerning Christ and the calling of the Gentiles which Jeremiah and Zephaniah spoke beforehand by the prophetic Spirit.

1. The prophet Jeremiah is of the major ones, like Isaiah; not of the minor ones, like the rest, of whose writings I have already placed some things. But he prophesied while Josiah was reigning in Jerusalem, and among the Romans Ancus Marcius, the captivity of the Jews already approaching. But he stretched his prophecy even unto the fifth month of the captivity: as we find in his writings. But Zephaniah, one of the minor ones, is subjoined to him. For he himself also says that he prophesied in the days of Josiah (Zeph. I, 1): but how far, he does not say. Jeremiah, therefore, prophesied not only in the times of Ancus Marcius, but also of Tarquinius Priscus, whom the Romans had as their fifth king. For he himself, when that captivity was made, had already begun to reign. Jeremiah, therefore, prophesying of Christ: "The Spirit of our mouth," he says, "the Lord Christ was caught in our sins" (Lam. IV, 20); thus briefly showing both that Christ is our Lord, and that he suffered for us.

Item alio loco: Hic Deus meus, inquit, et non aestimabitur alter ad eum: qui invenit omnem viam prudentiae, et dedit eam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo: post haec in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est (Baruch III, 36-38). Hoc testimonium quidam non Jeremiae, sed scribae ejus attribuunt, qui vocabatur Baruch: sed Jeremiae celebratius habetur. Rursus idem propheta de ipso: Ecce, inquit, dies veniunt, ait Dominus, et suscitabo David germen justum, et regnabit rex, et sapiens erit, et faciet judicium et justitiam in terra. In diebus illis salvabitur Juda, et Israel habitabit confidenter: et hoc est nomen quod vocabunt eum, Dominus justus noster (Jerem. XXIII, 5, 6). De vocatione etiam gentium, quae fuerat futura (et eam nunc impletam cernimus) sic locutus est: Domine, Deus meus et refugium meum in die malorum, ad te gentes venient ab extremo terrae, et dicent: Vere mendacia coluerunt patres nostri simulacra, et non est in illis utilitas (Id. XVI, 19). Quia vero non erant eum agnituri Judaei, a quibus eum et occidi oportebat, sic idem propheta significat: Grave cor per omnia, et homo est, et quis cognoscet eum (Id. XVII, 9, sec. LXX)? Hujus est etiam illud quod in libro decimo septimo posui de Testamento novo (Cap. 3), cujus est mediator Christus. Ipse quippe Jeremias ait, Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et consummabo super domum Jacob Testamentum novum (Jerem. XXXI, 31), et caetera quae ibi leguntur.

2. Sophoniae autem prophetae, qui cum Jeremia prophetabat, haec praedicta de Christo interim ponam: Exspecta me, dicit Dominus, in die resurrectionis meae, in futurum: quia judicium meum, ut congregem gentes, et colligam regna (Sophon. III, 8). Et iterum: Horribilis, inquit, Dominus super eos, et exterminabit omnes deos terrae; et adorabit eum vir de loco suo, omnes insulae gentium (Id. II, 11). Et paulo post: Tunc, inquit, transvertam in populos linguam, et in progenis ejus, ut omnes invocent nomen Domini, et serviant ei sub uno jugo; a finibus fluminum Aethiopiae afferent mihi hostias. In illo die non confunderis ex omnibus adinventionibus tuis, quas impie egisti in me: quia tunc auferam abs te pravitates injuriae tuae; et jam non adjicies ut magnificeris super montem sanctum meum: et subrelinquam in te populum mansuetum et humilem; et verebuntur a nomine Domini, qui reliqui fuerint Israel (Id. III, 9-13, sec. LXX). Hae sunt reliquiae, de quibus alibi prophetatur, quod Apostolus etiam commemorat: Si fuerit numerus filiorum Israel sicut arena maris, reliquiae salvae fient (Isai. X, 22; Rom. IX. 27). Hae quippe in Christum illius gentis reliquiae crediderunt.

Likewise in another place: "This is my God," he says, "and another shall not be esteemed in comparison to him: who found every way of prudence, and gave it to Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved: after these things he was seen on earth, and conversed with men" (Baruch III, 36-38). Some attribute this testimony not to Jeremiah, but to his scribe, who was called Baruch: but it is held more celebratedly as of Jeremiah. Again the same prophet concerning him: "Behold, the days come, says the Lord, and I will raise up to David a just sprout, and a king shall reign, and he shall be wise, and shall do judgment and justice on the earth." "In those days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell confidently: and this is the name that they shall call him, The Lord our Just One" (Jer. XXIII, 5, 6). Concerning the calling of the nations also, which was to be (and we now discern it fulfilled), he spoke thus: "O Lord, my God and my refuge in the day of evils, to you the nations shall come from the end of the earth, and shall say: Truly our fathers have worshipped lying idols, and there is no utility in them" (Jer. XVI, 19). But because the Jews were not going to recognize him, by whom it was also fitting that he be killed, the same prophet thus signifies: "The heart is heavy through all things, and he is a man, and who shall know him" (Jer. XVII, 9, according to the LXX)? Of him is also that which I placed in the seventeenth book concerning the New Testament, of which Christ is the mediator. For Jeremiah himself says, "Behold the days come, says the Lord, and I will consummate a New Testament over the house of Jacob" (Jer. XXXI, 31), and the rest which are read there.

2. But of the prophet Zephaniah, who was prophesying with Jeremiah, I will place these things foretold of Christ in the meantime: "Wait for me, says the Lord, in the day of my resurrection, for the future: because my judgment is that I may gather the nations, and collect the kingdoms" (Zeph. III, 8). And again: "The Lord shall be terrible over them," he says, "and he shall exterminate all the gods of the earth; and each man from his place shall adore him, all the islands of the nations" (Zeph. II, 11). And a little after: "Then," he says, "I will turn a language into the peoples, and into its offspring, so that all may invoke the name of the Lord, and serve him under one yoke; from the ends of the rivers of Ethiopia they shall bring victims to me." "In that day you shall not be confounded for all your inventions, which you did impiously against me: because then I will take away from you the depravities of your injury; and you shall no longer add that you should be magnified over my holy mountain: and I will leave in you a gentle and humble people; and they shall fear from the name of the Lord, who shall be the remnant of Israel" (Zeph. III, 9-13, according to the LXX). These are the remnants, concerning whom it is prophesied elsewhere, which the Apostle also commemorates: "If the number of the sons of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, the remnant shall be saved" (Isa. X, 22; Rom. IX. 27). For these remnants of that nation believed in Christ.

Caput XXXIV.

De prophetia Danielis et Ezechielis, quae in Christum Ecclesiamque concordat.

1. In ipsa porro Babyloniae captivitate prius prophetaverunt Daniel et Ezechiel, alii scilicet duo ex Prophetis majoribus. Quorum Daniel etiam tempus quo venturus fuerat Christus atque passurus, numero definivit annorum: quod longum est computando monstrare, et ab aliis factitatum est ante nos. De potestate vero ejus et gloria sic locutus est: Videbam, inquit, in visu noctis, et ecce cum nubibus coeli ut filius hominis veniens erat, et usque ad vetustum dierum pervenit; et in conspectu ejus praelatus est; et ipsi datus est principatus, et honor, et regnum: et omnes populi, tribus et linguae ipsi servient. Potestas ejus, potestas perpetua, quae non transibit; et regnum ejus non corrumpetur (Dan. VII, 13 et 14).

2. Ezechiel quoque more prophetico per David Christum significans, quia carnem de David semine assumpsit; propter quam formam servi, qua factus est homo, etiam servus Dei dicitur idem Dei Filius; sic eum prophetando praenuntiat ex persona Dei Patris: Et suscitabo, inquit, super pecora mea pastorem unum qui pascat ea, servum meum David: et ipse pascet ea, et ipse erit eis in pastorem. Ego autem Dominus ero eis in Deum, et servus meus David princeps in medio eorum: ego Dominus locutus sum (Ezech. XXXIV, 23 et 24). Et alio loco: Et rex, inquit, unus erit omnibus imperans: et non erunt ultra duae gentes, nec dividentur amplius in duo regna; neque polluentur ultra in idolis suis, et abominationibus suis, et in cunctis iniquitatibus suis. Et salvos eos faciam de universis sedibus suis, in quibus peccaverunt, et mundabo eos: et erunt mihi populus, et ego ero illis Deus: et servus meus David rex super eos, et pastor unus erit omnium eorum (Id. XXXVII, 22-24),

Caput XXXV.

De trium prophetarum vaticinio, id est, Aggaei, Zachariae et Malachiae.

1. Restant tres minores Prophetae, qui prophetaverunt in fine captivitatis, Aggaeus, Zacharias, Malachias. Quorum Aggaeus Christum et Ecclesiam hac apertius brevitate prophetat: Haec dicit Dominus exercituum: Adhuc unum modicum est, et ego commovebo coelum, et terram, et mare, et aridam, et movebo omnes gentes; et veniet Desideratus cunctis gentibus (Aggaei II, 7 et 8). Haec prophetia partim jam completa cernitur, partim speratur in fine complenda. Movit enim coelum Angelorum et siderum testimonio, quando incarnatus est Christus. Movit terram ingenti miraculo, de ipso virginis partu.

Chapter XXXIV.

Concerning the prophecy of Daniel and Ezekiel, which agrees in Christ and the Church.

1. Furthermore, in the Babylonian captivity itself, Daniel and Ezekiel, namely two others from the major Prophets, first prophesied. Of these, Daniel even defined by the number of years the time in which Christ was to come and to suffer: which is long to show by computing, and has been done by others before us. But concerning His power and glory he spoke thus: "I saw," he says, "in a vision of the night, and behold, one like the Son of Man was coming with the clouds of heaven, and he reached even unto the Ancient of Days; and he was brought into his presence; and to him was given leadership, and honor, and a kingdom: and all peoples, tribes, and languages shall serve him." "His power is a perpetual power, which shall not pass away; and his kingdom shall not be corrupted" (Dan. VII, 13 and 14).

2. Ezekiel also, signifying Christ through David in the prophetic manner, because He assumed flesh from the seed of David; on account of which form of a servant, in which He was made man, the same Son of God is also called the servant of God; thus foretells him by prophesying from the person of God the Father: "And I will raise up," he says, "over my sheep one shepherd who may feed them, my servant David: and he himself shall feed them, and he himself shall be to them as a shepherd." "But I the Lord will be to them as God, and my servant David a prince in the midst of them: I the Lord have spoken" (Ezek. XXXIV, 23 and 24). And in another place: "And there shall be one king commanding all: and they shall no longer be two nations, nor shall they be divided any more into two kingdoms; neither shall they be polluted any more in their idols, and their abominations, and in all their iniquities." "And I will make them safe from all their seats in which they have sinned, and I will cleanse them: and they shall be to me a people, and I will be to them as God: and my servant David a king over them, and there shall be one shepherd of all of them" (Id. XXXVII, 22-24),

Chapter XXXV.

Concerning the prophecy of the three prophets, that is, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

1. There remain three minor Prophets, who prophesied at the end of the captivity, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Of these, Haggai prophesied Christ and the Church with this more open brevity: "Thus says the Lord of hosts: Yet one little while, and I will move the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land, and I will move all nations; and the Desired of all nations shall come" (Hag. II, 7-8). This prophecy is discerned partly already fulfilled, partly hoped to be fulfilled in the end. For He moved the heaven by the testimony of Angels and stars, when Christ was incarnate. He moved the earth by a great miracle, from the very birth of the virgin.

Movit mare et aridam, cum et in insulis et in orbe toto Christus annuntiatur. Ita moveri omnes gentes videmus ad fidem. Jam vero quod sequitur, Et veniet Desideratus cunctis gentibus, de novissimo ejus exspectatur adventu. Ut enim desideratus esset exspectantibus, prius oportuit eum dilectum esse credentibus.

2. Zacharias de Christo et Ecclesia: Exsulta, inquit, valde, filia Sion; jubila, filia Jerusalem: ecce Rex tuus veniet tibi, justus, et salvator; ipse pauper, et ascendens super asinam, et super pullum filium asinae: et potestas ejus a mari usque ad mare, et a fluminibus usque ad fines terrae (Zach. IX, 9 et 10). Hoc quando factum sit, ut Dominus Christus in itinere jumento hujus generis uteretur, in Evangelio legitur: ubi et hac prophetia commemoratur ex parte, quantum illi loco sufficere visum est (Matth. XXI). Alio loco ad ipsum Christum in Spiritu prophetiae loquens de remissione peccatorum per ejus sanguinem: Tu quoque, inquit, in sanguine testamenti tui emisisti vinctos tuos de lacu, in quo non est aqua (Zach. IX, 11). Quid per hunc lacum velit intelligi, possunt diversa sentiri, etiam secundum rectam fidem. Mihi tamen videtur non eo significari melius, nisi humanae miseriae siccam profunditatem quodammodo et sterilem, ubi non sunt fluenta justitiae, sed iniquitatis lutum. De hoc quippe etiam in Psalmo dicitur: Et eduxit me de lacu miseriae, et de luto limi (Psal. XXXIX, 3).

3. Malachias prophetans Ecclesiam, quam per Christum cernimus propagatam, Judaeis apertissime dicit ex persona Dei: Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, et munus non suscipiam de manu vestra. Ab ortu enim solis usque ad occasum, magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, et in omni loco sacrificabitur et offeretur nomini meo oblatio munda: quia magnum nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Dominus (Malach. I, 10). Hoc sacrificium per sacerdotium Christi secundum ordinem Melchisedech, cum in omni loco a solis ortu usque ad occasum Deo jam videamus offerri, sacrificium autem Judaeorum, quibus dictum est, Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, nec accipiam de manibus vestris munus, cessasse negare non possunt; quid adhuc exspectant alium Christum, cum hoc quod prophetatum legunt et impletum vident, impleri non potuerit, nisi per ipsum? Dicit enim paulo post de ipso ex persona Dei: Testamentum meum erat cum eo vitae et pacis: et dedi ei ut timore timeret me, et a facie nominis mei revereretur.

He moved the sea and the dry land, when Christ is announced both in the islands and in the whole world. Thus we see all nations moved to the faith. Now indeed what follows, "And the Desired of all nations shall come," is expected concerning his last advent. For that he might be desired by those expecting him, it was first necessary that he be beloved by those believing in him.

2. Zechariah concerning Christ and the Church: "Exult greatly," he says, "O daughter of Sion; shout for joy, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold your King shall come to you, just, and a savior; he is poor, and ascending upon an ass, and upon a colt the son of an ass: and his power is from sea even unto sea, and from the rivers even unto the ends of the earth" (Zech. IX, 9-10). When this was done, that the Lord Christ should use a beast of burden of this kind on his journey, is read in the Gospel: where this prophecy is also commemorated in part, as much as seemed to suffice for that place (Matt. XXI). In another place speaking in the Spirit of prophecy to Christ himself concerning the remission of sins through his blood: "You also," he says, "in the blood of your covenant have sent forth your prisoners from the lake in which there is no water" (Zech. IX, 11). What he wishes to be understood by this lake, diverse things can be felt, even according to the right faith. Yet to me it seems better not to be signified by it, unless in a certain way the dry and sterile depth of human misery, where there are no streams of justice, but the mud of iniquity. Concerning this indeed it is also said in the Psalm: "And he led me out from the lake of misery, and from the mud of the slime" (Psalm XXXIX, 3).

3. Malachi, prophesying the Church which we see propagated through Christ, says most openly to the Jews from the person of God: "I have no will in you, and I will not receive a gift from your hand." "For from the rising of the sun even unto the setting, my name is great among the nations, and in every place sacrifice shall be offered and a clean oblation offered to my name: because my name is great among the nations, says the Lord" (Mal. I, 10). This sacrifice through the priesthood of Christ according to the order of Melchizedek, since we already see it offered to God in every place from the rising of the sun even unto the setting, while the sacrifice of the Jews—to whom it was said, "I have no will in you, nor will I receive a gift from your hands"—they cannot deny to have ceased; why do they yet expect another Christ, since this which they read prophesied and see fulfilled, could not have been fulfilled except through him? For he says a little after concerning him from the person of God: "My covenant was with him of life and peace: and I gave to him that he should fear me with fear, and should reverence from the face of my name."

Lex veritatis erat in ore ipsius, in pace dirigens ambulavit mecum, et multos convertit ab iniquitate: quoniam labia sacerdotis custodient scientiam, et legem inquirent ex ore ejus; quoniam angelus Domini omnipotentis est (Id. II, 5-7). Nec mirandum est, quia omnipotentis Dei angelus dictus est Christus Jesus. Sicut enim servus propter formam servi, in qua venit ad homines; sic et angelus propter Evangelium, quod nuntiavit hominibus. Nam si graeca ista interpretemur, et Evangelium bona nuntiatio est, et angelus nuntius. De ipso quippe iterum dicit: Ecce mitto angelum meum, et prospiciet viam ante faciem meam: et subito veniet in templum suum Dominus quem vos quaeritis, et angelus testamenti quem vos vultis. Ecce venit, dicit Dominus omnipotens: et quis sustinebit diem introitus ejus? aut quis resistet in aspectu ejus? (Malach. III, 1, 2) Hoc loco et primum et secundum Christi praenuntiavit adventum: primum scilicet, de quo ait, Et subito veniet in templum suum; id est, in carnem suam, de qua dixit in Evangelio, Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo resuscitabo illud (Joan. II, 19): secundum vero, ubi ait, Ecce venit, dicit Dominus omnipotens, et quis sustinebit diem introitus ejus, aut quis resistet in aspectu ejus? Quod autem dicit, Dominus quem vos quaeritis, et angelus testamenti quem vos vultis, significavit utique etiam Judaeos secundum Scripturas quas legunt, Christum quaerere, et velle. Sed multi eorum, quem quaesierunt et voluerunt, venisse non agnoverunt, excaecati in cordibus suis praecedentibus meritis suis. Quod sane hic nominat testamentum, vel supra, ubi ait, Testamentum meum erat cum eo; vel hic, ubi eum dixit angelum testamenti: novum procul dubio Testamentum debemus accipere, ubi sempiterna; non vetus, ubi temporalia sunt promissa: quae pro magno habentes plurimi infirmi, et Deo vero talium rerum mercede servientes, quando vident eis impios abundare, turbantur. Propter quod idem propheta, ut novi Testamenti beatitudinem aeternam, quae non dabitur nisi bonis, distingueret a veteris terrena felicitate, quae plerumque datur et malis: Ingravastis, inquit, super me verba vestra, dicit Dominus, et dixistis, In quo detraximus de te? Dixistis, Vanus est omnis qui servit Deo; et quid plus, quia custodivimus observationes ejus, et quia ambulavimus supplicantes ante faciem Domini omnipotentis? Et nunc nos beatificamus alienos, et reaedificantur omnes qui faciunt iniqua: et adversati sunt Deo, et salvi facti sunt.

"The law of truth was in his mouth, in peace directing he walked with me, and converted many from iniquity: because the lips of the priest shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law from his mouth; because he is the angel of the Lord almighty" (Mal. II, 5-7). Nor is it to be wondered at, because Christ Jesus was called the angel of the almighty God. For just as he is a servant on account of the form of a servant, in which he came to men; so also he is an angel on account of the Gospel, which he announced to men. For if we should interpret those Greek things, both Gospel is a good announcement, and an angel is a messenger. Concerning him indeed he says again: "Behold I send my angel, and he shall look out the way before my face: and suddenly the Lord whom you seek shall come into his temple, and the angel of the covenant whom you wish." "Behold he comes, says the Lord almighty: and who shall sustain the day of his entrance? or who shall resist in his sight?" (Mal. III, 1-2) In this place he foretold both the first and second advent of Christ: the first namely, of which he says, "And suddenly he shall come into his temple"; that is, into his flesh, concerning which he said in the Gospel, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (John II, 19): but the second, where he says, "Behold he comes, says the Lord almighty, and who shall sustain the day of his entrance, or who shall resist in his sight?" But that he says, "The Lord whom you seek, and the angel of the covenant whom you wish," he signified certainly that even the Jews according to the Scriptures which they read, seek and wish for Christ. But many of them did not recognize that he whom they sought and wished for had come, being blinded in their hearts by their preceding merits. What he certainly names here a covenant, or above, where he says, "My covenant was with him"; or here, where he called him the angel of the covenant: we ought without doubt to accept as the New Testament, where there are eternal things; not the old, where temporal things are promised: which very many infirm ones, holding as great, and serving the true God for the reward of such things, are troubled when they see the impious abound in them. On account of which the same prophet, that he might distinguish the eternal beatitude of the New Testament, which shall not be given unless to the good, from the earthly felicity of the old, which for the most part is given also to the evil: "Your words have grown heavy over me, says the Lord, and you have said, In what have we detracted from you?" "You have said, Vain is everyone who serves God; and what more, because we have kept his observations, and because we have walked as suppliants before the face of the Lord almighty?" "And now we beatify strangers, and all who do iniquitous things are rebuilt: and they have opposed God, and have been made safe."

Haec oblocuti sunt, qui timebant Dominum, unusquisque ad proximum suum: et animadvertit Dominus, et audivit: et scripsit librum memoriae in conspectu suo, eis qui timent Dominum, et reverentur nomen ejus. Isto libro significatum est Testamentum Novum. Denique quod sequitur, audiamus: Et erunt mihi, dicit Dominus omnipotens, in diem, qua ego facio, in acquisitionem; et eligam eos, sicut homo eligit filium suum servientem sibi: et convertemini, et videbitis inter justum et injustum, et inter servientem Deo, et non servientem. Quoniam ecce dies venit ardens sicut clibanus, et concremabit eos: et erunt omnes alienigenae, et omnes facientes iniquitatem stipula, et incendet illos dies qui adveniet, dicit Dominus omnipotens: et non derelinquetur eorum radix, neque sarmentum. Et orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum, sol justitiae: et sanitas in pennis ejus: et exibitis, et exsultabitis sicut vituli ex vinculis resoluti; et conculcabitis iniquos, et erunt cinis sub pedibus vestris in die, in quo ego facio, dicit Dominus omnipotens (Malach. III, 13-18; IV, 1-3). Hic est qui dicitur dies judicii: de quo suo loco, si Deus voluerit, loquemur uberius.

Caput XXXVI.

De Esdra et libris Machabaeorum.

Post hos tres prophetas, Aggaeum, Zachariam, Malachiam, per idem tempus liberationis populi ex Babylonica servitute scripsit etiam Esdras, qui magis rerum gestarum scriptor est habitus, quam propheta: sicuti est et liber, qui appellatur Esther: cujus res gesta in laudem Dei non longe ab his temporibus invenitur: nisi forte Esdras in eo Christum prophetasse intelligendus est, quod inter juvenes quosdam orta quaestione, quid amplius valeret in rebus; cum reges unus dixisset, alter vinum, tertius mulieres, quae plerumque regibus imperarent: idem tamen tertius veritatem super omnia demonstravit esse victricem (III Esdrae, III, 9 seqq.). Consulto autem Evangelio, Christum cognoscimus esse veritatem. Ab hoc tempore apud Judaeos restituto templo, non reges, sed principes fuerunt usque ad Aristobulum : quorum supputatio temporum non in Scripturis sanctis, quae canonicae appellantur, sed in aliis invenitur, in quibus sunt et Machabaeorum libri, quos non Judaei, sed Ecclesia pro canonicis habet, propter quorumdam Martyrum passiones vehementes atque mirabiles, qui antequam Christus venisset in carnem, usque ad mortem pro Dei lege certaverunt, et mala gravissima atque horribilia pertulerunt.

Caput XXXVII.

Quod prophetica auctoritas omni origine gentilis philosophiae inveniatur antiquior.

"These things they who feared the Lord spoke, each one to his neighbor: and the Lord took notice, and heard: and he wrote a book of memory in his sight, for them who fear the Lord, and reverence his name." By this book the New Testament was signified. Finally what follows, let us hear: "And they shall be to me, says the Lord almighty, in the day in which I act, for an acquisition; and I will choose them, as a man chooses his son serving him: and you shall be converted, and you shall see between the just and the unjust, and between him that serves God, and him that does not serve." "For behold the day comes burning as a furnace, and it shall burn them up: and all strangers, and all doing iniquity shall be stubble, and the day which shall arrive shall set them on fire, says the Lord almighty: and there shall not be left of them a root, nor a branch." "And the Sun of Justice shall arise to you who fear my name: and health in his wings: and you shall go forth, and shall exult as calves released from chains; and you shall trample the iniquitous, and they shall be ashes under your feet in the day in which I act, says the Lord almighty" (Mal. III, 13-18; IV, 1-3). This is what is called the day of judgment: concerning which in its own place, if God should will, we shall speak more abundantly.

Chapter XXXVI.

Concerning Ezra and the books of the Maccabees.

After these three prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, during the same time of the people's liberation from the Babylonian servitude, Ezra also wrote, who was considered more a writer of deeds performed than a prophet: just as is also the book called Esther, whose deeds performed for the praise of God are found not far from these times: unless perhaps Ezra is to be understood to have prophesied Christ in this, that among certain youths a question arose as to what was most powerful in affairs; when one had said kings, another wine, the third women, who for the most part rule over kings: yet the same third demonstrated that truth (veritas) is victorious over all things (III Ezra, III, 9 seqq.). Moreover, by consulting the Gospel, we know that Christ is the truth. From this time, the temple having been restored among the Jews, there were not kings but princes until Aristobulus: the calculation of whose times is found not in the holy Scriptures which are called canonical, but in others, among which are also the books of the Maccabees, which not the Jews but the Church holds as canonical, on account of the vehement and wonderful passions of certain Martyrs, who, before Christ had come in the flesh, fought even unto death for the law of God, and endured most grave and horrible evils.

Chapter XXXVII.

That prophetic authority is found to be older than any origin of Gentile philosophy.

Tempore igitur Prophetarum nostrorum, quorum jam scripta ad notitiam fere omnium gentium pervenerunt, philosophi gentium nondum erant, qui hoc etiam nomine vocarentur, quod coepit a Samio Pythagora, qui eo tempore, quo Judaeorum est soluta captivitas, coepit excellere atque cognosci. Multo ergo magis caeteri philosophi post Prophetas reperiuntur fuisse. Nam ipse Socrates Atheniensis, magister omnium qui tunc maxime claruerunt, tenens in ea parte, quae moralis vel activa dicitur, principatum, post Esdram in Chronicis invenitur. Non multo post etiam Plato natus est, qui longe caeteros Socratis discipulos anteiret. Quibus si addamus etiam superiores, qui nondum philosophi vocabantur, septem scilicet Sapientes, ac deinde physicos qui Thaleti successerunt, in perscrutanda natura rerum studium ejus imitati, Anaximandrum scilicet et Anaximenem et Anaxagoram, aliosque nonnullos, antequam Pythagoras philosophum primus profiteretur, nec illi Prophetas nostros universos temporis antiquitate praecedunt: quandoquidem Thales, post quem caeteri fuerunt, regnante Romulo eminuisse fertur, quando de fontibus Israel in eis litteris, quae toto orbe manarent, prophetiae flumen erupit. Soli igitur illi theologi poetae, Orpheus, Linus, Musaeus, et si quis alius apud Graecos fuit, his Prophetis Hebraeis, quorum scripta in auctoritate habemus, annis reperiuntur priores. Sed nec ipsi verum theologum nostrum Moysen, qui unum verum Deum veraciter praedicavit, cujus nunc scripta in auctoritatis canone prima sunt, tempore praevenerunt: ac per hoc quantum ad Graecos attinet, in qua lingua litterae hujus saeculi maxime ferbuerunt, nihil habent unde sapientiam suam jactent, quo religione nostra, ubi vera sapientia est, si non superior, saltem videatur antiquior. Verum, quod fatendum est, non quidem in Graecia, sed in barbaris gentibus, sicut in Aegypto, jam fuerat ante Moysen nonnulla doctrina, quae illorum sapientia diceretur: alioquin non scriptum esset in Libris sanctis, Moysen eruditum fuisse omni sapientia Aegyptiorum (Act. VII, 22), tunc utique quando ibi natus est, et a filia Pharaonis adoptatus atque nutritus, etiam liberaliter educatus est. Sed nec sapientia Aegyptiorum sapientiam Prophetarum nostrorum tempore antecedere potuit, quandoquidem et Abraham propheta fuit (Gen. XX, 7). Quid autem sapientiae esse potuit in Aegypto, antequam eis Isis, quam mortuam tanquam deam magnam colendam putaverunt, litteras traderet? Isis porro Inachi filia fuisse proditur, qui primus regnare coepit Argivis, quando Abrahae jam nepotes reperiuntur exorti.

Therefore, at the time of our Prophets, whose writings have now reached the knowledge of almost all nations, the philosophers of the Gentiles, who were also called by this name, did not yet exist; for that name began from Pythagoras of Samos, who began to excel and be known at the time when the captivity of the Jews was dissolved. Much more, therefore, are the other philosophers found to have existed after the Prophets. For Socrates the Athenian himself, the master of all who then especially flourished, holding the primacy in that part which is called moral or active, is found in the Chronicles after Ezra. Not long after, Plato also was born, who far surpassed the rest of the disciples of Socrates. To these if we add even the earlier ones, who were not yet called philosophers, namely the seven Sages, and then the physicists who succeeded Thales, having imitated his zeal in investigating the nature of things, namely Anaximander and Anaximenes and Anaxagoras, and some others, before Pythagoras first professed himself a philosopher, not even they precede all our Prophets in the antiquity of time: since Thales, after whom the others existed, is said to have flourished when Romulus was reigning, when the river of prophecy burst forth from the fountains of Israel in those letters which were to flow through the whole world. Therefore, only those theological poets, Orpheus, Linus, Musaeus, and if there was any other among the Greeks, are found to be prior in years to these Hebrew Prophets whose writings we have in authority. But not even they preceded in time our true theologian Moses, who truly preached one true God, whose writings are now first in the canon of authority: and by this, as far as the Greeks are concerned, in whose language the literature of this world especially flourished, they have nothing from which to boast of their wisdom, by which our religion, where true wisdom is, should seem if not superior, at least more ancient. Indeed, as must be confessed, not indeed in Greece, but in barbarian nations, such as in Egypt, there had already been before Moses some doctrine which might be called their wisdom: otherwise it would not be written in the holy Books that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Acts VII, 22), then certainly when he was born there, and having been adopted and nourished by the daughter of Pharaoh, was also liberally educated. But not even the wisdom of the Egyptians could precede in time the wisdom of our Prophets, since Abraham also was a prophet (Gen. XX, 7). What wisdom, moreover, could there be in Egypt before Isis, whom they thought should be worshipped as a great goddess after her death, handed over letters to them? Isis, furthermore, is reported to have been the daughter of Inachus, who first began to reign over the Argives, when the grandsons of Abraham are found to have already arisen.

Caput XXXVIII.

Quod quaedam sanctorum scripta ecclesiasticus canon propter nimiam non receperit vetustatem, ne per occasionem eorum falsa veris insererentur.

Jam vero si longe antiquiora repetam, et ante illud grande diluvium noster erat utique Noe patriarcha, quem prophetam quoque non immerito dixerim: si quidem ipsa arca quam fecit, et in qua cum suis evasit, prophetia nostrorum temporum fuit. Quid Enoch septimus ab Adam, nonne etiam in canonica epistola apostoli Judae prophetasse praedicatur (Judae 14)? Quorum scripta ut apud Judaeos et apud nos in auctoritate non essent, nimia fecit antiquitas, propter quam videbantur habenda esse suspecta, ne proferrentur falsa pro veris. Nam et proferuntur quaedam quae ipsorum esse dicantur ab eis qui pro suo sensu passim, quod volunt, credunt. Sed ea castitas canonis non recepit, non quod eorum hominum, qui Deo placuerunt, reprobetur auctoritas, sed quod ista esse non credantur ipsorum. Nec mirum debet videri, quod suspecta habentur, quae sub tantae antiquitatis nomine proferuntur; quandoquidem in ipsa historia regum Juda et regum Israel, quae res gestas continet, de quibus eidem Scripturae canonicae credimus, commemorantur plurima, quae ibi non explicantur, et in libris aliis inveniri dicuntur, quos Prophetae scripserunt, et alicubi eorum quoque Prophetarum nomina non tacentur (I Par. XXIX, 29; II Par. IX, 29); nec tamen inveniuntur in canone, quem recepit populus Dei. Cujus rei, fateor, causa me latet; nisi quod existimo, etiam ipsos, quibus ea quae in auctoritate religionis esse deberent, sanctus utique Spiritus revelabat, alia sicut homines historica diligentia, alia sicut Prophetas inspiratione divina scribere potuisse; atque haec ita fuisse distincta, ut illa tanquam ipsis, ista vero tanquam Deo per ipsos loquenti, judicarentur esse tribuenda; atque sic illa pertinerent ad ubertatem cognitionis, haec ad religionis auctoritatem: in qua auctoritate custoditur canon, praeter quem si qua jam etiam sub nomine veterum Prophetarum scripta proferuntur, nec ad ipsam copiam scientiae valent, quoniam utrum eorum sint, quorum esse dicuntur, incertum est; et ob hoc eis non habetur fides, maxime his in quibus etiam contra fidem librorum canonicorum quaedam leguntur, propter quod ea prorsus non esse apparet illorum.

Chapter XXXVIII.

That the ecclesiastical canon did not receive certain writings of the saints on account of their extreme antiquity, lest by occasion of them false things should be inserted among the true.

Now indeed, if I were to repeat much older things, even before that great flood our patriarch Noah was certainly ours, whom I would not undeservedly call a prophet: if indeed the very ark which he made, and in which he escaped with his own, was a prophecy of our times. What of Enoch, the seventh from Adam, is he not also declared to have prophesied in the canonical epistle of the apostle Jude (Jude 14)? That their writings were not in authority among the Jews and among us, their extreme antiquity brought about, on account of which they seemed to be held suspected, lest false things be brought forward instead of true. For certain things are even brought forward which are said to be theirs by those who everywhere believe what they wish according to their own sense. But the chastity of the canon did not receive them, not that the authority of those men who pleased God is rejected, but that these things are not believed to be theirs. Nor ought it to seem wonderful that those things are held suspected which are brought forward under the name of such great antiquity; since in the history itself of the kings of Judah and the kings of Israel, which contains deeds performed concerning which we believe the same canonical Scripture, very many things are commemorated which are not explained there, and are said to be found in other books which the Prophets wrote, and in some places the names of those Prophets are not kept silent (1 Chron. XXIX, 29; 2 Chron. IX, 29); yet they are not found in the canon which the people of God received. Of which thing, I confess, the cause is hidden from me; unless it be that I think that even they themselves, to whom the Holy Spirit certainly revealed those things which ought to be in the authority of religion, could write some things like men with historical diligence, others like Prophets by divine inspiration; and that these things were so distinct that those were judged to be attributed to themselves as individuals, but these indeed to God speaking through them; and so those pertained to the abundance of knowledge, these to the authority of religion: in which authority the canon is guarded, outside of which if any writings are now brought forward even under the name of the ancient Prophets, they do not even avail for the same abundance of science, since it is uncertain whether they are theirs whose they are said to be; and on this account faith is not held in them, especially in those in which certain things are read even against the faith of the canonical books, on account of which it appears that they are altogether not theirs.

Caput XXXIX.

De hebraicis litteris, quae nunquam in suae linguae proprietate non fuerint.

Non itaque credendum est, quod nonnullis arbitrantur, hebraeam tantum linguam per illum qui vocabatur Heber, unde Hebraeorum vocabulum est, fuisse servatam, atque inde pervenisse ad Abraham, hebraeas autem litteras a lege coepisse, quae data est per Moysen; sed potius per illam successionem patrum, memoratam linguam cum suis litteris custoditam. Denique Moyses in populo Dei constituit, qui docendis litteris praeessent, prius quam divinae legis ullas litteras nossent. Hos appellat Scriptura γραμματοεισαγωγεῖς, qui latine dici possunt litterarum inductores vel introductores, eo quod eas inducant, id est introducant quodammodo in corda discentium, vel in eas potius ipsos quos docent. Nulla igitur gens de antiquitate sapientiae suae super Patriarchas et Prophetas nostros, quibus inerat divina sapientia, ulla se vanitate jactaverit; quando nec Aegyptus invenitur, quae solet falso et inaniter de suarum doctrinarum antiquitate gloriari, qualicumque sapientia sua Patriarcharum nostrorum tempore praevenisse sapientiam. Neque enim quisquam dicere audebit mirabilium disciplinarum eos peritissimos fuisse, antequam litteras nossent, id est, antequam Isis eo venisset, easque ibi docuisset. Ipsa porro eorum memorabilis doctrina, quae appellata est sapientia, quid erat nisi maxime astronomia, et si quid aliud talium disciplinarum magis ad exercenda ingenia, quam ad illuminandas vera sapientia mentes valere solet? Nam quod attinet ad philosophiam, quae se docere profitetur aliquid, unde fiant homines beati, circa tempora Mercurii, quem Trismegistum vocaverunt, in illis terris ejusmodi studia claruerunt: longe quidem ante sapientes vel philosophos Graeciae, sed tamen post Abraham, et Isaac, et Jacob, et Joseph; nimirum etiam post ipsum Moysen. Eo quippe tempore, quo Moyses natus est, fuisse reperit Atlas ille magnus astrologus, Promethei frater, maternus avus Mercurii majoris, cujus nepos fuit Trismegistus iste Mercurius.

Caput XL.

De Aegyptiorum mendacissima vanitate, quae antiquitati scientiae suae centum millia adscribit annorum.

Chapter XXXIX.

Concerning Hebrew letters, which were never absent from the property of their own language.

Therefore, it is not to be believed, as some think, that the Hebrew language alone was preserved through him who was called Heber, whence the name of the Hebrews is derived, and that Hebrew letters began from the law which was given through Moses; but rather that through that succession of fathers, the mentioned language was guarded with its own letters. Finally, Moses appointed among the people of God those who should be in charge of teaching letters, before they knew any letters of the divine law. These the Scripture calls grammatoeisagogeis, which in Latin can be called litterarum inductores or introductores (introducers of letters), because they introduce them, that is, they lead them in a certain way into the hearts of the learners, or rather they lead the learners themselves into them. Therefore, let no nation boast with any vanity concerning the antiquity of its wisdom over our Patriarchs and Prophets, in whom was divine wisdom; since not even Egypt is found, which is accustomed to boast falsely and vainly concerning the antiquity of its doctrines, to have preceded the wisdom of our Patriarchs with any wisdom of its own in their time. For no one will dare to say that they were most skilled in wonderful disciplines before they knew letters, that is, before Isis had come there and taught them there. Furthermore, that memorable doctrine of theirs, which was called wisdom, what was it but especially astronomy, and if there was anything else of such disciplines which is accustomed to avail more for exercising the wits than for illuminating the minds with true wisdom? For as pertains to philosophy, which professes to teach something from which men may become blessed, around the times of Mercury, whom they called Trismegistus, studies of this kind flourished in those lands: far indeed before the sages or philosophers of Greece, but yet after Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Joseph; certainly even after Moses himself. For at that time in which Moses was born, that great astrologer Atlas is found to have existed, the brother of Prometheus, the maternal grandfather of the elder Mercury, whose grandson was this Mercury Trismegistus.

Chapter XL.

Concerning the most mendacious vanity of the Egyptians, which ascribes a hundred thousand years to the antiquity of its science.

Frustra itaque vanissima praesumptione garriunt quidam, dicentes, ex quo rationem siderum comprehendit Aegyptus, amplius quam centum annorum millia numerari. In quibus enim libris istum numerum collegerunt, qui non multum ante annorum duo millia litteras magistra Iside didicerunt? Non enim parvus auctor est in historia Varro, qui hoc prodidit, quod a litterarum etiam divinarum veritate non dissonat. Cum enim ab ipso primo homine, qui est appellatus Adam, nondum sex millia annorum compleantur, quomodo non isti ridendi potius, quam refellendi sunt, qui de spatio temporum tam diversa, et huic exploratae veritati tam contraria persuadere conantur? Cui enim melius narranti praeterita credimus, quam qui etiam futura praedixit, quae praesentia jam videmus? Nam et ipsa historicorum inter se dissonantia copiam nobis praebet, ut ei potius credere debeamus, qui divinae, quam tenemus, non repugnat historiae. Porro autem cives impiae civitatis, diffusi usquequaque per terras, cum legunt doctissimos homines, quorum nullius contemnenda videatur auctoritas, inter se de rebus gestis ab aetatis nostrae memoria remotissimis discrepantes, cui potius credere debeant, non inveniunt. Nos vero in nostrae religionis historia, fulti auctoritate divina, quidquid ei resistit, non dubitamus esse falsissimum, quomodolibet sese habeant caetera in saecularibus litteris; quae seu vera seu falsa sint, nihil momenti afferunt, quo recte beateque vivamus.

Caput XLI.

De philosophicarum opinionum dissensionibus, et canonicarum apud Ecclesiam concordia Scripturarum.

1. Ut autem jam cognitionem omittamus historiae, ipsi philosophi, a quibus ad ista progressi sumus, qui non videntur laborasse in studiis suis, nisi ut invenirent quomodo vivendum esset accommodate ad beatitudinem capessendam, cur dissenserunt et a magistris discipuli, et inter se condiscipuli, nisi quia ut homines humanis sensibus et humanis ratiocinationibus ista quaesierunt? Ubi quamvis esse potuerit et studium gloriandi, quo quisque alio sapientior et acutior videri cupit, nec sententiae quodammodo addictus alienae, sed sui dogmatis et opinionis inventor: tamen ut nonnullos vel etiam plurimos eorum fuisse concedam, quos a suis doctoribus vel discendi sociis amor veritatis abruperit, ut pro ea certarent, quam veritatem putarent, sive illa esset, sive non esset; quid agit, aut quo vel qua, ut ad beatitudinem perveniatur, humana se porrigit infelicitas, si divina non ducit auctoritas? Denique auctores nostri, in quibus non frustra sacrarum litterarum figitur et terminatur canon, absit ut inter se aliqua ratione dissentiant.

In vain, therefore, do certain people babble with most vain presumption, saying that since Egypt understood the system of the stars, more than a hundred thousand years are numbered. For in what books have they collected that number, who learned letters with Isis as their mistress not much before two thousand years ago? For Varro is no small authority in history, who handed this down, which does not disagree with the truth of the divine letters. For since from the very first man, who was called Adam, six thousand years are not yet completed, how are those not rather to be laughed at than refuted, who try to persuade us of a space of times so diverse and so contrary to this explored truth? For whom do we believe better narrating past things than him who also predicted future things, which we already see as present? For even the dissonance of historians among themselves provides us with abundance, so that we ought rather to believe him who does not repugn the divine history which we hold. Furthermore, the citizens of the impious city, diffused everywhere through the lands, when they read most learned men, the authority of none of whom seems to be despised, disagreeing among themselves concerning deeds performed most remote from the memory of our age, do not find whom they ought rather to believe. But we, supported by divine authority in the history of our religion, do not doubt that whatever resists it is most false, in whatever way other things may have themselves in secular letters; which whether they be true or false, bring nothing of moment for us to live rightly and blessedly.

Chapter XLI.

Concerning the dissensions of philosophical opinions, and the concord of the canonical Scriptures in the Church.

1. But that we may now omit the knowledge of history, why did the philosophers themselves, from whom we progressed to these things, who seem not to have labored in their studies except that they might find how one should live so as to obtain beatitude, disagree both disciples from masters and fellow-disciples among themselves, except because as men they sought these things by human senses and human reasonings? Where although there could also be a study of boasting, by which each one wishes to seem wiser and more acute than another, not in a certain way addicted to another's opinion, but an inventor of his own dogma and opinion: yet that I may concede some or even very many of them to have been those whom the love of truth broke off from their teachers or companions in learning, so that they might fight for that which they thought to be the truth, whether it was or was not; what does human unhappiness do, or where or by what way does it stretch itself so that beatitude may be reached, if divine authority does not lead? Finally, let it be far from our authors, in whom not in vain the canon of the sacred letters is fixed and terminated, to dissent from one another in any reasoning.

Unde non immerito, cum illa scriberent, eis Deum vel per eos locutum, non pauci in scholis atque gymnasiis litigiosis disputationibus garruli, sed in agris atque in urbibus cum doctis atque indoctis tot tantique populi crediderunt. Ipsi sane pauci esse debuerunt, ne multitudine vilesceret quod religione earum esse oporteret: nec tamen ita pauci, ut eorum non sit miranda consensio. Neque enim in multitudine philosophorum, qui labore etiam litterario monumenta suorum dogmatum reliquerunt, facile quis invenerit, inter quos cuncta quae sensere conveniant: quod ostendere hoc opere longum est.

2. Quis autem sectae cujuslibet auctor sic est in hac daemonicola civitate approbatus, ut caeteri improbarentur, qui diversa et adversa senserunt? Nonne apud Athenas et Epicurei clarebant, asserentes res humanas ad deorum curam non pertinere, et Stoici, qui contraria sentientes, eas regi atque muniri diis adjutoribus atque tutoribus disputabant? Unde miror cur Anaxagoras reus factus sit, quia solem esse dixit lapidem ardentem, negans utique Deum, cum in eadem civitate gloria floruerit Epicurus, vixeritque securus, non solum solem vel ullum siderum Deum esse non credens, sed nec Jovem, nec ullum deorum omnino in mundo habitare contendens, ad quem preces hominum supplicationesque perveniant. Nonne ibi Aristippus in voluptate corporis summum bonum ponens, ibi Antisthenes virtute animi potius hominem fieri beatum asseverans, duo philosophi nobiles et ambo Socratici, in tam diversis atque inter se contrariis finibus vitae summam locantes, quorum etiam ille fugiendam, iste administrandam sapienti dicebat esse rempublicam, ad suam quisque sectam sectandam discipulos congregabat? Nempe palam in conspicua et notissima porticu, in gymnasiis, in hortulis, in locis publicis ac privatis, catervatim pro sua quisque opinione certabant: alii asserentes unum, alii innumerabiles mundos; ipsum autem unum alii ortum esse, alii vero initium non habere; alii interiturum, alii semper futurum; alii mente divina, alii fortuitu et casibus agi: alii immortales esse animas, alii mortales; et qui immortales, alii revolvi in bestias, alii nequaquam; qui vero mortales, alii mox interire post corpus, alii vivere etiam postea vel paululum, vel diutius, non tamen semper: alii in corpore constituentes finem boni, alii in animo, alii in utroque, alii extrinsecus posita etiam bona ad animum et corpus addentes:

Whence not undeservedly, when they were writing those things, not a few babblers in schools and gymnasia with litigious disputations, but so many and such great peoples in fields and in cities, both learned and unlearned, believed that God spoke to them or through them. They indeed ought to have been few, lest what ought to be of religion among them should become cheap by a multitude: yet not so few that their consensus should not be wonderful. For in the multitude of philosophers who even by literary labor left monuments of their dogmas, one will not easily find those among whom all things which they felt agree: which to show in this work is long.

2. Who, moreover, as the author of any sect, was so approved in this demon-worshipping city (daemonicola civitate) that the others, who felt diverse and adverse things, were disapproved? Did not both the Epicureans flourish at Athens, asserting that human affairs do not pertain to the care of the gods, and the Stoics, who, feeling the contrary, disputed that they were ruled and protected by gods as helpers and guardians? Whence I wonder why Anaxagoras was made a defendant because he said that the sun is a burning stone, certainly denying it to be a God, when in the same city Epicurus flourished in glory and lived secure, not only not believing the sun or any of the stars to be a God, but contending that neither Jupiter nor any of the gods at all inhabit the world to whom the prayers and supplications of men reach. Did not Aristippus, placing the highest good in the pleasure of the body, and Antisthenes, asserting that a man becomes blessed rather by virtue of the mind—two noble philosophers and both Socratics—placing the sum of life in such diverse and mutually contrary ends (of whom the former also said the republic was to be fled, the latter that it was to be administered by the sage), each gather disciples to follow his own sect? Surely openly in the conspicuous and most noted portico, in the gymnasia, in the gardens, in public and private places, they fought in crowds for each one's opinion: some asserting one world, others innumerable worlds; and that one itself, some that it had arisen, others indeed that it had no beginning; some that it would perish, others that it would always be; some that it was driven by a divine mind, others by chance and accidents: some that souls are immortal, others mortal; and those who said immortal, some that they are revolved into beasts, others by no means; those indeed who said mortal, some that they perish soon after the body, others that they live even afterwards for a little while or longer, but not always: some placing the end of the good in the body, others in the soul, others in both, others adding even externally placed goods to the soul and body:

alii sensibus corporis semper, alii non semper, alii nunquam, putantes esse credendum. Has et alias pene innumerabiles dissensiones philosophorum, quis unquam populus, quis senatus, quae potestas vel dignitas publica impiae civitatis dijudicandas, et alias probandas ac recipiendas, alias improbandas repudiandasque curavit, ac non passim sine ullo judicio confuseque habuit in gremio suo tot controversias hominum dissidentium, non de agris et domibus, vel quacumque pecuniaria ratione, sed de his rebus, quibus aut misere vivitur aut beate? Ubi etsi aliqua vera dicebantur, eadem licentia dicebantur et falsa; prorsus ut non frustra talis civitas mysticum vocabulum Babylonis acceperit. Babylon quippe interpretatur Confusio, quod nos jam dixisse meminimus (Libro 16, cap. 4, et alibi). Nec interest diaboli regis ejus, quam contrariis inter se rixentur erroribus, quos merito multae variaeque impietatis pariter possidet.

3. At vero gens illa, ille populus, illa civitas, illa respublica, illi Israelitae, quibus credita sunt eloquia Dei, nullo modo pseudoprophetas cum veris Prophetis pari licentia confuderunt: sed concordes inter se atque in nullo dissentientes, sacrarum Litterarum veraces ab eis agnoscebantur et tenebantur auctores. Ipsi eis erant philosophi, hoc est, amatores sapientiae, ipsi sapientes, ipsi theologi, ipsi prophetae, ipsi doctores probitatis atque pietatis. Quicumque secundum illos sapuit et vixit, non secundum homines, sed secundum Deum, qui per eos locutus est, sapuit et vixit. Ibi si prohibitum est sacrilegium, Deus prohibuit. Si dictum est, Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, Deus jussit. Si dictum est, Non moechaberis, Non homicidium facies, Non furaberis (Exod. XX, 12-15), et caetera hujusmodi, non haec ora humana, sed oracula divina fuderunt. Quidquid philosophi quidam inter falsa, quae opinati sunt, verum videre potuerunt, et laboriosis disputationibus persuadere moliti sunt, quod mundum istum fecerit Deus, eumque ipse providentissimus administret, de honestate virtutum, de amore patriae, de fide amicitiae, de bonis operibus atque omnibus ad mores probos pertinentes rebus, quamvis nescientes ad quem finem et quonam modo essent ista omnia referenda, propheticis, hoc est divinis vocibus, quamvis per homines, in illa civitate populo commendata sunt, non argumentationum concertationibus inculcata; ut non hominis ingenium, sed Dei eloquium contemnere formidaret, qui illa cognosceret.

Caput XLII.

Qua dispensatione providentiae Dei Scripturae sacrae Veteris Testamenti ex hebraeo in graecum eloquium translatae sint, ut Gentibus innotescerent.

some thinking that the senses of the body should always be believed, others not always, others never. These and other almost innumerable dissensions of the philosophers, what people ever, what senate, what public power or dignity of the impious city took care to judge, and some to approve and receive, others to disapprove and repudiate, and did not everywhere without any judgment confusedly hold in its bosom so many controversies of men dissenting not concerning fields and houses, or any pecuniary reasoning, but concerning these things by which one lives either miserably or blessedly? Where even if some true things were said, they were said with the same license as the false; precisely so that not in vain such a city has received the mystical name of Babylon. For Babylon is interpreted as Confusion, which we remember we have already said (Book 16, chap. 4, and elsewhere). Nor does it matter to the devil, its king, by how many contrary errors they wrangle among themselves, whom he possesses equally by merit of many and various impieties.

3. But indeed that nation, that people, that city, that republic, those Israelites to whom the oracles of God (eloquia Dei) were credited, in no way confounded the false prophets with the true Prophets with the same license: but concordant among themselves and in no way dissenting, the true authors of the sacred Letters were acknowledged and held by them. They were their philosophers, that is, lovers of wisdom; they were their sages, they were their theologians, they were their prophets, they were their teachers of probity and piety. Whoever felt and lived according to them, felt and lived not according to men, but according to God, who spoke through them. There, if sacrilege was prohibited, God prohibited it. If it was said, "Honor your father and your mother," God commanded it. If it was said, "You shall not commit adultery, You shall not commit murder, You shall not steal" (Exod. XX, 12-15), and other things of this kind, not human mouths but divine oracles poured these forth. Whatever certain philosophers among the false things which they thought were able to see as true, and strove to persuade by laborious disputations—that God made this world, and that He most providently administers it, concerning the honesty of virtues, concerning the love of country, concerning the faith of friendship, concerning good works and all things pertaining to upright morals—although not knowing to what end and in what way all those things were to be referred, these were commended to the people in that city by prophetic, that is divine voices, although through men, not inculcated by the contests of argumentations; so that he who should know those things would fear to despise not the genius of man, but the oracle of God.

Chapter XLII.

By what dispensation of the providence of God the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament were translated from the Hebrew into the Greek tongue, so that they might become known to the Gentiles.

Has sacras Litteras etiam unus Ptolemaeorum regum Aegypti nosse studuit et habere. Nam post Alexandri Macedonis, qui etiam Magnus cognominatus est, mirificentissimam minimeque diuturnam potentiam, qua universam Asiam, imo pene totum orbem, partim vi et armis, partim terrore subegerat, quando inter caetera Orientis etiam Judaeam ingressus obtinuit; eo mortuo comites ejus, cum regnum illud amplissimum non pacifice inter se possessuri divisissent, sed potius dissipassent, bellis omnia vastaturi, Ptolemaeos reges habere coepit Aegyptus: quorum primus Lagi filius, multos ex Judaea captivos in Aegyptum transtulit. Huic autem succedens alius Ptolemaeus, qui est appellatus Philadelphus, omnes quos ille adduxerat subjugatos, liberos redire permisit: insuper et dona regia in templum Dei misit, petivitque ab Eleazaro tunc pontifice, dari sibi Scripturas, quas profecto audierat fama praedicante divinas; et ideo concupiverat habere in bibliotheca, quam nobilissimam fecerat. Has ei cum idem pontifex misisset hebraeas, post etiam ille interpretes postulavit; et dati sunt septuaginta duo, de singulis duodecim tribubus seni homines, linguae utriusque doctissimi, hebraeae scilicet atque graecae. Quorum interpretatio ut Septuaginta vocetur, jam obtinuit consuetudo. Traditur sane tam mirabilem ac stupendum pleneque divinum in eorum verbis fuisse consensum, ut cum ad hoc opus separatim singuli sederint (ita enim eorum fidem Ptolemaeo placuit explorare), in nullo verbo, quod idem significaret et tantumdem valeret, vel in verborum ordine, alter ab altero discreparet: sed tanquam unus esset interpres, ita quod omnes interpretati sunt, unum erat: quoniam re vera Spiritus erat unus in omnibus. Et ideo tam mirabile Dei munus acceperant, ut illarum Scripturarum, non tanquam humanarum, sed sicut erant, tanquam divinarum, etiam isto modo commendaretur auctoritas, crediturus quandoque gentibus profutura, quod jam videmus effectum.

Caput XLIII.

De auctoritate Septuaginta interpretum, quae, salvo honore hebraei stili, omnibus sit interpretibus praeferenda.

Nam cum fuerint et alii interpretes, qui ex hebraea lingua in graecam sacra illa eloquia transtulerunt, sicut Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion; sicut etiam illa est interpretatio, cujus auctor non apparet, et ob hoc sine nomine interpretis, Quinta editio nuncupatur : hanc tamen quae Septuaginta est, tanquam sola esset, sic recepit Ecclesia, eaque utuntur Graeci populi Christiani, quorum plerique utrum alia sit aliqua ignorant. Ex hac Septuaginta interpretatione etiam in latinam linguam interpretatum est quod Ecclesiae Latinae tenent .

One of the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt also studied to know and have these sacred Letters. For after the most wonderful and by no means lasting power of Alexander the Macedonian, who was also surnamed the Great, by which he had subjected all Asia, nay almost the whole world, partly by force and arms, partly by terror, when among other things of the East he also entered and obtained Judea; he being dead, his companions, when they had not peacefully divided that most ample kingdom to be possessed among themselves, but rather had dissipated it, about to devastate all things with wars, Egypt began to have the Ptolemies as kings: of whom the first, the son of Lagus, transferred many captives from Judea into Egypt. But another Ptolemy succeeding him, who was called Philadelphus, permitted all those whom he had brought subjected to return free: moreover he also sent royal gifts into the temple of God, and asked from Eleazar, then the high priest, that the Scriptures be given to him, which surely he had heard by fame proclaiming them to be divine; and therefore he had desired to have them in the library which he had made most noble. When the same high priest had sent these to him in Hebrew, afterwards he also asked for interpreters; and seventy-two were given, six men from each of the twelve tribes, most learned in both languages, namely Hebrew and Greek. Their interpretation, that it be called the Seventy (Septuaginta), custom has now obtained. It is handed down indeed that so wonderful and stupendous and fully divine a consensus was in their words, that when they sat individually apart for this work (for so it pleased Ptolemy to explore their faith), in no word which signified the same and was of as much value, or in the order of words, did one disagree from the other: but as if there were one interpreter, so what all interpreted was one: since in truth the Spirit was one in all. And therefore they had received so wonderful a gift of God, that the authority of those Scriptures, not as human but as they were, as divine, should be commended even in this way, about to profit the nations that would one day believe, which we now see effected.

Chapter XLIII.

Concerning the authority of the Seventy (Septuagint) translators, which, saving the honor of the Hebrew style, is to be preferred to all translators.

For although there have been other translators who translated those sacred words from the Hebrew tongue into the Greek, such as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; as there is also that translation whose author does not appear, and for this reason, being without the name of the translator, is called the Fifth edition: yet this one which is the Septuagint, as if it were the only one, has the Church received, and the Greek Christian peoples use it, most of whom are ignorant of whether there is any other. From this Septuagint translation it was also translated into the Latin tongue, which the Latin Churches hold.

Quamvis non defuerit temporibus nostris presbyter Hieronymus, homo doctissimus, et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui non ex graeco, sed ex hebraeo in latinum eloquium easdem Scripturas converterit. Sed ejus tam litteratum laborem quamvis Judaei fateantur esse veracem, Septuaginta vero interpretes in multis errasse contendant; tamen Ecclesiae Christi tot hominum auctoritati, ab Eleazaro tunc pontifice ad hoc tantum opus electorum, neminem judicant praeferendum: quia etsi non in eis unus apparuisset Spiritus, sine dubitatione divinus, sed inter se verba interpretationis suae Septuaginta docti more hominum contulissent, ut quod placuisset omnibus hoc maneret, nullus eis unus interpres debuit anteponi; cum vero tantum in eis signum divinitatis apparuit, profecto quisquis alius illarum Scripturarum ex hebraea in quamlibet aliam linguam interpres est verax, aut congruit illis Septuaginta interpretibus, aut si congruere non videtur, altitudo ibi prophetica esse credenda est. Spiritus enim qui in Prophetis erat, quando illa dixerunt, idem ipse erat etiam in Septuaginta viris, quando illa interpretati sunt: qui profecto auctoritate divina et aliud dicere potuit, tanquam propheta ille utrumque dixisset, quia utrumque idem Spiritus diceret; et hoc ipsum aliter, ut si non eadem verba, idem tamen sensus bene intelligentibus dilucesceret; et aliquid praetermittere, et aliquid addere, ut etiam hinc ostenderetur non humana fuisse in illo opere servitutem, quam verbis debebat interpres, sed divinam potius potestatem, quae mentem replebat et regebat interpretis.

Nonnulli autem codices graecos interpretationis Septuaginta ex hebraeis codicibus emendandos putarunt: nec tamen ausi sunt detrahere, quod hebraei non habebant, et Septuaginta posuerunt; sed tantummodo addiderunt quae in hebraeis inventa, apud Septuaginta non erant; eaque signis quibusdam in stellarum modum factis, ad capita eorumdem versuum notaverunt, quae signa asteriscos vocant. Illa vero quae non habent hebraei, habent autem Septuaginta, similiter ad capita versuum jacentibus virgulis, sicut scribuntur unciae, signaverunt. Et multi codices has notas habentes usquequaque diffusi sunt et latini . Quae autem non praetermissa vel addita, sed aliter dicta sunt, sive alium sensum faciant etiam ipsum non abhorrentem, sive alio modo eumdem sensum explicare monstrentur, nisi utrisque codicibus inspectis nequeunt reperiri.

Although there has not been lacking in our times the priest Jerome, a most learned man, and skilled in all three languages, who converted the same Scriptures into the Latin language not from the Greek, but from the Hebrew. But although the Jews confess his so literate labor to be truthful, while contending that the Septuagint translators erred in many things; yet the Churches of Christ judge that no one should be preferred to the authority of so many men, chosen for this great work by Eleazar then the high priest: because even if there had not appeared in them one Spirit, without doubt divine, but the seventy learned men had compared among themselves the words of their translation in the manner of men, so that what had pleased all should remain, no single translator ought to have been placed before them; but since so great a sign of divinity appeared in them, surely whatever other translator of those Scriptures from the Hebrew into any other language is truthful, either he agrees with those Septuagint translators, or if he does not seem to agree, a prophetic depth is to be believed to be there. For the Spirit who was in the Prophets when they said those things, was the very same also in the seventy men when they translated them: who surely by divine authority could also say something else, as if that prophet had said both, because the same Spirit would say both; and this same thing otherwise, so that if not the same words, yet the same sense might shine forth to those who understand well; and to omit something, and to add something, so that even from this it might be shown that there was not a human servitude in that work, which the translator owed to the words, but rather a divine power, which filled and ruled the mind of the translator.

Moreover, some thought that the Greek codices of the Septuagint translation should be corrected from the Hebrew codices: yet they did not dare to take away what the Hebrews did not have, and the Septuagint had put down; but they only added those things which, found in the Hebrew, were not among the Septuagint; and these they noted at the heads of the same verses with certain signs made in the manner of stars, which signs they call asterisks. But those things which the Hebrews do not have, but the Septuagint have, they similarly marked at the heads of the verses with lying strokes, as ounces are written. And many codices having these marks are everywhere diffused, even Latin ones. But those things which are not omitted or added, but said otherwise, whether they make another sense not abhorrent from the same, or are shown to explain the same sense in another way, cannot be found except by inspecting both codices.

Si igitur, ut oportet, nihil aliud intueamur in Scripturis illis, nisi quid per homines dixerit Dei Spiritus, quidquid est in hebraeis codicibus, et non est apud interpretes Septuaginta noluit ea per istos, sed per illos Prophetas Dei Spiritus dicere. Quidquid vero est apud Septuaginta, in hebraeis autem codicibus non est, per istos ea maluit, quam per illos, idem Spiritus dicere, sic ostendens utrosque fuisse prophetas. Isto enim modo alia per Isaiam, alia per Jeremiam, alia per alium atque alium prophetam, vel aliter eadem per hunc ac per illum dixit, ut voluit. Quidquid porro apud utrosque invenitur, per utrosque dicere voluit unus atque idem Spiritus; sed ita, ut illi praecederent prophetando, isti sequerentur prophetice illos interpretando: quia sicut in illis vera, et concordantia dicentibus unus pacis Spiritus fuit; sic et in istis non secum conferentibus, et tamen tanquam uno ore cuncta interpretantibus, idem Spiritus unus apparuit.

CAPUT XLIV.---Quid intelligendum sit de Ninivitarum excidio, cujus denuntiatio in hebraeo quadraginta dierum spatio tenditur, in Septuaginta autem tridui brevitate concluditur. Sed ait aliquis, Quomodo sciam quid Jonas propheta dixerit Ninivitis, utrum Triduum, et Ninive evertetur; an, Quadraginta dies (Jonae III, 4)? Quis enim non videat non potuisse utrumque tunc dici a Propheta, qui missus fuerat terrere comminatione imminentis exitii civitatem? Cui si tertio die fuerat futurus interitus, non utique quadragesimo die: si autem quadragesimo, non utique tertio. Si ergo a me quaeritur, quid horum Jonas dixerit, hoc puto potius quod legitur in hebraeo, Quadraginta dies, et Ninive evertetur. Septuaginta quippe longe posterius interpretati aliud dicere potuerunt, quod tamen ad rem pertineret, et in unum eumdemque sensum, quamvis sub altera significatione, concurreret; admoneretque lectorem, utraque auctoritate non spreta, ab historia sese attollere ad ea requirenda, propter quae significanda historia ipsa conscripta est. Gesta sunt quippe illa in Ninive civitate, sed aliquid etiam significaverunt, quod modum illius civitatis excedat: sicut gestum est, quod ipse Prophetae in ventre ceti triduo fuit, et tamen alium significavit in profundo inferni triduo futurum, qui Dominus est omnium Prophetarum.

If therefore, as is proper, we look into nothing else in those Scriptures but what the Spirit of God said through men, whatever is in the Hebrew codices and is not among the Septuagint translators, the Spirit of God did not wish to say those things through these, but through those Prophets. But whatever is among the Septuagint, but is not in the Hebrew codices, the same Spirit preferred to say those things through these rather than through those, thus showing both to have been prophets. For in this way He said some things through Isaiah, other things through Jeremiah, other things through one and another prophet, or the same things otherwise through this one and through that one, as He willed. Furthermore, whatever is found among both, the one and same Spirit willed to say through both; but in such a way that those should precede by prophesying, these should follow by prophetically translating them: because as in those there was one Spirit of peace for those saying true and concordant things; so also in these not conferring with themselves, and yet translating all things as if with one mouth, the same one Spirit appeared.

CHAPTER XLIV.---What is to be understood concerning the destruction of the Ninevites, the denunciation of which in the Hebrew is extended to a space of forty days, but in the Septuagint is concluded within the brevity of three days. But someone says: How shall I know what Jonah the prophet said to the Ninevites, whether, "Three days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown"; or, "Forty days" (Jonah III, 4)? For who does not see that both could not then have been said by the Prophet, who had been sent to terrify the city with the threat of imminent destruction? If its destruction was to be on the third day, it certainly was not on the fortieth: if on the fortieth, certainly not on the third. If therefore I am asked which of these Jonah said, I think it was rather that which is read in the Hebrew, "Forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown." For the Septuagint, translating long afterward, could say something else, which nevertheless would pertain to the matter, and would concur in one and the same sense, although under another signification; and would admonish the reader, neither authority being despised, to raise himself from history to seek those things for the sake of signifying which the history itself was written. For those things were done in the city of Nineveh, but they also signified something which exceeds the measure of that city: just as it was done that the Prophet himself was in the belly of the whale for three days, and yet signified another who was to be in the depth of hell for three days, who is the Lord of all Prophets.

Quapropter si per illam civitatem recte accipitur Ecclesia gentium prophetice figurata, eversa scilicet per poenitentiam, ut qualis fuerat jam non esset; hoc quoniam per Christum factum est in Ecclesia gentium, cujus illa Ninive figuram gerebat, sive per quadraginta dies, sive per triduum, idem ipse significatus est Christus; per quadraginta scilicet, quia tot dies peregit cum discipulis suis post resurrectionem, et ascendit in coelum; per triduum vero, quia die tertio resurrexit: tanquam lectorem nihil aliud quam historiae rerum gestarum inhaerere cupientem, de somno excitaverint Septuaginta interpretes, iidemque Prophetae, ad perscrutandam altitudinem prophetiae, et quodammodo dixerint: In quadraginta diebus ipsum quaere, in quo et triduum potueris invenire; illud in ascensione, hoc in ejus resurrectione reperies. Propter quod utroque numero significari convenientissime potuit, quorum unum per Jonam prophetam, alterum per Septuaginta interpretum prophetiam, tamen unus atque idem Spiritus dixit. Longitudinem fugio, ut non haec per multa demonstrem, in quibus ab hebraica veritate putantur Septuaginta interpretes discrepare, et bene intellecti inveniuntur esse concordes. Unde etiam ego pro meo modulo vestigia sequens Apostolorum, quia et ipsi ex utrisque, id est, ex hebraeis et ex Septuaginta, testimonia prophetica posuerunt, utraque auctoritate utendum putavi, quoniam utraque una atque divina est. Sed jam quae restant, ut possumus, exsequamur.

CAPUT XLV.---Quod post instaurationem templi prophetas Judaei habere destiterint, et exinde usque ad nativitatem Christi continuis adversitatibus sint afflicti, ut probaretur alterius templi aedificationem propheticis vocibus fuisse promissam. 1. Posteaquam gens Judaea coepit non habere Prophetas, procul dubio deterior facta est, eo scilicet tempore, quo se sperabat instaurato templo post captivitatem, quae fuit in Babylonia, futuram esse meliorem. Sic quippe intelligebat populus ille carnalis, quod praenuntiatum est per Aggaeum prophetam dicentem, Magna erit gloria domus istius novissimae, plus quam primae. Quod de novo Testamento dictum esse, paulo superius demonstravit, ubi ait aperte Christum promittens, Et movebo omnes gentes, et veniet Desideratus cunctis gentibus (Aggaei II, 10, 8). Quo loco Septuaginta interpretes alium sensum magis corpori quam capiti, hoc est, magis Ecclesiae quam Christo convenientem prophetica auctoritate dixerunt: Venient quae electa sunt Domini de cunctis gentibus, id est homines, de quibus ipse Jesus in Evangelio, Multi, inquit, vocati, pauci vero electi (Matth. XXII, 14). Talibus enim electis gentium, domus Dei aedificatur per Testamentum novum lapidibus vivis, longe gloriosior, quam templum illud fuit, quod a rege Salomone constructum est, et post captivitatem instauratum.

Wherefore if by that city is rightly understood the Church of the nations prophetically figured, overthrown indeed through penance, so that what it had been it should no longer be; since this was done through Christ in the Church of the nations, of which that Nineveh bore the figure, whether through forty days or through three days, the same Christ is signified; through forty indeed, because He spent so many days with His disciples after the resurrection and ascended into heaven; but through three days, because He rose on the third day: as if the Septuagint translators, being the same Prophets, had awakened from sleep the reader desiring to adhere to nothing else than the history of things done, to search the depth of the prophecy, and in a way had said: Seek Him in forty days, in whom you could also find three days; you shall find the former in His ascension, the latter in His resurrection. For which reason it could most conveniently be signified by both numbers, one of which was said through Jonah the prophet, the other through the prophecy of the Septuagint translators, yet one and the same Spirit said it. I avoid length, so as not to demonstrate this through many things, in which the Septuagint translators are thought to discrepancy from the Hebrew truth, and being well understood are found to be concordant. Whence even I, following the footsteps of the Apostles according to my small measure, because they also placed prophetic testimonies from both, that is, from the Hebrew and from the Septuagint, have thought that both authorities should be used, since both are one and divine. But now let us pursue what remains, as we are able.

CHAPTER XLV.---That after the restoration of the temple the Jews ceased to have prophets, and from then on even until the birth of Christ were afflicted by continuous adversities, so that it might be proved that the building of another temple had been promised by prophetic voices. 1. After the Jewish nation began to have no Prophets, it beyond doubt became worse, namely at that time when it hoped that, the temple having been restored after the captivity which was in Babylonia, it would be better. For so that carnal people understood what was foretold by the prophet Haggai saying, "Great shall be the glory of this last house, more than the first." Which he showed a little above to have been said concerning the New Testament, where he says openly, promising Christ, "And I will move all nations, and the Desired of all nations shall come" (Haggai II, 10, 8). In which place the Septuagint translators, by prophetic authority, said another sense more suitable to the body than to the head, that is, more to the Church than to Christ: "The things that are chosen of the Lord shall come from all nations," that is, men, concerning whom Jesus Himself says in the Gospel, "Many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt. XXII, 14). For by such chosen of the nations, the house of God is built through the New Testament with living stones, far more glorious than that temple was which was constructed by King Solomon and restored after the captivity.

Propter hoc ergo nec Prophetas ex illo tempore habuit illa gens, et multis cladibus afflicta est ab alienigenis regibus, ipsisque Romanis, ne hanc Aggaei prophetiam in illa instauratione templi opinaretur impletam.

2. Non multo enim post adveniente Alexandro subjugata est ; quando etsi nulla facta est vastatio, quoniam non sunt ausi ei resistere, et ideo placatum facillime subditi receperunt, non erat tamen gloria tanta domus illius, quanta fuit in suorum regum libera potestate. Hostias sane Alexander immolavit in Dei templo, non ad ejus cultum vera pietate conversus, sed impia vanitate cum diis eum falsis colendum putans. Deinde Ptolemaeus Lagi filius, quod supra memoravi, post Alexandri mortem captivos inde in Aegyptum transtulit, quos ejus successor Ptolemaeus Philadelphus benevolentissime inde dimisit: per quem factum est, quod paulo ante narravi, ut Septuaginta interpretum Scripturas haberemus. Deinde contriti sunt bellis, quae in Machabaeorum libris explicantur. Post haec capti a rege Alexandriae Ptolemaeo, qui est appellatus Epiphanes ; inde ab Antiocho rege Syriae multis et gravissimis malis ad idola colenda compulsi, templumque ipsum repletum sacrilegis superstitionibus gentium, quod tamen dux eorum strenuissimus Judas, qui etiam Machabaeus dictus est, Antiochi ducibus pulsis, ab omni illa idololatriae contaminatione mundavit .

3. Non autem multo post Alcimus quidam per ambitionem, cum a genere sacerdolali esset alienus, quod nefas erat, pontifex factus est . Hinc jam post annos ferme quinquaginta, in quibus eis tamen paz non fuit, quamvis aliqua et prospere gesserint, primus apud eos Aristobulus assumpto diademate, et rex et pontifex factus est . Antea quippe, ex quo de Babyloniae captivitate reversi sunt, templumque instauratum est, non reges, sed duces vel principes habuerunt: quamvis et qui rex est, possit dici princeps a principatu imperandi, et dux eo quod sit ductor exercitus: sed non continuo quicumque principes vel duces sunt, etiam reges dici possunt, quod iste Aristobulus fuit. Cui successit Alexander, etiam ipse rex et pontifex, qui crudeliter in suos regnasse traditur . Post hunc uxor ejus Alexandra regina Judaeorum fuit , ex cujus tempore et deinceps mala sunt eos secuta graviora.

For this reason, therefore, that nation had no Prophets from that time, and was afflicted with many calamities by foreign kings, and by the Romans themselves, lest it should think this prophecy of Haggai to have been fulfilled in that restoration of the temple.

2. For not long after, Alexander arriving, it was subjugated; when even if no devastation was made, because they did not dare to resist him, and therefore as subjects received him very easily pacified, yet there was not so great glory of that house as there was in the free power of their own kings. Alexander indeed immolated sacrifices in the temple of God, not converted to His worship by true piety, but by impious vanity thinking He was to be worshipped with false gods. Then Ptolemy the son of Lagus, which I mentioned above, after Alexander's death transferred captives from there into Egypt, whom his successor Ptolemy Philadelphus most benevolently released from there: through whom it was brought about, what I narrated a little before, that we should have the Scriptures of the Septuagint translators. Then they were crushed by wars which are explained in the books of the Maccabees. After these things they were captured by Ptolemy king of Alexandria, who was called Epiphanes; then by Antiochus king of Syria compelled by many and most heavy evils to worship idols, and the temple itself filled with the sacrilegious superstitions of the nations, which nevertheless their most strenuous leader Judas, who was also called Maccabaeus, after the generals of Antiochus were driven out, cleansed from all that contamination of idolatry.

3. Not long afterward, one Alcimus, although he was a stranger to the priestly family, which was an impiety, was made high priest by ambition. From this time, after nearly fifty years, in which however they did not have peace, although they also achieved some things prosperously, Aristobulus was the first among them to assume the diadem, and was made both king and high priest. For before this, since they returned from the Babylonian captivity and the temple was restored, they did not have kings, but leaders or princes: although he who is king can also be called a prince from the principality of commanding, and a leader because he is the conductor of an army: but not immediately whoever are princes or leaders can also be called kings, which this Aristobulus was. Him succeeded Alexander, also himself king and high priest, who is said to have reigned cruelly over his own. After him his wife Alexandra was queen of the Jews, from whose time and henceforth more grave evils followed them.

Filii quippe hujus Alexandrae Aristobulus et Hyrcanus inter se de imperio dimicantes, vires adversus Israeliticam gentem provocavere Romanas. Hyrcanus namque ab eis contra fratrem poposcit auxilium . Tunc jam Roma subjugaverat Africam, subjugaverat Graeciam, lateque etiam aliis orbis partibus imperans tanquam se ipsam ferre non valens, sua se quodammodo magnitudine fregerat. Pervenerat quippe ad seditiones domesticas graves, atque inde ad bella socialia, moxque civilia, tantumque se comminuerat atque attriverat, ut ei mutandus reipublicae status, quo regeretur regibus, immineret. Pompeius ergo populi Romani praeclarissimus princeps, Judaeam cum exercitu ingressus civitatem capit, templum reserat, non devotione supplicis, sed jure victoris, et ad sancta sanctorum, quo nisi summum sacerdotem non licebat intrare, non ut venerator, sed ut profanator accedit: confirmatoque Hyrcani pontificatu, et subjugatae genti imposito custode Antipatro, quos tunc procuratores vocabant, vinctum secum Aristobulum ducit . Ex illo Judaei etiam tributarii Romanorum esse coeperunt. Postea Cassius etiam templum exspoliavit. Deinde after paucos annos etiam Herodem alienigenam regem habere meruerunt, quo regnante natus est Christus . Jam enim venerat plenitudo temporis significata prophetico Spiritu per os patriarchae Jacob, ubi ait: Non deficiet princeps ex Juda, neque dux de femoribus ejus, donec veniat cui repositum est, et ipse exspectatio gentium (Gen. XLIX, 10). Non ergo defuit Judaeorum princeps ex Judaeis, usque ad istum Herodem, quem primum acceperunt alienigenam regem. Tempus ergo jam erat, ut veniret ille cui repositum erat, quod novo promissum est Testamento, ut ipse esset exspectatio gentium. Fieri autem non posset, ut exspectarent gentes eum venturum, sicut eum cernimus exspectari, ut veniat ad faciendum judicium in claritate potentiae, nisi prius in eum crederent, cum venit ad patiendum judicium in humilitate patientiae.

CAPUT XLVI.---De ortu Salvatoris nostri, secundum quod Verbum caro factum est; et de dispersione Judaeorum per omnes gentes, sicut fuerat prophetatum. Regnante ergo Herode in Judaea, apud Romanos autem jam mutato reipublicae statu, imperante Caesare Augusto, et per eum orbe pacato, natus est Christus secundum praecedentem prophetiam (Michaeae V, 2) in Bethlehem Judae, homo manifestus ex homine virgine, Deus occultus ex Deo Patre.

For the sons of this Alexandra, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, contending among themselves for the empire, provoked the Roman forces against the Israelite nation. For Hyrcanus asked help from them against his brother. Then already Rome had subjugated Africa, had subjugated Greece, and ruling widely also in other parts of the world, as if not able to bear itself, it had in a way broken itself by its own magnitude. For it had arrived at grave domestic seditions, and from there to social wars, and soon to civil wars, and had so diminished and worn itself out, that the status of the republic was imminent to be changed, by which it should be ruled by kings. Pompey therefore, a most illustrious prince of the Roman people, entering Judea with an army, takes the city, opens the temple, not by the devotion of a suppliant, but by the right of a victor, and approaches the holy of holies, where it was not lawful for any but the high priest to enter, not as a venerator, but as a profaner: and having confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood, and having imposed Antipater as a guardian on the subjugated nation, whom they then called procurators, he leads Aristobulus bound with him. From that time the Jews also began to be tributaries to the Romans. Afterward Cassius also despoiled the temple. Then after a few years they also deserved to have Herod, a foreign king, in whose reign Christ was born. For the fullness of time had already come, signified by the prophetic Spirit through the mouth of the patriarch Jacob, where he says: "The prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, until he comes for whom it is laid up, and he shall be the expectation of the nations" (Gen. XLIX, 10). Therefore a prince of the Jews from the Jews did not fail until this Herod, whom they first received as a foreign king. It was therefore now time that he should come for whom it was laid up, which was promised in the New Testament, that he himself should be the expectation of the nations. But it could not be that the nations should expect him as coming, as we see him expected, that he may come to perform judgment in the brightness of power, unless they first believed in him when he came to suffer judgment in the humility of patience.

CHAPTER XLVI.---Of the birth of our Savior according to the Word having been made flesh; and of the dispersion of the Jews through all nations, as had been prophesied. Herod therefore reigning in Judea, but the state of the republic among the Romans having already been changed, Caesar Augustus commanding, and the world having been pacified through him, Christ was born according to the preceding prophecy (Micah V, 2) in Bethlehem of Judea, manifest man from a human virgin, hidden God from God the Father.

Sic enim propheta praedixerat: Ecce virgo in utero accipiet, et pariet filium, et vocabunt nomen ejus Emmanuel, quod est interpretatum, Nobiscum Deus (Isai. VII, 14; Matth. I, 23; Luc. I, 31). Qui ut in se commendaret Deum, miracula multa fecit; ex quibus quaedam, quantum ad eum praedicandum satis esse visum est, Scriptura evangelica continet. Quorum primum est, quod tam mirabiliter natus est: ultimum autem, quod cum suo resuscitato a mortuis corpore ascendit in coelum. Judaei autem, qui eum occiderunt, et in eum credere noluerunt, quia oportebat eum mori et resurgere, vastati infelicius a Romanis, funditusque a suo regno, ubi jam eis alienigenae dominabantur, eradicati dispersique per terras (quando quidem ubique non desunt), per Scripturas suas testimonio nobis sunt prophetias nos non finxisse de Christo; quas plurimi eorum considerantes, et ante passionem, et maxime post ejus resurrectionem crediderunt in eum, de quibus praedictum est, Si fuerit numerus filiorum Israel sicut arena maris, reliquiae salvae fient (Isai. X, 22). Caeteri vero excaecati sunt, de quibus praedictum est, Fiat mensa eorum coram ipsis in laqueum, et in retributionem, et in scandalum. Obscurentur oculi eorum, ne videant; et dorsum illorum semper incurva (Psal. LXVIII, 23 et 24). Proinde cum Scripturis nostris non credunt, complentur in eis suae, quas caeci legunt: nisi forte quis dixerit illas prophetias Christianos finxisse de Christo, quae Sibyllae nomine, vel aliorum proferuntur, si quae sunt, quae non pertinent ad populum Judaeorum . Nobis quidem illae sufficiunt, quae de nostrorum inimicorum codicibus proferuntur, quos agnoscimus propter hoc testimonium, quod nobis inviti perhibent eosdem codices habendo atque servando, per omnes gentes etiam ipsos esse dispersos, quaquaversum Christi Ecclesia dilatatur. Nam prophetia in Psalmis, quos etiam legunt, de hac re praemissa est, ubi scriptum est: Deus meus, misericordia ejus praeveniet me. Deus meus demonstravit mihi in inimicis meis , ne occideris eos, ne quando obliviscantur legem tuam: disperge eos in virtute tua (Psal. LVIII, 11, 12). Demonstravit ergo Deus Ecclesiae in ejus inimicis Judaeis gratiam misericordiae suae, quoniam, sicut dicit Apostolus, delictum illorum, salus gentibus (Rom. XI, 11). Et ideo non eos occidit, id est, non in eis perdidit quod sunt Judaei, quamvis a Romanis fuerint devicti et oppressi; ne obliti legem Dei, ad hoc, de quo agimus, testimonium nihil valerent.

For so the prophet had foretold: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive in her womb, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is interpreted, God with us" (Isa. VII, 14; Matt. I, 23; Luke I, 31). Who, that He might commend God in Himself, performed many miracles; some of which, as much as seemed sufficient for preaching Him, the evangelical Scripture contains. Of which the first is that He was so wonderfully born: and the last, that with His body raised from the dead He ascended into heaven. But the Jews, who killed Him and would not believe in Him, because it behooved Him to die and rise again, being more unhappily devastated by the Romans and fundamentally eradicated from their own kingdom, where foreigners already dominated them, and dispersed through the lands (since indeed they are not lacking anywhere), are a testimony to us through their own Scriptures that we have not feigned the prophecies concerning Christ; which many of them considering, both before the passion and especially after His resurrection, believed in Him, concerning whom it was foretold: "If the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, the remnant shall be saved" (Isa. X, 22). But the rest were blinded, concerning whom it was foretold: "Let their table be before them for a snare, and for a retribution, and for a stumbling-block. Let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see; and bow down their back always" (Ps. LXIX, 22-23). Therefore when they do not believe our Scriptures, their own are fulfilled in them, which being blind they read: unless perhaps someone should say that Christians feigned those prophecies concerning Christ which are brought forward in the name of the Sibyl or others, if there are any which do not pertain to the Jewish people. To us indeed those are sufficient which are brought forward from the codices of our enemies, whom we recognize for the sake of this testimony, which they unwillingly bear to us by having and preserving the same codices, that they themselves are also dispersed through all nations, wherever the Church of Christ is dilated. For the prophecy in the Psalms, which they also read, was sent before concerning this thing, where it is written: "My God, His mercy shall prevent me. My God has shown to me in my enemies, slay them not, lest at any time they forget Thy law: scatter them in Thy power" (Ps. LIX, 10-11). God therefore has shown to the Church in her enemies the Jews the grace of His mercy, because, as the Apostle says, "their offense is the salvation of the nations" (Rom. XI, 11). And therefore He did not slay them, that is, He did not lose in them that they are Jews, although they were conquered and oppressed by the Romans; lest having forgotten the law of God, they should avail nothing for this testimony of which we treat.

Ideo parum fuit, ut diceret, Ne occideris eos, ne quando obliviscantur legem tuam: nisi etiam adderet, Disperge eos: quoniam si cum isto testimonio Scripturarum in sua tantummodo terra, non ubique essent, profecto Ecclesia quae ubique est, eos prophetiarum, quae de Christo praemissae sunt, testes in omnibus gentibus habere non posset.

CAPUT XLVII.---An ante tempora christiana aliqui fuerint extra Israeliticum genus, qui ad coelestis civitatis consortium pertinerent. Quapropter quisquis alienigena, id est, non ex Israel progenitus, nec ab illo populo in canonem sacrarum litterarum receptus, legitur aliquid prophetasse de Christo, si in nostram notitiam venit, aut venerit, ad cumulum a nobis commemorari potest: non quo necessarius sit, etiamsi desit, sed quia non incongrue creditur fuisse et in aliis gentibus homines, quibus hoc mysterium revelatum est, et qui hoc etiam praedicere impulsi sunt, sive participes ejusdem gratiae fuerint, sive expertes, sed per malos angelos docti sunt, quos etiam praesentem Christum, quem Judaei non agnoscebant, scimus fuisse confessos. Nec ipsos Judaeos existimo audere contendere, neminem pertinuisse ad Deum, praeter Israelitas, ex quo propago Israel esse coepit, reprobato ejus fratre majore. Populus enim revera, qui proprie Dei populus diceretur, nullus alius fuit: homines autem quosdam non terrena, sed coelesti societate ad veros Israelitas supernae cives patriae pertinentes etiam in aliis gentibus fuisse, negare non possunt: quia si negant, facillime convincuntur de sancto et mirabili viro Job, qui nec indigena, nec proselytus, id est advena populi Israel fuit; sed ex gente Idumaea genus ducens, ibi ortus, ibidem mortuus est: qui divino sic laudatur eloquio, ut quod ad justitiam pietatemque attinet, nullus ei homo suorum temporum coaequetur (Job I; Ezech. XIV, 20). Quae tempora ejus quamvis non inveniamus in Chronicis, colligimus tamen ex libro ejus, quem pro sui merito Israelitae in auctoritatem canonicam receperunt, tertia generatione posteriorem fuisse quam Israel . Divinitus autem provisum fuisse non dubito, ut ex hoc uno sciremus etiam per alias gentes esse potuisse qui secundum Deum vixerunt eique placuerunt, pertinentes ad spiritualem Jerusalem . Quod nemini concessum fuisse credendum est, nisi cui divinitus revelatus est unus mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus: qui venturus in carne sic antiquis sanctis praenuntiabatur, quemadmodum nobis venisse nuntiatus est, ut una eademque per ipsum fides omnes in Dei civitatem, Dei domum, Dei templum praedestinatos perducat ad Deum. Sed quaecumque aliorum prophetiae de Dei per Christum Jesum gratia proferuntur, possunt putari a Christianis esse confictae.

Therefore it was a small thing that he should say, "Slay them not, lest at any time they forget Thy law": unless he also added, "Scatter them": because if they were with this testimony of the Scriptures only in their own land, and not everywhere, surely the Church which is everywhere could not have them as witnesses of the prophecies which were sent before concerning Christ in all nations.

CHAPTER XLVII.---Whether before Christian times there were any outside the Israelite race who belonged to the fellowship of the heavenly city. Wherefore whatever foreigner, that is, one not born of Israel, nor received by that people into the canon of sacred letters, is read to have prophesied anything concerning Christ, if it comes or shall come to our knowledge, it can be mentioned by us for the sake of accumulation: not that it is necessary, even if it were lacking, but because it is not unsuccessfully believed that there were also in other nations men to whom this mystery was revealed, and who were also impelled to foretell this, whether they were partakers of the same grace, or were devoid of it but taught by evil angels, whom we know also to have confessed Christ when present, whom the Jews did not recognize. Nor do I think the Jews themselves dare to contend that no one belonged to God besides the Israelites, from the time when the progeny of Israel began to be, after his elder brother was reprobated. For in truth there was no other people that could properly be called the people of God: but they cannot deny that there were certain men belonging to the true Israelites, citizens of the supernal fatherland, in other nations also, not by an earthly but by a heavenly society: because if they deny it, they are most easily convicted by the holy and wonderful man Job, who was neither a native nor a proselyte, that is, a newcomer of the people of Israel; but deriving his race from the Edomite nation, was born there and died in the same place: who is so praised by divine eloquence that, as far as pertains to justice and piety, no man of his times is equaled to him (Job I; Ezek. XIV, 20). Which times of his, although we do not find them in the Chronicles, we nevertheless gather from his book, which for its own merit the Israelites received into canonical authority, that he was later than Israel by three generations. But I do not doubt that it was divinely provided so that from this one case we might know that even through other nations there could have been those who lived according to God and pleased Him, belonging to the spiritual Jerusalem. Which is to be believed to have been granted to no one except to him to whom the one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, was divinely revealed: who was so foretold to the ancient saints as about to come in the flesh, just as He has been announced to us as having come, so that one and the same faith through Him may lead all those predestined into the City of God, the house of God, the temple of God, to God. But whatever prophecies of others are brought forward concerning the grace of God through Jesus Christ can be thought by Christians to have been feigned.

Ideo nihil est firmius ad convincendos quoslibet alienos, si de hac re contenderint, nostrosque faciendos , si recte sapuerint, quam ut divina praedicta de Christo ea proferantur, quae in Judaeorum scripta sunt codicibus: quibus avulsis de sedibus propriis, et propter hoc testimonium toto orbe dispersis, Christi usquequaque crevit Ecclesia.

CAPUT XLVIII.---Prophetiam Aggaei, qua dixit majorem futuram gloriam domus Dei, quam primum fuisset, non in reaedificatione templi, sed in Ecclesia Christi esse completam. Haec domus Dei majoris est gloriae, quam fuerat illa prima lignis et lapidibus, caeterisque pretiosis rebus metallisque constructa. Non itaque Aggaei prophetia in templi illius instauratione completa est. Ex quo enim instauratum est, nunquam ostenditur habuisse tantam gloriam, quantam habuit tempore Salomonis: imo potius ostenditur primum cessatione prophetiae fuisse domus illius gloriam diminutam, deinde ipsius gentis cladibus tantis usque ad ultimum excidium, quod factum est a Romanis, sicut ea quae supra sunt commemorata testantur . Haec autem domus ad novum pertinens Testamentum, tanto utique majoris est gloriae, quanto meliores sunt lapides vivi, quibus credentibus renovatisque construitur. Sed ideo per instaurationem templi illius significata est, quia ipsa renovatio illius aedificii significat eloquio prophetico alterum Testamentum, quod appellatur novum. Quod ergo Deus dixit per memoratum prophetam, Et dabo pacem in loco isto (Aggaei II, 10); per significantem locum, ille qui eo significatur, intelligendus est: ut quia illo loco instaurato significata est Ecclesia, quae fuerat aedificanda per Christum, nihil aliud accipiatur, quod dictum est, Dabo pacem in loco isto; nisi, Dabo pacem in loco, quem significat locus iste. Quoniam omnia significantia videntur quodammodo earum rerum, quas significant, sustinere personas: sicut dictum est ab Apostolo, Petra erat Christus (I Cor. X, 4); quoniam petra illa, de qua hoc dictum est, significabat utique Christum. Major est itaque gloria domus hujus novi Testamenti, quam domus prioris veteris Testamenti: et tunc apparebit major, cum dedicabitur. Tunc enim veniet Desideratus cunctis gentibus (Aggaei II, 8), sicut legitur in Hebraeo. Nam prius ejus adventus nondum erat desideratus omnibus gentibus. Non enim quem deberent desiderare, sciebant, in quem non crediderant.

Therefore nothing is firmer for convicting any strangers, if they contend about this thing, and for making them ours if they shall be rightly wise, than that those divine things foretold concerning Christ should be brought forward which are written in the codices of the Jews: from whose own seats they were plucked away and dispersed through the whole world for the sake of this testimony, while the Church of Christ grew everywhere.

CHAPTER XLVIII.---That the prophecy of Haggai, in which he said that the glory of the house of God would be greater than it had been at first, was fulfilled not in the rebuilding of the temple, but in the Church of Christ. This house of God is of greater glory than that first one was, which was constructed with wood and stones, and other precious things and metals. Therefore the prophecy of Haggai was not fulfilled in the restoration of that temple. For since it was restored, it is never shown to have had so great glory as it had in the time of Solomon: rather it is shown first that by the cessation of prophecy the glory of that house was diminished, then by so many calamities of the nation itself even until the last destruction, which was done by the Romans, as those things which are mentioned above testify. But this house belonging to the New Testament is certainly of so much greater glory, by how much better are the living stones with which it is constructed of those who believe and are renewed. But for this reason it was signified through the restoration of that temple, because the very renovation of that building signifies in prophetic eloquence the other Testament, which is called new. Therefore what God said through the mentioned prophet, "And I will give peace in this place" (Haggai II, 10); by the signifying place, He who is signified by it is to be understood: so that because by that place having been restored the Church was signified, which was to be built through Christ, nothing else is to be understood by what was said, "I will give peace in this place," except, I will give peace in the place which this place signifies. Since all signifying things seem in a way to sustain the persons of those things which they signify: as it was said by the Apostle, "The rock was Christ" (I Cor. X, 4); since that rock, concerning which this was said, certainly signified Christ. The glory of this house of the New Testament is therefore greater than the glory of the prior house of the Old Testament: and then it will appear greater, when it shall be dedicated. For then "the Desired of all nations shall come" (Haggai II, 8), as it is read in the Hebrew. For before His advent was not yet desired by all nations. For they did not know whom they ought to desire, in whom they had not believed.

Tunc etiam secundum Septuaginta interpretes (quia et ipse propheticus sensus est), venient quae electa sunt Domini de cunctis gentibus. Tunc enim vere non venient nisi electa, de quibus dicit Apostolus, Sicut elegit nos in ipso ante mundi constitutionem (Ephes. I, 4). Ipse quippe architectus, qui dixit, Multi vocati, pauci autem electi (Matth. XXII, 14), non de his qui vocati sic venerunt, ut de convivio projicerentur, sed de electis demonstraturus est aedificatam domum, quae nullam deinceps formidabit ruinam. Nunc autem, quando et hi replent ecclesias, quos tanquam in area ventilatio separabit, non apparet tanta gloria domus hujus, quanta tunc apparebit, quando quisquis ibi erit, semper erit.

Caput XLIX.

De indiscreta multiplicatione Ecclesiae, qua in hoc saeculo multi reprobi miscentur electis.

In hoc ergo maligno saeculo, in his diebus malis, ubi per humilitatem praesentem futuram comparat Ecclesia celsitudinem, et timorum stimulis, dolorum tormentis, laborum molestiis, tentationum periculis eruditur, sola spe gaudens, quando sanum gaudet, multi reprobi miscentur bonis; et utrique tanquam in sagenam evangelicam colliguntur (Id. XIII, 47); et in hoc mundo, tanquam in mari, utrique inclusi retibus indiscrete natant, donec perveniatur ad littus, ubi mali segregentur a bonis, et in bonis tanquam in templo suo, sit Deus omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 28). Proinde vocem nunc agnoscimus ejus impleri, qui loquebatur in Psalmo, atque dicebat, Annuntiavi, et locutus sum, multiplicati sunt super numerum (Psal. XXXIX, 6). Hoc fit nunc, ex quo primum per os praecursoris sui Joannis, deinde per os proprium annuntiavit, et locutus est, dicens, Agite poenitentiam, appropinquavit enim regnum coelorum (Matth. III, 2; IV, 17). Elegit discipulos, quos et Apostolos nominavit (Luc. VI, 13), humiliter natos, inhonoratos, illitteratos; ut quidquid magnum essent et facerent, ipse in eis esset et faceret. Habuit inter eos unum, quo malo utens bene, et suae passionis dispositum impleret, et Ecclesiae suae tolerandum malorum praeberet exemplum. Seminato, quantum per ejus oportebat praesentiam corporalem, sancto Evangelio, passus est, mortuus est, resurrexit: passione ostendens quid sustinere pro veritate, resurrectione quid sperare in aeternitate debeamus; excepta altitudine sacramenti, qua sanguis ejus in remissionem peccatorum fusus est.

Then also according to the Septuagint translators (because it is also itself a prophetic sense), "the things shall come which are chosen of the Lord from all nations." For then truly none shall come except the chosen, concerning whom the Apostle says, "As He chose us in Him before the constitution of the world" (Eph. I, 4). For the Architect Himself, who said, "Many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt. XXII, 14), is about to show the house built not of those who being called came in such a way that they were cast out from the feast, but of the chosen, which house shall henceforth fear no ruin. But now, when those also fill the churches whom the ventilation as in a threshing-floor shall separate, so great glory of this house does not appear as shall then appear, when whoever shall be there, shall be there always.

Chapter XLIX.

Of the indiscriminate multiplication of the Church, in which in this world many reprobate are mixed with the elect.

In this malignant world, therefore, in these evil days, where through present humility the Church prepares future loftiness, and is erudite by the stings of fears, the torments of pains, the molestations of labors, the dangers of temptations, rejoicing in hope alone, when it rejoices healthily, many reprobate are mixed with the good; and both are gathered together as if into an evangelical dragnet (Matt. XIII, 47); and in this world, as in a sea, both included in nets swim indiscriminately, until the shore is reached, where the evil shall be segregated from the good, and in the good, as if in His temple, God shall be all in all (I Cor. XV, 28). Accordingly, we now recognize the voice of Him to be fulfilled, who spoke in the Psalm, and said, "I have announced, and have spoken, they are multiplied above number" (Ps. XL, 5). This happens now, from the time when He first announced and spoke through the mouth of His precursor John, and then through His own mouth, saying, "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven has approached" (Matt. III, 2; IV, 17). He chose disciples, whom He also named Apostles (Luke VI, 13), humbly born, unhonored, illiterate; so that whatever great thing they were and did, He Himself should be and do in them. He had among them one whom, using the evil well, He might both fulfill the disposition of His passion and provide to His Church an example of bearing with the evil. The holy Gospel having been sown, as much as was necessary through His corporal presence, He suffered, died, and rose again: showing by His passion what we ought to sustain for the truth, and by His resurrection what we ought to hope for in eternity; the depth of the sacrament excepted, by which His blood was poured out for the remission of sins.

Conversatus est in terra quadraginta dies cum discipulis suis, atque ipsis videntibus ascendit in coelum, et post dies decem misit promissum Spiritum sanctum : cujus venientis in eos qui crediderant, tunc signum erat maximum et maxime necessarium, ut unusquisque eorum linguis omnium gentium loqueretur: ita significans unitatem catholicae Ecclesiae per omnes gentes futuram, ac sic linguis omnibus locuturam.

Caput L.

De praedicatione Evangelii, quae per passiones praedicantium clarior et potentior facta est.

Deinde secundum illam prophetiam, Ex Sion lex prodiet, et verbum Domini ex Jerusalem (Isai. II, 3): et secundum ipsius Domini Christi praedicta, ubi post resurrectionem stupentibus cum discipulis suis aperuit sensum, ut intelligerent Scripturas, et dixit eis, Quoniam sic scriptum est, et sic oportebat Christum pati, et resurgere a mortuis tertio die, et praedicari in nomine ejus poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum per omnes gentes, incipientibus ab Jerusalem (Luc. XXIV, 46, 47); et ubi rursus eis de adventu ejus novissimo requirentibus respondit, atque ait, Non est vestrum scire tempora vel momenta , quae Pater posuit in sua potestate: sed accipietis virtutem Spiritus sancti supervenientem in vos, et eritis mihi testes in Jerusalem, et in tota Judaea et Samaria, et usque in fines terrae (Act. I, 7, 8): primum se ab Jerusalem diffudit Ecclesia, et cum in Judaea atque Samaria plurimi credidissent, et in alias gentes itum est, eis annuntiantibus Evangelium, quos ipse, sicut luminaria, et aptaverat verbo, et accenderat Spiritu sancto. Dixerat enim eis, Nolite timere eos qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere (Matth. X, 28). Qui ut frigidi timore non essent, igne charitatis ardebant. Denique per ipsos, non solum qui eum et ante passionem et post resurrectionem viderant et audierant, verum etiam post obitum eorum per posteros eorum, inter horrendas persecutiones et varios cruciatus ac funera martyrum praedicatum est toto orbe Evangelium, contestante Deo signis, et ostentis, et variis virtutibus, et Spiritus sancti muneribus: ut populi gentium credentes in eum, qui pro eorum redemptione crucifixus est, christiano amore venerarentur sanguinem martyrum, quem diabolico furore fuderunt; ipsique reges, quorum legibus vastabatur Ecclesia, ei nomini salubriter subderentur, quod de terra crudeliter auferre conati sunt, et falsos deos inciperent persequi, quorum causa cultores Dei veri fuerant antea persecuti.

He conversed on earth forty days with His disciples, and they seeing Him He ascended into heaven, and after ten days sent the promised Holy Spirit: of whose coming into those who had believed, there was then a greatest and most necessary sign, that each one of them should speak with the tongues of all nations: thus signifying the unity of the catholic Church about to be through all nations, and thus to speak with all tongues.

Chapter L.

Of the preaching of the Gospel, which through the passions of those preaching it was made more clear and more powerful.

Then according to that prophecy, "Out of Sion shall the law go forth, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Isa. II, 3): and according to the foretold words of the Lord Christ Himself, where after the resurrection to His stupified disciples He opened their sense, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said to them, "That thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead on the third day, and that penance and remission of sins should be preached in His name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem" (Luke XXIV, 46, 47); and where again to them inquiring concerning His last advent He responded, and said, "It is not for you to know the times or the moments, which the Father has put in His own power: but you shall receive the power of the Holy Spirit coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses to me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and even unto the ends of the earth" (Acts I, 7, 8): first the Church diffused itself from Jerusalem, and when very many had believed in Judea and Samaria, it went also into other nations, those announcing the Gospel whom He, as luminaries, had both fitted with the word and kindled with the Holy Spirit. For He had said to them, "Fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul" (Matt. X, 28). That they might not be cold with fear, they burned with the fire of charity. Finally through them, not only those who had seen and heard Him both before the passion and after the resurrection, but also after their death through their posterity, among horrendous persecutions and various tortures and the deaths of martyrs, the Gospel was preached in the whole world, God contesting with signs and wonders and various virtues and gifts of the Holy Spirit: so that the peoples of the nations believing in Him, who for their redemption was crucified, should with Christian love venerate the blood of the martyrs which they poured out with diabolical fury; and the kings themselves, by whose laws the Church was devastated, should be healthily subjected to that name, which they tried cruelly to take away from the earth, and should begin to persecute the false gods, for whose cause the worshippers of the true God had been persecuted before.

Caput LI.

Quod etiam per haereticorum dissensiones fides catholica roboretur.

1. Videns autem diabolus templa daemonum deseri, et in nomen liberantis Mediatoris currere genus humanum, haereticos movit, qui sub vocabulo christiano doctrinae resisterent christianae, quasi possent indifferenter sine ulla correptione haberi in civitate Dei, sicut civitas confusionis indifferenter habuit philosophos inter se diversa et adversa sentientes. Qui ergo in Ecclesia Christi morbidum aliquid pravumque sapiunt, si correpti ut sanum rectumque sapiant, resistunt contumaciter, suaque pestifera et mortifera dogmata emendare nolunt, sed defensare persistunt; haeretici fiunt, et foras exeuntes habentur in exercentibus inimicis. Etiam sic quippe veris illis catholicis membris Christi malo suo prosunt, dum Deus utitur et malis bene, et diligentibus eum omnia cooperantur in bonum (Rom. VIII, 28). Inimici enim omnes Ecclesiae, quolibet errore caecentur vel malitia depraventur, si accipiunt potestatem corporaliter affligendi, exercent ejus patientiam; si tantummodo male sentiendo adversantur, exercent ejus sapientiam; ut autem etiam inimici diligantur, exercent ejus benevolentiam, aut etiam beneficentiam, sive suadibili doctrina cum eis agatur, sive terribili disciplina. Ac per hoc diabolus princeps impiae civitatis, adversus peregrinantem in hoc mundo civitatem Dei vasa propria commovendo, nihil ei nocere permittitur. Cui procul dubio et rebus prosperis consolatio, ut non frangatur adversis; et rebus adversus exercitatio, ut non corrumpatur prosperis, per divinam providentiam procuratur: atque ita temperatur utrumque ab alterutro, ut in Psalmo illam vocem non aliunde agnoscamus exortam, Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, consolationes tuae jucundaverunt animam meam (Psal. XCIII, 19). Hinc est et illud Apostoli, Spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes (Rom. XII, 12).

2. Nam et id, quod ait idem doctor, Quicumque volunt in Christo pie vivere, persecutionem patientur (II Tim. III, 12), nullis putandum est deesse posse temporibus. Quia et cum ab eis qui foris sunt non saevientibus, videtur esse tranquillitas, et revera est, plurimumque consolationis affert, maxime infirmis; non tamen desunt, imo multi sunt intus, qui corda pie viventium suis perditis moribus cruciant: quoniam per eos blasphematur christianum et catholicum nomen: quod quanto est charius eis, qui volunt pie vivere in Christo, tanto magis dolent, quod per malos intus positos fit, ut minus quam piorum mentes desiderant, diligatur.

Chapter LI.

That even by the dissensions of heretics the Catholic faith is strengthened.

But the devil, seeing the temples of the demons deserted, and the human race running to the name of the liberating Mediator, moved heretics who, under a Christian name, should resist Christian doctrine, as if they could be held indifferently without any correction in the City of God, just as the city of confusion held indifferently philosophers having diverse and adverse sentiments among themselves. Those therefore who in the Church of Christ savor anything morbid and depraved, if being corrected that they may savor what is sound and right, they resist contumaciously, and will not emend their pestiferous and mortiferous dogmas, but persist in defending them, become heretics, and going out are held among exercising enemies. For even thus they profit those true Catholic members of Christ by their own evil, while God uses even the evil well, and "for those who love Him all things work together for good" (Rom. VIII, 28). For all the enemies of the Church, by whatever error they may be blinded or by whatever malice depraved, if they receive the power of afflicting corporally, they exercise her patience; if only by savoring evil they are adverse, they exercise her wisdom; but that even enemies should be loved, they exercise her benevolence, or even beneficence, whether they are dealt with by persuasive doctrine or by terrible discipline. And through this the devil, the prince of the impious city, by moving his own vessels against the City of God wandering in this world, is permitted to harm her in nothing. To whom beyond doubt both consolation in prosperous things, that she may not be broken by adverse ones, and exercise in adverse things, that she may not be corrupted by prosperous ones, is procured through divine providence: and thus both are tempered by each other, so that in the Psalm we recognize that voice to have arisen from no other source: "According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, Thy consolations have gladdened my soul" (Ps. XCIV, 19). Hence also is that of the Apostle: "Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation" (Rom. XII, 12).

2. For that which the same teacher says, "All who will to live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution" (2 Tim. 3:12), must be thought to be wanting at no time. Because even when there seems to be tranquility from those who are without not raging, and indeed there is, and it brings much consolation, especially to the weak; yet there are not wanting, nay, there are many within, who torture the hearts of those living godly by their own lost morals: since through them the Christian and Catholic name is blasphemed: which, the dearer it is to those who will to live godly in Christ, the more they grieve that through the evil ones placed within it happens that it is less loved than the minds of the godly desire.

Ipsi quoque haeretici, cum cogitantur habere nomen et sacramenta christiana, et Scripturas, et professionem, magnum dolorem faciunt in cordibus piorum: quia et multi volentes esse Christiani, propter eorum dissensiones haesitare coguntur, et multi maledici etiam in his inveniunt materiam blasphemandi Christianum nomen; quia et ipsi quoquo modo Christiani appellantur. His atque hujusmodi pravis moribus et erroribus hominum persecutionem patiuntur qui volunt in Christo pie vivere, etiam nullo infestante neque vexante corpus illorum. Patiuntur quippe hanc persecutionem non in corporibus, sed in cordibus. Unde illa vox est: Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo. Non enim ait, In corpore meo. Sed rursus quoniam cogitantur immutabilia divina promissa, et quod ait Apostolus, Novit Dominus qui sunt ejus (II Tim. II, 19): Quos enim praescivit, et praedestinavit conformes imaginis Filii sui (Rom. VIII, 29); ex eis perire nullus potest; ideo sequitur in illo psalmo, Consolationes tuae jucundaverunt animam meam. Dolor autem ipse, qui fit in cordibus piorum, quos persequuntur mores Christianorum malorum sive falsorum, prodest dolentibus; quoniam de charitate descendit, qua eos perire nolunt, nec impedire aliorum salutem. Denique magnae consolationes fiunt etiam de correctionibus eorum, quae piorum animas tanta jucunditate perfundunt, quantis doloribus de sua perditione cruciaverunt. Sic in hoc saeculo, in his diebus malis, non solum a tempore corporalis praesentiae Christi et Apostolorum ejus, sed ab ipso Abel, quem primum justum impius frater occidit, et deinceps usque in hujus saeculi finem, inter persecutiones mundi et consolationes Dei peregrinando procurrit Ecclesia.

Caput LII.

An credendum sit, quod quidam putant, impletis decem persecutionibus quae fuerunt, nullam jam superesse praeter undecimam, quae in ipso Antechristi tempore sit futura.

1. Proinde ne illud quidem temere puto esse dicendum, sive credendum, quod nonnullis visum est, vel videtur, non amplius Ecclesiam passuram persecutiones usque ad tempus Antichristi, quam quot jam passa est, id est decem, ut undecima eademque novissima sit ab Antichristo. Primam quippe computant a Nerone quae facta est, secundam a Domitiano, a Trajano tertiam, quartam ab Antonino, a Severo quintam, sextam a Maximino, a Decio septimam, octavam a Valeriano, ab Aureliano nonam, decimam a Diocletiano et Maximiano. Plagas enim Aegyptiorum, quoniam decem fuerunt, antequam inde exire inciperet populus Dei; putant ad hunc intellectum esse referendas, ut novissima Antichristi persecutio, similis videatur undecimae plagae, qua Aegyptii, dum hostiliter sequerentur Hebraeos, in mari Rubro, populo Dei per siccum transeunte, perierunt.

The heretics themselves also, when they are considered to have the Christian name and sacraments, and the Scriptures, and profession, cause great grief in the hearts of the godly: because many wishing to be Christians are forced to hesitate on account of their dissensions, and many railers find in them also matter for blaspheming the Christian name; because they also are called Christians in some way or other. By these and such like depraved morals and errors of men, those who will to live godly in Christ suffer persecution, even with no one infesting or vexing their body. For they suffer this persecution not in their bodies, but in their hearts. Whence is that voice: "According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart." For he does not say, "In my body." But again, since the immutable divine promises are considered, and that which the Apostle says, "The Lord knoweth who are His" (2 Tim. 2:19): "For whom He foreknew, He also predestinated to be conformed to the image of His Son" (Rom. 8:29); of these none can perish; therefore it follows in that psalm, "Thy consolations have gladdened my soul." But the sorrow itself, which occurs in the hearts of the godly, whom the morals of evil or false Christians persecute, profits those who sorrow; since it descends from the charity by which they will not that they should perish, nor impede the salvation of others. Finally, great consolations also arise from their corrections, which imbue the souls of the godly with as much delight as they tortured them with sorrows concerning their perdition. Thus in this world, in these evil days, not only from the time of the bodily presence of Christ and His apostles, but from Abel himself, whom first a just man his impious brother slew, and thenceforward even unto the end of this world, the Church proceeds on her pilgrimage between the persecutions of the world and the consolations of God.

Chapter LII.

Whether we should believe what some think, that after the ten persecutions which have occurred, none remains except the eleventh, which will be in the time of Antichrist.

1. Accordingly, I do not think that even that should be rashly said or believed, which has seemed or seems to some, that the Church is to suffer no more persecutions until the time of Antichrist than those she has already suffered, that is, ten, so that the eleventh and very last should be from Antichrist. For they count the first which occurred under Nero, the second under Domitian, the third under Trajan, the fourth under Antoninus, the fifth under Severus, the sixth under Maximinus, the seventh under Decius, the eighth under Valerian, the ninth under Aurelian, the tenth under Diocletian and Maximian. For the plagues of the Egyptians, because they were ten, before the people of God began to go out from thence, they think should be referred to this understanding, so that the last persecution of Antichrist should seem similar to the eleventh plague, by which the Egyptians, while hostiley following the Hebrews, perished in the Red Sea, the people of God passing through on dry land.

Sed ego illa re gesta in Aegypto, istas persecutiones prophetice significatas esse non arbitror: quamvis ab eis, qui hoc putant, exquisite et ingeniose illa singula his singulis comparata videantur, non prophetico Spiritu, sed conjectura mentis humanae, quae aliquando ad verum pervenit, aliquando fallitur.

2. Quid enim, qui hoc sentiunt, dicturi sunt de persecutione, qua ipse Dominus crucifixus est? in quo eam numero posituri? Si autem hac excepta existimant computandum, tanquam illae numerandae sint, quae ad corpus pertinent, non qua ipsum caput est appetitum et occisum; quid agent de illa, quae, posteaquam Christus ascendit ad coelum, Jerosolymis facta est, ubi beatus Stephanus lapidatus est, ubi Jacobus frater Joannis gladio trucidatus est, ubi apostolus Petrus ut occideretur inclusus et per Angelum liberatus, ubi fugati atque dispersi de Jerosolymis fratres, ubi Saulus, qui postea Paulus apostolus factus est, vastabat Ecclesiam? ubi ipse quoque jam fidem, quam persequebatur, evangelizans, qualia faciebat, est passus, sive per Judaeam, sive per alias gentes, quacumque Christum ferventissimus praedicabat? Cur ergo eis a Nerone videtur ordiendum, cum ad Neronis tempora inter atrocissimas persecutiones, de quibus nimis longum est cuncta dicere, Ecclesia crescendo pervenerit? Quod si a regibus factas persecutiones in numero existimant esse debere; rex fuit Herodes, qui etiam post ascensum Domini gravissimam fecit. Deinde quid respondent etiam de Juliano, quem non numerant in decem? An ipse non est Ecclesiam persecutus, qui Christianos liberales litteras docere ac discere vetuit? Sub quo Valentinianus major, qui post eum tertius imperator fuit, fidei christianae confessor exstitit, militiaque privatus est. Ut omittam quae apud Antiochiam facere coeperat, nisi unius fidelissimi et constantissimi juvenis, qui multis, ut torquerentur, apprehensis, per totum diem primus est tortus, inter ungulas cruciatusque psallentis libertatem atque hilaritatem miratus horruisset et in caeteris deformius erubescere timuisset. Postremo nostra memoria Valens supradicti Valentiniani frater Arianus, nonne magna persecutione per Orientis partes catholicam vastavit Ecclesiam? Quale est autem, non considerare, Ecclesiam per totum mundum fructificantem atque crescentem posse in aliquibus gentibus persecutionem pati a regibus, et quando in aliis non patitur?

But I do not think that those persecutions were prophetically signified by that thing done in Egypt: although by those who think so, those single things seem exquisitely and ingeniously compared to these single things, not by a prophetic Spirit, but by a conjecture of the human mind, which sometimes arrives at the truth, sometimes is deceived.

2. For what will those who think this say concerning the persecution by which the Lord Himself was crucified? In what number will they place it? But if they think that, this being excepted, it is to be computed as if those only are to be numbered which pertain to the body, not that by which the Head itself was attacked and slain; what will they do concerning that which, after Christ ascended into heaven, was made in Jerusalem, where the blessed Stephen was stoned, where James the brother of John was slaughtered with the sword, where the apostle Peter was shut up to be slain and liberated by an Angel, where the brethren were put to flight and dispersed from Jerusalem, where Saul, who afterwards became the apostle Paul, was wasting the Church? where he also, now evangelizing the faith which he persecuted, suffered such things as he used to do, whether through Judea or through other nations, wherever he most fervently preached Christ? Why then does it seem to them that it should be begun from Nero, when the Church by increasing reached the times of Nero through most atrocious persecutions, concerning which it is too long to say all things? But if they think that persecutions made by kings ought to be in the number; Herod was king, who also after the ascension of the Lord made a most grievous one. Then what do they answer also concerning Julian, whom they do not number in the ten? Or did he not persecute the Church, who forbade Christians to teach and learn liberal letters? Under whom the elder Valentinian, who was the third emperor after him, stood forth as a confessor of the Christian faith, and was deprived of his military service. To say nothing of what he had begun to do at Antioch, unless he had been horrified by the freedom and hilarity of one most faithful and constant youth, who, many having been seized to be tortured, was tortured first through a whole day, singing psalms among the claws and torments, and had feared to blush more deformedly in the rest. Finally, in our memory, was not Valens the Arian, brother of the aforementioned Valentininian, wasting the Catholic Church by a great persecution through the parts of the East? But what a thing it is not to consider that the Church, fructifying and increasing through the whole world, can suffer persecution from kings in some nations, even when she does not suffer it in others?

Nisi forte non est persecutio computanda, quando rex Gothorum in ipsa Gothia persecutus est Christianos crudelitate mirabili, cum ibi non essent nisi catholici, quorum plurimi martyrio coronati sunt: sicut a quibusdam fratribus, qui tunc illic pueri fuerant, et se ista vidisse incunctanter recordabantur, audivimus? Quid modo in Perside? nonne ita in Christianos ferbuit persecutio (si tamen jam quievit), ut fugientes inde nonnulli usque ad Romana oppida pervenerint? Haec atque hujusmodi mihi cogitanti, non videtur esse definiendus numerus persecutionum, quibus exerceri oportet Ecclesiam. Sed rursus affirmare aliquas futuras a regibus, praeter illam novissimam, de qua nullus ambigit Christianus, non minoris est temeritatis. Itaque hoc in medio relinquimus, neutram partem quaestionis hujus astruentes, sive destruentes, sed tantummodo ab affirmandi quodlibet horum audaci praesumptione revocantes.

Caput LIII.

De tempore novissimae persecutionis occulto.

1. Illam sane novissimam persecutionem, quae ab Antichristo futura est, praesentia sua ipse exstinguet Jesus. Sic enim scriptum est, quod eum interficiet spiritu oris sui, et evacuabit illuminatione praesentiae suae (11 Thess. II, 8). Hic quaeri solet, Quando istud erit? Importune omnino. Si enim hoc nobis nosse prodesset, a quo melius quam ab ipso Deo magistro interrogantibus discipulis diceretur? Non enim siluerunt inde apud eum; sed a praesente quaesierunt, dicentes: Domine, si hoc tempore praesentaberis, et quando regnum Israel ? At ille: Non est, inquit, vestrum scire tempora, quae Pater in sua posuit potestate (Act. I, 6, 7). Non utique illi de hora, vel die, vel annos, sed de tempore interrogaverunt, quando istud accepere responsum. Frustra igitur annos, qui huic saeculo remanent, computare ac definire conamur, cum hoc scire non esse nostrum ex ore Veritatis audiamus. Quos tamen alii quadringentos, alii quingentos, alii etiam mille ab ascensione Domini usque ad ejus ultimum adventum compleri posse dixerunt. Quemadmodum autem quisque eorum astruat opinionem suam, longum est demonstrare, et non necessarium. Conjecturis quippe utuntur humanis, non ab eis certum aliquid de Scripturae canonicae auctoritate profertur. Omnium vero de hac re calculantium digitos resolvit et quiescere jubet ille qui dicit: Non est vestrum scire tempora, quae Pater in sua posuit potestate.

2. Sed haec quia evangelica sententia est, mirum non est non ea repressos fuisse deorum multorum falsorumque cultores, quominus fingerent daemonum responsis, quos tanquam deos colunt, definitum esse quanto tempore mansura esset religio christiana.

Unless perchance that is not to be computed as a persecution, when the king of the Goths in Gothia itself persecuted Christians with wonderful cruelty, when there were none there except Catholics, of whom very many were crowned with martyrdom: as we have heard from some brethren who were boys there then, and unhesitatingly remembered that they had seen these things? What now in Persia? Has not persecution so raged against Christians (if indeed it has now rested), that some fleeing from thence have reached even to Roman towns? Thinking on these and such like things, it does not seem to me that the number of persecutions by which it behooves the Church to be exercised should be defined. But again, to affirm that some are to be in the future from kings, besides that last one, concerning which no Christian doubts, is of no less rashness. Therefore we leave this in the middle, asserting or destroying neither part of this question, but only calling back from the audacious presumption of affirming any of these things.

Chapter LIII.

Concerning the hidden time of the last persecution.

Jesus Himself indeed will extinguish by His presence that last persecution, which is to be from Antichrist. For thus it is written, that "He shall slay him with the spirit of His mouth, and shall evacuate him by the illumination of His presence" (2 Thess. 2:8). Here it is usually asked: When will that be? Altogether unseasonably. For if it profited us to know this, by whom would it be better said than by God the Master Himself to His disciples when they asked? For they were not silent concerning it before Him; but they asked of Him being present, saying: "Lord, wilt Thou at this time be presented, and when will be the kingdom of Israel?" But He said: "It is not for you to know the times, which the Father hath put in His own power" (Acts 1:6, 7). Surely they did not ask about the hour, or day, or years, but about the time, when they received this response. In vain therefore do we attempt to compute and define the years which remain to this world, when we hear from the mouth of Truth that to know this is not ours. Which nevertheless some have said could be completed in four hundred, others in five hundred, others even in a thousand years from the ascension of the Lord even unto His last advent. But in what manner each of them builds up his opinion, it is long to demonstrate, and not necessary. For they use human conjectures, and nothing certain is brought forward by them from the authority of the canonical Scripture. Truly He relaxes the fingers and commands to rest of all those calculating concerning this thing, who says: "It is not for you to know the times, which the Father hath put in His own power."

2. But because this is an evangelical sentence, it is no wonder that the worshippers of many and false gods were not repressed by it from feigning by the responses of the demons, whom they worship as gods, that it was defined for how long a time the Christian religion should remain.

Cum enim viderent, nec tot tantisque persecutionibus eam potuisse consumi, sed his potius mira incrementa sumpsisse, excogitaverunt nescio quos versus graecos, tanquam consulenti cuidam, divino oraculo effusos, ubi Christum quidem ab hujus tanquam sacrilegii crimine faciunt innocentem; Petrum autem maleficiis fecisse subjungunt, ut coleretur Christi nomen per trecentos sexaginta quinque annos, deinde completo memorato numero annorum, sine mora sumeret finem. O hominum corda doctorum! o ingenia litterata digna credere ista de Christo, quae credere non vultis in Christum, quod ejus discipulus Petrus ab eo magicas artes non didicerit, sed ipso innocente tamen ejus maleficus fuerit nomenque illius, quam suum, coli maluerit magicis artibus suis, magnis laboribus et periculis suis, postremo etiam effusione sanguinis sui! Si Petrus maleficus fecit, ut Christum sic diligeret mundus: quid fecit innocens Christus, ut eum sic diligeret Petrus? Respondeant igitur ipsi sibi, et si possunt, intelligant illa superna gratia factum esse, ut propter aeternam vitam Christum diligeret mundus, qua gratia factum est, ut et propter aeternam vitam ab illo accipiendam et usque ad temporariam mortem pro illo patiendam Christum diligeret Petrus. Deinde isti dii qui sunt, qui possunt ista praedicere, nec possunt avertere, ita succumbentes uni malefico, et uni sceleri magico, quo puer, ut dicunt, anniculus occisus, et dilaniatus, et ritu nefario sepultus est, ut sectam sibi adversariam tam prolixo tempore convalescere, tot tantarumque persecutionum horrendas crudelitates, non resistendo sed patiendo superare, et ad suorum simulacrorum, templorum, sacrorum, oraculorum eversionem pervenire permitterent? Quis postremo est deus, non noster utique, sed ipsorum, qui vel illectus tanto scelere vel impulsus est ista praestare? Non enim alicui daemoni, sed deo dicunt illi versus haec Petrum arte magica definisse. Talem deum habent, qui Christum non habent.

Caput LIV.

De stultissimo mendacio Paganorum, quo christianam religionem non ultra trecentos sexaginta quinque annos mansuram esse finxerunt.

1. Haec atque hujusmodi multa colligerem, si nondum annus ipse transisset, quem divinatio ficta promisit, et decepta vanitas credidit. Cum vero ex quo nominis Christi cultus per ejus in carne praesentiam et per Apostolos institutus est, ante aliquot annos anni trecenti sexaginta quinque completi sint quid aliud quaerimus, unde ista falsitas refellatur?

For when they saw that it could not be consumed by so many and such great persecutions, but rather took wonderful increments from these, they devised I know not what Greek verses, as if poured out by a divine oracle to someone consulting it, where indeed they make Christ innocent of this as if of the crime of sacrilege; but they subjoin that Peter had made by sorceries that the name of Christ should be worshipped for three hundred and sixty-five years, then the mentioned number of years being completed, it should take an end without delay. O hearts of learned men! O lettered geniuses worthy to believe these things concerning Christ, which you will not believe in Christ, that His disciple Peter did not learn magic arts from Him, but nevertheless His master being innocent he was a sorcerer and preferred that His name, rather than his own, should be worshipped by his magic arts, by his great labors and perils, finally even by the shedding of his blood! If Peter by sorcery made the world so love Christ: what did the innocent Christ do, that Peter should so love Him? Let them therefore answer themselves, and if they can, let them understand that it was done by that supernal grace that the world should love Christ for the sake of eternal life, by which grace it was done that Peter should love Christ both for the sake of receiving eternal life from Him and for the sake of suffering even unto temporary death for Him. Then who are these gods, who can predict these things, and cannot avert them, thus succumbing to one sorcerer, and to one magic crime, by which a boy of one year, as they say, was slain, and torn in pieces, and buried with a nefarious rite, that they should permit a sect adverse to themselves to grow strong for so long a time, to overcome the horrendous cruelties of so many and such great persecutions, not by resisting but by suffering, and to arrive at the eversion of their own idols, temples, sacred things, and oracles? Finally, who is the god, not ours indeed, but their own, who was either enticed or impelled by so great a crime to provide these things? For they say those verses that Peter defined these things by magic art not to some demon, but to a god. Such a god they have, who have not Christ.

Chapter LIV.

Concerning the most foolish lie of the Pagans, by which they feigned that the Christian religion would not remain beyond three hundred and sixty-five years.

1. These and many such things I would collect, if that very year had not yet passed, which feigned divination promised, and deceived vanity believed. But since more than a few years ago three hundred and sixty-five years were completed from the time the worship of the name of Christ was instituted through His presence in the flesh and through the Apostles, what else do we seek, whence this falsehood may be refuted?

Ut enim in Christi nativitate hujus rei non ponamus initium, quia infans et puer discipulos non habebat, tamen quando habere coepit, procul dubio tunc innotuit per ejus corporalem praesentiam doctrina et religio christiana, id est, posteaquam in fluvio Jordane ministerio Joannis est baptizatus. Propter hoc enim de illo prophetia illa praecesserat, Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrae (Psal. LXXI, 8). Sed quoniam priusquam passus esset et resurrexisset a mortuis, nondum fides omnibus fuerat definita; in resurrectione quippe Christi definita est (nam sic apostolus Paulus Atheniensibus loquitur dicens, Jam nunc annuntiat hominibus, omnes ubique agere poenitentiam, eo quod statuit diem, judicare orbem in aequitate, in viro, in quo definivit fidem omnibus, resuscitans illum a mortuis [Act. XVII, 30 et 31]): melius in hac quaestione solvenda inde initium sumimus; praesertim quia tunc datus est etiam Spiritus sanctus, sicut cum dari post resurrectionem Christi oportebat in ea civitate, ex qua debuit incipere lex secunda, hoc est Testamentum novum. Prima enim fuit ex monte Sina per Moysen, quod Testamentum vocatur vetus. De hac autem quae per Christum danda erat, praedictum est, Ex Sion prodiet lex, et verbum Domini ex Jerusalem (Isai. II, 3). Unde et ipse per omnes gentes dixit praedicari oportere in nomine suo poenitentiam, sed tamen incipientibus ab Jerusalem (Luc. XXIV, 47). Ibi ergo exorsus est hujus nominis cultus, ut in Christum Jesum, qui crucifixus fuerat et resurrexerat, crederetur: ibi haec fides tam insignibus initiis incanduit, ut aliquot hominum millia in Christi nomen mirabili alacritate conversa, venditis suis rebus ut egenis distribuerentur, proposito sancto et ardentissima charitate ad paupertatem voluntariam pervenirent, atque inter frementes et sanguinem sitientes Judaeos, se usque ad mortem pro veritate certare, non armata potentia, sed potentiore patientia praepararent. Hoc si nullis magicis artibus factum est, cur credere dubitant, eadem virtute divina per totum mundum id fieri potuisse qua hoc factum est? Si autem ut Jerosolymis sic ad cultum nominis Christi accenderetur tanta hominum multitudo, quae illum in cruce, vel fixerat prensum, vel riserat fixum, jam maleficium illud fecerat Petrus, ex ipso anno quaerendum est, quando trecenti sexaginta quinque completi sint. Mortuus est ergo Christus duobus Gemini consulibus, octavo kalendas aprilis. Resurrexit tertia die, sicut Apostoli suis etiam sensibus probaverunt. Deinde post quadraginta dies ascendit in coelum: post decem dies, id est quinquagesimo post suam resurrectionem die, misit Spiritum sanctum. Tunc tria millia hominum Apostolis eum praedicantibus crediderunt. Tunc itaque nominis illius cultus exorsus est, sicut nos credimus, et veritas habet, efficacia Spiritus sancti; sicut autem finxit vanitas impia vel putavit, magicis artibus Petri.

For that we may not place the beginning of this thing in the birth of Christ, because as an infant and boy He had no disciples, yet when He began to have them, beyond doubt then the Christian doctrine and religion became known through His bodily presence, that is, after He was baptized in the river Jordan by the ministry of John. For on account of this that prophecy concerning Him had preceded: "He shall rule from sea even to sea, and from the river even unto the ends of the orb of the earth" (Ps. 72:8). But because before He had suffered and risen from the dead, faith had not yet been defined for all; for in the resurrection of Christ it was defined (for thus the apostle Paul speaks to the Athenians, saying: "Even now He announces to men, that all everywhere should repent, because He hath appointed a day, to judge the world in equity, by the man in whom He hath defined faith to all, raising Him from the dead" [Acts 17:30, 31]): we better take the beginning from thence in solving this question; especially because then the Holy Spirit also was given, as it behooved to be given after the resurrection of Christ in that city from which the second law, that is, the New Testament, ought to begin. For the first was from Mount Sinai through Moses, which is called the Old Testament. But concerning this which was to be given through Christ, it was predicted: "Out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Isa. 2:3). Whence also He Himself said that repentance ought to be preached in His name through all nations, but nevertheless beginning from Jerusalem (Luke 24:47). There therefore the worship of this name began, so that it should be believed in Jesus Christ, who had been crucified and had risen: there this faith glowed with such signal beginnings, that some thousands of men being converted to the name of Christ with wonderful alacrity, their things being sold that they might be distributed to the needy, by a holy purpose and most ardent charity they reached voluntary poverty, and among the raging Jews thirsting for blood, they prepared themselves to strive for the truth even unto death, not with armed power, but with more powerful patience. If this was done by no magic arts, why do they doubt to believe that this could be done through the whole world by the same divine power by which this was done? But if, that such a multitude of men should be kindled to the worship of the name of Christ at Jerusalem, who had either fixed Him when taken on the cross, or laughed at Him when fixed, Peter had already made that sorcery, it must be sought from that very year, when the three hundred and sixty-five were completed. Christ therefore died, the two Gemini being consuls, on the eighth day before the Kalends of April. He rose on the third day, as the Apostles proved even by their own senses. Then after forty days He ascended into heaven: after ten days, that is, on the fiftieth day after His resurrection, He sent the Holy Spirit. Then three thousand men believed when the Apostles were preaching Him. Then therefore the worship of that name began, as we believe, and the truth has it, by the efficacy of the Holy Spirit; but as impious vanity feigned or thought, by the magic arts of Peter.

Paulo post etiam signo mirabili facto, quando ad verbum ipsius Petri quidam mendicus ab utero matris ita claudus, ut ab aliis portaretur, et ad portam templi, ubi stipem peteret, poneretur, in nomine Jesu Christi salvus exsilivit, quinque millia hominum crediderunt: ac deinde aliis atque aliis accessibus credentium crevit Ecclesia. Ac per hoc colligitur etiam dies, ex quo annus ipse sumpsit initium, scilicet quando missus est Spiritus sanctus, id est, per idus maias. Numeratis proinde consulibus, trecenti sexaginta quinque anni reperiuntur impleti per easdem idus, consulatu Honorii et Eutychiani. Porro sequenti anno, consule Mallio Theodoro, quando jam secundum illud oraculum daemonum aut figmentum hominum nulla esse debuit religio christiana, quid per alias terrarum partes forsitan factum sit, non fuit necesse perquirere. Interim quod scimus in civitate notissima et eminentissima Carthagine Africae Gaudentius et Jovius comites imperatoris Honorii, quarto decimo kalendas aprilis falsorum deorum templa everterunt, et simulacra fregerunt. Ex quo usque ad hoc tempus per triginta ferme annos quis non videat quantum creverit cultus nominis Christi, praesertim posteaquam multi eorum Christiani facti sunt, qui tanquam vera illa divinatione revocabantur a fide, eamque completo eodem annorum numero inanem ridendamque viderunt? Nos ergo qui sumus vocamurque Christiani, non in Petrum credimus, sed in quem credidit Petrus; Petri de Christo aedificati sermonibus, non carminibus venenati; nec decepti maleficiis, sed beneficiis ejus adjuti. Ille Petri magister Christus in doctrina, quae ad vitam ducit aeternam, ipse est et magister noster.

2. Sed aliquando jam concludamus hunc librum, huc usque disserentes, et quantum satis visum est demonstrantes, quisnam sit duarum civitatum, coelestis atque terrenae, ab initio usque in finem permixtarum mortalis excursus. Quarum illa quae terrena est, fecit sibi quos voluit, vel undecumque, vel etiam ex hominibus falsos deos, quibus sacrificando serviret: illa autem quae coelestis peregrinatur in terra, falsos deos non facit, sed a vero Deo ipsa fit, cujus verum sacrificium ipsa sit. Ambae tamen temporalibus vel bonis pariter utuntur, vel malis pariter affliguntur, diversa fide, diversa spe, diverso amore, donec ultimo judicio separentur, et percipiat unaquaeque suum finem, cujus nullus est finis: de quibus ambarum finibus deinceps disserendum est.

A little after also a wonderful sign having been made, when at the word of Peter himself a certain beggar lame from his mother's womb so that he was carried by others, and was placed at the gate of the temple where he might seek alms, leaped up healed in the name of Jesus Christ, five thousand men believed: and then the Church increased by other and other accesses of believers. And by this is collected also the day from which that year took its beginning, namely when the Holy Spirit was sent, that is, through the Ides of May. The consuls accordingly being counted, three hundred and sixty-five years are found fulfilled through the same Ides, in the consulship of Honorius and Eutychianus. Furthermore, in the following year, Mallius Theodorus being consul, when already according to that oracle of demons or figment of men there ought to have been no Christian religion, what was done perhaps through other parts of the lands, it was not necessary to inquire. In the meantime what we know is that in the most well-known and eminent city of Carthage in Africa, Gaudentius and Jovius, counts of the emperor Honorius, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of April, overthrew the temples of the false gods, and broke the idols. From which time even unto this time for nearly thirty years who does not see how much the worship of the name of Christ has increased, especially after many of them became Christians, who as if by that true divination were recalled from the faith, and saw it, the same number of years being completed, vain and to be laughed at? We therefore who are and are called Christians, do not believe in Peter, but in Him in whom Peter believed; being built up by the sermons of Peter concerning Christ, not poisoned by his incantations; nor deceived by his sorceries, but helped by his benefits. That Master of Peter, Christ, in the doctrine which leads to eternal life, He is also our Master.

2. But let us now at length conclude this book, having discussed thus far and demonstrated as much as seemed sufficient, what is the mortal course of the two cities, the heavenly and the earthly, mixed together from the beginning even unto the end. Of which that which is earthly has made for itself what false gods it willed, even from anywhere, or even from among men, whom it might serve by sacrificing: but that which is heavenly, a pilgrim on earth, does not make false gods, but is itself made by the true God, of whom it is itself the true sacrifice. Both nevertheless equally use temporal goods, or are equally afflicted by temporal evils, with diverse faith, diverse hope, diverse love, until they are separated by the last judgment, and each receives its own end, of which there is no end: concerning which ends of both we must next discuss.

Liber D

ECIMUS NONUS.

In quo de finibus utriusque civitatis, terrenae ac coelestis, disputatur. Recensentur de bonorum et malorum finibus opiniones philosophorum, qui beatitudinem in hac vita facere ipsi sibi frustra conati sunt: qui dum operosius refelluntur, ipsius civitatis coelestis, seu populi christiani beatitudo et pax quaenam sit, qualisve hic haberi, vel in futurum sperari possit, demonstratur.

Caput Primum.

Quod in quaestione, quam de finibus bonorum et malorum philosophica disputatio ventilavit, ducentas octoginta et octo sectas esse posse Varro perspexerit.

1. Quoniam de civitatis utriusque, terrenae scilicet et coelestis, debitis finibus deinceps mihi video disputandum; prius exponenda sunt, quantum operis hujus terminandi ratio patitur, argumenta mortalium, quibus sibi ipsi beatitudinem facere in hujus vitae infelicitate moliti sunt, ut ab eorum rebus vanis spes nostra quid differat, quam Deus nobis dedit, et res ipsa, hoc est vera beatitudo quam dabit, non tantum auctoritate divina, sed adhibita etiam ratione, qualem propter infideles possumus adhibere, clarescat. De finibus enim bonorum et malorum multa et multipliciter inter se philosophi disputarunt: quam quaestionem maxima intentione versantes, invenire conati sunt quid efficiat hominem beatum. Illud enim est finis boni nostri, propter quod appetenda sunt caetera, ipsum autem propter seipsum: et illud finis mali, propter quod vitanda sunt caetera, ipsum autem propter se ipsum. Finem ergo boni nunc dicimus, non quo consumatur, ut non sit, sed quo perficiatur, ut plenum sit; et finem mali, non quo esse desinat, sed quo usque nocendo perducat. Fines itaque isti sunt, summum bonum, et summum malum. De quibus inveniendis, atque in hac vita summo bono adipiscendo, vitando autem summo malo, multum, sicut dixi, laboraverunt, qui studium sapientiae in hujus saeculi vanitate professi sunt: nec tamen eos, quamvis diversis errantes modis naturae limes in tantum ab itinere veritatis deviare permisit, ut non alii in animo, alii in corpore, alii in utroque fines bonorum ponerent et malorum. Ex qua tripartita velut generalium distributione sectarum, Marcus Varro in libro de Philosophia tam multam dogmatum varietatem diligenter et subtiliter scrutatus advertit, ut ad ducentas octoginta octo sectas, non quae jam essent, sed quae esse possent, adhibens quasdam differentias, facillime perveniret.

BOOK NINETEEN.

In which the ends of both cities, the earthly and the heavenly, are discussed. The opinions of philosophers concerning the ends of goods and evils are reviewed, who in vain attempted to make beatitude for themselves in this life: while these are more elaborately refuted, it is demonstrated what the beatitude and peace of the heavenly city itself, or of the Christian people, is, and of what sort it may be had here, or may be hoped for in the future.

Chapter I.

That in the question which philosophical discussion has ventilated concerning the ends of goods and evils, Varro perceived that there could be two hundred and eighty-eight sects.

1. Since I see that I must next discuss the due ends of both cities, namely the earthly and the heavenly; first there must be set forth, as much as the plan of finishing this work allows, the arguments of mortals by which they attempted to make beatitude for themselves in the infelicity of this life, so that what our hope differs from their vain things, which hope God has given to us, and the thing itself, that is the true beatitude which He will give, may become clear, not only by divine authority, but also by applying such reason as we can apply on account of the infidels. For concerning the ends of goods and evils philosophers have discussed much and in many ways among themselves: turning this question with the greatest intention, they have attempted to find what makes a man blessed. For that is the end of our good, for the sake of which other things are to be desired, but itself for its own sake: and that the end of evil, for the sake of which other things are to be avoided, but itself for its own sake. The end of good, therefore, we now call, not that by which it is consumed, so that it should not be, but by which it is perfected, so that it should be full; and the end of evil, not by which it ceases to be, but how far it leads in harming. These ends therefore are the supreme good and the supreme evil. Concerning finding these, and attaining the supreme good in this life, but avoiding the supreme evil, those who have professed the study of wisdom in the vanity of this world have labored much, as I said: yet the limit of nature did not permit them, although wandering in diverse ways, to deviate so far from the journey of truth, but that some should place the ends of goods and evils in the mind, others in the body, others in both. From which tripartite distribution, as it were, of general sects, Marcus Varro in his book on Philosophy, having diligently and subtly scrutinized such a great variety of dogmas, noticed that he could very easily arrive at two hundred and eighty-eight sects, not which were already, but which could be, by applying certain differences.

2. Quod ut breviter ostendam, inde oportet incipiam, quod ipse advertit, et posuit in libro memorato: quatuor esse quaedam, quae homines sine magistro, sine ullo doctrinae adminiculo, sine industria vel arte vivendi, quae virtus dicitur, et procul dubio discitur, velut naturaliter appetunt; aut voluptatem, qua delectabiliter movetur corporis sensus; aut quietem, qua fit ut nullam molestiam quisque corporis patiatur; aut utramque, quam tamen uno nomine voluptatis Epicurus appellat; aut universaliter prima naturae, in quibus et haec sunt, et alia, vel in corpore, ut membrorum integritas, et salus atque incolumitas ejus; vel in animo, ut sunt ea quae vel parva, vel magna in hominum reperiuntur ingeniis. Haec igitur quatuor, id est, voluptas, quies, utrumque, prima naturae, ita sunt in nobis, ut vel virtus, quam postea doctrina inserit, propter haec appetenda sit, aut ista propter virtutem, aut utraque propter se ipsa: ac per hoc fiunt hinc duodecim sectae: per hanc enim rationem singulae triplicantur; quod cum in una demonstravero, difficile non erit id in caeteris invenire. Cum ergo voluptas corporis animi virtuti aut subditur, aut praefertur, aut jungitur, tripartita variatur diversitate sectarum. Subdur autem virtuti, quando in usum virtutis assumitur. Pertinet quippe ad virtutis officium, et vivere patriae, et propter patriam filios procreare: quorum neutrum fieri potest sine corporis voluptate. Nam sine illa nec cibus potusque sumitur, ut vivatur; nec concumbitur, ut generatio propagetur. Cum vero praefertur virtuti, ipsa appetitur propter se ipsam, virtus autem assumenda creditur propter illam, id est, ut nihil virtus agat, nisi ad consequendam vel conservandam corporis voluptatem: quae vita deformis est quidem, quippe ubi virtus servit dominae voluptati; quamvis nullo modo haec dicenda sit virtus: sed tamen etiam istahorribilis turpitudo quosdam philosophos patronos et defensores suos habuit. Virtuti porro voluptas jungitur, quando neutra earum propter alteram, sed propter se ipsas ambae appetuntur. Quapropter sicut voluptas vel subdita, vel praelata, vel juncta virtuti, tres sectas facit; ita quies, ita utrumque, ita prima naturae alias ternas inveniuntur efficere. Pro varietate quippe humanarum opinionum virtuti aliquando subduntur, aliquando praeferuntur, aliquando junguntur, ac sic ad duodenarium sectarum numerum pervenitur. Sed iste quoque numerus duplicatur adhibita una differentia, socialis videlicet vitae: quoniam quisquis sectatur aliquam istarum duodecim sectarum, profecto aut propter se tantum id agit, aut etiam propter socium, cui debet hoc velle quod sibi. Quocirca duodecim sunt eorum, qui propter se tantum unamquamque tenendam putant; et aliae duodecim eorum, qui non solum propter se sic vel sic philosophandum esse decernunt, sed etiam propter alios, quorum bonum appetunt sicut suum. Hae autem sectae viginti quatuor iterum geminantur, addita differentia ex Academicis novis, et fiunt quadraginta octo.

2. That I may briefly show this, I must begin from thence, which he himself noticed, and placed in the mentioned book: that there are four certain things which men, without a teacher, without any support of doctrine, without industry or the art of living, which is called virtue, and is beyond doubt learned, desire as it were naturally; either pleasure, by which the sense of the body is delectably moved; or repose, by which it happens that each one suffers no molestation of body; or both, which nevertheless Epicurus calls by the one name of pleasure; or universally the primary natural goods, in which are both these and others, either in the body, as the integrity of the members, and its health and safety; or in the mind, as are those things which are found either small or great in the geniuses of men. These four therefore, that is, pleasure, repose, both, the primary natural goods, are so in us, that either virtue, which doctrine afterwards inserts, is to be desired for the sake of these, or these for the sake of virtue, or both for their own sake: and through this there arise from hence twelve sects: for by this reason each one is tripled; which when I shall have demonstrated in one, it will not be difficult to find it in the rest. When therefore the pleasure of the body is either subjected to the virtue of the mind, or preferred, or joined to it, it is varied by a tripartite diversity of sects. But it is subjected to virtue when it is assumed for the use of virtue. For it pertains to the office of virtue both to live for one's country, and to procreate children for the sake of one's country: neither of which can be done without pleasure of the body. For without it neither food nor drink is taken that one may live; nor is there cohabitation that generation may be propagated. But when it is preferred to virtue, it is desired for its own sake, but virtue is believed to be assumed for its sake, that is, that virtue should do nothing except for the attaining or conserving the pleasure of the body: which life is indeed deformed, where virtue serves mistress pleasure; although in no way is this to be called virtue: but nevertheless even that horrible turpitude has had some philosophers as its patrons and defenders. Furthermore, pleasure is joined to virtue when neither of them is desired for the sake of the other, but both are desired for their own sake. Wherefore as pleasure either subjected, or preferred, or joined to virtue, makes three sects; so repose, so both, so the primary natural goods are found to effect three others each. For according to the variety of human opinions they are sometimes subjected to virtue, sometimes preferred, sometimes joined, and thus one arrives at the duodenary number of twelve sects. But this number also is doubled by applying one difference, namely that of social life: since whoever follows any of these twelve sects, surely does it either for himself alone, or also for the sake of a companion, to whom he ought to will this which he wills for himself. Wherefore there are twelve of those who think each one is to be held for oneself alone; and another twelve of those who decree that one must philosophize in this way or that not only for oneself, but also for others, whose good they desire as their own. But these twenty-four sects are again doubled, a difference being added from the New Academics, and they become forty-eight.

Illarum quippe viginti quatuor unamquamque sectarum potest quisque sic tenere ac defendere ut certam, quemadmodum defenderunt Stoici, quod hominis bonum, quo beatus esset, in animi tantummodo virtute consisteret: potest alius ut incertam, sicut defenderunt Academici novi, quod eis etsi non certum, tamen verisimile videbatur. Viginti quatuor ergo fiunt per eos, qui eas velut certas propter veritatem, et aliae viginti quatuor per eos, qui easdem quamvis incertas propter verisimilitudinem sequendas putant. Rursus, quia unamquamque istarum quadraginta octo sectarum potest quisque sequi habitu caeterorum philosophorum, itemque potest alius habitu Cynicorum, ex hac etiam differentia duplicantur, et nonaginta sex fiunt. Deinde quia earum singulas quasque ita tueri homines possunt atque sectari, ut aut otiosam diligant vitam, sicut hi qui tantummodo studiis doctrinae vacare voluerunt atque valuerunt; aut negotiosam, sicut hi qui cum philosopharentur, tamen administratione reipublicae regendisque rebus humanis occupatissimi fuerunt; aut ex utroque genere temperatam, sicut hi qui partim erudito otio, partim necessario negotio, alternantia vitae suae tempora tribuerunt: propter has differentias potest etiam triplicari numerus iste sectarum, et ad ducentas octoginta octo perduci.

3. Haec de Varronis libro, quantum potui, breviter ac dilucide posui, sententias ejus meis explicans verbis. Quomodo autem refutatis caeteris unam eligat, quam vult esse Academicorum veterum, quos a Platone institutos usque ad Polemonem, qui ab illo quartus ejus scholam tenuit, quae Academia dicta est, habuisse certa dogmata vult videri; et ob hoc distinguit ab Academicis novis, quibus incerta sunt omnia, quod philosophiae genus ab Arcesila coepit successore Polemonis ; eamque sectam, id est veterum Academicorum, sicut dubitatione ita omni errore carere arbitretur, longum est per omnia demonstrare: nec tamen omni ex parte res omittenda est. Removet ergo prius illas omnes differentias, quae numerum multiplicavere sectarum: quas ideo removendas putat, quia non in eis est finis boni. Neque enim existimat ullam philosophiae sectam esse dicendam, quae non eo distet a caeteris, quod diversos habeat fines bonorum et malorum. Quandoquidem nulla est homini causa philosophandi, nisi ut beatus sit: quod autem beatum facit, ipse est finis boni: nulla est igitur causa philosophandi, nisi finis boni: quamobrem quae nullum boni finem sectatur, nulla philosophiae secta dicenda est.

For each one of those twenty-four sects one can hold and defend as certain, as the Stoics defended that the good of man, by which he should be blessed, consisted only in the virtue of the mind: another can hold it as uncertain, as the New Academics defended, because it seemed to them if not certain, yet probable. Twenty-four therefore arise from those who follow them as if certain for the sake of truth, and another twenty-four from those who think the same are to be followed, although uncertain, for the sake of probability. Again, because each one of these forty-eight sects one can follow in the habit of the other philosophers, and likewise another can follow in the habit of the Cynics, from this difference also they are doubled, and become ninety-six. Then because each of these single sects men can so protect and follow, that they either love a leisurely life, as those who willed and were able to be at leisure only for the studies of doctrine; or a busy life, as those who when they philosophized, were yet most occupied in the administration of the republic and the governing of human affairs; or a life tempered from both kinds, as those who attributed alternating times of their life partly to learned leisure, partly to necessary business: on account of these differences this number of sects can also be tripled, and be led to two hundred and eighty-eight.

3. I have set these things down from Varro's book as briefly and clearly as I could, explaining his opinions in my own words. However, it would be a long task to demonstrate in detail how, having refuted the others, he chooses one sect, which he wishes to be that of the Old Academics, whom he wants to appear as having held certain dogmas from the time of their institution by Plato down to Polemo, who was the fourth from him to hold his school, which was called the Academy; and for this reason he distinguishes them from the New Academics, for whom all things are uncertain, which kind of philosophy began from Arcesilaus, the successor of Polemo; and why he considers that sect—that is, the Old Academics—to be free from error just as it is free from doubt. Nevertheless, the matter must not be entirely omitted in every part. He first removes all those differences that multiplied the number of sects: which he thinks ought to be removed because the end of the good is not in them. For he does not think that any sect of philosophy should be so called which does not differ from the rest in having diverse ends of goods and evils. Since there is no cause for a man to philosophize except that he may be happy; and that which makes him happy is the end of the good itself: there is therefore no cause for philosophizing except the end of the good: wherefore that which follows no end of the good is to be called no sect of philosophy.

Cum ergo quaeritur de sociali vita, utrum sit tenenda sapienti, ut summum bonum, quo fit homo beatus, ita velit et curet amici sui, quemadmodum suum, an suae tantummodo beatitudinis causa faciat quidquid facit; non de ipso summo bono quaestio est, sed de assumendo vel non assumendo socio ad hujus participationem boni, non propter se ipsum, sed propter eumdem socium, ut ejus bono ita gaudeat, sicut gaudet suo. Item cum quaeritur de Academicis novis, quibus incerta sunt omnia, utrum ita sint res habendae, in quibus philosophandum est, an, sicut aliis philosophis placuit certas eas habere debeamus; non quaeritur quid in boni fine sectandum sit, sed de ipsius boni veritate, quod sectandum videtur, utrum sit, necne, dubitandum: hoc est, ut id planius eloquar, utrum ita sectandum sit, ut qui sectatur, dicat esse verum; an ita, ut qui sectatur, dicat verum sibi videri, etiamsi forte sit falsum; tamen uterque sectetur unum atque idem bonum. In illa etiam differentia quae adhibetur ex habitu et consuetudine Cynicorum, non quaeritur quisnam sit finis boni, sed utrum in illo habitu et consuetudine sit vivendum ei, qui verum sectatur bonum, quodlibet ei verum videatur esse atque sectandum. Denique fuerunt, qui cum diversa sequerentur bona finalia, alii virtutem, alii voluptatem, eumdem tamen habitum et consuetudinem tenebant, ex qua Cynici appellabantur. Ita illud quidquid est, unde philosophi Cynici discernuntur a caeteris, ad eligendum ac tenendum bonum, quo beati fierent, utique nil valebat. Nam si aliquid ad hoc interesset, profecto idem habitus eumdem finem sequi cogeret, et diversus habitus eumdem sequi finem non sineret.

Caput II.

Quomodo, remotis omnibus differentiis, quae non sectae, sed quaestiones sunt, ad tripartitam summi boni definitionem Varro perveniat, quarum tamen una sit eligenda.

In tribus quoque illis vitae generibus, uno scilicet non segniter, sed in contemplatione vel inquisitione veritatis otioso, altero in gerendis rebus humanis negotioso, tertio ex utroque genere temperato, cum quaeritur quid horum sit potius eligendum, non finis boni habet controversiam; sed quid horum trium difficultatem vel facilitatem afferat ad consequendum vel retinendum finem boni, id in ista quaestione versatur. Finis enim boni, cum ad eum quisque pervenerit, protinus beatum facit.

When, therefore, it is asked concerning the social life, whether it should be held by the wise man, so that he should will and care for the highest good, by which a man becomes happy, for his friend just as for himself, or whether he should do whatever he does only for the sake of his own happiness; the question is not about the highest good itself, but about the assuming or not assuming of a companion for the participation of this good, not for its own sake, but for the sake of the companion, that he may so rejoice in his good as he rejoices in his own. Likewise, when it is asked concerning the New Academics, for whom all things are uncertain, whether matters in which philosophy must be practiced are to be held so, or whether, as it pleased other philosophers, we ought to have them certain; the question is not what is to be followed as the end of the good, but concerning the truth of the good itself, which seems to be followed, whether it is to be doubted or not. That is, to speak more plainly, whether it should be so followed that he who follows it says it is true; or so that he who follows it says it seems true to him, even if by chance it be false; yet each follows one and the same good. In that difference also which is applied from the habit and custom of the Cynics, it is not asked what the end of the good is, but whether one who follows the true good ought to live in that habit and custom, whatever true good seems to him to be followed. Finally, there were some who, though they followed diverse final goods, some virtue, others pleasure, yet held the same habit and custom, from which they were called Cynics. Thus, whatever that is from which the Cynic philosophers are discerned from the rest, it certainly availed nothing toward choosing and holding the good by which they might become happy. For if it were of any concern to this end, surely the same habit would compel them to follow the same end, and a diverse habit would not permit them to follow the same end.

Chapter II.

How, having removed all the differences which are not sects but questions, Varro reaches the tripartite definition of the highest good, of which one must nonetheless be chosen.

In those three kinds of life also—the one, forsooth, not sluggishly but in the contemplation or investigation of truth, leisurely; the other in the management of human affairs, busy; the third tempered from both kinds—when it is asked which of these is rather to be chosen, it is not the end of the good that has the controversy; but what of these three brings difficulty or facility to the attaining or retaining of the end of the good, is that which is involved in that question. For the end of the good, when anyone has reached it, immediately makes him happy.

In otio autem litterato, vel in negotio publico, vel quando utrumque vicibus agitur, non continuo quisque beatus est. Multi quippe in quolibet horum trium possunt vivere, et in appetendo boni fine quo fit homo beatus, errare. Alia est igitur quaestio de finibus bonorum et malorum, quae unamquamque philosophorum sectam facit: et aliae sunt quaestiones de sociali vita, de cunctatione Academicorum, de vestitu et victu Cynicorum, de tribus vitae generibus, otioso, actuoso, et ex utroque modificato; quarum nulla est, in qua de bonorum et malorum finibus disputatur. Proinde quoniam Marcus Varro has quatuor adhibens differentias, id est, ex vita sociali, ex Academicis novis, ex Cynicis, ex isto vitae genere tripartito ad sectas ducentas octoginta octo pervenit, et si quae aliae possunt similiter adjici; remotis eis omnibus, quoniam de sectando summo bono nullam inferunt quaestionem, et ideo sectae nec sunt, nec vocandae sunt, ad illas duodecim, in quibus quaeritur quid sit bonum hominis, quo assecuto fit beatus, ut ex eis unam veram, caeteras falsas ostendat esse, revertitur. Nam remoto illo tripartito genere vitae, duae partes hujus numeri detrahuntur, et sectae nonaginta sex remanent. Remota vero differentia ex Cynicis addita, ad dimidium rediguntur, et quadraginta octo fiunt. Auferamus etiam quod ex Academicis novis adhibitum est, rursus dimidia pars remanet, id est viginti quatuor. De sociali quoque vita quod accesserat, similiter auferatur, duodecim sunt reliquae, quas ista differentia, ut viginti quatuor fierent, duplicaverat. De his ergo duodecim nihil dici potest, cur sectae non sint habendae. Nihil quippe aliud in eis quaeritur, quam fines bonorum et malorum. Inventis autem bonorum finibus, profecto e contrario sunt malorum. Hae autem ut fiant duodecim sectae, illa quatuor triplicantur, voluptas, quies, utrumque, et prima naturae, quae primigenia Varro vocat . Haec quippe quatuor dum singillatim virtuti aliquando subduntur, ut non propter se ipsa, sed propter officium virtutis appetenda videantur, aliquando praeferuntur, ut non propter se ipsa, sed propter haec adipiscenda vel conservanda necessaria virtus putetur, aliquando jungitur, ut propter se ipsa et virtus, et ista appetenda credantur; quaternarium numerum triplum reddunt, et ad duodecim sectas perveniunt. Ex illis autem quatuor rebus Varro tres tollit, voluptatem scilicet, et quietem, et utrumque: non quod eas improbet, sed quod primigenia illa naturae et voluptatem in se habeant, et quietem. Quid ergo opus est ex his duabus tria quaedam facere, duo scilicet, dum singillatim appetuntur voluptas aut quies, et tertium, cum ambae simul; quandoquidem prima naturae et ipsas, et praeter ipsas alia multa contineant? De tribus ergo sectis ei placet diligenter esse tractandum, quaenam sit potius eligenda.

But in a lettered leisure, or in public business, or when both are done by turns, not everyone is straightway happy. For many, indeed, in any of these three can live and yet err in seeking the end of the good by which a man is made happy. Therefore, the question about the ends of goods and evils, which makes each sect of the philosophers, is one thing; and other are the questions about the social life, about the hesitation of the Academics, about the dress and food of the Cynics, about the three kinds of life, the leisurely, the active, and that modified from both; in none of which is the dispute about the ends of goods and evils. Wherefore, since Marcus Varro, applying these four differences—that is, from the social life, from the New Academics, from the Cynics, from that tripartite kind of life—reached two hundred and eighty-eight sects, and if any others can be added in like manner; having removed them all, since they bring in no question concerning the seeking of the highest good, and therefore are not sects, nor are to be called such, he returns to those twelve in which it is asked what is the good of man, which being attained he becomes happy, so that from them he may show one to be true and the others false. For when that tripartite kind of life is removed, two parts of this number are withdrawn, and ninety-six sects remain. But when the difference added from the Cynics is removed, they are reduced to half, and become forty-eight. Let us take away also what was applied from the New Academics, and again half the part remains, that is, twenty-four. Concerning the social life also, let that which had been added be similarly taken away, and there are twelve remaining, which that difference had doubled so that they became twenty-four. Concerning these twelve, therefore, nothing can be said why they should not be held as sects. For nothing else is sought in them than the ends of goods and evils. For the ends of goods being found, those of evils are surely on the contrary. Now, that these twelve sects may be formed, those four are tripled: pleasure, repose, both, and the primary goods of nature, which Varro calls primordial. For these four, while they are sometimes subordinated to virtue singly, so that they seem to be sought not for their own sake but for the sake of the duty of virtue; sometimes are preferred, so that virtue is thought necessary not for its own sake but for the sake of attaining or preserving these; sometimes are joined, so that both virtue and these are believed to be sought for their own sake; they make the fourfold number triple, and reach twelve sects. But from those four things Varro removes three, namely, pleasure, and repose, and both: not that he disapproves of them, but because those primordial goods of nature have both pleasure in themselves and repose. What need is there, then, to make three certain things out of these two—namely, two while pleasure or repose are sought singly, and a third when both together—since the primary goods of nature contain both them and many other things besides them? Concerning three sects, therefore, it pleases him to treat diligently, which one is rather to be chosen.

Non enim veram plus quam unam vera ratio esse permittit, sive in his tribus sit, sive alicubi alibi, quod post videbimus. Interim de his tribus quomodo unam Varro eligat, quantum breviter aperteque possumus, disseramus. Istae nempe tres sectae ita fiunt, cum vel prima naturae propter virtutem, vel virtus propter prima naturae, vel utraque, id est, et virtus et prima naturae, propter se ipsa sunt expetenda.

Caput III.

De tribus sectis summum hominis bonum quaerentibus, quam eligendam Varro definiat, sequens veteris Academiae, Antiocho auctore, sententiam.

1. Quid ergo istorum trium sit verum atque sectandum, isto modo persuadere conatur. Primum, quia summum bonum in philosophia non arboris, non pecoris, non dei, sed hominis quaeritur, quid sit ipse homo, quaerendum putat. Sentit quippe in ejus natura duo esse quaedam, corpus et animam: et horum quidem duorum melius esse animam longeque praestabilius omnino non dubitat; sed utrum anima sola sit homo, ut ita sit ei corpus tanquam equus equiti . Eques enim non homo et equus, sed solus homo est: ideo tamen eques dicitur, quod aliquo modo se habeat ad equum. An corpus solum sit homo, aliquo modo se habens ad animam, sicut poculum ad potionem: non enim calix et potio, quam continet calix, simul dicitur poculum, sed calix solus; ideo tamen quod potioni continendae sit accommodatus. An vero nec anima sola, nec solum corpus, sed simul utrumque sit homo, cujus pars sit una sive anima sive corpus, ille autem totus ex utroque constet, ut homo sit: sicut duos equos junctos bigas vocamus, quorum sive dexter, sive sinister, pars est bigarum, unum vero eorum quoquo modo se habeat ad alterum, bigas non dicimus, sed ambos simul. Horum autem trium hoc eligit tertium, hominemque nec animam solam, nec solum corpus, sed animam simul et corpus esse arbitratur. Proinde summum bonum hominis, quo fit beatus, ex utriusque rei bonis constare dicit, et animae scilicet et corporis. Ac per hoc prima illa naturae propter se ipsa existimat expetenda, ipsamque virtutem quam doctrina inserit velut artem vivendi, quae in animae bonis est excellentissimum bonum.

For true reason does not permit more than one to be true, whether it be in these three, or somewhere else, as we shall see later. Meanwhile, let us discuss how Varro chooses one from these three, as briefly and clearly as we can. These three sects, namely, are thus formed: when either the primary goods of nature are to be sought for the sake of virtue, or virtue for the sake of the primary goods of nature, or both—that is, both virtue and the primary goods of nature—for their own sake.

Chapter III.

Concerning the three sects seeking the highest good of man, which one Varro defines as to be chosen, following the opinion of the Old Academy, on the authority of Antiochus.

1. Which of these three, then, is true and to be followed, he endeavors to persuade in this way. First, because the highest good in philosophy is sought not for a tree, not for a beast, not for a god, but for man, he thinks it must be asked what man himself is. He perceives, indeed, that in his nature there are two certain things, body and soul: and of these two he does not at all doubt that the soul is better and by far more excellent; but whether the soul alone is man, so that the body is to it as a horse to a rider. For the rider is not man and horse, but man alone: yet he is called a rider because he stands in some relation to the horse. Or whether the body alone is man, having some relation to the soul, as a cup to a drink: for the chalice and the drink which the chalice contains are not together called the cup, but the chalice alone; yet because it is adapted to contain the drink. Or whether, indeed, neither the soul alone nor the body alone, but both together be man, of whom one part is either soul or body, but he whole consists of both, so that he may be man: as we call two horses joined together a chariot (bigae), of which either the right or the left is a part of the chariot, but one of them in whatever relation it stands to the other, we do not call a chariot, but both together. But of these three he chooses this third, and considers man to be neither the soul alone, nor the body alone, but the soul and body together. Therefore, he says that the highest good of man, by which he becomes happy, consists of the goods of both things, namely, of the soul and of the body. And through this he considers that those primary goods of nature are to be sought for their own sake, and virtue itself, which instruction inserts as it were an art of living, which is the most excellent good in the goods of the soul.

Quapropter eadem virtus, id est ars agendae vitae, cum acceperit prima naturae, quae sine illa erant, sed tamen erant etiam quando eis doctrina adhuc deerat, omnia propter se ipsam appetit, simulque etiam se ipsam: omnibus que simul et se ipsa utitur, eo fine ut omnibus delectetur atque perfruatur, magis minusque, ut quaeque inter se majora atque minora sunt, tamen omnibus gaudens, et quaedam minora, si necessitas postulat, propter majora vel adipiscenda vel tenenda, contemnens. Omnium autem bonorum vel animi vel corporis, nihil sibi virtus omnino praeponit. Haec enim bene utitur et se ipsa, et caeteris, quae hominem faciunt beatum, bonis. Ubi vero ipsa non est, quamlibet multa sint bona, non bono ejus sunt , cujus sunt; ac per hoc jam nec ejus bona dicenda sunt, cui male utenti utilia esse non possunt. Haec ergo vita hominis, quae virtute et aliis animi et corporis bonis, sine quibus virtus esse non potest, fruitur, beata esse dicitur: si vero et aliis, sine quibus esse virtus potest, vel ullis, vel pluribus, beatior: si autem prorsus omnibus, ut nullum omnino bonum desit, vel animi vel corporis, beatissima. Non enim hoc est vita, quod virtus; quoniam non omnis vita, sed sapiens vita virtus est: et tamen qualiscumque vita sine ulla virtute potest esse; virtus vero sine ulla vita non potest esse. Hoc et de memoria dixerim atque ratione, et si quid aliud tale est in homine. Sunt enim haec et ante doctrinam, sine his autem non potest esse ulla doctrina: ac per hoc nec virtus, quae utique discitur. Bene autem currere, pulchrum esse corpore, viribus ingentibus praevalere, et caetera hujusmodi talia sunt, ut et virtus sine his esse possit, et ipsa sine virtute: bona sunt tamen; et secundum istos etiam ipsa propter se ipsam diligit virtus, utiturque illis et fruitur, sicut virtutem decet.

2. Hanc vitam beatam etiam socialem perhibent esse, quae amicorum bona propter se ipsa diligat sicut sua, eisque propter ipsos hoc velit quod sibi; sive in domo sint, sicut conjux et liberi et quicumque domestici; sive in loco, ubi domus ejus est, sicuti est urbs, ut sunt hi qui cives vocantur; sive in toto orbe, ut sunt gentes, quas ei societas humana conjungit; sive in ipso mundo, qui censetur nomine coeli et terrae, sicut esse dicunt deos, quos volunt amicos esse homini sapienti, quos nos familiarius Angelos dicimus.

Wherefore the same virtue—that is, the art of conduct of life—when it has received the primary goods of nature, which were without it, but yet were even when instruction was still lacking to them, seeks all things for its own sake, and at the same time also itself: and it uses all things together and itself, for this end that it may be delighted and enjoy all things, more or less, as they are greater or less among themselves, yet rejoicing in all, and contemning some smaller things, if necessity demands, for the sake of attaining or holding greater things. But above all goods, whether of the mind or of the body, virtue places nothing at all above itself. For it uses well both itself and the rest of the goods which make a man happy. But where it is not itself, however many goods there may be, they are not for the good of him whose they are; and through this they are no longer to be called his goods, since they cannot be useful to him who uses them badly. This life of man, therefore, which enjoys virtue and other goods of the mind and body, without which virtue cannot be, is said to be happy: but if also others, without which virtue can be, whether some or many, it is happier: but if indeed all, so that no good at all is lacking, whether of the mind or of the body, it is most happy. For life is not the same as virtue; since not every life, but a wise life is virtue: and yet a life of whatever kind can be without any virtue; but virtue cannot be without any life. This also I would say of memory and reason, and if there is anything else such in man. For these are present even before instruction, and without these there can be no instruction: and through this neither virtue, which is surely learned. But to run well, to be beautiful in body, to prevail with huge strength, and other such things are such that virtue can be without them, and they without virtue: yet they are goods; and according to these even virtue loves them for their own sake, and uses and enjoys them, as becomes virtue.

2. They also maintain that this happy life is social, which loves the goods of friends for their own sake just as its own, and wills for them for their own sake that which it wills for itself; whether they be in the home, as a spouse and children and any domestics; or in the place where his house is, as is the city, such as those who are called citizens; or in the whole world, as are the nations, which human society joins to him; or in the world itself, which is reckoned by the name of heaven and earth, as they say the gods are, whom they wish to be friends to the wise man, whom we more familiarly call Angels.

De bonorum autem et e contrario malorum finibus negant ullo modo esse dubitandum, et hanc inter se et novos Academicos affirmant esse distantiam, nec eorum interest quidquam, sive cynico, sive alio quolibet habitu et victu in his finibus, quos veros putant, quisque philosophetur. Ex tribus porro illis vitae generibus, otioso, aetuoso, et quod ex utroque compositum est, hoc tertium sibi placere asseverant. Haec sensisse atque docuisse Academicos veteres, Varro asserit, auctore Antiocho, magistro Ciceronis et suo, quem sane Cicero in pluribus fuisse Stoicum, quam veterem Academicum vult videri . Sed quid ad nos, qui potius de rebus ipsis judicare debemus, quam pro magno de hominibus quid quisque senserit scire?

Caput IV.

De summo bono et summo malo quid Christiani sentiant contra philosophos, qui summum bonum in se sibi esse dixerunt.

1. Si ergo quaeratur a nobis, quid civitas Dei de his singulis interrogata respondeat, ac primum de finibus bonorum malorumque quid sentiat, respondebit aeternam vitam esse summum bonum, aeternam vero mortem summum malum: propter illam proinde adipiscendam, istamque vitandam, recte nobis esse vivendum. Propter quod scriptum est, Justus ex fide vivit (Habacuc II, 4; Galat. III, 11): quoniam neque bonum nostrum jam videmus, unde oportet ut credendo quaeramus; neque ipsum recte vivere nobis ex nobis est, nisi credentes adjuvet et orantes, qui et ipsam fidem dedit, qua nos ab illo adjuvandos esse credamus. Illi autem qui in ista vita fines bonorum et malorum esse putaverunt, sive in corpore, sive in animo, sive in utroque ponentes summum bonum; atque, ut id explicatius eloquar, sive in voluptate, sive in virtute, sive in utraque; sive in quiete, sive in virtute, sive in utraque; sive in voluptate simul et quiete, sive in virtute, sive in utrisque; sive in primis naturae, sive in virtute, sive in utrisque: hic beati esse, et a se ipsis beati fieri mira vanitate voluerunt. Irrisit hos Veritas per prophetam dicentem, Novit Dominus cogitationes hominum; vel, sicut hoc testimonium posuit apostolus Paulus, Dominus novit cogitationes sapientium, quoniam vanae sunt (Psal. XCIII, 11; I Cor. III, 20).

2. Quis enim sufficit, quantovis eloquentiae flumine, vitae hujus miserias explicare? Quam lamentatus est Cicero in Consolatione de morte filiae, sicut potuit: sed quantum est quod potuit? Ea quippe quae dicuntur prima naturae, quando, ubi, quomodo tam bene se habere in hac vita possunt, ut non sub incertis casibus fluctuent? Quis enim dolor contrarius voluptati, quae inquietudo contraria quieti, in corpus cadere sapientis non potest?

But concerning the ends of goods and on the contrary of evils, they say there is no way to doubt, and they affirm that this is the distance between themselves and the New Academics; nor does it matter anything to them whether anyone philosophizes in a Cynic or in any other habit and way of life in these ends which they think are true. Furthermore, of those three kinds of life, the leisurely, the active, and that which is composed of both, they assert that this third pleases them. Varro asserts that the Old Academics thought and taught these things, on the authority of Antiochus, the master of Cicero and himself, whom indeed Cicero wishes to appear to have been more of a Stoic in many things than an Old Academic. But what is that to us, who ought rather to judge of the things themselves, than to know for a great matter what each one thought concerning men?

Chapter IV.

What Christians think concerning the highest good and the highest evil against the philosophers, who said the highest good was in themselves to themselves.

1. If, therefore, it be asked of us what the City of God, being interrogated concerning each of these, would answer, and first what it thinks concerning the ends of goods and evils, it will answer that eternal life is the highest good, and eternal death the highest evil: that for the sake of attaining the one, and avoiding the other, we ought to live rightly. For which cause it is written: "The just man lives by faith" (Hab. ii. 4; Gal. iii. 11): since we do not yet see our good, whence it is necessary that we seek it by believing; nor is the living rightly itself from ourselves to us, unless He who gave the faith itself, by which we believe we are to be helped by Him, helps us in believing and praying. But those who thought that the ends of goods and evils were in this life, placing the highest good either in the body, or in the mind, or in both; and, that I may speak it more explicitly, either in pleasure, or in virtue, or in both; or in repose, or in virtue, or in both; or in pleasure and repose together, or in virtue, or in both; or in the primary goods of nature, or in virtue, or in both: these willed with a wonderful vanity to be happy here, and to be made happy from themselves. Truth derided these by the prophet saying: "The Lord knows the thoughts of men;" or, as the apostle Paul has placed this testimony: "The Lord knows the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain" (Ps. xciii. 11; I Cor. iii. 20).

2. For who is sufficient, with however great a river of eloquence, to explain the miseries of this life? Which Cicero lamented in his Consolation on the death of his daughter, as he could: but how much is it that he could? For those things which are called the primary goods of nature, when, where, how can they be so well in this life that they do not fluctuate under uncertain accidents? For what pain contrary to pleasure, what disquiet contrary to repose, can not fall into the body of the wise man?

Membrorum certe amputatio vel debilitas hominis expugnat incolumitatem, deformitas pulchritudinem, imbecillitas sanitatem, vires lassitudo, mobilitatem torpor, aut tarditas: ecquid horum est, quod nequeat in carnem sapientis irruere? Status quoque corporis atque motus, cum decentes atque congruentes sunt, inter naturae prima numerantur: sed quid si aliqua mala valetudo membra tremore concutiat? quid si usque ad ponendas in terram manus dorsi spina curvetur, et hominem quodammodo quadrupedem faciat? nonne omnem statuendi corporis et movendi speciem decusque pervertet? Quid ipsius animi primigenia quae appellantur bona, ubi duo prima ponunt propter comprehensionem perceptionemque veritatis, sensum et intellectum? Sed qualis quantusque remanet sensus, si, ut alia taceam, fiat homo surdus et caecus? Ratio vero et intelligentia quo recedet, ubi sopietur, si aliquo morbo efficiatur insanus? Phrenetici multa absurda cum dicunt, vel faciunt, plerumque a bono suo proposito et moribus aliena, imo suo bono proposito moribusque contraria, sive illa cogitemus, sive videamus, si digne consideremus, lacrymas tenere vix possumus, aut forte nec possumus . Quid dicam de his, qui daemonum patiuntur incursus? ubi habent absconditam vel obrutam intelligentiam suam, quando secundum suam voluntatem et anima eorum et corpore malignus utitur spiritus? Et quis confidit hoc malum in hac vita evenire non posse sapienti? Deinde perceptio veritatis in hac carne qualis aut quanta est, quando, sicut legimus in veraci libro Sapientiae, Corpus corruptibile aggravat animam, et deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem (Sap. IX, 15)? Impetus porro vel actionis appetitus, si hoc modo recte latine appellatur ea quam Graeci vocant ὁρμήν, quia et ipsam primis naturae deputant bonis , nonne ipse est, quo geruntur etiam insanorum illi miserabiles motus, et facta quae horremus, quando pervertitur sensus ratioque sopitur?

3. Porro ipsa virtus, quae non est inter prima naturae, quoniam eis postea doctrina introducente supervenit, cum sibi bonorum culmen vindicet humanorum, quid hic agit nisi perpetua bella cum vitiis, nec exterioribus, sed interioribus; nec alienis, sed plane nostris et propriis; maxime illa, quae graece σωφροσύνη, latine temperantia nominatur, qua carnales frenantur libidines, ne in quaeque flagitia mentem consentientem trahant? Neque enim nullum est vitium, cum, sicut dicit Apostolus, Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum: cui vitio contraria virtus est, cum, sicut idem dicit, Spiritus concupiscit adversus carnem. Haec enim, inquit, invicem adversantur; ut non ea quae vultis faciatis (Galat. V, 17). Quid autem facere volumus, cum perfici volumus finem summi boni, nisi ut caro adversus spiritum non concupiscat, nec sit in nobis hoc vitium, contra quod spiritus concupiscat?

Surely the amputation or weakness of the members expels soundness, deformity expels beauty, weakness expels health, weariness expels strength, torpor or slowness expels mobility: is there any of these which cannot rush into the flesh of the wise man? The state also of the body and its motion, when they are becoming and congruent, are numbered among the first goods of nature: but what if some ill health should shake the members with a tremor? what if the spine of the back should be curved even to placing the hands on the ground, and make a man in some way a quadruped? will it not pervert all the appearance and grace of the body's posture and motion? What of the primordial goods of the mind itself which are so called, where they place the first two on account of the comprehension and perception of truth, sense and intellect? But what kind and how great a sense remains if, to say nothing of other things, a man becomes deaf and blind? Where will reason and intelligence recede, where will they be lulled to sleep, if he be made insane by some disease? When phrenetics say or do many absurd things, for the most part alien to their good purpose and character, nay contrary to their own good purpose and character, whether we think on those things or see them, if we consider them worthily, we can scarcely hold back our tears, or perhaps we cannot. What shall I say of those who suffer the incursions of demons? where have they their intelligence hidden or overwhelmed, when the malignant spirit uses both their soul and body according to his own will? And who confides that this evil cannot happen in this life to the wise man? Then what or how great is the perception of truth in this flesh, when, as we read in the true book of Wisdom: "The corruptible body weighs down the soul, and the earthly habitation depresses the sense musing on many things" (Wisd. ix. 15)? Furthermore, the impulse or appetite for action—if this is the right Latin name for that which the Greeks call hormē, since they also depute it to the first goods of nature—is it not that very thing by which those miserable motions of the insane are carried on, and deeds which we abhor, when sense is perverted and reason is lulled to sleep?

3. Furthermore, virtue itself, which is not among the primary goods of nature, since it supervenes upon them later by the introduction of instruction, although it claims for itself the summit of human goods, what does it do here but wage perpetual wars with vices, not external, but internal; not alien, but plainly our own and proper to us; especially that which is called sōphrosynē in Greek and temperance in Latin, by which carnal lusts are curbed, lest they drag the consenting mind into various shameful deeds? For it is not no vice when, as the Apostle says, "The flesh lusts against the spirit" (Gal. v. 17): to which vice virtue is contrary, when, as the same says, "The spirit lusts against the flesh." "For these," he says, "are contrary to one another; so that you do not do the things that you want" (Gal. v. 17). But what do we want to do, when we want to fulfill the end of the highest good, but that the flesh should not lust against the spirit, and that this vice should not be in us, against which the spirit lusts?

Quod in hac vita quamvis velimus, quoniam facere non valemus, id saltem in adjutorio Dei faciamus, ne carni concupiscenti adversus spiritum, spiritu succumbente cedamus, et ad perpetrandum peccatum nostra consensione pertrahamur. Absit ergo ut, quamdiu in hoc bello intestino sumus, jam nos beatitudinem, ad quam vincendo volumus pervenire, adeptos esse credamus. Et quis est usque adeo sapiens, ut contra libidines nullum habeat omnino conflictum?

4. Quid illa virtus, quae prudentia dicitur? nonne tota vigilantia sua bona discernit a malis, ut in illis appetendis istisque vitandis nullus error obrepat? Ac per hoc et ipsa nos in malis, vel mala in nobis esse testatur. Ipsa enim docet nos, malum esse ad peccandum consentire, bonumque esse ad peccandum non consentire libidini. Illud tamen malum, cui nos non consentire docet prudentia, facit temperantia, nec prudentia, nec temperantia tollit huic vitae. Quid justitia, cujus munus est sua cuique tribuere (unde fit in ipso homine quidam justus ordo naturae, ut anima subdatur Deo et animae caro, ac per hoc Deo et anima et caro), nonne demonstrat in eo se adhuc opere laborare potius, quam in hujus operis jam fine requiescere? Tanto quippe minus anima subditur Deo, quanto minus Deum in ipsis suis cogitationibus concipit; et tanto minus animae subditur caro, quanto magis adversus spiritum concupiscit. Quamdiu ergo nobis inest haec infirmitas, haec pestis, hic languor, quomodo nos jam salvos; et si nondum salvos, quomodo jam beatos illa finali beatitudine dicere audebimus? Jam vero illa virtus, cujus nomen est fortitudo, in quantacumque sapientia evidentissima testis est humanorum malorum, quae compellitur patientia tolerare. Quae mala Stoici philosophi miror qua fronte mala non esse contendant, quibus fatentur, si tanta fuerint, ut ea sapiens vel non possit, vel non debeat sustinere, cogi eum mortem sibimet inferre, atque ex hac vita emigrare. Tantus autem superbiae stupor est in his hominibus, hic se habere finem boni et a se ipsis fieri beatos putantibus; ut sapiens eorum, hoc est, qualem mirabili vanitate describunt, etiamsi excaecetur, obsurdescat, obmutescat, membris debilitetur, doloribus crucietur, et si quid aliud talium malorum dici aut cogitari potest, incidat in eum, quo sibi mortem cogatur inferre, hanc in his malis vitam constitutam, eos non pudeat beatam vocare. O vitam beatam, quae ut finiatur, mortis quaerit auxilium! Si beata est, maneatur in ea: si vero propter ista mala fugitur ab ea, quomodo est beata?

Which, although we want it in this life, since we are not able to do it, let us at least do this by the help of God, that we do not yield by the spirit succumbing to the flesh lusting against the spirit, and be dragged by our consent to the perpetrating of sin. Far be it, therefore, that as long as we are in this internal war, we should believe ourselves to have already attained the beatitude to which we want to arrive by overcoming. And who is so wise that he has no conflict at all against lusts?

4. What of that virtue which is called prudence? Does it not, by all its vigilance, discern good things from evil, so that no error may creep in in desiring the former and avoiding the latter? And by this it also testifies that we are in the midst of evils, or that evils are in us. For it itself teaches us that it is an evil to consent to lust for sinning, and a good not to consent to lust for sinning. Yet that evil to which prudence teaches us not to consent, temperance deals with, and neither prudence nor temperance removes it from this life. What of justice, whose office it is to render to each his own (whence there arises in man himself a certain just order of nature, so that the soul is subjected to God and the flesh to the soul, and by this both soul and flesh to God), does it not demonstrate that it is still laboring in that work, rather than resting already in the end of this work? For by so much less is the soul subjected to God as it less conceives God in its very thoughts; and by so much less is the flesh subjected to the soul as it more lusts against the spirit. As long, therefore, as this infirmity, this plague, this languor remains in us, how shall we dare to say that we are already saved; and if not yet saved, how already blessed with that final beatitude? Now truly that virtue whose name is fortitude, in however great wisdom, is a most evident witness of human evils, which it is compelled to tolerate with patience. Which evils I wonder with what face the Stoic philosophers contend are not evils, to whom they confess that, if they should be so great that the wise man either cannot or ought not to sustain them, he is compelled to bring death upon himself and to emigrate from this life. But such is the stupor of pride in these men, thinking that they have the end of good here and are made happy by themselves; so that their wise man, that is, such as they describe with wonderful vanity, even if he should be blinded, become deaf, become mute, be debilitated in his members, be tortured with pains, and if any other such evils can be said or thought, should fall upon him, by which he is compelled to bring death upon himself, they are not ashamed to call this life, constituted in these evils, a happy life. O happy life, which seeks the aid of death that it may be ended! If it is happy, let him remain in it: but if it is fled from because of these evils, how is it happy?

Aut quomodo ista non sunt mala, quae vincunt fortitudinis bonum, eamdemque fortitudinem non solum sibi cedere, verum etiam delirare compellunt, ut eamdem vitam et dicat beatam, et persuadeat esse fugiendam? Quis usque adeo caecus est, ut non videat quod, si beata esset, fugienda non esset? Sed si propter infirmitatis pondus, qua premitur, hanc fugiendam fatentur; quid igitur causae est, cur non etiam miseram fracta superbiae cervice fateantur? Utrum, obsecro, Cato ille patientia, an potius impatientia se peremit? Non enim hoc fecisset, nisi victoriam Caesaris impatienter tulisset. Ubi est fortitudo? Nempe cessit, nempe succubuit, nempe usque adeo superata est, ut vitam beatam derelinqueret, desereret, fugeret. An non erat jam beata? Misera ergo erat. Quomodo igitur mala non erant quae vitam miseram fugiendamque faciebant?

5. Quapropter etiam ipsi, qui mala ista esse confessi sunt, sicut Peripatetici, sicut veteres Academici, quorum sectam Varro defendit, tolerabilius quidem lequuntur: sed eorum quoque mirus est error, quod in his malis, etsi tam gravia sint, ut morte fugienda sint, ab ipso sibimet illata, qui haec patitur, vitam beatam tamen esse contendunt. Mala sunt, inquit, tormenta atque cruciatus corporis; et tanto sunt pejora, quanto potuerint esse majora; quibus ut careas, ex hac vita fugiendum est. Qua vita, obsecro? Hac, inquit, quae tantis aggravatur malis. Certe ergo beata est in eisdem ipsis malis, propter quae dicis esse fugiendam? An ideo beatam dicis, quia licet tibi ab his malis morte discedere? Quid si ergo in eis aliquo judicio divino tenereris, nec permittereris mori, nec unquam sine illis esse sinereris? Nempe tunc saltem miseram talem diceres vitam. Non igitur propterea misera non est, quia cito relinquitur: quandoquidem si sempiterna sit, etiam abs te ipso misera judicatur. Non itaque propterea, quoniam brevis est, nulla miseria debet videri; aut, quod est absurdius, quia brevis miseria est, ideo etiam beatitudo appellari. Magna vis est in eis malis, quae cogunt hominem, secundum ipsos etiam sapientem, sibimet auferre quod homo est: cum dicant, et verum dicant, hanc esse naturae primam quodammodo et maximam vocem, ut homo concilietur sibi, et propterea mortem naturaliter fugiat; ita sibi amicus, ut esse se animal, et in hac conjunctione corporis atque animae vivere velit, vehementerque appetat.

Or how are those not evils which overcome the good of fortitude, and compel that same fortitude not only to yield to them, but even to rave, so that it both calls the same life happy and persuades that it is to be fled from? Who is so blind that he does not see that if it were happy, it would not be to be fled from? But if they confess that it is to be fled from because of the weight of infirmity by which it is pressed, what reason is there why they should not also confess that it is miserable, the neck of their pride being broken? Did that Cato, I beseech you, kill himself with patience or rather with impatience? For he would not have done this unless he had borne the victory of Caesar with impatience. Where is fortitude? Surely it yielded, surely it succumbed, surely it was overcome to such an extent that it abandoned, deserted, and fled from the happy life. Or was it no longer happy? It was miserable, then. How, therefore, were those not evils which made life miserable and to be fled from?

5. Wherefore even they who have confessed that these things are evils, such as the Peripatetics and the Old Academics, whose sect Varro defends, speak more tolerably indeed: but their error also is wonderful, in that they contend that life is nevertheless happy in these evils, even if they be so grave that they are to be fled from by death brought upon himself by him who suffers them. "Torments and tortures of the body are evils," he says; "and they are so much worse as they are able to be greater; that you may be without which, you must flee from this life." From what life, I beseech you? "From this," he says, "which is weighed down by such great evils." Is it therefore happy in those very same evils because of which you say it is to be fled from? Or do you call it happy for this reason, because it is permitted to you to depart from these evils by death? What if, therefore, you were held in them by some divine judgment, and were neither permitted to die nor ever allowed to be without them? Surely then at least you would call such a life miserable. It is not, therefore, not miserable for this reason, that it is quickly left: since if it were everlasting, it would be judged miserable even by yourself. Not therefore, because it is short, ought it to appear no misery; or, what is more absurd, because it is a short misery, for that reason also to be called beatitude. There is great force in those evils which compel a man—even a wise man according to them—to take away from himself that he is a man: since they say, and say truly, that this is in a certain way the first and greatest voice of nature, that a man be reconciled to himself, and therefore naturally flee from death; so much a friend to himself that he wills to be a living being, and to live in this conjunction of body and soul, and vehemently desires it.

Magna vis est in eis malis, quibus iste naturae vincitur sensus, quo mors omni modo omnibus viribus conatibusque vitatur; et ita vincitur, ut quae vitabatur, optetur, appetatur, et, si non potuerit aliunde contingere, ab ipso homine sibimet inferatur. Magna vis est in eis malis, quae fortitudinem faciunt homicidam: si tamen adhuc dicenda est fortitudo, quae ita his malis vincitur, ut hominem, quem, sicut virtus, regendum tuendumque suscepit, non modo non possit per patientiam custodire, sed ipsa insuper cogatur occidere. Debet quidem etiam mortem sapiens ferre patienter, sed quae accidit aliunde: secundum istos autem si eam sibi ipse inferre compellitur, profecto fatendum est eis, non solum mala, sed intolerabilia etiam mala esse, quae hoc eum perpetrare compellunt. Vita igitur, quae istorum tam magnorum tamque gravium malorum aut premitur oneribus, aut subjacet casibus, nullo modo beata diceretur, si homines qui hoc dicunt, sicut victi malis ingravescentibus, cum sibi ingerunt mortem, cedunt infelicitati, ita victi certis rationibus, cum quaerunt beatam vitam, dignarentur cedere veritati, et non sibi putarent in ista mortalitate fine summi boni esse gaudendum; ubi virtutes ipsae, quibus hic certe nihil melius atque utilius in homine reperitur, quanto majora sunt adjutoria contra vim periculorum, laborum, dolorum, tanto fideliora testimonia miseriarum. Si enim verae virtutes sunt, quae nisi in eis, quibus vera inest pietas, esse non possunt; non se profitentur hoc posse ut nullas miserias patiantur homines, in quibus sunt: neque enim mendaces sunt verae virtutes, ut hoc profiteantur; sed ut vita humana, quae tot et tantis hujus saeculi malis esse cogitur misera, spe futuri saeculi sit beata, sicut et salva. Quomodo enim beata est, quae nondum salva est? Unde et apostolus Paulus non de hominibus imprudentibus, impatientibus, intemperantibus et iniquis, sed de his qui secundum veram pietatem viverent, et ideo virtutes quas haberent, veras haberent, ait, Spe enim salvi facti sumus. Spes autem quae videtur, non est spes: quod enim quis videt, quid sperat? Si autem quod non videmus speramus, per patientiam exspectamus (Rom. VIII, 24 et 25). Sicut ergo spe salvi, ita spe beati facti sumus: et sicut salutem, ita beatitudinem, non jam tenemus praesentem, sed exspectamus futuram: et hoc per patientiam; quia in malis sumus, quae patienter tolerare debemus, donec ad illa veniamus bona ubi omnia erunt, quibus ineffabiliter delectemur; nihil erit autem, quod jam tolerare debeamus. Talis salus, quae in futuro erit saeculo, ipsa erit etiam finalis beatitudo. Quam beatitudinem isti philosophi, quoniam non videntes nolunt credere, hic sibi conantur falsissimam fabricare, quanto superbiore, tanto mendaciore virtute.

There is great force in those evils by which that sense of nature is overcome, by which death is avoided in every way with all powers and efforts; and it is so overcome that what was avoided is wished for, desired, and if it cannot happen from elsewhere, is brought upon the man by himself. There is great force in those evils which make fortitude a homicide: if indeed it is still to be called fortitude, which is so overcome by these evils that it not only cannot guard by patience the man whom, as virtue, it undertook to rule and protect, but is even compelled to kill him besides. The wise man ought indeed to bear even death patiently, but that which happens from elsewhere: but according to these, if he is compelled to bring it upon himself, they must certainly confess that those are not only evils, but even intolerable evils, which compel him to perpetrate this. A life, therefore, which is either pressed by the burdens of such great and grave evils, or is subject to their accidents, would in no way be called happy, if the men who say this, as they yield to unhappiness when they bring death upon themselves being overcome by aggravating evils, so being overcome by certain reasons, when they seek a happy life, would deign to yield to the truth, and would not think that they are to rejoice in this mortality as in the end of the highest good; where the virtues themselves, than which surely nothing better and more useful is found in man here, by as much as they are greater aids against the force of dangers, labors, and pains, by so much are they more faithful testimonies of miseries. For if they are true virtues, which cannot be except in those in whom true piety is present; they do not profess this, that they are able to effect that men in whom they are should suffer no miseries: for true virtues are not liars, that they should profess this; but that human life, which is compelled to be miserable by so many and such great evils of this world, may be happy in the hope of the future world, as it is also saved. For how is it happy, which is not yet saved? Whence also the apostle Paul, not of imprudent, impatient, intemperant, and unjust men, but of those who live according to true piety, and therefore have the virtues which they have as true ones, says: "For we are saved by hope." But hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man sees, why does he hope for? But if we hope for that which we do not see, we wait for it with patience (Rom. viii. 24 and 25). As, therefore, we are saved by hope, so have we been made happy by hope: and as we do not yet hold salvation, so neither beatitude, as already present, but we wait for it in the future: and this "with patience"; because we are in evils, which we ought patiently to tolerate until we come to those goods where all things will be which we shall ineffably delight in; and there will be nothing that we ought now to tolerate. Such salvation, which will be in the future world, will itself also be the final beatitude. Which beatitude these philosophers, because they do not see it and will not believe it, try to fabricate for themselves here a most false one, by a virtue so much more mendacious as it is more proud.

Caput V.

De sociali vita, quae cum maxime expetenda sit, multis offensionibus saepe subvertitur.

Quod autem socialem vitam volunt esse sapientis, nos multo amplius approbamus. Nam unde ista Dei civitas, de qua hujus operis ecce jam undevicesimum librum versamus in manibus, vel inchoaretur exortu, vel progrederetur excursu, vel apprehenderet debitos fines, si non esset socialis vita sanctorum? Sed in hujus mortalitatis aerumna quot et quantis abundet malis societas humana, quis enumerare valeat? quis aestimare sufficiat? Audiant apud comicos suos hominem cum sensu atque consensu omnium hominum dicere: Duxi uxorem, quam ibi miseriam vidi! Nati filii, Alia cura. (Terent Adelphorum actu 5, scen. 4, vers. 13, 14.) Quid itidem illa, quae in amore vitia commemorat idem Terentius, injuriae, suspiciones, inimicitiae, bellum, pax rursum (Eunuch. act. 1, scen I, v. 14-16): nonne res humanas ubique impleverunt? nonne et in amicorum honestis amoribus plerumque contingunt? nonne his usquequaque plenae sunt res humanae, ubi injurias, suspiciones, inimicitias, bellum, mala certa sentimus; pacem vero incertum bonum, quoniam corda eorum, cum quibus eam tenere volumus, ignoramus; et si nosse hodie possemus, qualia eras futura essent utique nesciremus? Qui porro inter se amiciores solent esse, vel debent, quam qui una etiam continentur domo? Et tamen quis inde securus est, cum tanta saepe mala ex eorum occultis insidiis exstiterint; tanto amariora, quanto pax dulcior fuit; quae vera putata est, cum astutissime fingeretur? Propter quod omnium pectora sic attingit, ut cogat in gemitum, quod ait Tullius: Nullae sunt occultiores insidiae, quam hae quae latent in simulatione officii, aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine. Nam eum qui palam est adversarius, facile cavendo vitare possis: hoc vero occultum, intestinum ac domesticum malum non solum existit, verum etiam opprimit, antequam prospicere atque explorare potueris (Cicer. in Verrem act. 2, lib. 1, cap. 15). Propter quod etiam divina vox illa, Et inimici hominis, domestici ejus (Matth. X, 36), cum magno dolore cordis auditur: quia etsi quisque tam fortis sit, ut aequo animo perferat; vel tam vigilans, ut provido consilio caveat, quae adversus eum molitur amicitia simulata: eorum tamen hominum perfidorum malo, cum eos esse pessimos experitur, si ipse bonus est, graviter excrucietur necesse est; sive semper mali fuerint, et se bonos finxerint, sive in istam malitiam ex bonitate mutati sint. Si ergo domus commune perfugium in his malis humani generis tuta non est, quid civitas, quae quanto major est, tanto forum ejus litibus et civilibus et criminalibus plenius, etiamsi quiescant, non solum turbulentae, verum saepius et cruentae seditiones, ac bella civilia, a quorum eventis sunt aliquando liberae civitates, a periculis nunquam?

Caput V.

Of the social life, which, though it be most to be desired, is often subverted by many offenses.

But that they will the life of the wise man to be social, we much more fully approve. For whence would that City of God, concerning which we are now handling the nineteenth book of this work, either begin by its rising, or proceed by its course, or apprehend its due ends, if the life of the saints were not social? But in the misery of this mortality, who is able to enumerate with how many and how great evils human society abounds? who is sufficient to estimate them? Let them hear a man say in their comic poets, with the sense and consent of all men: "I have taken a wife; what misery have I seen there! Children were born; another care." (Terent. Adelph. act v. sc. 4). What likewise of those vices which the same Terence commemorates in love: "injuries, suspicions, enmities, war, then peace again" (Eunuch. act i. sc. 1): have they not everywhere filled human affairs? do they not for the most part happen even in the honest loves of friends? are not human affairs everywhere full of these, where we feel injuries, suspicions, enmities, war as certain evils; but peace as an uncertain good, because we are ignorant of the hearts of those with whom we wish to hold it; and if we could know today what they were, we would certainly be ignorant of what they would be tomorrow? Who, moreover, are wont to be more friendly among themselves, or ought to be, than those who are also contained within one house? And yet who is secure from there, when such great evils have often arisen from their hidden snares; so much more bitter as the peace was sweeter, which was thought true when it was most astutely feigned? On account of which that which Tully says touches the breasts of all so as to compel a groan: "There are no snares more hidden than those which lie concealed in the simulation of duty, or in some name of necessity. For him who is an open adversary, you may easily avoid by taking care: but this hidden, internal, and domestic evil not only exists, but even oppresses, before you can foresee and explore it" (Cicer. in Verrem, act ii. lib. 1). On account of which also that divine voice, "And a man's enemies shall be those of his own household" (Matt. x. 36), is heard with great grief of heart: because even if anyone be so brave as to bear it with an even mind; or so vigilant as to avoid with provident counsel what a feigned friendship plots against him: yet by the evil of those perfidious men, when he experiences them to be most wicked, if he himself be good, he must necessarily be gravely tortured; whether they were always evil and feigned themselves good, or were changed into that malice from goodness. If, therefore, the house, a common refuge in these evils of the human race, is not safe, what of the city, which, by as much as it is larger, by so much is its forum fuller of lawsuits, both civil and criminal, and even if they be quiet, of not only turbulent but more often even bloody seditions and civil wars, from the events of which cities are sometimes free, but from the dangers never?

Caput VI.

De errore humanorum judiciorum, cum veritas latet.

Quid ipsa judicia hominum de hominibus, quae civitatibus in quantalibet pace manentibus deesse non possunt, qualia putamus esse, quam misera, quam dolenda? quandoquidem hi judicant, qui conscientias eorum, de quibus judicant, cernere nequeunt. Unde saepe coguntur tormentis innocentium testium ad alienam causam pertinentem quaerere veritatem. Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur; et cum quaeritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur, et innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas poenas; non quia illud commisisse detegitur, sed quia non commisisse nescitur? Ac per hoc ignorantia judicis plerumque est calamitas innocentis. Et quod est intolerabilius, magisque plangendum, rigandumque, si fieri possit, fontibus lacrymarum; cum propterea judex torqueat accusatum, ne occidat nesciens innocentem, fit per ignorantiae miseriam, ut et tortum et innocentem occidat, quem ne innocentem occideret torserat. Si enim secundum istorum sapientiam delegerit ex hac vita fugere, quam diutius illa sustinere tormenta; quod non commisit, commisisse se dicit. Quo damnato et occiso, utrum nocentem an innocentem judex occiderit, adhuc nescit, quem ne innocentem nesciens occideret torsit: ac per hoc innocentem et ut sciret torsit, et dum nesciret occidit. In his tenebris vitae socialis, sedebit judex ille sapiens, an non sedebit? Sedebit plane. Constringit enim eum, et ad hoc officium pertrahit humana societas, quam deserere nefas ducit. Hoc enim nefas esse non ducit, quod testes innocentes in causis torquentur alienis: quod hi qui arguuntur, vi doloris plerumque superati, et de se falsa confessi, etiam puniuntur innocentes, cum jam torti fuerint innocentes: quod etsi non morte puniantur, in ipsis vel ex ipsis tormentis plerumque moriuntur: quod aliquando et ipsi qui arguunt, humanae societati fortasse, ne crimina impunita sint, prodesse cupientes, et mentientibus testibus, reoque ipso contra tormenta durante immaniter, nec fatente, probare quod objiciunt non valentes, quamvis vera objecerint, a judice nesciente damnantur.

Caput VI.

Of the error of human judgments, when the truth is hidden.

What shall we think of those very judgments of men concerning men, which cannot be wanting to cities remaining in however great peace—of what kind are they, how miserable, how to be lamented? since those judge who cannot see the consciences of those concerning whom they judge. Whence they are often compelled to seek the truth by the torments of innocent witnesses pertaining to another's cause. What when anyone is tortured in his own cause; and while it is sought whether he be guilty, he is tortured, and being innocent he suffers most certain punishments for an uncertain crime; not because it is discovered that he committed it, but because it is not known that he did not commit it? And by this the ignorance of the judge is for the most part the calamity of the innocent. And what is more intolerable, and more to be bewailed, and, if it were possible, to be watered with fountains of tears; since for this reason the judge tortures the accused, lest he should unknowingly kill an innocent man, it happens by the misery of ignorance that he kills both a tortured and an innocent man, whom he had tortured lest he should kill him being innocent. For if, according to their wisdom, he should choose to flee from this life rather than sustain those torments any longer, he says that he committed what he did not commit. Who being condemned and killed, the judge still does not know whether he killed a guilty or an innocent man, whom he tortured lest he should unknowingly kill him being innocent: and by this he both tortured him that he might know, and killed him while he did not know. In these darknesses of social life, will that wise judge sit, or will he not sit? He will sit plainly. For human society constrains him, and draws him to this office, which he thinks it a crime to desert. For he does not think it a crime that innocent witnesses are tortured in others' causes; that those who are accused, being for the most part overcome by the force of pain, and having confessed false things of themselves, are even punished being innocent, when they had already been tortured being innocent; that even if they be not punished with death, they for the most part die in or from the torments themselves; that sometimes even those who accuse, perhaps desiring to profit human society lest crimes should be unpunished, and witnesses lying, and the accused himself enduring the torments immensely and not confessing, not being able to prove what they object, although they objected true things, are condemned by the judge not knowing.

Haec tot et tanta mala non deputat esse peccata: non enim haec facit sapiens judex nocendi voluntate, sed necessitate nesciendi; et tamen quia cogit humana societas, necessitate etiam judicandi. Haec est ergo quam dicimus, miseria certe hominis, etsi non malitia sapientis. An vero necessitate nesciendi atque judicandi torquet insontes, punit insontes, et parum est illi quod non est reus, si non sit insuper et beatus? Quanto consideratius et homine dignius agnoscit in ista necessitate miseriam, eamque in se odit; et, si pie sapit, clamat ad Deum, De necessitatibus meis erue me (Psal. XXIV, 17)?

Caput VII.

De diversitate linguarum, qua societas hominum dirimitur; et de miseria bellorum, etiam quae justa dicuntur.

Post civitatem vel urbem sequitur orbis terrae, in quo tertium gradum ponunt societatis humanae, incipientes a domo, atque inde ad urbem, deinde ad orbem progrediendo venientes: qui utique, sicut aquarum congeries, quanto major est, tanto periculis plenior. In quo primum linguarum diversitas hominem alienat ab homine. Nam si duo sibimet invicem fiant obviam, neque praeterire, sed simul esse aliqua necessitate cogantur, quorum neuter norit linguam alterius; facilius sibi animalia muta, etiam diversi generis, quam illi, cum sint homines ambo, sociantur. Quando enim quae sentiunt, inter se communicare non possunt, propter solam linguae diversitatem, nihil prodest ad consociandos homines tanta similitudo naturae: ita ut libentius homo sit cum cane suo, quam cum homine alieno. At enim opera data est, ut imperiosa civitas non solum jugum, verum etiam linguam suam domitis gentibus per pacem societatis imponeret; per quam non deesset, imo et abundaret etiam interpretum copia. Verum est: sed hoc quam multis et quam grandibus bellis, quanta strage hominum, quanta effusione humani sanguinis comparatum est? Quibus transactis, non est tamen eorumdem malorum finita miseria. Quamvis enim non defuerint, neque desint hostes exterae nationes, contra quas semper bella gesta sunt, et geruntur: tamen etiam ipsa imperii latitudo peperit pejoris generis bella, socialia scilicet et civilia; quibus miserabilius quatitur genus humanum, sive cum belligeratur, ut aliquando conquiescant; sive cum timetur, ne rursus exsurgant. Quorum malorum multas et multiplices clades, duras et diras necessitates, si ut dignum est eloqui velim, quanquam nequaquam sicut res postulat possim; quis erit prolixae disputationis modus?

These so many and such great evils he does not depute to be sins: for the wise judge does not do these with a will of hurting, but by the necessity of not knowing; and yet because human society compels, also by the necessity of judging. This is therefore what we call the misery of man, even if not the malice of the wise man. Or truly by the necessity of not knowing and judging does he torture the innocent, punish the innocent, and is it too little for him that he is not a culprit, if he be not also besides happy? How much more considerately and worthily of a man does he acknowledge misery in that necessity, and hate it in himself; and, if he is piously wise, cries out to God: "Deliver me from my necessities" (Ps. xxv. 17)?

Caput VII.

Of the diversity of languages, by which the society of men is divided; and of the misery of wars, even those which are called just.

After the city or town follows the world, in which they place the third degree of human society, beginning from the house, and coming thence to the city, then proceeding to the world: which surely, like a mass of waters, the larger it is, the more full of dangers. In which first the diversity of languages alienates man from man. For if two meet one another, and are compelled by some necessity not to pass by but to be together, neither of whom knows the language of the other; dumb animals, even of different kinds, are more easily associated with one another than they, although both are men. For when they cannot communicate what they feel to one another, on account of the diversity of language alone, so great a similitude of nature profits nothing for associating men: so that a man is more willingly with his dog than with a strange man. But indeed, labor was given that the imperial city should impose not only its yoke, but even its language upon the conquered nations through the peace of society; through which there would not be wanting, nay, there would even abound a plenty of interpreters. This is true: but with how many and how great wars, with how great slaughter of men, with how great effusion of human blood was this prepared? Which being transacted, the misery of those same evils was nevertheless not finished. For although there have not been wanting, nor are wanting, enemies among foreign nations, against whom wars have always been waged, and are waged: yet also the very latitude of the empire brought forth wars of a worse kind, namely, social and civil wars; by which the human race is more miserably shaken, whether when war is being waged that they may sometimes rest, or when it is feared lest they should arise again. Of which evils many and manifold slaughters, hard and dire necessities, if I should wish to speak as is worthy, although I could by no means as the matter demands; what will be the end of a prolix disputation?

Sed sapiens, inquiunt, justa bella gesturus est. Quasi non, si se hominem meminit, multo magis dolebit justorum necessitatem sibi exstitisse bellorum; quia nisi justa essent, ei gerenda non essent, ac per hoc sapienti nulla bella essent. Iniquitas enim partis adversae justa bella ingerit gerenda sapienti: quae iniquitas utique homini est dolenda, quia hominum est, etsi nulla ex ea bellandi necessitas nasceretur. Haec itaque mala tam magna, tam horrenda, tam saeva, quisquis cum dolore considerat, miseriam fateatur. Quisquis autem vel patitur ea sine animi dolore, vel cogitat, multo utique miserius ideo se putat beatum, quia et humanum perdidit sensum.

Caput VIII.

Quod amicitia bonorum secura esse non possit, dum a periculis quae in hac vita sunt, trepidari necesse sit.

Si autem non contingat quaedam ignorantia similis dementiae, quae tamen in hujus vitae misera conditione saepe contingit, ut credatur vel amicus esse qui inimicus est, vel inimicus qui amicus est; quid nos consolatur in hac humana societate erroribus aerumnisque plenissima, nisi fides non ficta, et mutua dilectio verorum et bonorum amicorum? Quos quanto plures et in locis pluribus habemus, tanto longius latiusque metuimus, ne quid eis contingat mali de tantis malorum aggeribus hujus saeculi. Non enim tantummodo solliciti sumus, ne fame, ne bellis, ne morbis, ne captivitatibus affligantur, ne in eadem servitute talia patiantur, qualia nec cogitare sufficimus: verum etiam, ubi timor est multo amarior, ne in perfidiam, malitiam nequitiamque mutentur. Et quando ista contingunt (tanto utique plura, quanto illi sunt plures, et in pluribus locis) et in nostram notitiam perferuntur, quibus cor nostrum flagris uratur, quis potest, nisi qui talia sentit, advertere? Mortuos quippe audire mallemus: quamvis et hoc sine dolore non possimus audire. Quorum enim nos vita propter amicitiae solatia delectabat, unde fieri potest ut eorum mors nullam nobis ingerat moestitudinem? Quam qui prohibet, prohibeat, si potest, amica colloquia, interdicat amicalem vel intercidat affectum, omnium humanarum necessitudinum vincula mentis immiti stupore disrumpat; aut sic eis utendum censeat, ut nulla ex eis animum dulcedo perfundat. Quod si fieri nullo modo potest, etiam hoc quo pacto futurum est, ut ejus nobis amara mors non sit, cujus dulcis est vita? Hinc est enim et luctus, quoddam non inhumani cordis quasi vulnus, aut ulcus, cui sanando adhibentur officiosae consolationes. Non enim propterea non est quod sanetur, quoniam quanto est animus melior, tanto in eo citius faciliusque sanatur.

But the wise man, they say, will wage just wars. As if, if he remembers himself to be a man, he will not much more grieve that the necessity of just wars has arisen for him; because unless they were just, they would not be to be waged by him, and by this there would be no wars for the wise man. For the iniquity of the adverse party thrusts just wars to be waged upon the wise man: which iniquity surely is to be lamented by a man, because it is of men, even if no necessity of warring should arise from it. Whoever, therefore, considers these so great, so horrendous, so savage evils with grief, let him confess misery. But whoever either suffers them without grief of mind, or thinks on them, far more miserably for that reason does he think himself happy, because he has also lost human sense.

Caput VIII.

That the friendship of the good cannot be secure, while it is necessary to be in fear from the dangers which are in this life.

But if there does not happen a certain ignorance similar to madness, which nevertheless often happens in the miserable condition of this life, so that one is believed to be a friend who is an enemy, or an enemy who is a friend; what consoles us in this human society, most full of errors and miseries, but unfeigned faith and the mutual affection of true and good friends? Whom the more we have and in more places, by so much more lengthily and widely do we fear lest any evil should happen to them from the so great heaps of evils of this world. For we are not only solicitous lest they should be afflicted by hunger, by wars, by diseases, by captivities, lest in that same servitude they should suffer such things as we are not sufficient even to think: but also, where the fear is much more bitter, lest they should be changed into perfidy, malice, and wickedness. And when these things happen (so many more, surely, as they are more numerous and in more places) and are brought to our notice, by what scourges our heart is burned, who can perceive except he who feels such things? Indeed, we would rather hear that they are dead: although we cannot hear even this without grief. For since their life delighted us on account of the solaces of friendship, whence can it be that their death should bring no sadness upon us? Let him who prohibits this, prohibit, if he can, friendly colloquies, let him interdict or cut off friendly affection, let him break the bonds of all human relationships with a cruel stupor of mind; or let him judge that they are to be used in such a way that no sweetness should pervade the soul from them. But if this can in no way be done, how also shall it be that his death is not bitter to us whose life is sweet? For hence is even mourning, a certain wound or ulcer, as it were, of a not inhuman heart, for the healing of which dutiful consolations are applied. For it is not therefore not a thing to be healed, because by as much as the mind is better, by so much is it more quickly and easily healed in it.

Cum igitur etiam de charissimorum mortibus, maxime quorum sunt humanae societati officia necessaria, nunc mitius, nunc asperius affligatur vita mortalium; mortuos tamen eos, quos diligimus, quam vel a fide, vel a bonis moribus lapsos, hoc est, in ipsa anima mortuos audire seu videre mallemus: qua ingenti materia malorum plena est terra; propter quod scriptum est, Numquid non tentatio est vita humana super terram (Job VII, 1)? Et propter quod ipse Dominus ait, Vae mundo ab scandalis (Matth. XVIII, 7): et iterum, Quoniam abundavit, inquit, iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum (Id. XXIV, 12). Ex quo fit, ut bonis amicis mortuis gratulemur, et cum mors eorum nos contristet, ipsa nos certius consoletur: quoniam malis caruerunt, quibus in hac vita etiam boni homines vel conteruntur, vel depravantur, vel in utroque periclitantur.

CAPUT IX.---De amicitia sanctorum Angelorum, quae homini in hoc mundo non potest esse manifesta, propter fallaciam daemonum, in quos inciderunt qui multos sibi deos colendos putarunt.

In societate vero sanctorum Angelorum, quam philosophi illi, qui nobis deos amicos esse voluerunt, quarto constituerunt loco, velut ad mundum venientes ab orbe terrarum, ut sic quodammodo complecterentur et coelum; nullo modo quidem metuimus, ne tales amici vel morte nos sua, vel depravatione contristent. Sed quia nobis non ea qua homines familiaritate miscentur (quod etiam ipsum ad aerumnas hujus pertinet vitae) et aliquando satanas, sicut legimus transfigurat se velut angelum lucis (II Cor. XI, 14), ad tentandos eos quos ita vel erudiri opus est, vel decipi justum est; magna Dei misericordia necessaria est, ne quisquam, cum bonos Angelos amicos se habere putat, habeat malos daemones amicos fictos, eosque tanto nocentiores, quanto astutiores ac fallaciores patiatur inimicos. Et cui magna ista Dei misericordia necessaria est, nisi magnae humanae miserie, quae ignorantia tanta premitur, ut facile istorum simulatione fallatur? Et illos quidem philosophos in impia civitate, qui deos sibi amicos esse dixerunt, in daemones malignos incidisse certissimum est, quibus tota ipsa civitas subditur, aeternum cum eis habitura supplicium. Ex eorum quippe sacris, vel potius sacrilegiis, quibus eos colendos, et ex ludis, immundissimis, ubi eorum crimina celebrantur, quibus eos placandos putaverunt, eisdem ipsis auctoribus et exactoribus talium tantorumque dedecorum, satis ab eis qui colantur apertum est.

Since, therefore, the life of mortals is afflicted now more mildly, now more harshly, even concerning the deaths of the most dear, especially those whose offices are necessary to human society; yet we would rather hear of or see those dead whom we love, than fallen either from faith or from good morals, that is, dead in the soul itself: with which immense material of evils the earth is full; on account of which it is written: "Is not the life of man upon earth a temptation?" (Job vii. 1). And on account of which the Lord Himself says: "Woe to the world because of offenses!" (Matt. xviii. 7); and again: "Because iniquity has abounded," He says, "the charity of many shall grow cold" (Id. xxiv. 12). From which it happens that we congratulate good friends who are dead, and although their death saddens us, it itself consoles us more certainly: since they have lacked the evils by which in this life even good men are either worn down or depraved, or are in danger of both.

CAPUT IX.---Of the friendship of the holy Angels, which cannot be manifest to man in this world, on account of the fallacy of demons, into whom they fell who thought many gods were to be worshipped by them.

In the society indeed of the holy Angels, which those philosophers, who willed the gods to be our friends, constituted in the fourth place, as if coming to the universe from the world of the lands, so that they might in a certain way embrace even heaven; we by no means fear lest such friends should sadden us either by their death or by their depravity. But because they do not mingle with us with that familiarity which men do (which itself also pertains to the miseries of this life), and sometimes Satan, as we read, transfigures himself as an angel of light (2 Cor. xi. 14), to tempt those whom it is necessary to be so instructed, or just to be deceived; the great mercy of God is necessary, lest anyone, when he thinks he has good Angels as friends, should have evil demons as feigned friends, and suffer them as enemies so much more harmful as they are more astute and fallacious. And to whom is that great mercy of God necessary, but to the great human misery, which is pressed by such great ignorance that it is easily deceived by the simulation of these? And that those philosophers in the impious city, who said that the gods were their friends, fell into malignant demons, is most certain, to whom that whole city itself is subjected, about to have eternal punishment with them. For from their sacred rites, or rather sacrileges, by which they thought they were to be worshipped, and from the most unclean games, where their crimes are celebrated, by which they thought they were to be placated—those very same ones being the authors and exactors of such and so great shames—it is sufficiently open from them who they are that are worshipped.

Caput X.

Quis fructus sanctis de superata hujus vitae tentatione paratus sit.

Sed neque sancti et fideles unius veri Dei summique cultores, ab eorum fallaciis et multiformi tentatione securi sunt. In hoc enim loco infirmitatis et diebus malignis etiam ista sollicitudo non est inutilis, ut illa securitas, ubi pax plenissima atque certissima est, desiderio ferventiore quaeratur. Ibi enim erunt naturae munera, hoc est, quae naturae nostrae ab omnium naturarum Creatore donantur, non solum bona, verum etiam sempiterna; non solum in animo, qui sanatur per sapientiam, verum etiam in corpore, quod resurrectione renovabitur. Ibi virtutes, non contra ulla vitia vel mala quaecumque certantes, sed habentes victoriae praemium aeternam pacem, quam nullus adversarius inquietet. Ipsa est enim beatitudo finalis, ipse perfectionis finis, qui consumentem non habet finem. Hic autem dicimur quidem beati, quando pacem habemus, quantulacumque hic haberi potest in vita bona: sed haec beatitudo illi, quam finalem dicimus, beatitudini comparata, prorsus miseria reperitur. Hanc ergo pacem, qualis hic potest esse, mortales homines in rebus mortalibus quando habemus, si recte vivimus, bonis ejus recte utitur virtus: quando vero eam non habemus, etiam malis, quae homo patitur, bene utitur virtus. Sed tunc est vera virtus, quando et omnia bona quibus bene utitur, et quidquid in bono usu bonorum et malorum facit, et se ipsam ad eum finem refert, ubi nobis talis et tanta pax erit, qua melior et major esse non possit.

Caput XI.

De beatitudine pacis aeternae, in qua sanctis finis est, id est vera perfectio.

Quapropter possumus dicere, fines bonorum nostrorum esse pacem, sicut aeternam esse diximus vitam: praesertim quia ipsi civitati Dei, de qua nobis est ista operosissima disputatio, in sancto dicitur Psalmo, Lauda, Jerusalem, Dominum; collauda Deum tuum, Sion. Quoniam confirmavit seras portarum tuarum, benedixit filios tuos in te, qui posuit fines tuos pacem (Psal. CXLVII, 12-14). Quando enim confirmatae fuerint serae portarum ejus, jam in illam nullus intrabit, nec ab illa ullus exibit. Ac per hoc fines ejus eam debemus hic intelligere pacem, quam volumus demonstrare finalem. Nam et ipsius civitatis mysticum nomen, id est Jerusalem, quod et ante jam diximus, Visio pacis interpretatur. Sed quoniam pacis nomen etiam in his rebus mortalibus frequentatur, ubi utique non est vita aeterna; propterea finem civitatis hujus, ubi erit summum bonum ejus, aeternam vitam maluimus commemorare quam pacem. De quo fine Apostolus ait, Nunc vero liberati a peccato, servi autem facti Deo, habetis fructum vestrum in sanctificationem, finem vero vitam aeternam (Rom. VI, 22).

Caput X.

What fruit is prepared for the saints from the overcome temptation of this life.

But neither are the saints and the faithful worshippers of the one true and highest God secure from their fallacies and manifold temptation. For in this place of infirmity and in these evil days even this solicitude is not useless, that that security, where peace is most full and most certain, may be sought with a more fervent desire. For there will be the gifts of nature, that is, those which are given to our nature by the Creator of all natures, not only good, but even everlasting; not only in the soul, which is healed by wisdom, but even in the body, which will be renewed by the resurrection. There the virtues will be, not contending against any vices or any evils whatsoever, but having as the prize of victory eternal peace, which no adversary may disquiet. For this is the final beatitude, the very end of perfection, which has no consuming end. But here we are indeed called happy when we have peace, however little it can be had here in a good life: but this beatitude, compared to that beatitude which we call final, is found to be altogether misery. This peace, therefore, such as it can be here, when we mortal men have it in mortal things, if we live rightly, virtue uses its goods rightly: but when we do not have it, virtue uses well even the evils which man suffers. But then it is true virtue, when it refers both all the goods which it uses well, and whatever it does in the good use of goods and evils, and itself also, to that end where there will be such and so great peace for us, than which a better and greater cannot be.

Caput XI.

Of the beatitude of eternal peace, in which is the end of the saints, that is, true perfection.

Wherefore we can say that the end of our goods is peace, as we said that it is eternal life: especially because it is said to that same City of God, concerning which we have this most laborious disputation, in the holy Psalm: "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Sion." "For He has strengthened the bars of thy gates; He has blessed thy children within thee, who has made thy borders peace" (Ps. cxlvii. 12-14). For when the bars of its gates shall have been strengthened, no one shall any longer enter into it, nor shall any one go out from it. And by this we ought here to understand its borders as that peace which we wish to demonstrate as final. For also the mystical name of the city itself, that is, Jerusalem, which we have also said before, is interpreted as "Vision of Peace." But because the name of peace is also frequented in these mortal things, where surely there is no eternal life; therefore we preferred to commemorate the end of this city, where its highest good will be, as eternal life rather than peace. Concerning which end the Apostle says: "But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, you have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life" (Rom. vi. 22).

Sed rursus quia vita aeterna ab his qui familiaritatem non habent cum Scripturis sanctis, potest accipi etiam malorum vita; vel secundum quosdam etiam philosophos, propter animae immortalitatem; vel etiam secundum fidem nostram, propter poenas interminabiles impiorum, qui utique in aeternum cruciari non poterunt, nisi etiam vixerint in aeternum: profecto finis civitatis hujus, in quo summum habebit bonum, vel pax in vita aeterna, vel vita aeterna in pace dicendus est, ut facilius ab omnibus possit intelligi. Tantum est enim pacis bonum, ut etiam in rebus terrenis atque mortalibus nihil gratius soleat audiri, nihil desiderabilius concupisci, nihil postremo possit melius inveniri. De quo si aliquanto diutius loqui voluerimus, non erimus, quantum arbitror, onerosi legentibus, et propter finem civitatis hujus, de qua nobis sermo est, et propter ipsam dulcedinem pacis quae omnibus chara est.

Caput XII.

Quod etiam bellantium saevitia omnesque hominum inquietudines ad pacis finem cupiant pervenire, sine cujus appetitu nulla natura sit.

1. Quod enim mecum quisquis res humanas naturamque communem utcumque intuetur agnoscit, sicut nemo est qui gaudere nolit, ita nemo est qui pacem habere nolit. Quandoquidem et ipsi qui bella volunt, nihil aliud quam vincere volunt: ad gloriosam ergo pacem bellando cupiunt pervenire. Nam quid est aliud victoria, nisi subjectio repugnantium? quod cum factum fuerit, pax erit. Pacis igitur intentione geruntur et bella, ab his etiam qui virtutem bellicam student exercere imperando atque pugnando. Unde pacem constat belli esse optabilem finem. Omnis enim homo etiam belligerando pacem requirit: nemo autem bellum pacificando. Nam et illi qui pacem, in qua sunt, perturbari volunt, non pacem oderunt, sed eam pro arbitrio suo cupiunt commutari. Non ergo ut sit pax nolunt, sed ut ea sit quam volunt. Denique etsi per seditionem se ab aliis separaverint, cum eis ipsis conspiratis vel conjuratis suis nisi qualemcumque pacis speciem teneant, non efficiunt quod intendunt. Proinde latrones ipsi, ut vehementius et tutius infesti sint paci caeterorum, pacem volunt habere sociorum.

But again, because eternal life can be taken even as the life of the wicked by those who have no familiarity with the holy Scriptures; either according to some philosophers also, on account of the immortality of the soul; or even according to our faith, on account of the interminable punishments of the impious, who surely cannot be tortured in eternity unless they also live in eternity: therefore the end of this city, in which it will have the highest good, is to be called either peace in eternal life, or eternal life in peace, that it may be more easily understood by all. For so great is the good of peace, that even in earthly and mortal things nothing is wont to be heard more gratefully, nothing more desirably lusted after, finally nothing better can be found. Concerning which if we should wish to speak somewhat longer, we shall not be, as I think, burdensome to the readers, both on account of the end of this city, concerning which our discourse is, and on account of that very sweetness of peace which is dear to all.

Chapter XII.

That even the cruelty of the warring and all the restlessness of men desire to reach the end of peace, without the appetite for which no nature exists.

1. For what anyone, who in any way beholds human affairs and our common nature, acknowledges with me is that, just as there is no one who does not wish to rejoice, so there is no one who does not wish to have peace. Inasmuch as even those who want wars want nothing else than to conquer; they desire, therefore, to reach a glorious peace by warring. For what else is victory but the subjection of those who resist? And when this has been done, there will be peace. Therefore, wars are waged with the intention of peace, even by those who study to exercise military virtue by commanding and fighting. Whence it is certain that peace is the desirable end of war. For every man seeks peace even by making war; but no one seeks war by making peace. For even those who wish the peace in which they are to be disturbed, do not hate peace, but they desire it to be changed according to their own will. Therefore, they do not wish that there be no peace, but that there be that peace which they want. Finally, even if they have separated themselves from others through sedition, unless they maintain some kind of appearance of peace with those very conspirators or confederates of theirs, they do not effect what they intend. Consequently, even robbers themselves, that they may more vehemently and safely be hostile to the peace of others, wish to have the peace of their associates.

Sed etsi unus sit tam praepollens viribus, et conscios ita cavens, ut nulli socio se committat, solusque insidians et praevalens, quibus potuerit oppressis et exstinctis praedas agat, cum eis certe quos occidere non potest, et quos vult latere quod facit, qualemcumque umbram pacis tenet. In domo autem sua cum uxore et cum filiis, et si quos alios illic habet, studet profecto esse pacatus: eis quippe ad nutum obtemperantibus sine dubio delectatur. Nam si non fiat, indignatur, corripit, vindicat: et domus suae pacem, si ita necesse sit, etiam saeviendo componit; quam sentit esse non posse, nisi cuidam principio, quod ipse in domo sua est, caetera in eadem domestica societate subjecta sint. Ideoque si offerretur ei servitus plurium, vel civitatis vel gentis, ita ut sic ei servirent, quemadmodum sibi domi suae serviri volebat; non se jam latronem latebris conderet, sed regem conspicuum sublimaret, cum eadem in illo cupiditas et malitia permaneret. Pacem itaque cum suis omnes habere cupiunt, quos ad suum arbitrium volunt vivere. Nam et cum quibus bellum gerunt, suos facere, si possint, volunt, eisque subjectis leges suae pacis imponere.

2. Sed faciamus aliquem, qualem canit poetica et fabulosa narratio; quem fortasse, propter ipsam insociabilem feritatem, semihominem quam hominem dicere maluerunt. Quamvis ergo hujus regnum dirae speluncae fuerit solitudo, tamque malitia singularis, ut ex hac ei nomen inventum sit; nam malus graece kakos dicitur, quod ille vocabatur: nulla conjux ei blandum ferret referretque sermonem, nullis filiis vel alluderet parvulis, vel grandiusculis imperaret, nullo amici colloquio frueretur, nec Vulcani patris, quo vel hinc tantum non parum felicior fuit, quia tale monstrum ipse non genuit: nihil cuiquam daret, sed a quo posset quidquid vellet, et quando posset, et quantum vellet auferret: tamen in ipsa sua spelunca solitaria, cujus, ut describitur, semper recenti caede tepebat humus, nihil aliud quam pacem volebat, in qua nemo illi molestus esset, nec ejus quietem vis ullius terrorve turbaret. Cum corpore suo denique pacem habere cupiebat: et quantum habebat, tantum illi bene erat. Quandoquidem membris obtemperantibus imperabat; et ut suam mortalitatem adversum se ex indigentia rebellantem, ac seditionem famis ad dissociandam atque excludendam de corpore animam concitantem, quanta posset festinatione pacaret, rapiebat, necabat, vorabat; et quamvis immanis ac ferus, paci tamen suae vitae ac salutis immaniter et ferociter consulebat: ac per hoc si pacem, quam in sua spelunca atque in se ipso habere satis agebat, cum aliis etiam habere vellet, nec malus, nec monstrum, nec semihomo vocaretur.

But even if there were one man so surpassing in strength and so cautious of accomplices that he committed himself to no partner, and alone lying in wait and prevailing, having oppressed and extinguished those whom he could, he should carry off booty, he certainly maintains some shadow of peace with those whom he cannot kill, and from whom he wishes to hide what he does. In his own house, moreover, with his wife and with his children, and if he has any others there, he surely studies to be at peace; for he is without doubt delighted by those obeying his nod. For if it be not done, he is indignant, he rebukes, he punishes; and he composes the peace of his house, if it be thus necessary, even by being cruel; which he feels cannot be, unless all the rest in that same domestic society be subject to a certain principle, which he himself is in his house. And therefore, if the servitude of many, or of a city or nation, were offered to him, so that they should serve him in the same manner as he wished to be served at home in his house; he would no longer hide himself as a robber in lurking-places, but would exalt himself as a conspicuous king, while the same desire and malice remained in him. Thus all desire to have peace with their own, whom they wish to live according to their own will. For they even wish to make those with whom they wage war their own, if they can, and to impose the laws of their own peace upon them when they are subjected.

2. But let us imagine someone such as poetic and fabulous narration sings of; whom perhaps, on account of his very unsociable ferocity, they preferred to call a half-man rather than a man. Although, then, the kingdom of this one was the solitude of a dire cave, and his malice so singular that from this his name was found; for "bad" in Greek is called kakos, which was his name: no wife would bring to him or receive from him a soothing discourse, he would play with no little children, nor command them when larger, he would enjoy the colloquy of no friend, not even of Vulcan his father, than whom in this respect alone he was not a little unhappier, because he himself did not beget such a monster: he would give nothing to anyone, but from whomsoever he could he would take away whatever he wished, and when he could, and as much as he wished: nevertheless, in that very solitary cave of his, the ground of which, as it is described, always reeked with recent slaughter, he wished for nothing else than peace, in which no one should be troublesome to him, nor should the force or terror of anyone disturb his quiet. Finally, he desired to have peace with his own body: and as much as he had it, so much was it well with him. Inasmuch as he commanded his obeying members; and that he might pacify as much as possible with all haste his mortality rebelling against him from indigence, and the sedition of hunger inciting the soul to be dissociated and excluded from the body, he seized, killed, and devoured; and although immense and fierce, he nevertheless immensely and fiercely consulted for the peace of his life and safety: and by this, if he wished to have with others also that peace which he was busy to have in his cave and in himself, he would be called neither bad, nor a monster, nor a half-man.

Aut si ejus corporis forma, et atrorum ignium vomitus ab eo deterrebat hominum societatem; forte non nocendi cupiditate, sed vivendi necessitate saeviebat. Verum iste non fuerit, vel, quod magis credendum est, talis non fuerit, qualis vanitate poetica describitur: nisi enim nimis accusaretur Cacus, parum Hercules laudaretur. Talis ergo homo, sive semihomo, melius, ut dixi, creditur non fuisse, sicut multa figmenta poetarum. Ipsae enim saevissimae ferae, unde ille partem habuit feritatis (nam et semiferus dictus est), genus proprium quadam pace custodiunt, coeundo, gignendo, pariendo, fetus fovendo atque nutriendo, cum sint pleraeque insociabiles et solivagae: non scilicet ut oves, cervi, columbae, sturni apes; sed ut leones, vulpes, aquilae, noctuae. Quae enim tigris non filiis suis mitis immurmurat, et pacata feritate blanditur? quis milvus, quantumlibet solitarius rapinis circumvolet, non conjugium copulat, nidum congerit, ova confovet, pullos alit, et quasi cum sua matrefamilias societatem domesticam quanta potest pace conservat? Quanto magis homo fertur quodammodo naturae suae legibus ad ineundam societatem pacemque cum hominibus, quantum in ipso est, omnibus obtinendam: cum etiam mali pro pace suorum belligerent, omnesque, si possint, suos facere velint, ut uni cuncti et cuncta deserviant; quo pacto, nisi in ejus pacem, vel amando, vel timendo consentiant? Sic enim superbia perverse imitatur Deum. Odit namque cum sociis aequalitatem sub illo: sed imponere vult sociis dominationem suam pro illo. Odit ergo justam pacem Dei et amat iniquam pacem suam: non amare tamen qualemcumque pacem nullo modo potest. Nullum quippe vitium ita contra naturam est, ut naturae deleat etiam extrema vestigia.

3. Itaque pacem iniquorum in pacis comparatione justorum ille videt, nec pacem esse dicendam, qui novit praeponere recta pravis et ordinata perversis. Quod autem perversum est, hoc etiam necesse est ut in aliqua et ex aliqua et cum aliqua rerum parte pacatum sit, in quibus est, vel ex quibus constat; alioquin nihil esset omnino. Velut si quisquam capite deorsum pendeat, perversus est utique situs corporis et ordo membrorum; quia id quod desuper esse natura postulat, subter est, et quod illa subter vult esse, desuper factum est; conturbavit carnis pacem ista perversitas, et ideo est molesta: verumtamen anima corpori suo pacata est, et pro ejus salute satagit, et ideo est qui doleat; quae si molestiis ejus exclusa discesserit, quandiu membrorum manet compago, non est sine quadam partium pace quod remanet, et ideo adhuc est qui pendeat.

Or if the form of his body and the vomiting of black fires deterred the society of men from him, perhaps he was fierce not from a desire for harming, but from the necessity of living. But he either was not, or, what is more to be believed, was not such as he is described by poetic vanity: for unless Cacus were excessively accused, Hercules would be little praised. Such a man, therefore, or half-man, is better believed, as I said, not to have been, like many fictions of the poets. For even the most savage beasts, from which he had a part of his ferocity (for he was also called half-beast), guard their own kind with a certain peace, by cohabiting, begetting, bringing forth, cherishing and nourishing their offspring, although most of them are unsociable and solitary: not indeed as sheep, stags, doves, starlings, bees; but as lions, foxes, eagles, owls. For what tiger does not gently murmur to her own cubs, and soothe them with pacified ferocity? What kite, however solitary he may fly about for prey, does not join in marriage, build a nest, cherish eggs, feed the young, and maintain domestic society with his mistress of the house, as it were, with as much peace as he can? How much more is man carried in a certain way by the laws of his nature to enter into society and to obtain peace with men, as much as lies in him, with all: since even the wicked make war for the peace of their own, and wish to make all their own, if they can, so that all things and all people may serve one; by what means, unless they consent to his peace either by loving or by fearing? For thus pride perversely imitates God. For it hates equality with associates under Him: but it wishes to impose its own domination upon associates instead of Him. It hates, therefore, the just peace of God, and loves its own iniquitous peace: yet it cannot by any means not love some kind of peace. For no vice is so contrary to nature that it deletes even the extreme vestiges of nature.

3. Therefore, he who knows how to prefer right things to wrong and ordered things to perverse, sees the peace of the iniquitous in comparison to the peace of the just, and that it is not to be called peace. Moreover, that which is perverse, it is also necessary that it be pacified in some part of things, and from some part, and with some part of things, in which it is, or from which it consists; otherwise it would be nothing at all. As if anyone should hang head downwards, the site of the body and the order of the members is surely perverse; because that which nature demands to be above is below, and that which she wants to be below has been made to be above; this perversity has disturbed the peace of the flesh, and therefore it is troublesome: nevertheless the soul is at peace with its own body, and is busy for its safety, and therefore there is one who feels pain; which if, excluded by its troubles, it should depart, as long as the compages of the members remains, that which remains is not without a certain peace of parts, and therefore there is still something that hangs.

Et quod terrenum corpus in terram nititur, et vinculo quo suspensum est renititur, in suae pacis ordinem tendit, et locum quo requiescat quodammodo ponderis voce poscit, jamque exanime ac sine ullo sensu, a pace tamen naturali sui ordinis non recedit, vel cum tenet eam, vel cum fertur ad eam. Si enim adhibeantur medicamenta, atque curatio, quae formam cadaveris dissolvi dilabique non sinat, adhuc pax quaedam partes partibus jungit, totamque molem applicat terreno et convenienti, ac per hoc loco pacato. Si autem nulla adhibeatur cura condiendi, sed naturali cursui relinquatur, tamdiu quasi tumultuatur dissidentibus exaltationibus et nostro inconvenientibus sensui: id enim est quod in putore sentitur, donec mundi conveniat elementis, et in eorum pacem particulatim paulatimque discedat. Nullo modo tamen inde aliquid legibus summi illius Creatoris Ordinatorisque subtrahitur, a quo pax universitatis administratur: quia etsi de cadavere majoris animantis animalia minuta nascantur, eadem lege Creatoris quaeque corpuscula in salutis pace suis animulis serviunt: etsi mortuorum carnes ab aliis animalibus devorentur, easdem leges per cuncta diffusas ad salutem generis cujusque mortalium, congrua congruis pacificantes, quaquaversum trahantur, et rebus quibuscumque jungantur, et in res quaslibet convertantur et commutentur, inveniunt.

CAPUT XIII.---De pace universali, quae inter quaslibet perturbationes privari non potest lege naturae, dum sub justo judice ad id quisque pervenit ordinatione, quod meruit voluntate.

1. Pax itaque corporis, est ordinata temperatura partium. Pax animae irrationalis, ordinata requies appetitionum. Pax animae rationalis, ordinata cognitionis actionisque consensio. Pax corporis et animae, ordinata vita et salus animantis. Pax hominis mortalis et Dei, ordinata in fide sub aeterna lege obedientia. Pax hominum, ordinata concordia. Pax domus, ordinata imperandi atque obediendi concordia cohabitantium. Pax civitatis, ordinata imperandi atque obediendi concordia civium. Pax coelestis civitatis, ordinatissima et concordissima societas fruendi Deo et invicem in Deo.

And because an earthly body strives towards the earth, and resists the bond by which it is suspended, it tends towards the order of its own peace, and in a certain way demands by the voice of its weight the place where it may rest; and now being lifeless and without any sense, it nevertheless does not recede from the natural peace of its own order, either when it holds it, or when it is carried towards it. For if medicines and a treatment be applied, which does not allow the form of the cadaver to be dissolved and glide away, still a certain peace joins parts to parts, and applies the whole mass to something earthly and convenient, and by this to a pacified place. But if no care of embalming be applied, but it be left to its natural course, it is for so long as it were in a tumult with dissident exhalations and those inconvenient to our sense: for that is what is felt in the stench, until it agrees with the elements of the world, and departs into their peace little by little and part by part. Nevertheless, in no way is anything withdrawn therefrom from the laws of that highest Creator and Orderer, by whom the peace of the universe is administered: because even if minute animals be born from the cadaver of a larger living thing, by the same law of the Creator those same little bodies serve their own little souls in the peace of safety: and even if the flesh of the dead be devoured by other animals, they find those same laws diffused through all things for the safety of every kind of mortals, pacifying congruous things with congruous, whithersoever they may be dragged, and to whatever things they may be joined, and into whatever things they may be converted and changed.

CHAPTER XIII.---Of universal peace, which among any perturbations cannot be deprived of the law of nature, while under a just judge each one reaches by ordination that which he has merited by will.

1. The peace of the body, therefore, is the ordered temperature of the parts. The peace of the irrational soul is the ordered repose of the appetites. The peace of the rational soul is the ordered agreement of knowledge and action. The peace of the body and soul is the ordered life and health of the living thing. The peace of mortal man and God is ordered obedience in faith under the eternal law. The peace of men is ordered concord. The peace of a house is the ordered concord of commanding and obeying of those cohabiting. The peace of a city is the ordered concord of commanding and obeying of the citizens. The peace of the heavenly city is the most ordered and most concordant society of enjoying God and one another in God.

Pax omnium rerum, tranquillitas ordinis. Ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio. Proinde miseri, quia, in quantum miseri sunt, utique in pace non sunt, tranquillitate quidem ordinis carent, ubi perturbatio nulla est: verumtamen quia merito justeque miseri sunt, in ea quoque ipsa sua miseria praeter ordinem esse non possunt; non quidem conjuncti beatis, sed ab eis tamen ordinis lege sejuncti. Qui cum sine perturbatione sunt, rebus in quibus sunt, quantacumque congruentia coaptantur: ac per hoc est in eis ordinis nonnulla tranquillitas: inest ergo nonnulla pax. Verum ideo miseri sunt, quia, etsi in aliqua securitate non dolent, non tamen ibi sunt, ubi securi esse ac dolere non debeant: miseriores autem, si pax eis cum ipsa lege non est, qua naturalis ordo administratur. Cum autem dolent, ex qua parte dolent, pacis perturbatio facta est: in illa vero adhuc pax est, in qua nec dolor urit, nec compago ipsa dissolvitur. Sicut ergo est quaedam vita sine dolore, dolor autem sine aliqua vita esse non potest: sic est pax quaedam sine ullo bello, bellum vero esse sine aliqua pace non potest; non secundum id quod bellum est, sed secundum id quod ab eis vel in eis geritur, quae aliquae naturae sunt: quod nullo modo essent, si non qualicumque pace subsisterent.

2. Quapropter natura est, in qua nullum malum est, vel etiam in qua nullum potest esse malum: esse autem natura, in qua nullum bonum sit, non potest. Proinde nec ipsius diaboli natura, in quantum natura est, malum est: sed perversitas eam malam facit. Itaque in veritate non stetit, sed veritatis judicium non evasit: in ordinis tranquillitate non mansit, nec ideo tamen a potestate Ordinatoris effugit. Bonum Dei, quod illi est in natura, non eum subtrahit justitiae Dei, qua ordinatur in poena: nec ibi Deus bonum insequitur quod creavit, sed malum quod ille commisit. Neque enim totum aufert quod naturae dedit; sed aliquid adimit, aliquid relinquit, ut sit qui doleat quod adimit. Et ipse dolor testimonium est boni adempti et boni relicti. Nisi enim bonum relictum esset, bonum amissum dolere non posset. Nam qui peccat, pejor est, si laetatur in damno aequitatis. Qui vero cruciatur, si nihil inde acquirat boni, dolet damnum salutis.

The peace of all things is the tranquility of order. Order is the disposition of equal and unequal things, allotting to each its own place. Therefore the miserable, because, in as much as they are miserable, they are certainly not in peace, lack indeed the tranquility of order, where there is no perturbation: nevertheless, because they are deservedly and justly miserable, even in that very misery of theirs they cannot be outside of order; not indeed joined to the blessed, but nevertheless separated from them by the law of order. Who, when they are without perturbation, are fitted to the things in which they are by some degree of congruence: and by this there is in them some tranquility of order: there is, therefore, some peace. But therefore they are miserable, because, although they do not grieve in some security, they are nevertheless not there where they ought to be secure and not grieve: but more miserable if they have no peace with that same law by which the natural order is administered. But when they grieve, from that part from which they grieve, a perturbation of peace has been made: but in that part there is still peace, in which neither does pain burn, nor is the compages itself dissolved. Just as, therefore, there is a certain life without pain, but pain cannot be without some life: so there is a certain peace without any war, but war cannot be without some peace; not according to that which is war, but according to that which is carried on by those or in those things which are some natures: which they would in no way be, if they did not subsist by some kind of peace.

2. Wherefore there is a nature in which there is no evil, or even in which no evil can be: but there cannot be a nature in which there is no good. Consequently, not even the nature of the devil himself, in as much as it is a nature, is an evil: but perversity makes it evil. Therefore he did not stand in the truth, but he did not escape the judgment of the truth: he did not remain in the tranquility of order, yet he did not therefore flee from the power of the Orderer. The good of God, which is in his nature, does not withdraw him from the justice of God, by which he is ordered in punishment: nor does God there pursue the good which He created, but the evil which he committed. For neither does He take away all that He gave to nature; but He takes away something, He leaves something, so that there may be one who grieves for what He takes away. And pain itself is a testimony of the good taken away and the good left. For unless good were left, he could not grieve for the good lost. For he who sins is worse if he rejoices in the loss of equity. But he who is tortured, if he acquires no good therefrom, grieves for the loss of safety.

Et quoniam aequitas ac salus utrumque bonum est, bonique amissione dolendum est potius quam laetandum (si tamen non sit compensatio melioris, melior est autem animi aequitas, quam corporis sanitas), profecto convenientius injustus dolet in supplicio, quam laetatus est in delicto. Sicut ergo laetitia deserti boni in peccato testis est voluntatis malae; ita dolor amissi boni in supplicio testis est naturae bonae. Qui enim dolet amissam naturae suae pacem, ex aliquibus reliquiis pacis id dolet, quibus fit, ut sibi amica natura sit. Hoc autem in extremo supplicio recte fit, ut iniqui et impii naturalium bonorum damna in cruciatibus defleant, sentientes eorum ablatorem justissimum Deum, quem contempserunt benignissimum largitorem. Deus ergo naturarum omnium sapientissimus conditor et justissimus ordinator, qui terrenorum ornamentorum maximum instituit mortale genus humanum, dedit hominibus quaedam bona huic vitae congrua, id est, pacem temporalem pro modulo mortalis vitae in ipsa salute et incolumitate ac societate sui generis, et quaeque huic paci vel tuendae vel recuperandae necessaria sunt, sicut ea quae apte ac convenienter adjacent sensibus, lux, nox, aurae spirabiles, aquae potabiles, et quidquid ad alendum, tegendum, curandum ornandumque corpus congruit: eo pacto aequissimo, ut qui mortalis talibus bonis paci mortalium accommodatis recte usus fuerit, accipiat ampliora atque meliora, ipsam scilicet immortalitatis pacem, eique convenientem gloriam et honorem in vita aeterna ad fruendum Deo, et proximo in Deo: qui autem perperam, nec illa accipiat, et haec amittat.

Caput XIV.

De ordine ac lege, sive coelesti, sive terrena, per quam societati humanae etiam dominando consulitur, cui et consulendo servitur.

Omnis igitur usus rerum temporalium refertur ad fructum terrenae pacis in civitate terrena: in coelesti autem civitate refertur ad fructum pacis aeternae. Quapropter si irrationalia essemus animantia, nihil appeteremus praeter ordinatam temperaturam partium corporis et requiem appetitionum: nihil ergo praeter quietem carnis et copiam voluptatum, ut pax corporis prodesset paci animae. Si enim desit pax corporis, impeditur etiam irrationalis pax animae; quia requiem appetitionum consequi non potest. Utrumque autem simul ei paci prodest, quam inter se habent anima e corpus, id est, ordinatae vitae ac salutis. Sicut enim pacem corporis amare se ostendunt animantia, cum fugiunt dolorem; et pacem animae, cum propter explendas indigentias appetitionum voluptatem sequuntur: ita mortem fugiendo satis indicant quantum diligant pacem, qua sibi conciliantur anima et corpus.

And since both equity and safety are a good, and one ought to grieve rather than rejoice at the loss of a good (unless, however, there be a compensation of a better good, but the equity of the mind is better than the health of the body), surely the unjust man more conveniently grieves in punishment than he rejoiced in the delict. Just as, therefore, joy at the deserted good in sin is a witness of a bad will; so pain for the lost good in punishment is a witness of a good nature. For he who grieves for the lost peace of his nature, grieves for it from some remains of peace, by which it happens that nature is friendly to itself. Moreover, this rightly happens in extreme punishment, that the iniquitous and impious bewail the losses of natural goods in their tortures, feeling the most just God to be the taker away of them, whom they contemned as the most benign giver. God, therefore, the most wise founder of all natures and the most just orderer, who established the mortal human race as the greatest of earthly ornaments, gave to men certain goods congruous to this life, that is, temporal peace according to the measure of mortal life in safety itself and incolumity and the society of their kind, and whatever things are necessary for either protecting or recovering this peace, such as those things which aptly and conveniently lie adjacent to the senses, light, night, breathable airs, potable waters, and whatever is congruous for nourishing, covering, caring for and adorning the body: by that most equitable pact, that whatever mortal shall have rightly used such goods accommodated to the peace of mortals, shall receive more ample and better things, namely, the peace of immortality itself, and the glory and honor convenient to it in eternal life for the enjoyment of God and of his neighbor in God: but he who uses them perversely shall neither receive those and shall lose these.

Chapter XIV.

Of order and law, whether celestial or earthly, through which human society is consulted for even by dominating, to which also by consulting service is rendered.

All use of temporal things, therefore, is referred to the fruit of earthly peace in the earthly city: but in the celestial city it is referred to the fruit of eternal peace. Wherefore, if we were irrational animals, we would seek nothing besides the ordered temperature of the parts of the body and the repose of the appetites: nothing, therefore, besides the quiet of the flesh and the abundance of pleasures, so that the peace of the body might profit the peace of the soul. For if the peace of the body be lacking, the irrational peace of the soul is also impeded; because it cannot reach the repose of the appetites. But both together profit that peace which the soul and body have between themselves, that is, of an ordered life and safety. For just as animals show that they love the peace of the body when they flee pain; and the peace of the soul when, for the sake of fulfilling the indigence of the appetites, they follow pleasure: so by fleeing death they sufficiently indicate how much they love the peace by which the soul and body are reconciled to each other.

Sed quia homini rationalis anima inest, totum hoc quod habet commune cum bestiis, subdit paci animae rationalis, ut mente aliquid contempletur, et secundum hoc aliquid agat, ut sit ei ordinata cognitionis actionisque consensio, quam pacem rationalis animae dixeramus. Ad hoc enim velle debet nec dolore molestari, nec desiderio perturbari, nec morte dissolvi, ut aliquid utile cognoscat, et secundum eam cognitionem vitam moresque componat. Sed ne ipso studio cognitionis propter humanae mentis infirmitatem in pestem alicujus erroris incurrat, opus habet magisterio divino, cui certus obtemperet, et adjutorio, ut liber obtemperet. Et quoniam, quamdiu est in isto mortali corpore, peregrinatur a Domino; ambulat per fidem, non per speciem: ac per hoc omnem pacem vel corporis, vel animae, vel simul corporis et animae, refert ad illam pacem, quae homini mortali est cum immortali Deo; ut ei sit ordinata in fide sub aeterna lege obedientia. Jam vero quia duo praecipua praecepta, hoc est, dilectionem Dei et dilectionem proximi, docet magister Deus; in quibus tria invenit homo quae diligat, Deum, se ipsum, et proximum; atque ille in se diligendo non errat qui diligit Deum: consequens est, ut etiam proximo ad diligendum Deum consulat, quem jubetur sicut se ipsum diligere. Sic uxori, sic filiis, sic domesticis, sic caeteris quibus potuerit hominibus; et ad hoc sibi a proximo, si forte indiget, consuli velit: ac per hoc erit pacatus, quantum in ipso est, omni homini, pace hominum, id est ordinata concordia: cujus hic ordo est, primum ut nulli noceat, deinde ut etiam prosit cui potuerit. Primitus ergo inest ei suorum cura: ad eos quippe habet opportuniorem facilioremque aditum consulendi, vel naturae ordine, vel ipsius societatis humanae. Unde Apostolus dicit: Quisquis autem suis, et maxime domesticis non providet, fidem denegat, et est infideli deterior. Hinc itaque etiam pax domestica oritur, id est, ordinata imperandi obediendique concordia cohabitantium. Imperant enim qui consulunt: sicut vir uxori, parentes filiis, domini servis. Obediunt autem quibus consulitur: sicut mulieres maritis, filii parentibus, servi dominis. Sed in domo justi viventis ex fide, et adhuc ab illa coelesti civitate peregrinantis, etiam qui imperant, serviunt eis, quibus videntur imperare. Neque enim dominandi cupiditate imperant, sed officio consulendi; nec principandi superbia, sed providendi misericordia.

CAPUT XV.---De libertate naturali, et de servitute, cujus prima causa peccatum est, qua homo malae voluntatis etiamsi non est mancipium alterius hominis, servus est propriae libidinis.

But because there is a rational soul in man, all this which he has in common with the beasts he subjects to the peace of the rational soul, so that he may contemplate something with the mind, and according to this do something, so that there may be in him an ordered agreement of knowledge and action, which we had called the peace of the rational soul. For to this end he ought to wish neither to be molested by pain, nor to be disturbed by desire, nor to be dissolved by death, that he may know something useful, and according to that knowledge compose his life and manners. But lest by the very study of knowledge he should run into the plague of some error on account of the infirmity of the human mind, he has need of divine teaching, which he may certainly obey, and of help, that he may freely obey. And since, as long as he is in this mortal body, he is on pilgrimage from the Lord; he walks by faith, not by sight: and by this he refers all peace either of the body, or of the soul, or of body and soul together, to that peace which there is to mortal man with the immortal God; so that there may be to him an ordered obedience in faith under the eternal law. Now indeed, because the teacher God teaches two principal precepts, that is, the love of God and the love of neighbor, in which man finds three things which he may love—God, himself, and his neighbor; and he does not err in loving himself who loves God: it follows that he should also consult for his neighbor to love God, whom he is commanded to love as himself. Thus for his wife, thus for his children, thus for his domestics, thus for other men as he can; and to this end he should wish to be consulted for by his neighbor, if perchance he has need: and by this he will be at peace, as much as in him lies, with every man, by the peace of men, that is, ordered concord: of which this is the order, first that he harm no one, then that he also profit whomsoever he can. Primarily, therefore, there is in him the care of his own: for to them he has a more opportune and easier access for consulting, either by the order of nature, or of human society itself. Whence the Apostle says: "But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel" (1 Tim. v. 8). Hence, therefore, domestic peace also arises, that is, the ordered concord of commanding and obeying of those cohabiting. For those command who consult: as the husband for his wife, parents for their children, masters for their servants. But those obey for whom consultation is made: as women for their husbands, children for their parents, servants for their masters. But in the house of the just man living from faith, and still on pilgrimage from that celestial city, even those who command serve those whom they seem to command. For they command not from a desire of dominating, but from the duty of consulting; nor from the pride of ruling, but from the mercy of providing.

CHAPTER XV.---Of natural liberty, and of servitude, the first cause of which is sin, by which a man of bad will, even if he is not the bondman of another man, is the slave of his own lust.

Hoc naturalis ordo praescribit; ita Deus hominem condidit. Nam, Dominetur, inquit, piscium maris, et volatilium coeli, et omnium repentium quae repunt super terram (Gen. I, 26). Rationalem factum ad imaginem suam noluit nisi irrationabilibus dominari: non hominem homini, sed hominem pecori. Inde primi justi, pastores pecorum magis quam reges hominum constituti sunt: ut etiam sic insinuaret Deus, quid postulet ordo creaturarum, quid exigat meritum peccatorum. Conditio quippe servitutis jure intelligitur imposita peccatori. Proinde nusquam Scripturarum legimus servum, antequam hoc vocabulo Noe justus peccatum filii vindicaret (Id. IX, 25). Nomen itaque istud culpa meruit, non natura. Origo autem vocabuli servorum in latina lingua inde creditur ducta, quod hi qui jure belli possent occidi, a victoribus cum servabantur, servi fiebant, a servando appellati; quod etiam ipsum sine peccati merito non est. Nam et cum justum geritur bellum, pro peccato et a contrario dimicatur: et omnis victoria, cum etiam malis provenit, divino judicio victos humiliat, vel emendans peccata, vel puniens. Testis est homo Dei Daniel, cum in captivitate positus, peccata sua et peccata populi sui confitetur Deo, et hanc esse causam illius captivitatis pio dolore testatur (Dan. IX, 5-19). Prima ergo servitutis causa peccatum est; ut homo homini conditionis vinculo subderetur: quod non fit nisi Deo judicante, apud quem non est iniquitas, et novit diversas poenas meritis distribuere delinquentium. Sicut autem supernus Dominus dicit, Omnis qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati (Joan. VIII, 34): ac per hoc multi quidem religiosi dominis iniquis, non tamen liberis serviunt: A quo enim quis devictus est, huic et servus addictus est (II Petr. II, 19). Et utique felicius servitur homini, quam libidini; cum saevissimo dominatu vastet corda mortalium, ut alias omittam, libido ipsa dominandi. Hominibus autem illo pacis ordine, quo aliis alii subjecti sunt, sicut prodest humilitas servientibus, ita nocet superbia dominantibus. Nullus autem natura, in qua prius Deo hominem condidit, servus est hominis, aut peccati. Verum et poenalis servitus ea lege ordinatur, quae naturalem ordinem conservari jubet, perturbari vetat: quia si contra eam legem non esset factum, nihil esset poenali servitute coercendum. Ideoque Apostolus etiam servos monet subditos esse dominis suis, et ex animo eis cum bona voluntate servire (Ephes. VI, 5): ut scilicet, si non possunt a dominis liberi fieri, suam servitutem ipsi quodammodo liberam faciant; non timore subdolo, sed fideli dilectione serviendo, donec transeat iniquitas, et evacuetur omnis principatus, et potestas humana, et sit Deus omnia in omnibus.

This the natural order prescribes; thus God founded man. For, "Let him have dominion," He says, "over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth" (Gen. i. 26). Having made him rational after His own image, He did not wish him to dominate except over irrational things: not man over man, but man over cattle. Hence the first just men were established as shepherds of cattle rather than as kings of men: so that even thus God might insinuate what the order of creatures demands, and what the merit of sinners exacts. For the condition of servitude is rightly understood to have been imposed upon the sinner. Consequently, we nowhere read of a servant in the Scriptures before the just Noah punished the sin of his son with this word (Gen. ix. 25). That name, therefore, guilt merited, not nature. Moreover, the origin of the word for servants in the Latin tongue is believed to be derived from this, that those who could by the law of war be killed, when they were preserved by the victors, became servants (servi), being called from preserving (servando); which also itself is not without the merit of sin. For even when a just war is waged, it is fought for sin and from the opposite side: and every victory, even when it happens to the wicked, humbles the conquered by divine judgment, either amending sins or punishing them. The man of God, Daniel, is a witness, when, placed in captivity, he confesses his own sins and the sins of his people to God, and testifies with pious grief that this was the cause of that captivity (Dan. ix. 5-19). The first cause of servitude, therefore, is sin; so that man should be subjected to man by the bond of condition: which does not happen except by the judgment of God, with whom there is no iniquity, and who knows how to distribute diverse punishments to the merits of delinquents. But as the celestial Lord says, "Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin" (John viii. 34): and by this many religious people serve iniquitous masters, yet not free themselves: "for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage" (2 Pet. ii. 19). And surely one is served more happily by a man than by lust; when with the most savage dominion it wastes the hearts of mortals—to omit others—the very lust of dominating. But to men in that order of peace, by which some are subjected to others, as humility profits those serving, so pride harms those dominating. But by nature, in which God first founded man, no one is the servant of man, or of sin. But also penal servitude is ordered by that law which commands the natural order to be preserved and forbids it to be disturbed: because if it had not been done against that law, there would be nothing to be coerced by penal servitude. And therefore the Apostle also admonishes servants to be subject to their masters, and to serve them from the soul with good will (Eph. vi. 5): so that, namely, if they cannot be made free by their masters, they may themselves in a certain way make their servitude free; by serving not with guileful fear, but with faithful love, until iniquity pass away, and all principality and human power be evacuated, and God be all in all.

Caput XVI.

De aequo jure dominandi

Quocirca etiamsi habuerunt servos justi patres nostri, sic quidem administrabant domesticam pacem, ut secundum haec temporalia bona, filiorum sortem a servorum conditione distinguerent; ad Deum autem colendum, in quo aeterna bona speranda sunt, omnibus domus suae membris pari dilectione consulerent. Quod naturalis ordo ita praescribit, ut nomen patrumfamilias hinc exortum sit, et tam late vulgatum, ut inique etiam dominantes hoc se gaudeant appellari. Qui autem veri patresfamilias sunt, omnibus in familia sua tanquam filiis ad colendum et promerendum Deum consulunt; desiderantes atque optantes venire ad coelestem domum, ubi necessarium non sit officium imperandi mortalibus, quia necessarium non erit officium consulendi jam in illa immortality felicibus: quo donec veniatur, magis debent patres quod dominantur, quam servi tolerare quod serviunt. Si quis autem in domo per inobedientiam domesticae paci adversatur, corripitur, seu verbo, seu verbere, seu quolibet alio genere poenae justo atque licito, quantum societas humana concedit, pro ejus qui corripitur utilitate, ut paci unde dissiluerat coaptetur. Sicut enim non est beneficentiae, adjuvando efficere ut bonum quod majus est amittatur; ita non est innocentiae, parcendo sinere ut in malum gravius incidatur. Pertinet ergo ad innocentis officium, non solum nemini malum inferre, verum etiam cohibere a peccato, vel punire peccatum; ut aut ipse qui plectitur, corrigatur experimento, aut alii terreantur exemplo. Quia igitur hominis domus initium sive particula debet esse civitatis, omne autem initium ad aliquem sui generis finem, et omnis pars ad universi, cujus pars est, integritatem refertur: satis apparet esse consequens, ut ad pacem civicam pax domestica referatur, id est, ut ordinata imperandi obediendique concordia cohabitantium referatur ad ordinatam imperandi obediendique concordiam civium. Ita fit, ut ex lege civitatis praecepta sumere patremfamilias oporteat, quibus domum suam sic regat, ut sit paci accommodata civitatis.

Caput XVII.

Unde coelestis societas cum terrena civitate pacem habeat, et unde discordiam.

Chapter XVI.

Of the equitable right of dominating.

Wherefore, even if our just fathers had servants, they so administered domestic peace that, according to these temporal goods, they distinguished the lot of sons from the condition of servants; but for the worship of God, in whom eternal goods are to be hoped for, they consulted for all the members of their house with equal love. Which the natural order so prescribes, that the name of fathers of families (patrumfamilias) arose from hence, and has been so widely published that even those dominating iniquitously rejoice to be called by this name. But those who are true fathers of a family consult for all in their family as for sons to the worship and meriting of God; desiring and wishing to come to the celestial house, where the office of commanding mortals may not be necessary, because the office of consulting will not be necessary for those already happy in that immortality: until which place is reached, fathers ought more to tolerate that they dominate than servants that they serve. But if anyone in the house by inobedience is adverse to domestic peace, he is rebuked, whether by word, or by a blow, or by any other kind of punishment just and licit, as much as human society concedes, for the utility of him who is rebuked, that he may be refitted to the peace from which he had leaped apart. For just as it is not of beneficence, by helping, to effect that a good which is greater be lost; so it is not of innocence, by sparing, to allow that one should fall into a more grievous evil. It pertains, therefore, to the office of an innocent man not only to infer evil to no one, but also to restrain from sin, or to punish sin; so that either he himself who is punished may be corrected by the experiment, or others may be terrified by the example. Because, therefore, the house of a man ought to be the beginning or a particle of a city, moreover every beginning is referred to some end of its own kind, and every part to the integrity of the whole of which it is a part: it appears sufficiently to be a consequence that domestic peace be referred to civic peace, that is, that the ordered concord of commanding and obeying of those cohabiting be referred to the ordered concord of commanding and obeying of the citizens. Thus it happens that it behooves the father of a family to take precepts from the law of the city, by which he may so rule his house that it may be accommodated to the peace of the city.

Chapter XVII.

Whence the celestial society may have peace with the earthly city, and whence discord.

Sed domus hominum qui non vivunt ex fide, pacem terrenam ex hujus temporalis vitae rebus commodisque sectatur. Domus autem hominum ex fide viventium, exspectat ea quae in futurum aeterna promissa sunt, terrenisque rebus ac temporalibus tanquam peregrina utitur, non quibus capiatur et avertatur quo tendit in Deum, sed quibus sustentetur ad facilius toleranda minimeque augenda onera corporis corruptibilis, quod aggravat animam (Sap. IX, 15). Idcirco rerum vitae huic mortali necessariarum utrisque hominibus et utrique domui communis est usus; sed finis utendi cuique suus proprius, multumque diversus. Ita etiam terrena civitas, quae non vivit ex fide, terrenam pacem appetit; in eoque defigit imperandi obediendique concordiam civium, ut sit eis de rebus ad mortalem vitam pertinentibus humanarum quaedam compositio voluntatum. Civitas autem coelestis, vel potius pars ejus, quae in hac mortalitate peregrinatur, et vivit ex fide, etiam ista pace necesse est utatur, donec ipsa cui talis pax necessaria est, mortalitas transeat. Ac per hoc dum apud terrenam civitatem, velut captivam vitam suae peregrinationis agit, jam promissione redemptionis et dono spirituali tanquam pignore accepto, legibus terrenae civitatis, quibus haec administrantur, quae sustentandae mortali vitae accommodata sunt, obtemperare non dubitat: ut, quoniam communis est ipsa mortalitas, servetur in rebus ad eam pertinentibus inter civitatem utramque concordia. Verum quia terrena civitas habuit quosdam suos sapientes, quos divina improbat disciplina, qui vel suspicati vel decepti a daemonibus crederent multos deos conciliandos esse rebus humanis, ad quorum diversa quodammodo officia diversa subdita pertinerent, ad alium corpus, ad alium animus, inque ipso corpore ad alium caput, ad alium cervix, et caetera singula ad singulos; similiter in animo ad alium ingenium, ad alium doctrina, ad alium ira, ad alium concupiscentia; inque ipsis rebus vitae adjacentibus, ad alium pecus, ad alium triticum, ad alium vinum, ad alium oleum, ad alium silvae, ad alium nummi, ad alium navigatio, ad alium bella atque victoriae, ad alium conjugia, ad alium partus ac fecunditas, et ad alios alia caetera; coelestis autem civitas unum Deum solum colendum nosset, eique tantummodo serviendum servitute illa, quae graece latreia dicitur, et non nisi Deo debetur, fideli pietate censeret: factum est, ut religionis leges cum terrena civitate non posset habere communes, proque his ab ea dissentire haberet necesse, atque oneri esse diversa sentientibus, eorumque iras et odia et persecutionum impetus sustinere, nisi cum animos adversantium aliquando terrore suae multitudinis, et semper divino adjutorio propulsaret.

But the house of men who do not live from faith follows earthly peace from the things and commodities of this temporal life. But the house of men living from faith expects those things which are promised as eternal in the future, and uses earthly and temporal things as a pilgrim, not by which it may be captured and averted from where it tends toward God, but by which it may be sustained for more easily tolerating and minimally increasing the burdens of the corruptible body, which weighs down the soul (Wisd. ix. 15). Therefore the use of things necessary for this mortal life is common to both men and both houses; but the end of using them is each one's own, and very different. Thus also the earthly city, which does not live from faith, desires earthly peace; and in that it fixes the concord of commanding and obeying of the citizens, so that there may be to them concerning the things pertaining to mortal life a certain composition of human wills. But the celestial city, or rather that part of it which performs its pilgrimage in this mortality, and lives from faith, must also necessarily use this peace, until mortality itself, to which such peace is necessary, pass away. And by this, while it leads a captive life of its pilgrimage with the earthly city, having already received the promise of redemption and the spiritual gift as it were a pledge, it does not hesitate to obey the laws of the earthly city, by which those things are administered which are accommodated to sustaining mortal life: so that, since mortality itself is common, concord may be preserved in the things pertaining to it between both cities. But because the earthly city has had certain of its own wise men, whom divine discipline reproves, who, either suspecting or being deceived by demons, believed that many gods were to be conciliated for human affairs, to whose diverse offices, as it were, diverse subjects pertained—to one the body, to another the soul, and in the body itself to one the head, to another the neck, and the rest individually to individuals; similarly in the soul to one genius, to another doctrine, to another anger, to another concupiscence; and in those things adjacent to life, to one cattle, to another wheat, to another wine, to another oil, to another woods, to another money, to another navigation, to another wars and victories, to another marriages, to another partus and fecundity, and to others other things; but the celestial city knew that one God alone was to be worshipped, and that to Him only service was to be rendered with that servitude which in Greek is called latreia, and is not due except to God, it should judge with faithful piety: it has happened that it could not have common laws of religion with the earthly city, and for these it was necessary to dissent from it, and to be a burden to those feeling differently, and to sustain their angers and hatreds and the impulses of persecutions, except when it should repel the minds of adversaries sometimes by the terror of its multitude, and always by divine help.

Haec ergo coelestis civitas dum peregrinatur in terra, ex omnibus gentibus cives evocat, atque in omnibus linguis peregrinam colligit societatem; non curans quidquid in moribus, legibus, institutisque diversum est, quibus pax terrena vel conquiritur, vel tenetur; nihil eorum rescindens, nec destruens, imo etiam servans ac sequens: quod licet diversum in diversis nationibus, ad unum tamen eumdemque finem terrenae pacis intenditur, si religionem qua unus summus et verus Deus colendus docetur, non impedit. Utitur ergo etiam coelestis civitas in hac sua peregrinatione pace terrena, et de rebus ad mortalem hominum naturam pertinentibus, humanarum voluntatum compositionem, quantum salva pietate ac religione conceditur, tuetur atque appetit, eamque terrenam pacem refert ad coelestem pacem: quae vere ita pax est, ut rationalis duntaxat creaturae sola pax habenda atque dicenda sit, ordinatissima scilicet et concordissima societas fruendi Deo, et invicem in Deo; quo cum ventum fuerit, non erit vita mortalis, sed plane certeque vitalis; nec corpus animale, quod dum corrumpitur, aggravat animam, sed spirituale sine ulla indigentia, ex omni parte subditum voluntati. Hanc pacem, dum peregrinatur in fide, habet; atque ex hac fide juste vivit, cum ad illam pacem adipiscendam refert quidquid bonarum actionum gerit erga Deum et proximum, quoniam vita civitatis utique socialis est.

Caput XVIII.

Quam diversa sit Academiae novae ambiguitas a constantia fidei christianae.

Quod autem attinet ad illam differentiam, quam de Academicis novis Varro adhibuit, quibus incerta sunt omnia, omnino civitas Dei talem dubitationem tanquam dementiam detestatur, habens de rebus, quas mente atque ratione comprehendit, etiamsi parvam propter corpus corruptibile, quod aggravat animam, quoniam sicut dicit Apostolus, Ex parte scimus (I Cor. XIII, 9), tamen certissimam scientiam: creditque sensibus in rei cujusque evidentia, quibus per corpus animus utitur: quoniam miserabilius fallitur, qui nunquam putat eis esse credendum. Credit etiam Scripturis sanctis et veteribus et novis, quas Canonicas appellamus, unde fides ipsa concepta est, ex qua justus vivit (Habacuc II, 4); per quam sine dubitatione ambulamus, quamdiu peregrinamur a Domino (II Cor. V, 6): qua salva atque certa, de quibusdam rebus, quas neque sensu, neque ratione percepimus, neque nobis per Scripturam canonicam claruerunt, nec per testes quibus non credere absurdum est, in nostram notitiam pervenerunt, sine justa reprehensione dubitamus.

Caput XIX.

De habitu et moribus populi christiani.

This celestial city, therefore, while it performs its pilgrimage on earth, calls forth citizens from all nations, and collects a pilgrim society in all languages; not caring whatever is diverse in manners, laws, and institutions, by which earthly peace is either acquired or held; rescinding nothing of them, nor destroying, but rather even preserving and following: which, although diverse in diverse nations, is yet intended to one and the same end of earthly peace, if it does not impede the religion by which the one supreme and true God is taught to be worshipped. Therefore the celestial city also uses earthly peace in this its pilgrimage, and concerning the things pertaining to the mortal nature of men, it protects and desires the composition of human wills as much as is conceded saving piety and religion, and refers that earthly peace to celestial peace: which truly is so peace, that it alone ought to be held and called the peace of at least the rational creature, namely, the most ordered and most concordant society of enjoying God, and one another in God; whither when one shall have come, there will not be a mortal life, but plainly and certainly a vital one; nor an animal body, which while it is corrupted, weighs down the soul, but a spiritual one without any indigence, in every part subjected to the will. This peace it has while it performs its pilgrimage in faith; and from this faith it lives justly, when it refers to the attaining of that peace whatever of good actions it performs toward God and neighbor, since the life of the city is surely social.

Chapter XVIII.

How the ambiguity of the New Academy differs from the constancy of the Christian faith.

But as for that difference which Varro applied concerning the New Academics, to whom all things are uncertain, the City of God altogether detests such doubt as madness, having most certain knowledge regarding those things which it comprehends with the mind and reason, even if it be small on account of the corruptible body which weighs down the soul, since, as the Apostle says, 'We know in part' (1 Cor. 13:9); and it trusts the senses in the evidence of each thing, which the mind uses through the body: for he is more miserably deceived who thinks they are never to be believed. It also believes the Holy Scriptures, both old and new, which we call Canonical, whence that very faith is conceived, by which the just lives (Hab. 2:4); through which we walk without doubt, as long as we are on pilgrimage from the Lord (2 Cor. 5:6): while this faith remains safe and certain, we doubt without just reproach concerning certain things which we have perceived neither by sense nor by reason, nor have they become clear to us through the canonical Scripture, nor have they come to our notice through witnesses whom it is absurd not to believe.

Chapter XIX.

On the dress and customs of the Christian people.

Nihil sane ad istam pertinet civitatem quo habitu vel more vivendi, si non est contra divina praecepta, istam fidem, qua pervenitur ad Deum, quisque sectetur: unde ipsos quoque philosophos, quando Christiani fiunt, non habitum vel consuetudinem victus, quae nihil impedit religionem, sed falsa dogmata mutare compellit. Unde illam quam Varro adhibuit ex Cynicis differentiam, si nihil turpiter atque intemperanter agat, omnino non curat. Ex tribus vero illis vitae generibus, otioso, actuoso, et ex utroque composito, quamvis salva fide quisque possit in quolibet eorum vitam ducere, et ad sempiterna praemia pervenire; interest tamen quid amore teneat veritatis, quid officio charitatis impendat. Nec sic quisque debet esse otiosus, ut in eodem otio utilitatem non cogitet proximi; nec sic actuosus, ut contemplationem non requirat Dei. In otio non iners vacatio delectare debet; sed aut inquisitio, aut inventio veritatis: ut in ea quisque proficiat, et quod invenerit teneat, et alteri non invideat. In actione vero non amandus est honor in hac vita, sive potentia; quoniam omnia vana sub sole: sed opus ipsum, quod per eumdem honorem vel potentiam fit, si recte atque utiliter fit, id est, ut valeat ad eam salutem subditorum, quae secundum Deum est; unde jam superius disputavimus (Cap. 6). Propter quod ait Apostolus, Qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat (I Tim. III, 1). Exponere voluit quid sit episcopatus; quia nomen est operis, non honoris. Graecum est enim, atque inde ductum vocabulum, quod ille qui praeficitur, eis quibus praeficitur superintendit, curam eorum scilicet gerens: ἐπί quippe, Super; σκοπός vero, Intentio est: ergo ἐπισκοπεῖν, si velimus, latine Superintendere possumus dicere; ut intelligat non se esse episcopum, qui praeesse dilexerit, non prodesse. Itaque a studio cognoscendae veritatis nemo prohibetur, quod ad laudabile pertinet otium: locus vero superior, sine quo regi populus non potest, etsi ita teneatur atque administretur ut decet, tamen indecenter appetitur. Quamobrem otium sanctum quaerit charitas veritatis: negotium justum suscipit necessitas charitatis. Quam sarcinam si nullus imponit, percipiendae atque intuendae vacandum est veritati: si autem imponitur, suscipienda est propter charitatis necessitatem: sed nec sic omni modo veritatis delectatio deserenda est, ne subtrahatur illa suavitas, et opprimat ista necessitas.

Caput XX.

Quod cives sanctorum in vitae hujus tempore spe beati sint.

It surely does not pertain to that city what dress or custom of living anyone follows, provided it is not against the divine precepts, as long as he holds to that faith by which one reaches God: hence it compels even the philosophers themselves, when they become Christians, not to change their dress or custom of life, which in no way hinders religion, but to change their false dogmas. Thus, it does not care at all about that distinction which Varro applied from the Cynics, if one does nothing disgracefully or intemperately. Of those three types of life—the leisurely, the active, and the one composed of both—although anyone can lead his life in any of them while keeping the faith and reach eternal rewards, it matters, however, what he holds by the love of truth and what he spends in the duty of charity. No one ought to be so leisurely that in that same leisure he does not think of the utility of his neighbor; nor so active that he does not seek the contemplation of God. In leisure, it is not an idle vacation that should delight, but either the investigation or the discovery of truth: so that each may profit in it, and hold what he has found, and not envy another. In action, however, honor in this life or power is not to be loved, since all things are vain under the sun: but the work itself, which is done through that same honor or power, if it is done rightly and usefully, that is, so that it may avail for that salvation of subjects which is according to God; concerning which we have already disputed above (Chap. 6). For which reason the Apostle says, 'He who desires the office of a bishop, desires a good work' (1 Tim. 3:1). He wished to explain what the episcopate is; because it is a name of a work, not of an honor. For it is a Greek word, and the term is derived from the fact that he who is placed over others superintends those over whom he is placed, namely by carrying the care of them: for epi means 'over,' and skopos means 'intention'; therefore episkopein, if we wish, we can say in Latin is superintendere; so that he may understand that he is not a bishop who has loved to rule rather than to be of use. Therefore, no one is prohibited from the study of knowing the truth, which pertains to a laudable leisure: but a superior place, without which a people cannot be ruled, even if it be held and administered as is proper, is nevertheless indecently sought after. For this reason, the love of truth seeks a holy leisure: the necessity of charity undertakes a just business. If no one imposes this burden, one must be free for the perceiving and intuiting of truth; but if it is imposed, it must be undertaken on account of the necessity of charity: but not even then is the delight of truth to be abandoned in every way, lest that sweetness be withdrawn and this necessity overwhelm.

Chapter XX.

That the citizens of the saints are blessed in hope during the time of this life.

Quamobrem summum bonum civitatis Dei cum sit aeterna pax atque perfecta, non per quam mortales transeant nascendo atque moriendo, sed in qua immortales maneant nihil adversi omnino patiendo; quis est qui illam vitam vel beatissimam neget, vel in ejus comparatione istam, quae hic agitur, quantislibet animi et corporis externarumque rerum bonis plena sit, non miserrimam judicet? Quam tamen quicumque sic habet, ut ejus usum referat ad illius finem, quam diligit ardentissime, ac fidelissime sperat, non absurde dici etiam nunc beatus potest, spe illa potius, quam re ista. Res vero ista sine spe illa, beatitudo falsa et magna miseria est: non enim veris animi bonis utitur. Quoniam non est vera sapientia, quae intentionem suam in his quae prudenter discernit, gerit fortiter, cohibet temperanter, justeque distribuit, non in illum dirigit finem, ubi erit Deus omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 28), aeternitate certa et pace perfecta.

Caput XXI.

An secundum definitiones Scipionis, quae in dialogo Ciceronis sunt, unquam fuerit Romana respublica.

1. Quapropter nunc est locus, ut quam potero breviter ac dilucide expediam, quod in secundo hujus operis libro me demonstraturum esse promisi (Cap. 21, n. 4), secundum definitiones, quibus apud Ciceronem utitur Scipio in libris de Republica, nunquam rempublicam fuisse Romanam. Breviter enim rempublicam definit esse rem populi. Quae definitio, si vera est, nunquam fuit Romana respublica: quia nunquam fuit res populi; quam definitionem voluit esse reipublicae. Populum enim esse definivit coetum multitudinis, juris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatum. Quid autem dicat juris consensum, disputando explicat; per hoc ostendens geri sine justitia non posse rempublicam: ubi ergo justitia vera non est, nec jus potest esse. Quod enim jure fit, profecto juste fit: quod autem fit injuste, nec jure fieri potest. Non enim jura dicenda sunt vel putanda iniqua hominum constituta: cum illud etiam ipsi jus esse dicant, quod de justitiae fonte manaverit; falsumque esse, quod a quibusdam non recte sentientibus dici solet, id esse jus, quod ei qui plus potest, utile est. Quocirca ubi non est vera justitia, juris consensu sociatus coetus hominum non potest esse, et ideo nec populus, juxta illam Scipionis vel Ciceronis definitionem: et si non populus, nec res populi; sed qualiscumque multitudinis, quae populi nomine digna non est. Ac per hoc, si respublica res populi est, et populus non est qui consensu non sociatus est juris, non est autem jus, ubi nulla justitia est: procul dubio colligitur, ubi justitia non est, non esse rempublicam. Justitia porro ea virtus est, quae sua cuique distribuit.

Therefore, since the highest good of the City of God is eternal and perfect peace, not one through which mortals pass by being born and dying, but in which immortals remain by suffering nothing adverse at all; who is there who would either deny that life is most blessed, or, in comparison with it, would not judge this life which is led here to be most miserable, however full it may be of the goods of mind and body and external things? However, whoever possesses this life in such a way that he refers its use to the end of that life, which he loves most ardently and hopes for most faithfully, can even now be called blessed without absurdity, rather by that hope than by this reality. But this reality without that hope is a false beatitude and a great misery: for it does not use the true goods of the mind. For it is not true wisdom which does not direct its intention toward that end where God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15:28), in certain eternity and perfect peace, even if it discerns prudently in those things which it manages bravely, restrains temperately, and distributes justly.

Chapter XXI.

Whether, according to the definitions of Scipio which are in Cicero's dialogue, there ever was a Roman republic.

1. Therefore, now is the place for me to explain, as briefly and clearly as I can, what I promised to demonstrate in the second book of this work (Chap. 21, n. 4), that according to the definitions which Scipio uses in Cicero's books On the Republic, there never was a Roman republic. For he briefly defines a republic as the 'affair of the people.' If this definition is true, there never was a Roman republic: because it was never the affair of the people, which definition he wished to be that of a republic. For he defined a people as a 'multitude associated by a consensus of right and a communion of utility.' What he means by a 'consensus of right,' he explains by disputing, showing through this that a republic cannot be managed without justice: therefore, where true justice is not, there can be no right. For what is done by right is surely done justly: but what is done unjustly cannot be done by right. For the iniquitous statutes of men are not to be called or thought of as rights: since even they themselves say that right is that which flows from the fountain of justice; and that it is false, as is often said by some who do not think correctly, that 'right is that which is useful to him who is most powerful.' Wherefore, where there is not true justice, there cannot be an assembly of men associated by a consensus of right, and therefore no people, according to that definition of Scipio or Cicero: and if no people, then no 'affair of the people'; but of some kind of multitude, which is not worthy of the name of a people. And through this, if a republic is the 'affair of the people,' and it is not a people which is not associated by a consensus of right, and there is no right where there is no justice: it is concluded without doubt that where there is no justice, there is no republic. Furthermore, justice is that virtue which distributes to each his own.

Quae igitur justitia est hominis, quae ipsum hominem Deo vero tollit, et immundis daemonibus subdit? Hoccine est sua cuique distribuere? An qui fundum aufert ei a quo emptus est, et tradit ei qui nihil in eo habet juris, injustus est; et qui se ipsum aufert dominanti Deo, a quo factus est, et malignis servit spiritibus, justus est?

2. Disputatur certe acerrime atque fortissime in eisdem ipsis de Republica libris adversus injustitiam pro justitia. Et quoniam, cum prius ageretur pro injustitiae partibus contra justitiam, et diceretur nisi per injustitiam rempublicam stare augerique non posse; hoc veluti validissimum positum erat, injustum esse, ut homines hominibus dominantibus serviant; quam tamen injustitiam nisi sequatur imperiosa civitas, cujus est magna respublica, non eam posse provinciis imperare: responsum est a parte justitiae, ideo justum esse, quod talibus hominibus sit utilis servitus, et pro utilitate eorum fieri cum recte fit, id est, cum improbis aufertur injuriarum licentia; et domiti se melius habebunt, quia indomiti deterius se habuerunt: subditumque est, ut ista ratio firmaretur, veluti a natura sumptum nobile exemplum, atque dictum est, Cur igitur Deus homini, animus imperat corpori, ratio libidini caeterisque vitiosis animi partibus? Plane hoc exemplo satis edoctum est, quibusdam esse utilem servitutem; et Deo quidem ut serviatur, utile esse omnibus. Serviens autem Deo animus, recte imperat corpori, inque ipso animo ratio Domino Deo subdita, recte imperat libidini vitiisque caeteris. Quapropter ubi homo Deo non servit, quid in eo putandum est esse justitiae; quandoquidem Deo non serviens, nullo modo potest juste animus corpori, aut humana ratio vitiis imperare? Et si in homine tali non est ulla justitia, procul dubio nec in hominum coetu, qui ex hominibus talibus constat. Non est hic ergo juris ille consensus, qui hominum multitudinem populum facit, cujus res dicitur esse respublica. Nam de utilitate quid dicam, cujus etiam communione sociatus coetus hominum, sicut se habet ista definitio, populus nuncupatur? Quamvis enim, si diligenter attendas, nec utilitas sit ulla viventium, qui vivunt impie; sicut vivit omnis qui non servit Deo, servitque daemonibus, tanto magis impiis, quanto magis sibi, cum sint immundissimi spiritus, tanquam diis sacrificari volunt: tamen quod de juris consensu diximus, satis esse arbitror, unde appareat per hanc definitionem non esse populum, cujus respublica esse dicatur, in quo justitia non est.

What justice, then, is that of a man which takes the man himself away from the true God and subjects him to impure demons? Is this to distribute to each his own? Or is he who takes away a field from the one by whom it was bought and hands it over to one who has no right in it, unjust; and he who takes himself away from the God who dominates him, by whom he was made, and serves malignant spirits, just?

2. There is certainly a most sharp and powerful dispute in those same books On the Republic against injustice and for justice. And since, when the case was first being made for the side of injustice against justice, and it was being said that a republic cannot stand and be increased except through injustice; this was placed as if it were the strongest point: that it is unjust for men to serve dominating men; which injustice, however, if the imperial city, whose republic is great, does not follow, it cannot rule over provinces: it was answered on the part of justice, that it is therefore just because servitude is useful to such men, and it is done for their utility when it is done rightly, that is, when the license for injuries is taken away from the wicked; and the tamed will be better off, because when untamed they were worse off: and that this reasoning might be strengthened, a noble example was taken as if from nature, and it was said, 'Why then does God rule over man, the mind over the body, and reason over lust and the other vicious parts of the mind?' Clearly by this example it is sufficiently taught that servitude is useful to some; and that it is useful to all to serve God. Moreover, the soul serving God rightly rules the body, and in the soul itself the reason, subjected to the Lord God, rightly rules over lust and other vices. Wherefore, where a man does not serve God, what is to be thought of as being in him of justice; seeing that, not serving God, the mind can in no way justly rule the body, nor human reason rule the vices? And if in such a man there is not any justice, without doubt there is none in an assembly of men which consists of such men. There is not here, therefore, that consensus of right which makes a multitude of men a people, whose affair is said to be a republic. For what shall I say of utility, by the communion of which also an assembly of men is called a people, as that definition holds? For although, if you attend diligently, there is no utility for those who live impiously; as every one lives who does not serve God, but serves demons, so much more impiously as they serve themselves more, since they are most impure spirits, and wish to be sacrificed to as if they were gods: nevertheless, what we have said concerning the consensus of right I think is sufficient, from which it may appear that by this definition there is no people, whose republic it may be called, in which there is no justice.

Si enim dicunt non spiritibus immundis, sed diis bonis atque sanctis in sua republica servisse Romanos; numquid eadem toties repetenda sunt, quae jam satis, imo ultra quam satis est, diximus? Quis enim ad hunc locum per superiores hujus operis libros pervenit, qui dubitare adhuc possit, malis et impuris daemonibus servisse Romanos, nisi vel nimium stolidus, vel impudentissime contentiosus? Sed ut taceam quales sint, quos sacrificiis colebant; in lege veri Deo scriptum est, Sacrificans diis eradicabitur, nisi Domino tantum (Exod. XXII, 20). Nec bonis igitur, nec malis diis sacrificari voluit, qui hoc cum tanta comminatione praecepit.

Caput XXII.

An verus sit Deus, cui Christiani serviunt, cui soli debeat sacrificari.

Sed responderi potest: Quis iste Deus est, aut unde dignus probatur, cui deberent obtemperare Romani, ut nullum deorum praeter ipsum colerent sacrificiis? Magnae caecitatis est, adhuc quaerere quis iste sit Deus. Ipse est Deus, cujus Prophetae praedixerunt ista quae cernimus. Ipse est Deus, a quo responsum accepit Abraham, In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes (Gen. XXII, 18). Quod in Christo fieri, qui secundum carnem de illo semine exortus est, iidem ipsi qui remanserunt hujus nominis inimici, velint nolintve, cognoscunt. Ipse est Deus, cujus divinus Spiritus per eos locutus est, quorum praedicta atque completa per Ecclesiam, quam videmus toto orbe diffusam, in libris superioribus posui. Ipse est Deus, quem Varro doctissimus Romanorum Jovem putat, quamvis nesciens quid loquatur : quod tamen ideo commemorandum putavi, quoniam vir tantae scientiae nec nullum istum deum potuit existimare, nec vilem. Hunc enim eum esse credidit, quem summum putavit Deum. Postremo ipse est Deus, quem doctissimus philosophorum, quamvis Christianorum acerrimus inimicus, etiam per eorum oracula, quos deos putat, Deum magnum Porphyrius confitetur.

Caput XXIII.

Quae Porphyrius dicat oraculis deorum responsa esse de Christo.

For if they say that the Romans in their republic served not impure spirits, but good and holy gods; must those same things be repeated so many times which we have already said sufficiently, or rather more than sufficiently? For who has come to this place through the preceding books of this work, who can still doubt that the Romans served evil and impure demons, unless he be either too stolid or most impudently contentious? But to say nothing of what kind they are whom they worshipped with sacrifices; it is written in the law of the true God: 'He who sacrifices to gods shall be rooted out, except to the Lord only' (Exod. 22:20). He who commanded this with such a great threat did not wish sacrifices to be made to either good or evil gods.

Chapter XXII.

Whether he be the true God whom the Christians serve, to whom alone sacrifice ought to be made.

But it can be answered: Who is this God, or whence is he proven worthy, that the Romans ought to obey him, so that they should worship no god besides him with sacrifices? It is a mark of great blindness to ask still who this God is. He is the God whose Prophets predicted those things which we see. He is the God from whom Abraham received the answer: 'In your seed shall all nations be blessed' (Gen. 22:18). Which is being fulfilled in Christ, who according to the flesh arose from that seed, as even those very ones who have remained enemies of this name know, whether they will or no. He is the God whose divine Spirit spoke through those whose predictions, completed through the Church which we see spread throughout the whole world, I have placed in the preceding books. He is the God whom Varro, the most learned of the Romans, thinks to be Jupiter, although not knowing what he says: which, however, I thought ought to be mentioned for this reason, because a man of such great science could neither think that God to be non-existent nor vile. For he believed him to be he whom he thought to be the highest God. Finally, he is the God whom the most learned of philosophers, although a most sharp enemy of the Christians, even through the oracles of those whom he thinks to be gods, Porphyry confesses to be a great God.

Chapter XXIII.

What Porphyry says are the responses of the oracles of the gods concerning Christ.

1. Nam in libris quos ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας appellat, in quibus exsequitur atque conscribit rerum ad philosophiam pertinentium velut divina responsa, ut ipsa verba ejus, quemadmodum ex lingua graeca in latinam interpretata sunt, ponam: Interroganti, inquit, quem deum placando revocare possit uxorem suam a Christianismo, haec ait versibus Apollo. Deinde verba velut Apollinis ista sunt: Forte magis poteris in aqua impressis litteris scribere, aut adinflans pennas leves per aera ut avis volare, quam pollutae revoces impiae uxoris sensum. Pergat quomodo vult inanibus fallaciis perseverans, et lamentationibus fallacissimis mortuum Deum cantans, quem a judicibus recta sentientibus perditum, pessima in speciosis ferro vincta mors interfecit. Deinde post hos versus Apollinis, qui non stante metro latine interpretati sunt, subjunxit atque ait: In his quidem tergiversationem irremediabilis sententiae eorum manifestavit, dicens quoniam Judaei suscipiunt Deum magis quam isti. Ecce ubi decolorans Christum, Judaeos praeposuit Christianis, confitens quod Judaei suscipiant Deum. Sic enim exposuit versus Apollinis, ubi a judicibus recta sentientibus Christum dicit occisum, tanquam illis juste judicantibus, merito sit ille punitus. Viderit quid de Christo vates mendax Apollinis dixerit, atque iste crediderit, aut fortasse vatem, quod non dixit, dixisse iste ipse confinxerit: quam vero sibi constet, vel ipsa oracula inter se faciat convenire, postea videbimus. Hic tamen Judaeos, tanquam Dei susceptores, recte dicit judicasse de Christo, quod eum morte pessima excruciandum esse censuerint. Deus itaque Judaeorum, cui perhibet testimonium, audiendus fuit, dicens: Sacrificans diis eradicabitur, nisi Domino tantum (Exod. XXII, 20). Sed ad manifestiora veniamus, et audiamus quam magnum Deum dicat esse Judaeorum. Item ad ea quae interrogavit Apollinem, quid melius, verbum sive ratio, an lex; respondit, inquit, versibus haec dicens. Ac deinde subjicit Apollinis versus, in quibus et isti sunt, ut quantum satis est inde decerpam: In Deum vero, inquit, generatorem, et in regem ante omnia, quem tremit et coelum, et terra, atque mare, et infernorum abdita, et ipsa numina perhorrescunt: quorum lex est Pater, quem valde sancti honorant Hebraei. Tali oraculo dei sui Apollinis, Porphyrius tam magnum Deum dixit Hebraeorum, ut eum et ipsa numina perhorrescunt. Cum ergo Deus iste dixerit, Sacrificans diis eradicabitur, miror quod ipse Porphyrius non perhorruerit, et sacrificans diis eradicari non formidaverit.

2. Dicit etiam bona philosophus iste de Christo, quasi oblitus illius, de qua paulo ante locuti sumus, contumeliae suae; aut quasi in somnis dii ejus maledixerint Christo, et evigilantes eum bonum esse cognoverint, digneque laudaverint. Denique tanquam mirabile aliquid atque incredibile prolaturus, Praeter opinionem, inquit, profecto quibusdam videatur esse quod dicturi sumus.

1. For in the books which he calls The Philosophy from Oracles, in which he sets forth and records as if divine responses concerning matters pertaining to philosophy, to put his very words as they have been translated from the Greek tongue into Latin: 'To one asking,' he says, 'by pleasing which god he could recall his wife from Christianity, Apollo said these things in verses.' Then these are as if the words of Apollo: 'Perhaps you would more easily be able to write with letters impressed in water, or flying as a bird to blow upon light feathers through the air, than you can recall the sense of a polluted and impious wife.' Let her go as she will, persevering in vain fallacies, and singing with most fallacious lamentations a dead God, whom judges who felt rightly destroyed, whom the worst death, bound in iron, killed in the open. Then after these verses of Apollo, which were translated into Latin without the meter standing, he subjoined and said: 'In these things indeed he manifested the tergiversation of their irremediable sentence, saying that the Jews receive God more than these.' Behold where, discoloring Christ, he preferred the Jews to the Christians, confessing that the Jews receive God. For thus he explained the verses of Apollo, where he says that Christ was killed by judges who felt rightly, as if, they judging justly, he was deservedly punished. Let him see what the mendacious seer of Apollo said of Christ, and what he believed, or perhaps he himself devised that the seer said what he did not say: how indeed he is consistent with himself, or makes the oracles themselves agree among themselves, we shall see later. Here, however, he says that the Jews, as receivers of God, judged rightly concerning Christ, in that they decided he was to be tortured with the worst death. The God of the Jews, therefore, to whom he bears witness, ought to have been heard, saying: 'He who sacrifices to gods shall be rooted out, except to the Lord only' (Exod. 22:20). But let us come to more manifest things, and let us hear how great he says the God of the Jews is. Likewise to those things which he asked of Apollo, 'what is better, word or reason, or law'; 'he answered,' he says, 'saying these things in verses.' And then he subjoins Apollo's verses, in which these also are, so that I may pluck from there as much as is sufficient: 'But into God,' he says, 'the generator, and into the king before all things, whom both heaven, and earth, and sea, and the hidden things of the infernal regions tremble at, and the very divinities (numina) dread: whose law is the Father, whom the truly holy Hebrews honor.' By such an oracle of his god Apollo, Porphyry said that the God of the Hebrews is so great that even the divinities dread him. Since therefore this God said, 'He who sacrifices to gods shall be rooted out,' I wonder that Porphyry himself did not dread, and did not fear to be rooted out while sacrificing to gods.

2. This philosopher also says good things about Christ, as if forgetting that insult of his which we spoke of a little while ago; or as if his gods cursed Christ in their sleep, and on waking recognized him to be good, and worthily praised him. Finally, as if about to bring forth something wonderful and incredible, he says: 'It may indeed seem beyond expectation to some what we are about to say.

Christum enim dii piissimum pronuntiaverunt et immortalem factum, et cum bona praedicatione ejus meminerunt: Christianos vero pollutos, inquit, et contaminatos, et errore implicatos esse dicunt; et multis talibus adversus eos blasphemiis utuntur. Deinde subjicit velut deorum oracula blasphemantium Christianos. Et post haec, De Christo autem, inquit, interrogantibus si est Deus, ait Hecate: Quoniam quidem immortalis anima post corpus ut incedit, nosti, a sapientia autem abscissa semper errat, viri pietate praestantissimi est illa anima, hanc colunt aliena a se veritate. Deinde post verba hujus quasi oraculi sua ipse contexens, Piissimum igitur virum, inquit, eum dixit, et ejus animam, sicut et aliorum piorum, post obitum immortalitate donatam, et hanc colere Christianos ignorantes. Interrogantibus autem, inquit, Cur ergo damnatus est? oraculo respondit dea, Corpus quidem debilitantibus tormentis semper oppositum est: anima autem piorum coelesti sedi insidet. Illa vero anima aliis animabus fataliter dedit, quibus fata non annuerunt deorum obtinere dona, neque habere Jovis immortalis agnitionem, errore implicari. Propterea ergo diis exosi: quia quibus fato non fuit nosse Deum, nec dona a diis accipere, his fataliter dedit iste errore implicari. Ipse vero pius, et in coelum, sicut pii, concessit. Itaque hunc quidem non blasphemabis, misereberis autem hominum dementiam: ex eo in eis facile praecepsque periculum.

3. Quis ita stultus est, ut non intelligat aut ab homine callido, eoque Christianis inimicissimo haec oracula fuisse conficta, aut consilio simili ab impuris daemonibus ista fuisse responsa; ut scilicet, quoniam laudant Christum, propterea credantur veraciter vituperare Christianos; atque ita, si possint, intercludant viam salutis aeternae, in qua fit quisque christianus? Suae quippe nocendi astutiae milleformi sentiunt non esse contrarium, si credatur eis laudantibus Christum, dum tamen credatur etiam vituperantibus Christianos; ut eum qui utrumque crediderit, talem Christi faciant laudatorem, ne velit esse christianus: ac sic quamvis ab illo laudatus, ab istorum tamen daemonum dominatu eum non liberet Christus. Praesertim quia ita laudant Christum, ut quisquis in eum talem crediderit, qualis ab eis praedicatur, Christianus verus non sit, sed Photinianus haereticus, qui tantummodo hominem, non etiam Deum noverit Christum : et ideo per eum salvus esse non possit, nec istorum mendaciloquorum daemonum laqueos vitare vel solvere. Nos autem neque Apollinem vituperantem Christum, neque Hecaten possumus approbare laudantem. Ille quippe tanquam iniquum Christum vult credi, quem a judicibus recta sentientibus dicit occisum; ista, hominem piissimum, sed hominem tantum.

For the gods have pronounced Christ to be most pious and made immortal, and they mention him with good proclamation: but they say the Christians are polluted and contaminated, and involved in error; and they use many such blasphemies against them.' Then he subjoins as if oracles of the gods blaspheming the Christians. And after these, he says: 'But concerning Christ, to those asking if he is God, Hecate says: Since indeed you know how the immortal soul proceeds after the body, but cut off from wisdom it always errs, that soul is of a man most excellent in piety, this they worship, alienated from the truth themselves.' Then after the words of this as if oracle, weaving in his own, he says: 'Therefore she said he was a most pious man, and that his soul, like those of other pious men, was gifted with immortality after death, and that the ignorant Christians worship this.' But to those asking, 'Why then was he condemned?' the goddess answered by the oracle: 'The body indeed was always exposed to weakening torments: but the soul of the pious sits in a celestial seat.' But that soul gave to other souls fatally, to whom the fates did not grant to obtain the gifts of the gods, nor to have the knowledge of immortal Jupiter, to be involved in error. Therefore they are hated by the gods: because to those whom it was not by fate to know God, nor to receive gifts from the gods, to these that one fatally gave to be involved in error. But he himself was pious, and departed into heaven, as the pious do. Therefore you shall not blaspheme him, but you will pity the madness of men: from which there is an easy and headlong danger in them.

3. Who is so foolish as not to understand that these oracles were either devised by a crafty man, and one most hostile to Christians, or that these responses were given by a similar counsel of impure demons; namely, so that, because they praise Christ, they may therefore be believed to truly vituperate the Christians; and thus, if they can, they may block the way of eternal salvation, in which each one becomes a Christian? For they feel that it is not contrary to their thousandfold craftiness of hurting if they are believed when praising Christ, provided they are also believed when vituperating Christians; so that they may make him who believes both such a praiser of Christ that he does not wish to be a Christian: and thus, although praised by him, Christ may not deliver him from the dominion of these demons. Especially because they so praise Christ that whoever believes in him as such as is proclaimed by them, is not a true Christian, but a Photinian heretic, who knows Christ only as a man, not also as God: and therefore cannot be saved through him, nor avoid or loosen the snares of these mendacious demons. But we can approve neither Apollo vituperating Christ, nor Hecate praising him. For the former wishes Christ to be believed as iniquitous, whom he says was killed by judges who felt rightly; the latter, a most pious man, but only a man.

Una est tamen et illius et hujus intentio, ut nolint homines esse Christianos; quia nisi Christiani erunt, ab eorum erui potestate non poterunt. Iste vero philosophus, vel potius qui talibus adversus Christianos quasi oraculis credunt, prius faciant, si possunt, ut inter se de ipso Christo Hecate atque Apollo concordent, eumque aut ambo condemnent, aut ambo collaudent. Quod si facere potuissent, nihilominus nos et vituperatores et laudatores Christi fallaces daemones vitaremus. Cum vero eorum deus et dea inter se de Christo, ille vituperando, ista laudando dissentiant; profecto eis blasphemantibus Christianos non credunt homines, si recte ipsi sentiant.

4. Sane Christum laudans, vel Porphyrius, vel Hecate, cum dicat eum ipsum dedisse fataliter Christianis, ut implicarentur errore, causas tamen ejusdem, sicut putat, pandit erroris. Quas antequam ex verbis ejus exponam, prius quaero, Si fataliter dedit Christus Christianis erroris implicationem, utrum volens, an nolens dederit. Si volens, quomodo justus? si nolens, quomodo beatus? Sed jam causas ipsius audiamus erroris. Sunt, inquit, spiritus terreni minimi loco quodam malorum daemonum potestati subjecti. Ab his sapientes Hebraeorum, quorum unus iste etiam Jesus fuit, sicut audisti divina Apollinis, quae superius dicta sunt; ab his ergo Hebraei daemonibus pessimis et minoribus spiritibus vetabant religiosos, et ipsis vacare prohibebant: venerari autem magis coelestes deos, amplius autem venerari Deum Patrem. Hoc autem, inquit, et dii praecipiunt, et in superioribus ostendimus, quemadmodum animum advertere ad Deum monent, et illum colere ubique imperant. Verum indocti et impiae naturae, quibus vere fatum non concessit a diis dona obtinere, neque habere Jovis immortalis notionem, non audientes et deos et divinos viros, deos quidem omnes recusaverunt, prohibitos autem daemones et hos non odisse, sed revereri. Deum autem simulantes colere, ea sola per quae Deus adoratur, non agunt. Nam Deus quidem, utpote omnium Pater, nullius indiget: sed nobis est bene, cum eum per justitiam et castitatem aliasque virtutes adoramus, ipsam vitam precem ad ipsum facientes, per imitationem et inquisitionem de ipso. Inquisitio enim purgat, inquit: imitatio deificat affectionem ad ipsum operando. Bene quidem praedicavit Deum Patrem, et quibus sit colendus moribus dixit. Quibus praeceptis prophetici Libri pleni sunt Hebraeorum, quando sanctorum vita sive vituperatur, sive laudatur.

One however is the intention of both the former and the latter, that they do not want men to be Christians; because unless they are Christians, they cannot be rescued from their power. But let this philosopher, or rather those who believe such as if oracles against the Christians, first make it, if they can, so that Hecate and Apollo agree among themselves concerning Christ himself, and that they both either condemn him or both praise him together. Even if they had been able to do that, we would nonetheless avoid the fallacious demons who both vituperate and praise Christ. But when their god and goddess disagree among themselves concerning Christ, the former by vituperating, the latter by praising; surely men do not believe them when blaspheming Christians, if they themselves think rightly.

Certainly Porphyry, or Hecate, while praising Christ, although saying that he himself fatally gave to the Christians to be involved in error, nevertheless opens up the causes of that same error, as he thinks. Before I set these forth from his words, I first ask: If Christ fatally gave to the Christians the involvement in error, did he give it willingly or unwillingly? If willingly, how is he just? if unwillingly, how is he blessed? But now let us hear the causes of the error itself. 'There are,' he says, 'least earthly spirits in a certain place subject to the power of evil demons. From these the sages of the Hebrews, of whom one also was this Jesus, as you heard the divine things of Apollo which were said above; from these demons, therefore, the Hebrews forbade religious men and prohibited them from attending to the worst and lesser spirits: but rather to venerate the celestial gods, and more fully to venerate God the Father. This also,' he says, 'both the gods command, and we have shown in the preceding parts how they warn to turn the mind to God, and command to worship him everywhere. But the unlearned and of an impious nature, to whom truly fate has not granted to obtain gifts from the gods, nor to have the notion of immortal Jupiter, not hearing both the gods and divine men, have indeed refused all the gods, but as for the prohibited demons, they do not hate these but revere them. But pretending to worship God, they do not perform those things alone through which God is adored. For God indeed, as being the Father of all, is in need of nothing: but it is well for us when we adore him through justice and chastity and other virtues, making our very life a prayer to him through imitation and inquiry concerning him. For inquiry purges,' he says: 'imitation deifies the affection by working toward him.' He has indeed well proclaimed God the Father, and said by what customs he is to be worshipped. With which precepts the prophetic books of the Hebrews are full, when the life of the saints is either vituperated or praised.

Sed in Christianis tantum errat, aut tantum calumniatur, quantum volunt daemones, quos opinatur deos, quasi cuiquam difficile sit recolere, quae turpia, quae dedecora erga deorum obsequium in theatris agebantur et templis; et attendere quae legantur, dicantur, audiantur in ecclesiis, vel Deo vero quid offeratur; et hinc intelligere ubi aedificium, et ubi ruina sit morum. Quis autem huic dixit vel inspiravit, nisi diabolicus spiritus, tam vanum apertumque mendacium, quod daemones ab Hebraeis coli prohibitos revereantur potius, quam oderint Christiani? Sed Deus ille quem coluerunt sapientes Hebraeorum, etiam coelestibus sanctis Angelis et Virtutibus Dei, quos beatissimos tanquam cives in hac nostra peregrinatione mortali veneramur et amamus, sacrificari vetat, intonans in lege sua, quam dedit populo suo Hebraeo, et valde minaciter dicens, Sacrificans diis eradicabitur. Et ne quisquam putaret daemonibus pessimis terrenisque spiritibus, quos iste dicit minimos vel minores, ne sacrificetur esse praeceptum; quia et ipsi in Scripturis sanctis dicti sunt dii, non Hebraeorum, sed gentium; quod evidenter in Psalmo Septuaginta interpretes posuerunt, dicentes, Quoniam omnes dii gentium daemonia (Psal. XCV, 5): ne quis ergo putaret istis quidem daemoniis prohibitum, coelestibus autem vel omnibus, vel aliquibus sacrificari esse permissum, mox addidit, nisi Domino soli, id est, nisi Domino tantum: ne forte in eo quod ait, nisi Domino soli, Dominum solem credat esse quispiam, cui sacrificandum putat : quod non ita esse intelligendum, in Scripturis graecis facillime reperitur.

5. Deus igitur Hebraeorum, cui tam magnum tantus etiam iste philosophus perhibet testimonium, legem dedit Hebraeo populo suo, hebraeo sermone conscriptam, non obscuram et incognitam, sed omnibus jam gentibus diffamatam, in qua lege scriptum est, Sacrificans diis eradicabitur, nisi Domino tantum. Quid opus est in hac ejus lege, ejusque Prophetis de hac re multa perquirere? Imo non perquirere, non enim abstrusa vel rara sunt; sed aperta et crebra colligere, et in hac disputatione mea ponere: quibus luce clarius apparet, nulli omnino nisi tantum sibi Deum verum et summum voluisse sacrificari. Ecce hoc unum breviter, imo granditer, minaciter, sed veraciter dictum ab illo Deo, quem tam excellenter eorum doctissimi praedicant, audiatur, timeatur, impleatur, ne inobedientes eradicatio consequatur. Sacrificans, inquit, diis eradicabitur, nisi Domino tantum: non quo rei egeat alicujus, sed quia nobis expedit ut res ejus simus. Hinc enim canitur in sacris Litteris Hebraeorum: Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges (Psal. XV, 2).

But in the case of the Christians he either errs so much, or calumniates so much, as the demons whom he thinks are gods wish; as if it were difficult for anyone to recall what base and disgraceful things were done in theaters and temples toward the service of the gods; and to attend to what is read, said, and heard in churches, or what is offered to the true God; and from this to understand where there is an edifice and where a ruin of morals. But who told or inspired this man with so vain and open a lie, except a diabolical spirit, that the Christians revere rather than hate the demons whose worship was prohibited by the Hebrews? But that God whom the sages of the Hebrews worshipped also forbids sacrifice to be made even to the celestial holy Angels and Virtues of God, whom we venerate and love as most blessed citizens in this our mortal pilgrimage, thundering in his law which he gave to his Hebrew people, and saying most threateningly: 'He who sacrifices to gods shall be rooted out.' And lest anyone should think that it was commanded that sacrifice should not be made only to the worst demons and earthly spirits, whom that man calls the least or lesser; because they themselves are also called gods in the Holy Scriptures, not of the Hebrews, but of the nations; which the Seventy interpreters placed evidently in the Psalm, saying: 'Since all the gods of the nations are demons' (Psalm 95:5): lest anyone, therefore, should think that it was indeed prohibited to these demons, but permitted that sacrifice should be made to all or some of the celestial ones, he soon added: 'unless to the Lord alone,' that is, unless to the Lord only: lest perhaps in that which he says, 'unless to the Lord alone' (nisi Domino soli), anyone should believe the Lord to be the Sun (solem), to whom he thinks sacrifice is to be made: which is most easily found in the Greek Scriptures not to be understood so.

5. The God of the Hebrews, therefore, to whom even this great philosopher bears such great testimony, gave a law to his Hebrew people, written in the Hebrew language, not obscure and unknown, but already made famous among all nations, in which law it is written: 'He who sacrifices to gods shall be rooted out, except to the Lord only.' What need is there to seek many things in this law of his and in his Prophets concerning this matter? Rather, not to seek, for they are not abstruse or rare; but to collect the open and frequent things, and to place them in this my dispute: by which it appears clearer than light that the true and highest God wished sacrifice to be made to none at all except only to himself. Behold, let this one thing, spoken briefly, or rather grandly, threateningly, but truly by that God whom their most learned men so excellently proclaim, be heard, feared, and fulfilled, lest rooting out follow the disobedient. 'He who sacrifices,' he says, 'to gods shall be rooted out, except to the Lord only': not that he is in need of anything, but because it is expedient for us that we should be his property. For hence it is sung in the sacred Letters of the Hebrews: 'I said to the Lord, You are my God, since you do not need my goods' (Psalm 15:2).

Hujus autem praeclarissimum atque optimum sacrificium nos ipsi sumus, hoc est civitas ejus, cujus rei mysterium celebramus oblationibus nostris, quae fidelibus notae sunt, sicut in libris praecedentibus disputavimus (Lib. 10, cap. 6, et alibi). Cessaturas enim victimas, quas in umbra futuri offerebant Judaei, et unum sacrificium gentes a solis ortu usque ad occasum, sicut jam fieri cernimus oblaturas, per Prophetas Hebraeos oracula increpuere divina: ex quibus quantum satis visum est, nonnulla protulimus, et huic jam operi aspersimus. Quapropter ubi non est ista justitia, ut secundum suam gratiam civitati obedienti Deus imperet unus et summus, ne cuiquam sacrificet, nisi tantum sibi; et per hoc in omnibus hominibus ad eamdem civitatem pertinentibus atque obedientibus Deo, animus etiam corpori, atque ratio vitiis, ordine legitimo fideliter imperet; ut quemadmodum justus unus, ita coetus populusque justorum vivat ex fide, quae operatur per dilectionem, qua homo diligit Deum, sicut diligendus est Deus, et proximum sicut semetipsum: ubi ergo non est ista justitia, profecto non est coetus hominum juris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatus. Quod si non est, utique populus non est, si vera est haec populi definitio. Ergo nec respublica est: quia res populi non est, ubi ipse populus non est.

Caput XXIV.

Qua definitione constet populi et reipublicae nuncupationem recte sibi non solum Romanos, sed etiam regna alia vindicare.

Si autem populus non isto, sed alio definiatur modo, velut si dicatur, Populus est coetus multitudinis rationalis, rerum quas diligit concordi communione sociatus: profecto ut videatur qualis quisque populus sit, illa sunt intuenda quae diligit. Quaecumque tamen diligat, si coetus est multitudinis, non pecorum, sed rationalium creaturarum, et eorum quae diligit concordi communione sociatus est, non absurde populus nuncupatur; tanto utique melior, quanto in melioribus; tantoque deterior, quanto est in deterioribus concors. Secundum istam definitionem nostram Romanus populus, populus est; et res ejus sine dubitatione respublica. Quid autem primis temporibus suis, quidve sequentibus populus ille dilexerit, et quibus moribus ad cruentissimas seditiones, atque inde ad socialia atque civilia bella perveniens, ipsam concordiam, quae salus quodammodo est populi, ruperit atque corruperit, testatur historia: de qua in praecedentibus libris multa posuimus.

But the most excellent and best sacrifice of this one is we ourselves, that is his city, the mystery of which thing we celebrate by our oblations, which are known to the faithful, as we have disputed in the preceding books (Book 10, chap. 6, and elsewhere). For that the victims, which the Jews offered in the shadow of the future, were to cease, and that the nations would offer one sacrifice from the rising of the sun even to its setting, as we already see being done, divine oracles have thundered through the Hebrew Prophets: from which we have brought forth some, as far as seemed sufficient, and have already sprinkled them into this work. Wherefore, where this justice is not, so that according to his grace the one and highest God rules over an obedient city, lest it sacrifice to anyone except only to himself; and through this in all men pertaining to the same city and obeying God, the mind also rules over the body, and reason over vices, in a lawful order and faithfully; so that just as each individual just man, so also an assembly and people of just men lives from faith, which works through love, by which man loves God as God is to be loved, and his neighbor as himself: where therefore this justice is not, there is surely no assembly of men associated by a consensus of right and a communion of utility. If it is not so, it is certainly not a people, if this definition of a people is true. Therefore, neither is it a republic: because the affair of the people does not exist where the people itself does not exist.

Chapter XXIV.

By what definition the title of people and republic may rightly be claimed not only by the Romans, but also by other kingdoms.

But if a people is defined not in that way, but in another, as if it were said: "A people is an assembly of a rational multitude, associated by a harmonious communion in the things which it loves": surely, in order to see what kind of people any given one may be, those things which it loves must be examined. However, whatever it may love, if it is an assembly of a multitude—not of cattle, but of rational creatures—and is associated by a harmonious communion in the things which it loves, it is not absurdly called a people; and it is certainly so much the better as it is harmonious in better things, and so much the worse as it is harmonious in worse things. According to this definition of ours, the Roman people is a people; and its affair is without doubt a republic. But what that people loved in its earliest times, or what in the following ones, and by what morals —reaching most bloody seditions, and from there social and civil wars—it broke and corrupted that very concord, which is in a way the health of a people, history bears witness: concerning which we have set down many things in the preceding books.

Nec ideo tamen vel ipsum non esse populum, vel ejus rem dixerim non esse rempublicam, quamdiu manet qualiscumque rationalis multitudinis coetus, rerum quas diligit concordi communione sociatus. Quod autem de isto populo et de ista republica dixi, hoc de Atheniensium vel quorumcumque Graecorum, hoc de Aegyptiorum, noc de illa priore Babylone Assyriorum, quando in rebus suis publicis imperia vel parva vel magna tenuerunt, et de alia quacumque aliarum gentium intelligar dixisse atque sensisse. Generaliter quippe civitas impiorum, cui non imperat Deus obedienti sibi, ut sacrificium non offerat, nisi tantummodo sibi, et per hoc in illa et animus corpori, ratioque vitiis recte ac fideliter imperet, caret justitiae veritate.

Caput XXV.

Quod non possint ibi verae esse virtutes, ubi non est vera religio.

Quamlibet enim videatur animus corpori, et ratio vitiis laudabiliter imperare; si Deo animus et ratio ipsa non servit, sicut sibi serviendum esse ipse Deus praecepit, nullo modo corpori vitiisque recte imperat. Nam qualis corporis atque vitiorum potest esse mens domina, veri Dei nescia, nec ejus imperio subjugata, sed vitiosissimis daemonibus corrumpentibus prostituta? Proinde virtutes, quas sibi habere videtur, per quas imperat corpori et vitiis ad quodlibet adipiscendum vel tenendum, nisi ad Deum retulerit, etiam ipsae vitia sunt potius quam virtutes. Nam licet a quibusdam tunc verae et honestae putentur esse virtutes, cum ad se ipsas referuntur, nec propter aliud expetuntur; etiam tunc inflatae ac superbae sunt: et ideo non virtutes, sed vitia judicanda sunt . Sicut enim non est a carne, sed super carnem, quod carnem facit vivere: sic non est ab homine, sed super hominem, quod hominem facit beate vivere; nec solum hominem, sed etiam quamlibet Potestatem Virtutemque coelestem.

Caput XXVI.

De pace populi alienati a Deo, qua utitur ad pietatem populus Dei, dum in hoc peregrinus est mundo.

Nevertheless, I would not for that reason say that either the people itself does not exist, or that its affair is not a republic, as long as there remains some assembly of a rational multitude, associated by a harmonious communion in the things which it loves. But what I have said concerning this people and this republic, let me be understood to have said and felt concerning the Athenians or any other Greeks, concerning the Egyptians, concerning that former Babylon of the Assyrians—when they held empires either small or great in their public affairs—and concerning any other of the other nations. For generally, the city of the impious, which God does not rule as it obeys him—so that it offers sacrifice to none at all except only to himself, and through this in it both the mind rules over the body, and reason over vices rightly and faithfully—lacks the truth of justice.

Chapter XXV.

That true virtues cannot exist there, where true religion is not.

For however much the mind may seem to rule over the body and reason over vices in a laudable way; if the mind and reason itself does not serve God, just as God himself has commanded that he be served, it in no way rules rightly over the body and vices. For what kind of mistress of the body and of vices can a mind be, that is ignorant of the true God and not subjected to his command, but prostituted to the most corrupting and most vicious demons? Accordingly, the virtues which it seems to itself to possess, through which it rules over the body and vices to obtain or hold anything whatever, unless it refers them to God, are themselves rather vices than virtues. For although they are thought by some to be true and honest virtues when they are referred to themselves and are not sought for the sake of anything else; even then they are inflated and proud: and therefore they are to be judged not as virtues, but as vices. For just as that which makes the flesh live is not from the flesh, but above the flesh: so that which makes a man live blessedly is not from man, but above man; and not only man, but also any celestial Power and Virtue.

Chapter XXVI.

Concerning the peace of the people alienated from God, which the people of God uses for piety, while it is a pilgrim in this world.

Quocirca ut vita carnis anima est, ita beata vita hominis Deus est, de quo dicunt sacrae Litterae Hebraeorum, Beatus populus, cujus est Dominus Deus ipsius (Psal. CXLIII, 15). Miser igitur populus ab isto alienatus Deo. Diligit tamen ipse etiam quamdam pacem suam non improbandam, quam quidem non habebit in fine, quia non ea bene utitur ante finem. Hanc autem ut interim habeat in hac vita, nostra etiam interest: quoniam quamdiu permixtae sunt ambae civitates, utimur et nos pace Babylonis: ex qua ita per fidem populus Dei liberatur, ut apud hanc interim peregrinetur. Propter quod et Apostolus admonuit Ecclesiam, ut oraret pro regibus ejus atque sublimibus, addens et dicens, ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus cum omni pietate et charitate (I Tim. II, 2). Et propheta Jeremias cum populo Dei veteri venturam praenuntiaret captivitatem, et divinitus imperaret ut obedienter in Babyloniam irent, Deo suo etiam ista patientia servientes, monuit et ipse ut oraretur pro illa, dicens, quia in ejus est pace pax vestra (Jerem. XXIX, 7), utique interim temporalis, quae bonis malisque communis est.

Caput XXVII.

De pace servientium Deo, cujus perfecta tranquillitas in hac temporali vita non potest apprehendi.

Pax autem nostra propria, et hic est cum Deo per fidem, et in aeternum erit cum illo per speciem. Sed hic sive illa communis, sive nostra propria, talis est pax, ut solatium miseriae sit potius quam beatitudinis gaudium. Ipsa quoque nostra justitia, quamvis vera sit propter veri boni finem, ad quem refertur, tamen tanta est in hac vita, ut potius peccatorum remissione constet, quam perfectione virtutum. Testis est oratio totius civitatis Dei, quae peregrinatur in terris. Per omnia quippe membra sua clamat ad Deum, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris (Matth. VI, 12). Nec pro eis est efficax haec oratio, quorum fides sine operibus mortua est (Jacobi II, 17, 26): sed pro eis quorum fides per dilectionem operatur (Galat. V, 6). Quia enim Deo quidem subdita, in hac tamen conditione mortali, et corpore corruptibili quod aggravat animam (Sap. IX, 15), non perfecte vitiis imperat ratio, ideo necessaria est justis talis oratio. Nam profecto quanquam imperetur, nequaquam sine conflictu vitiis imperatur.

Wherefore, as the soul is the life of the flesh, so God is the blessed life of man, concerning whom the sacred Letters of the Hebrews say: "Blessed is the people whose Lord is its God" (Psalm 143:15). Miserable, therefore, is the people alienated from this God. Yet it also loves a certain peace of its own, not to be disapproved of, which indeed it will not have in the end, because it does not use it well before the end. But that it should have this in the meantime in this life is also in our interest: since as long as both cities are mixed together, we also use the peace of Babylon: from which the people of God is so liberated through faith that in the meantime it journeys as a pilgrim among it. For which reason also the Apostle admonished the Church to pray for its kings and those in high positions, adding and saying: "that we may lead a quiet and tranquil life with all piety and charity" (1 Timothy 2:2). And the prophet Jeremiah, when he foretold to the ancient people of God the coming captivity, and divinely commanded that they should go obediently into Babylonia, serving their God even with that patience, he himself also admonished that prayer should be made for it, saying: "for in its peace is your peace" (Jeremiah 29:7), namely, the temporal peace in the meantime, which is common to the good and the bad.

Chapter XXVII.

Concerning the peace of those serving God, the perfect tranquility of which cannot be apprehended in this temporal life.

But our own peace is both here with God through faith, and will be with him in eternity through sight. But here, whether that common peace or our own, peace is such that it is rather a solace for misery than the joy of beatitude. Our justice itself also, although it is true because of the end of the true good to which it is referred, is nevertheless so great in this life that it consists rather in the remission of sins than in the perfection of virtues. Witness is the prayer of the whole city of God, which journeys as a pilgrim on the earth. For through all its members it cries out to God: "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors" (Matthew 6:12). Nor is this prayer effective for those whose faith without works is dead (James 2:17, 26): but for those whose faith works through love (Galatians 5:6). For because reason, although indeed subject to God, in this mortal condition and corruptible body which weighs down the soul (Wisdom 9:15), does not perfectly rule over vices, therefore such a prayer is necessary for the just. For surely, although it may rule, it by no means rules over vices without conflict.

Et utique subrepit aliquid in hoc loco infirmitatis etiam bene confligenti, sive hostibus talibus victis subditisque dominanti, unde, si non facili operatione, certe labili locutione aut volatili cogitatione peccetur. Et ideo quamdiu vitiis imperatur, plena pax non est: quia et illa quae resistunt, periculoso debellantur praelio; et illa quae victa sunt, nondum securo triumphantur otio, sed adhuc sollicito premuntur imperio. In his ergo tentationibus, de quibus omnibus in divinis eloquiis breviter dictum est, Numquid non tentatio est vita humana super terram (Job VII, 1, sec. LXX)? quis ita vivere se praesumat, ut dicere Deo, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, non necesse habeat, nisi homo elatus? Nec vero magnus, sed inflatus ac tumidus, cui per justitiam resistit qui gratiam largitur humilibus. Propter quod scriptum est: Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam (Jacobi IV, 6; I Petr. V, 5). Hic itaque in unoquoque justitia est, ut obedienti Deus homini, animus corpori, ratio autem vitiis etiam repugnantibus imperet, vel subigendo, vel resistendo; atque ut ab ipso Deo petatur et meritorum gratia, et venia delictorum, ac de acceptis bonis gratiarum actio persolvatur. In illa vero pace finali, quo referenda, et cujus adipiscendae causa habenda est ista justitia, quoniam sanata immortalitate atque incorruptione natura vitia non habebit, nec unicuique nostrum vel ab alio vel a se ipso quidquam repugnabit, non opus erit ut ratio vitiis, quae nulla erunt, imperet: sed imperabit Deus homini, animus corpori; tantaque obediendi ibi erit suavitas et facilitas, quanta vivendi regnandique felicitas. Et hoc illic in omnibus atque in singulis aeternum erit, aeternumque esse certum erit: et ideo pax beatitudinis hujus, vel beatitudo pacis hujus, summum bonum erit.

Caput XXVIII.

In quem finem venturus sit exitus impiorum.

CAPUT XXVIII.---In quem finem venturus sit exitus impiorum. Eorum autem qui non pertinent ad istam civitatem Dei, erit et contrario miseria sempiterna, quae etiam secunda mors dicitur (Apoc. II, 11; XX, 6; XXI, 8): quia nec anima ibi vivere dicenda est, quae a vita Dei alienata erit; nec corpus, quod aeternis doloribus subjacebit. Ac per hoc ideo durior ista secunda mors erit, quia finiri morte non poterit. Sed quoniam sicut miseria beatitudini, et mors vitae, ita bellum paci videtur esse contrarium; merito quaeritur, sicut pax in bonorum finibus praedicata est atque laudata, quod vel quale bellum in finibus malorum e contrario possit intelligi. Verum qui hoc quaerit, attendat quid in bello noxium perniciosumque sit, et videbit nihil aliud esse, quam inter se rerum adversitatem atque conflictum.

And certainly something of infirmity creeps in in this place even for one who conflicts well, or for one who dominates such enemies once conquered and subjected, whence, if not by an easy action, certainly by a slipping speech or a fleeting thought, sin is committed. And therefore as long as it rules over vices, there is not full peace: because both those things which resist are subdued by a dangerous battle; and those which have been conquered are not yet triumphed over in secure leisure, but are still pressed by a solicitous command. In these temptations, therefore, concerning all of which it is briefly said in the divine eloquence: "Is not the life of man upon earth a temptation?" (Job 7:1, sec. LXX); who would presume to live so that he does not have need to say to God: "Forgive us our debts," unless he be a man puffed up? Nor indeed great, but inflated and swollen, whom he who bestows grace on the humble resists through justice. For which reason it is written: "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble" (James 4:6; 1 Peter 5:5). Here, therefore, justice in each one is such that God rules over the obedient man, the mind over the body, and reason over vices even when they resist, either by subduing or by resisting; and that from God himself both the grace for merits and the pardon for offenses be sought, and the giving of thanks for received goods be rendered. But in that final peace, to which this justice is to be referred and for the sake of attaining which it is to be held, since nature, healed by immortality and incorruption, will have no vices, and nothing will resist any of us either from another or from himself, there will be no need for reason to rule over vices, which will be none; but God will rule over man, and the mind over the body; and there will be so much sweetness and facility of obeying there, as there is happiness of living and reigning. And this will be eternal there in all and in each, and it will be certain that it is eternal: and therefore the peace of this beatitude, or the beatitude of this peace, will be the highest good.

Chapter XXVIII.

To what end the exit of the impious is to come.

But of those who do not pertain to that city of God, there will be, on the contrary, eternal misery, which is also called the second death (Revelation 2:11; 20:6; 21:8): because neither is the soul to be said to live there, which will be alienated from the life of God; nor the body, which will be subject to eternal pains. And through this, that second death will be all the harder because it cannot be ended by death. But since just as misery is contrary to beatitude, and death to life, so war seems to be contrary to peace; it is rightly asked, just as peace in the ends of the good has been proclaimed and praised, what or what kind of war can be understood, on the contrary, in the ends of the bad. But let him who asks this attend to what is harmful and pernicious in war, and he will see that it is nothing other than the adversity and conflict of things among themselves.

Quod igitur bellum gravius et amarius cogitari potest, quam ubi voluntas sic adversa est passioni, et passio voluntati, ut nullius earum victoria tales inimicitiae finiantur; et ubi sic confligit cum ipsa natura corporis vis doloris, ut neutrum alteri cedat? Hic enim quando contingit iste conflictus, aut dolor vincit, et sensum mors adimit; aut natura vincit , et dolorem sanitas tollit. Ibi autem et dolor permanet, ut affligat; et natura perdurat, ut sentiat: quia utrumque ideo non deficit, ne poena deficiat. Ad hos autem fines bonorum et malorum, illos expetendos, istos cavendos, quoniam per judicium transibunt ad illos boni, ad istos mali; de hoc judicio, quantum Deus donaverit, in consequenti volumine disputabo.

De judicio novissimo, deque testimoniis cum Novi, tum Veteris Instrumenti, quibus denuntiatur futurum.

Caput Primum.

Quod quamvis omni tempore Deus judicet, in hoc tamen libro de novissimo ejus judicio sit proprie disputandum.

1. De die ultimi judicii Dei, quod ipse donaverit, locuturi, eumque asserturi adversus impios et incredulos, tanquam in aedificii fundamento prius ponere testimonia divina debemus. Quibus qui nolunt credere, humanis ratiunculis falsis atque fallacibus contravenire conantur, ad hoc ut aut aliud significare contendant quod adhibetur testimonium de Litteris sacris, aut omnino divinitus esse dictum negent. Nam nullum existimo esse mortalium, qui cum ea, sicut dicta sunt, intellexerit, et a summo ac vero Deo per animas sanctas dicta esse crediderit, non eis cedat atque consentiat: sive id etiam ore fateatur, sive aliquo vitio fateri erubescat, aut metuat; vel etiam pervicacia simillima insaniae, id quod falsum esse novit aut credit, contra id quod verum esse novit aut credit, etiam contentiosissime defendere moliatur.

2. Quod ergo in confessione ac professione tenet omnis Ecclesia Dei veri, Christum de coelo esse venturum ad vivos ac mortuos judicandos, hunc divini judicii ultimum diem dicimus, id est, novissimum tempus. Nam per quot dies hoc judicium tendatur, incertum est: sed Scripturarum more sanctarum diem poni solere pro tempore, nemo qui illas litteras quamlibet negligenter legerit, nescit.

What war, therefore, can be thought of as more grave and more bitter than where the will is so adverse to passion, and passion to the will, that by the victory of neither of them are such enmities ended; and where the force of pain so conflicts with the very nature of the body that neither yields to the other? For here when that conflict happens, either pain conquers and death takes away sense; or nature conquers and health removes pain. But there both pain remains to afflict, and nature endures to feel: because both do not fail for the very reason that the punishment may not fail. But to these ends of the good and of the bad, the former to be sought and the latter to be avoided—since through judgment the good will pass to the former and the bad to the latter—concerning this judgment, as much as God shall grant, I will dispute in the following volume.

BOOK TWENTY. Concerning the last judgment, and concerning the testimonies of both the New and the Old Instrument by which it is announced as future.

Chapter I.

That although God judges at all times, nevertheless in this book his last judgment is to be properly disputed.

1. Being about to speak of the day of the last judgment of God—which he himself shall grant—and about to assert it against the impious and the unbelieving, we must first place the divine testimonies as in the foundation of a building. Those who do not wish to believe these attempt to contravene them by false and fallacious human reasonings, to the end that they may either contend that the testimony brought from the sacred Letters signifies something else, or altogether deny that it was divinely spoken. For I think there is no mortal who, when he has understood these things as they were spoken and has believed them to have been spoken by the highest and true God through holy souls, would not yield and consent to them: whether he also confesses it with his mouth, or through some vice blushes or fears to confess it; or even by a stubbornness very similar to insanity, strives to defend most contentiously that which he knows or believes to be false against that which he knows or believes to be true.

2. That which, therefore, the whole Church of the true God holds in confession and profession, that Christ is to come from heaven to judge the living and the dead, we call the last day of divine judgment, that is, the last time. For through how many days this judgment may be extended is uncertain: but that, according to the custom of the holy Scriptures, "day" is usually put for "time," no one who has read those letters even carelessly is ignorant.

Ideo autem cum diem judicii Dei dicimus, addimus ultimum vel novissimum; quia et nunc judicat, et ab humani generis initio judicavit, dimittens de paradiso, et a ligno vitae separans primos homines peccati magni perpetratores: imo etiam quando angelis peccantibus non pepercit (II Petr. II, 4), quorum princeps homines a se ipso subversus invidendo subvertit, procul dubio judicavit. Nec sine illius alto justoque judicio, et in hoc aerio coelo, et in terris, et daemonum et hominum miserrima est vita, erroribus aerumnisque plenissima. Verum etsi nemo peccasset, non sine bono rectoque judicio universam rationalem creaturam perseverantissime sibi Domino suo cohaerentem in aeterna beatitudine retineret. Judicat etiam, non solum universaliter de genere daemonum atque hominum, ut miseri sint propter primorum meritum peccatorum; sed etiam de singulorum operibus propriis, quae gerunt arbitrio voluntatis. Nam et daemones ne torqueantur, precantur (Matth. VIII, 29): nec utique injuste vel parcitur eis, vel pro sua quique improbitate torquentur. Et homines plerumque aperte, semper occulte, luunt pro suis factis divinitus poenas, sive in hac vita, sive post mortem: quamvis nullus hominum agat recte, nisi divino adjuvetur auxilio; nullus daemonum aut hominum agat inique, nisi divino eodemque justissimo judicio permittatur. Sicut enim ait Apostolus, Non est iniquitas apud Deum (Rom. IX, 14); et, sicut ipse alibi dicit, Inscrutabilia sunt judicia Dei, et investigabiles viae ejus (Id. XI, 33). Non igitur in hoc libro de illis primis, nec de istis mediis Dei judiciis, sed de ipso novissimo judicio, quantum ipse tribuerit, disputabo, quando Christus de coelo venturus est vivos judicaturus et mortuos. Iste quippe dies judicii proprie jam vocatur, eo quod nullus ibi erit imperitae querelae locus, cur injustus ille sit felix, et cur ille justus infelix. Omnium namque tunc nonnisi bonorum vera et plena felicitas, et omnium nonnisi malorum digna et summa infelicitas apparebit.

Caput II.

De varietate rerum humanarum, cui non potest dici deesse judicium Dei, quamvis nequeat vestigari.

But therefore when we speak of the day of the judgment of God, we add "last" or "latest"; because he also judges now, and has judged from the beginning of the human race, dismissing from paradise and separating from the tree of life the first men, the perpetrators of a great sin: indeed even when he did not spare the sinning angels (2 Peter 2:4), whose prince, himself subverted, subverted men by envying them, he judged without doubt. Nor without his deep and just judgment is the life both in this aerial heaven and on earth of both demons and men most miserable, most full of errors and hardships. But even if no one had sinned, not without a good and right judgment would he retain the whole rational creature, most perseveringly cohering to him its Lord, in eternal beatitude. He judges also, not only universally concerning the race of demons and men, that they be miserable because of the merit of the first sins; but also concerning the proper works of individuals, which they perform by the choice of the will. For even the demons pray that they may not be tortured (Matthew 8:29): nor indeed is it unjustly that they are either spared, or are tortured each for his own wickedness. And men for the most part openly, always secretly, pay divine penalties for their deeds, whether in this life or after death: although no man acts rightly unless he be aided by divine help; no demon or man acts iniquitously unless he be permitted by the same divine and most just judgment. For as the Apostle says: "There is no iniquity with God" (Romans 9:14); and as he himself says elsewhere: "Inscrutable are the judgments of God, and unsearchable his ways" (Romans 11:33). Therefore in this book I will not dispute about those first, nor about those intermediate judgments of God, but about that very last judgment, as much as he himself shall grant, when Christ is to come from heaven to judge the living and the dead. For that day is already properly called "the day of judgment," because there will be no place there for the ignorant complaint, why that unwise man is happy, and why that just man is unhappy. For then the true and full happiness of all of none but the good, and the worthy and highest unhappiness of all of none but the bad, will appear.

Chapter II.

Concerning the variety of human affairs, which cannot be said to lack the judgment of God, although it cannot be tracked.

Nunc autem et mala aequo animo ferre discimus, quae patiuntur et boni; et bona non magnipendere, quae adipiscuntur et mali. Ac per hoc etiam in his rebus, in quibus non apparet divina justitia, salutaris est divina doctrina. Nescimus enim quo judicio Dei bonus ille sit pauper, malus ille sit dives: iste gaudeat, quem pro suis perditis moribus cruciari debuisse moeroribus arbitramur; contristetur ille, quem vita laudabilis gaudere debuisse persuadet: exeat de judicio non solum inultus, verum etiam damnatus innocens, aut iniquitate judicis pressus, aut falsis obrutus testimoniis; e contrario scelestus adversarius ejus non solum impunitus, verum etiam vindicatus insultet: impius optime valeat, pius languore tabescat: latrocinentur sanissimi juvenes; et qui nec verbo quemquam laedere potuerunt, diversa morborum atrocitate affligantur infantes: utilis rebus humanis immatura morte rapiatur; et qui videntur nec nasci debuisse, diutissime insuper vivant: plenus criminibus sublimetur honoribus, et hominem sine querela tenebrae ignobilitatis abscondant: et caetera hujusmodi, quae quis colligit, quis enumerat? Quae si haberent in ipsa velut absurditate constantiam, ut in hac vita, in qua homo, sicut sacer Psalmus eloquitur, vanitati similis factus est, et dies ejus velut umbra praetereunt (Psal. CXLIII, 4), nonnisi mali adipiscerentur transitoria bona ista atque terrena, nec nisi boni talia paterentur mala, posset hoc referri ad judicium justum Dei, vel etiam benignum; ut qui non erant assecuturi bona aeterna, quae faciunt beatos, temporalibus vel deciperentur pro malitia sua, vel pro Dei misericordia consolarentur bonis; et qui non erant passuri aeterna tormenta, temporalibus vel pro suis quibuscumque et quantuliscumque peccatis affligerentur, vel propter implendas virtutes exercerentur malis. Nunc vero quando non solum in malo sunt boni, et in bono mali, quod videtur injustum; verum etiam plerumque et malis mala eveniunt, et bonis bona proveniunt: magis inscrutabilia fiunt judicia Dei (Rom. XI, 33), et investigabiles viae illius. Quamvis ergo nesciamus quo judicio Deus ista vel faciat, vel fieri sinat, apud quem summa virtus est et summa sapientia, summa justitia, nulla infirmitas, nulla temeritas, nulla iniquitas: salubriter tamen discimus non magnipendere seu bona, seu mala, quae videmus esse bonis malisque communia; et illa bona quaerere, quae bonorum, atque illa mala maxime fugere, quae propria sunt malorum.

But now we learn both to bear with an equal mind the evils which even the good suffer, and not to value highly the goods which even the bad obtain. And through this, even in those things in which divine justice does not appear, divine doctrine is salutary. For we do not know by what judgment of God that good man is poor, while that bad man is rich: that this one rejoices, whom we think ought to have been tortured with sorrows for his abandoned morals; that that one is saddened, whom a laudable life persuades us ought to have rejoiced: that an innocent man goes out from judgment not only unavenged, but even condemned, either pressed by the iniquity of the judge or overwhelmed by false testimonies; on the contrary, that his wicked adversary, not only unpunished but even vindicated, should insult him: that the impious man should be in the best of health, while the pious man withers away in languor: that most healthy youths should commit robberies; and that infants, who could not hurt anyone even by a word, should be afflicted by the atrocity of diverse diseases: that one useful to human affairs should be snatched away by an immature death; and that those who seem as if they should not even have been born, should live for a very long time besides: that a man full of crimes should be elevated with honors, and that the shadows of ignobility should hide a man without complaint: and other things of this kind, which who could collect, who could enumerate? If these things had a consistency in their very absurdity, so that in this life, in which man—as the sacred Psalm speaks—is made like unto vanity, and his days pass away like a shadow (Psalm 143:4), none but the bad should obtain these transitory and earthly goods, and none but the good should suffer such evils, this could be referred to the just or even the benign judgment of God; so that those who were not going to attain eternal goods, which make men blessed, might either be deceived by temporal ones for their malice, or be consoled by goods for the mercy of God; and those who were not going to suffer eternal torments might be afflicted by temporal ones either for their own sins of whatever kind and however small, or might be exercised by evils for the sake of fulfilling virtues. But now, when not only are the good in evil and the bad in good, which seems unjust; but also for the most part both evils happen to the bad and goods come to the good: the judgments of God become more inscrutable (Romans 11:33), and his ways unsearchable. Although, therefore, we do not know by what judgment God either does these things or permits them to be done—with whom is the highest virtue and the highest wisdom, the highest justice, no infirmity, no temerity, no iniquity—nevertheless we wholesomely learn not to value highly either the goods or the evils which we see to be common to the good and the bad; and to seek those goods which are of the good, and to flee especially those evils which are proper to the bad.

Cum vero ad illud Dei judicium venerimus, cujus tempus jam proprie dies judicii, et aliquando dies Domini nuncupatur; non solum quaecumque tunc judicabuntur, verum etiam quaecumque ab initio judicata, et quaecumque usque ad illud tempus adhuc judicanda sunt, apparebunt esse justissima. Ubi hoc quoque manifestabitur, quam justo judicio Dei fiat, ut nunc tam multa ac pene omnia justa judicia Dei sensus mentesque mortalium lateant; cum tamen in hac re piorum fidem non lateat, justum esse quod latet.

Caput III.

Quid in libro Ecclesiaste Salomon de his quae in hac vita et bonis et malis sunt communia, disputarit.

Nempe Salomon, sapientissimus rex Israel, qui regnavit in Jerusalem, librum qui vocatur Ecclesiastes, et a Judaeis quoque habetur in sacrarum canone Litterarum, sic exorsus est: Vanitas vanitantium, dixit Ecclesiastes; vanitas vanitantium, et omnia vanitas. Quae homini abundantia in omni labore suo, quo laborat sub sole (Eccle. I, 2 et 3)? Et cum ex hac sententia connecteret caetera, commemorans aerumnas erroresque vitae hujus, et vanescentes interea temporum lapsus, ubi nihil solidum, nihil stabile retinetur; in ea rerum vanitate sub sole, illud etiam deplorat quodammodo, quod cum sit abundantia sapientiae super insipientiam, sicut abundantia lucis super tenebras, sapientisque oculi sint in capite ipsius, et stultus in tenebris ambulet; unus tamen incursus incurrat omnibus (Id. II, 13, 14), utique in hac vita quae sub sole agitur: significans videlicet ea mala, quae bonis et malis videmus esse communia. Dicit etiam illud, quod et boni patiantur mala, tanquam mali sint, et mali tanquam boni sint, adipiscantur bona, ita loquens: Est, inquit, vanitas, quae facta est super terram; quia sunt justi, super quos venit sicut factum impiorum; et sunt impii, super quos venit sicut factum justorum. Dixi quoniam hoc quoque vanitas (Id. VIII, 14). In hac vanitate, cui, quantum satis visum est, intimandae totum istum librum vir sapientissimus deputavit, non utique ob aliud, nisi ut eam vitam desideremus, quae vanitatem non habet sub hoc sole, sed veritatem sub illo qui fecit hunc solem: in hac ergo vanitate, numquid nisi justo Dei rectoque judicio similis eidem vanitati factus vanesceret homo?

But when we shall have come to that judgment of God, the time of which is already properly called the day of judgment, and sometimes the day of the Lord; not only whatever things shall then be judged, but even whatever things have been judged from the beginning, and whatever things are still to be judged until that time, will appear to be most just. Where this also will be manifested: by how just a judgment of God it happens that now so many and almost all just judgments of God lie hidden from the senses and minds of mortals; since nevertheless in this matter it does not lie hidden from the faith of the pious that what lies hidden is just.

Chapter III.

What Solomon disputed in the book of Ecclesiastes concerning those things which are common to the good and the bad in this life.

Indeed Solomon, the most wise king of Israel, who reigned in Jerusalem, thus began the book which is called Ecclesiastes, and is also held by the Jews in the canon of the sacred Letters: "Vanity of vanities, said Ecclesiastes; vanity of vanities, and all is vanity." What abundance has man in all his labor, wherewith he labors under the sun?" (Ecclesiastes 1:2 and 3). And when he connected other things from this sentence, commemorating the hardships and errors of this life, and the meanwhile vanishing lapses of times, where nothing solid, nothing stable is retained; in that vanity of things under the sun, he also deplores in a way that, although there is an abundance of wisdom over foolishness, just as an abundance of light over darkness, and the eyes of the wise man are in his head, while the fool walks in darkness; nevertheless one event happens to all (Ecclesiastes 2:13, 14), namely in this life which is carried on under the sun: signifying forsooth those evils which we see to be common to the good and the bad. He says also that, that both the good suffer evils as if they were bad, and the bad as if they were good obtain goods, speaking thus: "There is," he says, "a vanity which is done upon the earth; because there are just men, upon whom it comes as if it were the deed of the impious; and there are impious men, upon whom it comes as if it were the deed of the just." I said that this also is vanity" (Ecclesiastes 8:14). In this vanity—to the making known of which, as far as seemed sufficient, that most wise man devoted this whole book—certainly for no other reason than that we might desire that life which has no vanity under this sun, but truth under him who made this sun: in this vanity, therefore, would man, made like to the same vanity, vanish away except by the just and right judgment of God?

In diebus tamen vanitatis suae interest plurimum, utrum resistat, an obtemperet veritati, et utrum sit expers verae pietatis, an particeps: non propter vitae hujus vel bona acquirenda, vel mala vitanda vanescendo transeuntia; sed propter futurum judicium, per quod erunt et bonis bona, et malis mala, sine fine mansura. Denique iste sapiens hunc librum sic conclusit, ut diceret, Deum time, et mandata ejus custodi; quia hoc est omnis homo: quia omne hoc opus Deus adducet in judicium in omni despecto, sive bonum, sive malum (Id. XII, 13, 14). Quid brevius, verius, salubrius dici potuit? Deum, inquit, time, et mandata ejus custodi; quia hoc est omnis homo. Quicumque enim est, hoc est, custos utique mandatorum Dei: quoniam qui hoc non est, nihil est. Non enim ad veritatis imaginem reformatur, remanens in similitudine vanitatis. Quia omne hoc opus, id est, quod ab homine fit in hac vita, sive bonum, sive malum, Deus adducet in judicium, in omni despecto, id est, in omni etiam qui contemptibilis hic videtur, et ideo nec videtur: quoniam Deus et ipsum videt, nec eum despicit, nec cum judicat praeterit.

Caput IV.

Quod ad disserendum de novissimo judicio Dei, Novi primum Testamenti, ac deinde Veteris testimonia prolaturus sit.

Hujus itaque ultimi judicii Dei testimonia de Scripturis sanctis quae ponere instituí, prius eligenda sunt de libris Instrumenti Novi, postea de Veteris. Quamvis enim vetera priora sint tempore, nova tamen anteponenda sunt dignitate; quoniam illa vetera praeconia sunt novorum. Nova igitur ponentur prius, quae ut firmius probemus, assumentur et vetera. In veteribus habentur Lex et Prophetae, in novis Evangelium et apostolicae Litterae. Ait autem Apostolus, Per legem enim cognitio peccati. Nunc autem sine lege justitia Dei manifestata est, testificata per Legem et Prophetas: justitia autem Dei, per fidem Jesu Christi in omnes qui credunt (Rom. III, 20-22). Haec justitia Dei ad novum pertinet Testamentum, et testimonium habet a veteribus Libris, hoc est, a Lege et Prophetis. Prius ergo ipsa causa ponenda est, et postea testes introducendi. Hunc et ipse Jesus Christus ordinem servandum esse demonstrans, Scriba, inquit, eruditus in regno Dei, similis est viro patrifamilias, proferenti de thesauro suo nova et vetera (Matth. XIII, 52). Non dixit, Vetera et nova: quod utique dixisset, nisi maluisset meritorum ordinem servare quam temporum.

Yet in the days of his vanity it is of the greatest importance whether he resists or obeys the truth, and whether he is void of true piety or a participant: not for the sake of either acquiring the goods of this life or avoiding the evils which pass away by vanishing; but for the sake of the future judgment, through which there will be both goods for the good and evils for the bad, which shall remain without end. Finally, this wise man thus concluded this book, so as to say: "Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is every man: because all this work God will bring into judgment concerning every despised thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil" (Ecclesiastes 12:13, 14). What could be said more briefly, more truly, more wholesomely? "Fear God," he says, "and keep his commandments; for this is every man." For whoever he is, he is this, namely, a keeper of the commandments of God: since he who is not this is nothing. For he is not reformed to the image of truth, remaining in the likeness of vanity. Because all this work, that is, what is done by man in this life, whether good or evil, God will bring into judgment, concerning every despised thing, that is, concerning everyone even who here seems contemptible, and therefore is not even seen: since God sees him also, nor does he despise him, nor when he judges does he pass him by.

Chapter IV.

That for the sake of discussing the last judgment of God, he will bring forth first the testimonies of the New Testament, and then of the Old.

And so the testimonies of this last judgment of God from the holy Scriptures, which I have determined to set down, are first to be chosen from the books of the New Instrument, afterwards from the Old. For although the old are prior in time, the new are nevertheless to be placed before them in dignity; since those old things are heralds of the new. Therefore the new shall be set down first, which, that we may prove them more firmly, the old also shall be assumed. In the old are held the Law and the Prophets, in the new the Gospel and the apostolic Letters. But the Apostle says: "For through the law comes the knowledge of sin. But now without the law the justice of God has been manifested, being witnessed by the Law and the Prophets: even the justice of God, through the faith of Jesus Christ unto all those who believe" (Romans 3:20-22). This justice of God pertains to the New Testament, and has testimony from the old books, that is, from the Law and the Prophets. Therefore the cause itself must be set down first, and afterwards the witnesses must be introduced. Showing that this order is to be preserved, Jesus Christ himself said: "A scribe instructed in the kingdom of God is like unto a man that is a householder, who brings forth out of his treasure things new and old" (Matthew 13:52). He did not say: "Old and new": which certainly he would have said, had he not preferred to preserve the order of merits rather than of times.

Caput V.

Quibus sententiis Domini Salvatoris divinum judicium futurum in fine saeculi declaretur.

1. Ergo ipse Salvator cum objurgaret civitates, in quibus virtutes magnas fecerat, neque crediderant, et eis alienigenas anteponeret, Verumtamen, inquit, dico vobis, Tyro et Sidoni remissius erit in die judicii quam vobis. Et paulo post alteri civitati, Amen, inquit, dico vobis, quia terrae Sodomorum remissius erit in die judicii quam tibi (Matth. XI, 22, 24). Hic evidentissime praedicat diem judicii esse venturum. Et alio loco, Viri Ninivitae, inquit, surgent in judicio cum generatione ista, et condemnabunt eam; quia poenitentiam egerunt in praedicatione Jonae, et ecce plus quam Jona hic. Regina Austri surget in judicio cum generatione ista, et condemnabit eam; quia venit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis, et ecce plus quam Salomon hic (Id. XII, 41, 42). Duas hoc loco res discimus, et venturum esse judicium, et cum mortuorum resurrectione venturum. De Ninivitis enim et regina Austri quando ista dicebat, de mortuis sine dubio loquebatur, quos tamen in die judicii resurrecturos esse praedixit. Nec ideo dixit, condemnabunt, quia ipsi judicabunt: sed quia ex ipsorum comparatione isti merito damnabuntur.

2. Rursus alio loco, cum de hominum bonorum et malorum nunc permixtione, postea separatione, quae utique die judicii futura est, loqueretur, adhibuit similitudinem de tritico seminato et superseminatis zizaniis, eamque suis exponens discipulis: Qui seminat, inquit, bonum semen, est Filius hominis: ager autem est mundus: bonum vero semen hi sunt filii regni; zizania autem filii sunt nequam: inimicus autem qui seminavit ea, est diabolus: messis autem consummatio saeculi est, messores vero Angeli sunt. Sicut ergo colliguntur zizania, et igni comburuntur; sic erit in consummatione saeculi. Mittet Filius hominis Angelos suos, et colligent de regno ejus omnia scandala, et eos qui faciunt iniquitatem, et mittent eos in caminum ignis: ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium. Tunc justi fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris eorum. Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat (Matth. XIII, 37-43). Hic quidem judicium vel diem judicii non nominavit, sed multo eum clarius ipsis rebus expressit, et in fine saeculi futurum esse praedixit.

Chapter V.

By which sentences of the Lord Savior the divine judgment to come at the end of the age is declared.

1. Therefore the Savior himself, when he upbraided the cities in which he had done great virtues and they had not believed, and preferred foreigners to them, said: "But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for you." And a little after to another city: "Amen, I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee" (Matthew 11:22, 24). Here most evidently he predicts that the day of judgment is to come. And in another place: "The men of Nineveh," he says, "shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; because they did penance at the preaching of Jonah, and behold, a greater than Jonah is here. The queen of the South shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold, a greater than Solomon is here" (Id. 12:41, 42). In this place we learn two things: both that the judgment is to come, and that it is to come with the resurrection of the dead. For when he said these things concerning the Ninevites and the queen of the South, he was undoubtedly speaking of the dead, whom nevertheless he predicted would rise again in the day of judgment. Nor did he say "they shall condemn" because they themselves shall judge, but because by comparison with them these others shall be deservedly damned.

2. Again in another place, when he spoke of the current commingling of good and evil men and their subsequent separation, which certainly is to be in the day of judgment, he employed the similitude of the wheat sown and the tares sown over it, and explained it to his disciples: "He that soweth," he says, "the good seed is the Son of man: but the field is the world; and the good seed, these are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of wickedness: and the enemy that sowed them is the devil: but the harvest is the consummation of the age, and the reapers are the Angels. Even as therefore the tares are gathered and burned with fire, so shall it be in the consummation of the age. The Son of man shall send his Angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all scandals, and those who do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the just shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear" (Matthew 13:37-43). Here indeed he did not name the judgment or the day of judgment, but he expressed it much more clearly by the things themselves, and predicted that it would be in the end of the age.

3. Item discipulis suis: Amen, inquit, dico vobis, quod vos qui secuti estis me, in regeneratione, cum sederit Filius hominis in sede majestatis suae, sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim, judicantes duodecim tribus Israel (Id. XIX, 28). Hic discimus cum suis discipulis judicaturum Jesum. Unde et alibi Judaeis dixit: Si ego in Beelzebub ejicio daemonia, filii vestri in quo ejiciunt? Ideo ipsi judices vestri erunt (Id. XII, 27). Nec quoniam super duodecim sedes sessuros esse ait, duodecim solos homines cum illo judicaturos putare debemus. Duodenario quippe numero, universa quaedam significata est judicantium multitudo, propter duas partes numeri septenarii, quo significatur plerumque universitas: quae duae partes, id est tria et quatuor, altera per alteram multiplicatae duodecim faciunt. Nam et quatuor ter, et tria quater duodecim sunt: et si qua alia hujus duodenarii numeri, quae ad hoc valeat, ratio reperitur. Alioquin quoniam in locum Judae traditoris apostolum Matthiam legimus ordinatum (Act. I, 26); apostolus Paulus, qui plus illis omnibus laboravit (I Cor. XV, 10), ubi ad judicandum sedeat non habebit: qui profecto cum aliis sanctis ad numerum judicum se pertinere demonstrat, cum dicit, Nescitis quia angelos judicabimus (Id. VI, 3)? De ipsis quoque judicandis in hoc numero duodenario similis causa est. Non enim quia dictum est, judicantes duodecim tribus Israel, tribus Levi, quae tertia decima est, ab eis judicanda non erit, aut solum illum populum, non etiam caeteras gentes judicabunt. Quod autem ait, in regeneratione, procul dubio mortuorum resurrectionem nomine voluit regenerationis intelligi. Sic enim caro nostra regenerabitur per incorruptionem, quemadmodum est anima nostra regenerata per fidem.

4. Multa praetereo, quae de ultimo judicio ita dici videntur, ut diligenter considerata reperiantur ambigua, vel magis ad aliud pertinentia; sive scilicet ad eum Salvatoris adventum, quo per totum hoc tempus in Ecclesia sua venit, hoc est, in membris suis, particulatim atque paulatim, quoniam tota corpus est ejus; sive ad excidium terrenae Jerusalem: quia et de illo cum loquitur, plerumque sic loquitur, tanquam de fine saeculi atque de illo die judicii novissimo et magno loquatur; ita ut dignosci non possit omnino, nisi ea quae apud tres evangelistas, Matthaeum, Marcum, et Lucam de hac re similiter dicta sunt, inter se omnia conferantur. Quaedam quippe alter obscurius, alter explicat planius; ut ea quae ad unam rem pertinentia dicuntur, appareat unde dicantur. Quod facere utcumque curavi in quadam epistola, quam rescripsi ad beatae memoriae virum Hesychium, Salonitanae urbis episcopum, cujus epistolae titulus est, de Fine saeculi (Epist. 199).

3. Likewise to his disciples: "Amen," he says, "I say unto you, that you who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the seat of his majesty, you also shall sit upon twelve seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Id. 19:28). Here we learn that Jesus will judge with his disciples. Whence also he said elsewhere to the Jews: "If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore they themselves shall be your judges" (Id. 12:27). Nor because he says they shall sit upon twelve seats ought we to think that twelve men alone shall judge with him. For by the number twelve a certain universal multitude of judges is signified, on account of the two parts of the number seven, by which universality is mostly signified: which two parts, that is three and four, being multiplied one by the other, make twelve. For both four times three and three times four are twelve; and if any other reason of this number twelve which avails for this purpose is found. Otherwise, since we read that the apostle Matthias was ordained in the place of Judas the traitor (Acts 1:26), the apostle Paul, who labored more than them all (1 Cor. 15:10), would not have a place where he might sit to judge; who certainly shows that he belongs to the number of judges with the other saints, when he says: "Know you not that we shall judge angels?" (Id. 6:3). Concerning those who are to be judged, there is a similar cause in this number twelve. For not because it was said "judging the twelve tribes of Israel" shall the tribe of Levi, which is the thirteenth, not be judged by them, or shall they judge only that people and not also the other nations. But that which he says, "in the regeneration," he undoubtedly wished the resurrection of the dead to be understood by the name of regeneration. For so shall our flesh be regenerated through incorruption, even as our soul has been regenerated through faith.

4. I pass over many things which seem to be said concerning the last judgment in such a way that, when diligently considered, they are found to be ambiguous, or rather pertaining to something else; whether, namely, to that advent of the Savior by which he comes through all this time in his Church, that is, in his members, partially and gradually, since the whole is his body; or to the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem: because even when he speaks of that, he mostly speaks as if he were speaking of the end of the age and of that last and great day of judgment; so that it cannot be distinguished at all, unless all those things which are said similarly among the three evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, concerning this matter, are compared among themselves. For some things one explains more obscurely, another more plainly; so that it may appear from what source those things are said which are mentioned as pertaining to one thing. Which I have taken care to do in a certain way in a letter which I wrote back to the man of blessed memory, Hesychius, bishop of the city of Salona, the title of which letter is, Concerning the End of the Age (Letter 199).

5. Proinde jam illud hic dicam, quod in Evangelio secundum Matthaeum de separatione bonorum et malorum legitur per judicium praesentissimum atque novissimum Christi. Cum autem venerit, inquit, Filius hominis in majestate sua, et omnes Angeli cum eo, tunc sedebit super sedem majestatis suae, et congregabuntur ante eum omnes gentes, et separabit eos ab invicem, sicut pastor segregat oves ab haedis: et statuet oves quidem a dextris suis, haedos autem a sinistris. Tunc dicet Rex his, qui a dextris ejus erunt, Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi. Esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi, et dedistis mihi bibere; hospes eram, et collegistis me; nudus, et cooperuistis me; infirmus, et visitastis me; in carcere eram, et venistis ad me. Tunc respondebunt ei justi, dicentes: Domine, quando vidimus te esurientem, et pavimus; sitientem, et dedimus tibi potum? Quando autem te vidimus hospitem, et collegimus te; aut nudum, et cooperuimus te? Aut quando te vidimus infirmum, aut in carcere, et venimus ad te? Et respondens Rex dicet illis, Amen dico vobis, quamdiu fecistis uni de his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis. Tunc dicet, inquit, et his qui a sinistris erunt: Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus. Deinde similiter etiam his enumerat, quod illa non fecerint, quae dextros fecisse memoravit. Similiterque interrogantibus, quando eum viderint in horum indigentia constitutum: quod minimis suis factum non est, sibi factum non fuisse respondet; sermonemque concludens, Et hi, inquit, in supplicium aeternum ibunt, justi autem in vitam aeternam (Matth. XXV, 31-46). Joannes vero evangelista apertissime narrat eum in resurrectione mortuorum futurum praedixisse judicium. Cum enim dixisset, Neque enim Pater judicat quemquam, sed judicium omne dedit Filio, ut omnes honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant Patrem: qui non honorificat Filium, non honorificat Patrem, qui misit illum: protinus addidit, Amen, amen dico vobis, quia qui verbum meum audit, et credit ei qui me misit, habet vitam aeternam; et in judicium non veniet, sed transiit a morte in vitam (Joan. V, 22-24). Ecce hic dixit fideles suos in judicium non venire. Quomodo ergo per judicium separabuntur a malis, et ad ejus dexteram stabunt, nisi quia hoc loco judicium pro damnatione posuit? In tale quippe judicium non venient, qui audiunt verbum ejus, et credunt ei qui misit illum.

Caput VI.

Quae sit prima resurrectio, quae secunda.

5. Accordingly, I will now say here what is read in the Gospel according to Matthew concerning the separation of the good and the bad through the most present and final judgment of Christ. "But when the Son of man," he says, "shall come in his majesty, and all the Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the seat of his majesty, and all nations shall be gathered before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep indeed on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say to them who shall be on his right hand: Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in; naked, and you covered me; sick, and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to me. Then shall the just answer him, saying: Lord, when did we see thee hungry, and fed thee; thirsty, and gave thee drink? And when did we see thee a stranger, and took thee in; or naked, and covered thee? Or when did we see thee sick, or in prison, and came to thee? And the King answering shall say to them: Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me. Then shall he say," he says, "also to them who shall be on the left hand: Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels. Then in like manner he also enumerates to these that they did not do those things which he remembered the right-hand ones to have done. And likewise to those asking when they saw him established in the need of these: he answers that what was not done to his least ones, was not done to him; and concluding his speech, "And these," he says, "shall go into eternal punishment, but the just into eternal life" (Matthew 25:31-46). But John the evangelist most clearly relates that he predicted the judgment to be in the resurrection of the dead. For when he had said, "For neither does the Father judge any man, but has given all judgment to the Son, that all may honor the Son, even as they honor the Father: he who honors not the Son, honors not the Father, who sent him": he immediately added, "Amen, amen I say to you, that he who hears my word, and believes him who sent me, has eternal life; and shall not come into judgment, but has passed from death into life" (John 5:22-24). Behold, here he said that his faithful do not come into judgment. How then shall they be separated from the wicked by judgment, and stand at his right hand, except because in this place he put "judgment" for "damnation"? For into such a judgment they shall not come, who hear his word, and believe him who sent him.

Chapter VI.

What Is the First Resurrection, and What the Second.

1. Deinde adjungit, et dicit: Amen, amen dico vobis quia venit hora, et nunc est, quando mortui audient vocem Filii Dei; et qui audierint, vivent. Sicut enim Pater habet vitam in semetipso, sic dedit et Filio habere vitam in semetipso (Joan. V, 25 et 26). Nondum de secunda resurrectione, id est corporum, loquitur, quae in fine futura est; sed de prima, quae nunc est. Hanc quippe ut distingueret, ait, Venit hora, et nunc est. Non autem ista corporum, sed animarum est. Habent enim et animae mortem suam in impietate atque peccatis: secundum quam mortem mortui sunt, de quibus idem Dominus ait, Sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos (Matth. VIII, 22); ut scilicet in anima mortui, in corpore mortuos sepelirent. Propter istos ergo impietate et iniquitate in anima mortuos, Venit, inquit, hora, et nunc est, quando mortui audient vocem Filii Dei; et qui audierint, vivent. Qui audierint dixit, qui obedierint, qui crediderint, et usque in finem perseveraverint. Nec fecit hic ullam differentiam bonorum et malorum. Omnibus enim bonum est audire vocem ejus, et vivere, ad vitam pietatis ex impietatis morte transeundo. De qua morte ait apostolus Paulus, Ergo omnes mortui sunt, et pro omnibus mortuus est, ut qui vivunt, jam non sibi vivant, sed ei qui pro ipsis mortuus est, et resurrexit (II Cor. V, 14, 15). Omnes itaque mortui sunt in peccatis, nemine prorsus excepto, sive originalibus, sive etiam voluntate additis, vel ignorando, vel sciendo nec faciendo quod justum est: et pro omnibus mortuis vivus mortuus est unus, id est, nullum habens omnino peccatum: ut qui per remissionem peccatorum vivunt, jam non sibi vivant, sed ei qui pro omnibus mortuus est propter peccata nostra, et resurrexit propter justificationem nostram; ut credentes in eum qui justificat impium, ex impietate justificati, tanquam ex morte vivificati, ad primam resurrectionem, quae nunc est, pertinere possimus. Ad hanc enim primam non pertinent, nisi qui beati erunt in aeternum: ad secundam vero, de qua mox locuturus est, et beatos pertinere docebit, et miseros. Ista est misericordiae, illa judicii. Propter quod in Psalmo scriptum est: Misericordiam et judicium cantabo tibi, Domine (Psal. C, 1).

2. De quo judicio consequenter adjunxit, atque ait: Et potestatem dedit ei judicium facere, quia Filius hominis est. Hic ostendit, quod in ea carne veniet judicaturus, in qua venerat judicandus. Ad hoc enim ait, quoniam Filius hominis est. Ac deinde subjungens unde agimus: Nolite, inquit, mirari hoc, quia veniet hora, in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt, audient vocem ejus; et procedent qui bona fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae; qui vero mala egerunt, in resurrectionem judicii (Joan. V, 27-29).

1. Then he joins and says: "Amen, amen I say to you, that the hour comes, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who shall hear shall live. For as the Father has life in himself, so has he given also to the Son to have life in himself" (John 5:25 and 26). Not yet does he speak of the second resurrection, that is, of bodies, which is to be in the end; but of the first, which is now. Indeed, that he might distinguish this, he says, "The hour comes, and now is." But this is not of bodies, but of souls. For souls also have their own death in impiety and sins: according to which death they are dead, of whom the same Lord says, "Let the dead bury their own dead" (Matthew 8:22); so that, namely, being dead in the soul, they should bury those dead in the body. For the sake of these, therefore, dead in the soul by impiety and iniquity, he says: "The hour comes, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who shall hear shall live." "They who shall hear," he said, who shall obey, who shall believe, and shall persevere even to the end. Nor did he make here any difference between the good and the bad. For it is good for all to hear his voice, and to live, by passing to the life of piety from the death of impiety. Concerning which death the apostle Paul says: "Therefore all are dead, and one died for all, that they who live should no longer live for themselves, but for him who died for them, and rose again" (2 Corinthians 5:14, 15). All therefore are dead in sins, with absolutely no one excepted, whether in original sins, or even added by will, either by ignoring, or by knowing and not doing what is just: and for all the dead one living person died, that is, one having no sin at all: so that they who live through the remission of sins should no longer live for themselves, but for him who died for all because of our sins, and rose again for our justification; so that believing in him who justifies the impious, being justified from piety, as if vivified from death, we may be able to pertain to the first resurrection, which is now. For to this first resurrection none pertain except those who will be blessed forever: but to the second, of which he is soon to speak, he will teach that both the blessed and the miserable pertain. That one is of mercy, this of judgment. Because of which it is written in the Psalm: "Mercy and judgment I will sing to thee, O Lord" (Psalm 101:1).

2. Concerning which judgment he subsequently added, and said: "And he has given him power to do judgment, because he is the Son of man." Here he shows that he will come to judge in that flesh in which he had come to be judged. For this is why he said, "because he is the Son of man." And then subjoining the point we are discussing: "Wonder not at this," he says, "because the hour will come in which all who are in the tombs shall hear his voice; and they who have done good things shall come forth unto the resurrection of life; but they who have done evil things, unto the resurrection of judgment" (John 5:27-29).

Hoc est illud judicium, quod paulo ante, sicut nunc, pro damnatione posuerat, dicens, Qui verbum meum audit, et credit ei qui misit me, habet vitam aeternam, et in judicium non veniet, sed transiit a morte in vitam (Ibid., 24): id est, pertinendo ad primam resurrectionem, qua nunc transitur a morte ad vitam, in damnationem non veniet, quam significavit appellatione judicii, sicut etiam hoc loco, ubi ait, Qui vero mala egerunt, in resurrectionem judicii, id est, damnationis. Resurgat ergo in prima, qui non vult in secunda resurrectione damnari. Venit enim hora, et nunc est, quando mortui audient vocem Filii Dei; et qui audierint, vivent (Ibid., 25), id est, in damnationem non venient, quae secunda mors dicitur: in quam mortem, post secundam, quae corporum futura est, resurrectionem, praecipitabuntur, qui in prima, quae animarum est, non resurgunt. Veniet enim hora (ubi non ait, et nunc est; quia in fine saeculi erit, hoc est in ultimo et maximo judicio Dei), quando omnes qui in monumentis sunt, audient vocem ejus, et procedent (Ibid., 28). Non dixit quemadmodum in prima, et qui audierint, vivent. Non enim omnes vivent, ea scilicet vita, quae quoniam beata est, sola vita dicenda est. Nam utique non sine qualicumque vita possent audire, et de monumentis resurgente carne procedere. Quare autem non omnes vivent, in eo quod sequitur, docet: Qui bona, inquit, fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae, hi sunt qui vivent: qui vero mala egerunt, in resurrectionem judicii, hi sunt qui non vivent; quia secunda morte morientur. Mala quippe egerunt, quoniam male vixerunt: male autem vixerunt, quia in prima, quae nunc est, animarum resurrectione non revixerunt, aut in eo quod revixerant, non in finem usque manserunt. Sicut ergo duae sunt regenerationes, de quibus jam supra locutus sum, una secundum fidem, quae nunc fit per Baptismum; alia secundum carnem, quae fiet in ejus incorruptione atque immortalitate per judicium magnum atque novissimum: ita sunt et resurrectiones duae, una prima, quae et nunc est, et animarum est, quae venire non permittit in mortem secundam; alia secunda, quae nunc non est, sed in saeculi fine futura est, nec animarum, sed corporum est, quae per ultimum judicium alios mittet in secundam mortem, alios in eam vitam, quae non habet mortem.

Caput VII.

De duabus resurrectionibus et de mille annis quid in Apocalypsi Joannis scriptum sit, et quid de eis rationabiliter sentiatur.

1. De his duabus resurrectionihus idem Joannes evangelista in libro qui dicitur Apocalypsis, eo modo locutus est, ut earum prima a quibusdam nostris non intellecta, insuper etiam in quasdam ridiculas fabulas verteretur.

This is that judgment which a little before, as now, he had put for damnation, saying: "He who hears my word, and believes him who sent me, has eternal life, and shall not come into judgment, but has passed from death into life" (Ibid., 24): that is, by pertaining to the first resurrection, by which one passes now from death to life, he shall not come into damnation, which he signified by the name of judgment, as also in this place, where he says: "But they who have done evil things, unto the resurrection of judgment," that is, of damnation. Therefore let him rise in the first resurrection, who does not wish to be damned in the second. For "the hour comes, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who shall hear shall live" (Ibid., 25), that is, they shall not come into damnation, which is called the second death: into which death, after the second resurrection, which is of bodies and is to be, they shall be cast headlong who do not rise in the first, which is of souls. For "the hour will come" (where he does not say, "and now is," because it will be in the end of the age, that is, in the last and greatest judgment of God), "when all who are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth" (Ibid., 28). He did not say, as in the first resurrection, "and they who shall hear shall live." For not all shall live, namely, by that life which, because it is blessed, alone is to be called life. For certainly they could not hear without some kind of life, and come forth from the tombs with the flesh rising again. But why not all shall live, he teaches in what follows: "They who have done good things," he says, "unto the resurrection of life," these are they who shall live: "but they who have done evil things, unto the resurrection of judgment," these are they who shall not live; because they shall die by the second death. For they did evil things, because they lived badly: and they lived badly because they did not revive in the first resurrection of souls, which is now, or having revived in it, they did not remain even to the end. Therefore as there are two regenerations, of which I have already spoken above, one according to faith, which is now done through Baptism; the other according to the flesh, which will be done in its incorruption and immortality through the great and final judgment: so there are also two resurrections, one the first, which is also now, and is of souls, which does not permit one to come into the second death; the other the second, which is not now, but is to be in the end of the age, and is not of souls, but of bodies, which through the last judgment will send some into the second death, others into that life which has no death.

Chapter VII.

What Is Written in the Apocalypse of John Concerning the Two Resurrections and the Thousand Years, and What Is Rationally Thought Concerning Them.

1. Concerning these two resurrections the same John the evangelist has spoken in the book which is called the Apocalypse, in such a way that the first of them, not being understood by some of ours, was moreover even turned into some ridiculous fables.

Ait quippe in libro memorato Joannes apostolus: Et vidi angelum descendentem de coelo, habentem clavem abyssi, et catenam in manu sua, et tenuit draconem illum serpentem antiquum, qui cognominatus est diabolus et satanas, et alligavit illum mille annis, et misit illum in abyssum; et clausit, et signavit super eum, ut non seduceret jam gentes, donec finiantur mille anni: post haec oportet eum solvi brevi tempore. Et vidi sedes, et sedentes super eas, et judicium datum est. Et animae occisorum propter testimonium Jesu, et propter verbum Dei, et si qui non adoraverunt bestiam, nec imaginem ejus, neque acceperunt inscriptionem in fronte aut in manu sua, et regnaverunt cum Jesu mille annis: reliqui eorum non vixerunt, donec finiantur mille anni. Haec resurrectio prima est. Beatus et sanctus est, qui habet in hac prima resurrectione partem. In istis secunda mors non habet potestatem; sed erunt sacerdotes Dei et Christi, et regnabunt cum eo mille annis (Apoc. XX, 1-6). Qui propter haec hujus libri verba primam resurrectionem futuram suspicati sunt corporalem, inter caetera maxime numero annorum mille permoti sunt, tanquam oporteret in sanctis eo modo veluti tanti temporis fieri sabbatismum, vacatione scilicet sancta post labores annorum sex millium, ex quo creatus est homo, et magni illius peccati merito in hujus mortalitatis aerumnas de paradisi felicitate dimissus est, ut quoniam scriptum est, Unus dies apud Dominum sicut mille anni, et mille anni sicut dies unus (II Petr. III, 8), sex annorum millibus tanquam sex diebus impletis, sequatur velut sabbati septimus in annis mille postremis, ad hoc scilicet sabbatum celebrandum resurgentibus sanctis. Quae opinio esset utcumque tolerabilis, si aliquae deliciae spirituales in illo sabbato adfuturae sanctis per Domini praesentiam crederentur. Nam etiam nos hoc opinati fuimus aliquando. Sed cum eos qui tunc resurrexerint, dicant immoderatissimis carnalibus epulis vacaturos, in quibus cibus sit tantus ac potus, ut non solum nullam modestiam teneant, sed modum quoque ipsius incredulitatis excedant: nullo modo ista possunt nisi a carnalibus credi. Hi autem qui spirituales sunt, istos ista credentes Χιλιαστάς appellant graeco vocabulo; quos, verbum e verbo exprimentes, nos possumus Milliarios nuncupare. Eos autem longum est refellere ad singula; sed potius, quemadmodum Scriptura haec accipienda sit, jam debemus ostendere.

2. Ait ipse Dominus Jesus Christus, Nemo potest introire in domum fortis, et vasa ejus eripere, nisi prius alligaverit fortem (Marc. III, 27): diabolum volens intelligi fortem, quia ipse genus humanum potuit tenere captivum; vasa vero ejus, quae fuerat erepturus, fideles suos futuros, quos ille in diversis peccatis atque impietatibus possidebat. Ut ergo alligaretur hic fortis, propterea vidit iste apostolus in Apocalypsi angelum descendentem de coelo, habentem clavem abyssi, et catenam in manu sua.

For John the apostle says in the mentioned book: "And I saw an angel descending from heaven, having the key of the abyss, and a chain in his hand, and he held that dragon, the ancient serpent, who is surnamed the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and sent him into the abyss; and closed it, and sealed over him, that he should no longer seduce the nations, until the thousand years are finished: after these things he must be loosed for a short time. And I saw seats, and those sitting upon them, and judgment was given. And the souls of those slain because of the testimony of Jesus, and because of the word of God, and if any have not adored the beast, nor its image, nor received the inscription on their forehead or in their hand, and they reigned with Jesus for a thousand years: the rest of them lived not, until the thousand years are finished. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he who has part in this first resurrection. In these the second death has no power; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him for a thousand years" (Apocalypse 20:1-6). Those who, because of these words of this book, suspected that the first resurrection was to be corporal, were moved especially among other things by the number of a thousand years, as if it were necessary that a kind of sabbath-keeping for so great a time should happen among the saints, in a holy vacation, namely, after the labors of six thousand years since man was created, and by the merit of that great sin was dismissed from the happiness of paradise into the hardships of this mortality, so that since it is written, "One day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day" (2 Peter 3:8), six thousands of years being filled as if six days, there should follow as if a seventh sabbath in the last thousand years, for the celebration, namely, of this sabbath by the saints rising again. Which opinion would be in some way tolerable, if it were believed that some spiritual delights were to be present for the saints in that sabbath through the presence of the Lord. For we also once held this opinion. But since they say that those who then shall have risen again will have leisure for most immoderate carnal banquets, in which there is so much food and drink that they not only keep no modesty, but also exceed the measure of even incredulity itself: these things can in no way be believed except by carnal men. But those who are spiritual call these people believing these things Chiliasts by a Greek term; whom, expressing word for word, we can name Milliarians. But it is a long task to refute them in individual points; but rather, we ought now to show how this Scripture is to be accepted.

2. The Lord Jesus Christ himself says: "No man can enter into the house of a strong man, and rob his vessels, unless he first bind the strong man" (Mark 3:27): wishing the devil to be understood as the strong man, because he was able to hold the human race captive; but his vessels, which he was to rob, to be his future faithful ones, whom that one possessed in various sins and impieties. That this strong man might be bound, therefore this apostle saw in the Apocalypse "an angel descending from heaven, having the key of the abyss, and a chain in his hand.

Et tenuit, inquit, draconem illum serpentem antiquum, qui cognominatus est diabolus et satanas, et alligavit eum mille annis, hoc est, ejus potestatem ab eis seducendis ac possidendis, qui fuerant liberandi, cohibuit atque frenavit. Mille autem anni duobus modis possunt, quantum mihi occurrit, intelligi: aut quia in ultimis annis mille ista res agitur, id est, sexto annorum milliario tanquam sexto die, cujus nunc spatia posteriora volvuntur; secuturo deinde sabbato, quod non habet vesperam, requie scilicet sanctorum, quae non habet finem: ut hujus milliarii tanquam diei novissimam partem, quae remanebat usque ad terminum saeculi, mille annos appellaverit; eo loquendi modo, quo pars significatur a toto: aut certe mille annos pro annis omnibus hujus saeculi posuit; ut perfecto numero notaretur ipsa temporis plenitudo. Millenarius quippe numerus denarii numeri quadratum solidum reddit. Decem quippe decies ducta, fiunt centum; quae jam figura quadrata, sed plana est. Ut autem in altitudinem surgat, et solida fiat, rursus centum decies multiplicantur, et mille sunt. Porro si centum ipsa pro universitate aliquando ponuntur, quale illud est, quod Dominus omnia sua dimittenti et eum sequenti promisit, dicens, Accipiet in hoc saeculo centuplum (Matth. XIX, 29; Marc. X, 30): quod exponens quodammodo Apostolus, ait, Quasi nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes (II Cor. VI, 10); quia et ante jam dictum erat, Fidelis hominis totus mundus divitiarum est: quanto magis mille pro universitate ponuntur, ubi est soliditas ipsius denariae quadraturae? Unde nec illud melius intelligitur, quod in Psalmo legitur: Memor fuit in saeculum testamenti sui, verbi quod mandavit in mille generationes (Psal. CIV, 8), id est, in omnes.

3. Et misit illum, inquit, in abyssum: utique diabolum misit in abyssum. Quo nomine significata est multitudo innumerabilis impiorum, quorum in malignitate adversus Ecclesiam Dei multum profunda sunt corda: non quia ibi diabolus ante non erat; sed ideo dicitur illuc missus, quia exclusus a credentibus plus coepit impios possidere. Plus namque possidetur a diabolo, qui non solum alienatus est a Deo, verum etiam gratis odit servientes Deo. Et clausit, inquit, et signavit super eum, ut jam non seduceret gentes, donec finiantur mille anni. Clausit super eum, dictum est, interdixit ei ne possit exire, id est, vetitum transgredi. Signavit autem, quod addidit, significasse mihi videtur, quia occultum esse voluit, qui pertineant ad partem diaboli, et qui non pertineant. Hoc quippe in saeculo isto prorsus latet: quia et qui videtur stare, utrum sit casurus; et qui videtur jacere, utrum sit surrecturus, incertum est. Ab eis autem gentibus seducendis hujus interdicti vinculo et claustro diabolus prohibetur atque cohibetur, quas pertinentes ad Christum seducebat antea, vel tenebat.

And he held," he says, "the dragon, that ancient serpent, who is surnamed the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years," that is, he restrained and bridled his power from seducing and possessing those who were to be liberated. But the thousand years can be understood, as far as occurs to me, in two ways: either because in the last thousand years this thing is done, that is, in the sixth millennium of years as if on the sixth day, the latter spaces of which are now rolling on; with the sabbath to follow thereafter, which has no evening, the repose namely of the saints, which has no end: so that he called the last part of this millennium as if of a day, which remained even to the end of the age, a thousand years; by that way of speaking by which a part is signified by the whole: or certainly he put a thousand years for all the years of this age; so that by a perfect number the plenitude of time itself might be noted. For the number of a thousand yields the solid square of the number ten. For ten multiplied ten times become a hundred; which is already a square figure, but a flat one. But that it may rise into height, and become solid, again a hundred are multiplied ten times, and they are a thousand. Furthermore, if a hundred itself is sometimes put for universality, what kind of thing is that which the Lord promised to one dismissing all his things and following him, saying: "He shall receive a hundredfold in this age" (Matthew 19:29; Mark 10:30): which the Apostle explaining in a certain way, says: "As having nothing, and possessing all things" (2 Corinthians 6:10); because also before it had already been said: "To the faithful man the whole world of riches belongs": how much more are a thousand put for universality, where there is the solidity of the denary quadrature itself? Whence also that which is read in the Psalm is no better understood: "He was mindful forever of his covenant, of the word which he commanded to a thousand generations" (Psalm 105:8), that is, to all.

3. "And he sent him," he says, "into the abyss": certainly he sent the devil into the abyss. By which name is signified the innumerable multitude of the impious, whose hearts are very deep in malignancy against the Church of God: not because the devil was not there before; but he is said to be sent thither for this reason, because being excluded from the believers, he began to possess the impious more. For he is possessed more by the devil, who is not only alienated from God, but even hates those serving God without cause. "And he closed," he says, "and sealed over him, that he should no longer seduce the nations, until the thousand years are finished." "He closed over him" was said, he interdicted him lest he be able to go out, that is, to transgress what was forbidden. But "he sealed," which he added, seems to me to have signified that he wished it to be hidden who pertain to the side of the devil, and who do not pertain. Indeed, in this age this is altogether hidden: because it is uncertain both of him who seems to stand, whether he is to fall; and of him who seems to lie, whether he is to rise. But the devil is prohibited and restrained by the bond and enclosure of this interdict from seducing those nations which, pertaining to Christ, he was seducing before, or holding.

Has enim Deus elegit ante mundi constitutionem eruere de potestate tenebrarum (Ephes. I, 4), et transferre in regnum Filii charitatis suae (Coloss. I, 13), sicut Apostolus ait. Nam seducere illum gentes etiam nunc, et secum trahere in aeternam poenam, sed non praedestinatas in aeternam vitam, quis fidelis ignorat? Nec moveat, quod saepe diabolus seducit etiam illos, qui jam regenerati in Christo, vias ingrediuntur Dei. Novit enim Dominus qui sunt ejus (II Tim. II, 19): ex his in aeternam damnationem neminem ille seducit. Sic enim novit eos Dominus, ut Deus, quem nihil latet etiam futurorum; non ut homo, qui hominem ad praesens videt (si tamen videt, cujus cor non videt), qualis autem postea sit futurus, nec se ipsum videt. Ad hoc ergo ligatus est diabolus, et inclusus in abysso, ut jam non seducat gentes, ex quibus constat Ecclesia, quas antea seductas tenebat, antequam esset Ecclesia. Nec enim dictum est, ut non seduceret aliquem; sed, ut non seduceret, inquit, jam gentes; in quibus Ecclesiam procul dubio voluit intelligi: donec finiantur, inquit, mille anni, id est, aut quod remanet de sexto die, qui constat ex mille annis; aut omnes anni, quibus deinceps hoc saeculum peragendum est.

4. Nec sic accipiendum est quod ait, ut non seduceret jam gentes, donec finiantur mille anni; quasi postea seducturus sit eas duntaxat gentes, ex quibus praedestinata constat Ecclesia, a quibus seducendis illo est vinculo claustroque prohibitus. Sed aut illa locutione dictum est, quae in Scripturis aliquoties invenitur, qualis est in Psalmo, Sic oculi nostri ad Dominum Deum nostrum, donec misereatur nostri (Psal. CXXII, 2); neque enim cum misertus fuerit, non erunt oculi servorum ejus ad Dominum Deum suum: aut certe iste est ordo verborum, Et clausit, et signavit super eum, donec finiantur mille anni; quod vero interposuit, ut non seduceret jam gentes, ita se habet, ut ab hujus ordinis connexione sit liberum, et seorsus intelligendum, velut si post adderetur, ut sic se haberet tota sententia, Et clausit, et signavit super eum, donec finiantur mille anni, ut non seduceret jam gentes; id est, ideo clausit, donec finiantur mille anni, ut jam non seduceret gentes.

Caput VIII.

De alligatione et solutione diaboli.

For God chose these before the foundation of the world to rescue from the power of darkness (Ephesians 1:4), and to transfer into the kingdom of the Son of his love (Colossians 1:13), as the Apostle says. For who of the faithful is ignorant that he seduces nations even now, and draws them with him into eternal punishment, but those not predestined to eternal life? Nor let it move one, that the devil often seduces even those who, already regenerated in Christ, enter the ways of God. For "the Lord knows who are his" (2 Timothy 2:19): of these he seduces no one into eternal damnation. For so the Lord knows them, as God, from whom nothing is hidden even of future things; not as a man, who sees a man for the present (if indeed he sees him whose heart he does not see), but what kind of person he is to be thereafter, he does not even see concerning himself. For this purpose therefore was the devil bound, and enclosed in the abyss, that he should no longer seduce the nations of which the Church consists, which before he held seduced, before there was a Church. For it was not said, that he should not seduce anyone; but, "that he should no longer seduce," he says, "the nations"; in which he undoubtedly wished the Church to be understood: "until the thousand years are finished," he says, that is, either what remains of the sixth day, which consists of a thousand years; or all the years in which thereafter this age is to be completed.

4. Nor is what he says, "that he should no longer seduce the nations, until the thousand years are finished," to be understood as if he were thereafter to seduce those nations at least of which the predestined Church consists, from seducing which he was prohibited by that bond and enclosure. But either it was said by that locution which is found sometimes in the Scriptures, such as is in the Psalm: "So our eyes are unto the Lord our God, until he have mercy on us" (Psalm 123:2); for neither when he shall have had mercy, will the eyes of his servants not be unto the Lord their God: or certainly this is the order of words: "And he closed, and sealed over him, until the thousand years are finished"; but what he interposed, "that he should no longer seduce the nations," is so situated that it is free from the connection of this order, and to be understood separately, as if it were added afterwards, so that the whole sentence would be thus: "And he closed, and sealed over him, until the thousand years are finished, that he should no longer seduce the nations"; that is, he closed for this reason, until the thousand years are finished, so that he should no longer seduce the nations.

Chapter VIII.

Concerning the Binding and Loosing of the Devil.

1. Post haec, inquit, oportet eum solvi brevi tempore (Apoc. XX, 3). Si hoc est diabolo ligari et includi, Ecclesiam non posse seducere; haec ergo erit solutio ejus, ut possit? Absit: nunquam enim ab illo Ecclesia seducetur praedestinata et electa ante mundi constitutionem, de qua dictum est, Novit Dominus qui sunt ejus (II Tim. II, 19): et tamen hic erit etiam illo tempore, quo solvendus est diabolus, sicut ex quo est instituta, hic fuit et erit omni tempore, in suis utique qui succedunt nascendo morientibus. Nam paulo post dicit, quod solutus diabolus seductas gentes toto orbe terrarum attrahet in bellum adversus eam, quorum hostium numerus erit ut arena maris. Et ascenderunt, inquit, super terrae latitudinem, et cinxerunt castra sanctorum, et dilectam civitatem: et descendit ignis de coelo a Deo, et comedit eos: et diabolus qui seducebat eos, missus est in stagnum ignis et sulphuris, ubi et bestia et pseudopropheta; et cruciabuntur die ac nocte in saecula saeculorum (Apoc. XX, 8-10). Sed hoc jam ad judicium novissimum pertinet, quod nunc propterea commemorandum putavi, ne quis existimet eo ipso parvo tempore, quo solvetur diabolus, in hac terra Ecclesiam non futuram, illo hic eam vel non inveniente, cum fuerit solutus, vel absumente, cum fuerit modis omnibus persecutus. Non itaque per totum hoc tempus, quod liber iste complectitur, a primo scilicet adventu Christi usque in saeculi finem, quo erit secundus ejus adventus, ita diabolus alligatur, ut ejus haec ipsa sit alligatio, per hoc intervallum, quod mille annorum numero appellat, non seducere Ecclesiam; quandoquidem illam nec solutus utique seducturus est. Nam profecto si ei alligari est, non posse seducere, sive non permitti; quid erit solvi, nisi posse seducere, sive permitti? Quod absit ut fiat: sed alligatio diaboli, est non permitti exercere totam tentationem, quam potest vel vi vel dolo ad seducendos homines, in partem suam cogendo violenter, fraudulenterve fallendo. Quod si permitteretur in tam longo tempore et tanta infirmitate multorum, plurimos tales, quales Deus id perpeti non vult, et fideles dejiceret, et ne crederent impediret: quod ne faceret, alligatus est.

2. Tunc autem solvetur, quando et breve tempus erit. Nam tribus annis et sex mensibus legitur totis suis suorumque viribus saeviturus: et tales erunt, cum quibus ei belligerandum est, ut vinci tanto ejus impetu insidiisque non possint. Si autem nunquam solveretur, minus appareret ejus maligna potentia, minus sanctae civitatis fidelissima patientia probaretur; minus denique perspiceretur, quam magno ejus malo tam bene fuerit usus Omnipotens:

1. "After these things," he says, "he must be loosed for a short time" (Apocalypse 20:3). If this is for the devil to be bound and enclosed, that he cannot seduce the Church; will this then be his loosening, that he can? Far be it: for the Church predestined and elected before the foundation of the world, of which it was said, "The Lord knows who are his" (2 Timothy 2:19), will never be seduced by him: and yet she will be here even at that time in which the devil is to be loosed, just as from when she was instituted, she has been and will be here at all times, in her own members namely who succeed by being born to those who die. For a little after he says, that the devil being loosed will draw the seduced nations from the whole world into war against her, the number of which enemies will be as the sand of the sea. "And they went up," he says, "upon the breadth of the earth, and encompassed the camp of the saints, and the beloved city: and fire came down from heaven from God, and devoured them: and the devil who seduced them was cast into the pool of fire and sulfur, where both the beast and the false prophet are; and they shall be tormented day and night for ages of ages" (Apocalypse 20:8-10). But this already pertains to the last judgment, which I thought ought to be commemorated here for this reason, lest anyone should think that in that very small time in which the devil shall be loosed, the Church will not be on this earth, he either not finding her here when he shall have been loosed, or consuming her when he shall have persecuted her by all means. Therefore not through all this time which this book encompasses, from the first advent of Christ namely even into the end of the age, in which his second advent will be, is the devil so bound that his binding is this itself, through this interval which he calls by the number of a thousand years, not to seduce the Church; since indeed he is not to seduce her even when loosed. For certainly if to be bound is for him not to be able to seduce, or not to be permitted; what will it be to be loosed, except to be able to seduce, or to be permitted? Which far be it from happening: but the binding of the devil is not to be permitted to exercise the whole temptation which he can either by force or by guile for seducing men, by forcing them violently into his side, or by deceiving them fraudulently. Which if it were permitted in so long a time and so great infirmity of many, he would both cast down very many such as God does not wish to suffer this, and would hinder the faithful lest they believe: which that he should not do, he was bound.

2. But then he shall be loosed, when there shall also be a short time. For in three years and six months he is read to be about to rage with all his own and his followers' strengths: and such shall they be with whom he is to wage war, that they cannot be conquered by so great an impetus and by his insidias. But if he were never loosed, his malignant power would appear less, the most faithful patience of the holy city would be less proved; finally, it would be less clearly seen how well the Almighty has used so great an evil of his:

qui eum nec omnino abstulit a tentatione sanctorum, quamvis ab eorum interioribus hominibus, ubi in Deum creditur, foras missum, ut forinsecus ejus oppugnatione proficerent; et in eis qui sunt ex parte ipsius, alligavit, ne quantam posset effundendo et exercendo malitiam, innumerabiles infirmos ex quibus Ecclesiam multiplicari et impleri oportebat, alios credituros, alios jam credentes, a fide pietatis hos deterreret, hos frangeret; et solvet in fine, ut quam fortem adversarium Dei civitas superaverit, cum ingenti gloria sui redemptoris, adjutoris, liberatoris, aspiciat. In eorum sane, qui tunc futuri sunt, sanctorum atque fidelium comparatione quid sumus? quandoquidem ad illos probandos tantus solvetur inimicus, cum quo nos ligato tantis periculis dimicamus. Quamvis et hoc temporis intervallo quosdam milites Christi tam prudentes et fortes fuisse atque esse, non dubium est, ut etiam si tunc in ista mortalitate viverent, quando ille solvetur, omnes insidias ejus atque impetus et caverent sapientissime, et patientissime sustinerent.

3. Haec autem alligatio diaboli non solum facta est, ex quo coepit Ecclesia praeter Judaeam terram in nationes alias aliasque dilatari; sed etiam nunc fit, et fiet usque ad terminum saeculi, quo solvendus est. Quia et nunc homines ab infidelitate, in qua ipse eos possidebat, convertuntur ad fidem, et usque in illum finem sine dubio convertentur: et utique unicuique iste fortis tunc alligatur, quando ab illo tanquam vas ejus eripitur: et abyssus ubi inclusus est, non in eis consumpta est, quando sunt mortui, qui tunc erant quando esse coepit inclusus; sed successerunt eis alii nascendo, atque succedunt, donec finiatur hoc saeculum, qui oderint Christianos, in quorum quotidie, velut in abysso, caecis et profundis cordibus includatur. Utrum autem etiam illis ultimis tribus annis et mensibus sex, quando solutus totis viribus saeviturus est, aliquis in qua non fuerat, sit accessurus ad fidem, nonnulla quaestio est. Quomodo enim stabit quod dictum est, Quis intrat in domum fortis, ut vasa ejus eripiat, nisi prius alligaverit fortem (Matth. XII, 29)? si etiam soluto eripiuntur? Ac per hoc ad hoc cogere videtur ista sententia, ut credamus illo, licet exiguo, tempore neminem accessurum esse populo christiano, sed cum eis qui jam Christiani reperti fuerint, diabolum pugnaturum: ex quibus etiamsi aliqui victi secuti eum fuerint, non eos ad praedestinatum filiorum Dei numerum pertinere. Neque enim frustra idem Joannes apostolus, qui et hanc Apocalypsim scripsit, in epistola sua de quibusdam dicit, Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis: nam si fuissent ex nobis, mansissent utique nobiscum (I Joan. II, 19).

who neither took him away altogether from the temptation of the saints, although being cast out from their inner men where God is believed in, so that they might profit by his outward opposition; and in those who are on his side, he bound him, lest by pouring out and exercising as much malice as he could, he should deter some who were to believe, and break others already believing, from the faith of piety, among the innumerable infirm from whom it was necessary for the Church to be multiplied and filled; and he will loose him in the end, so that the city of God may behold how strong an adversary it has overcome, with the immense glory of its redeemer, helper, and deliverer. In comparison indeed of those saints and faithful who are then to be, what are we? since for the sake of proving them so great an enemy will be loosed, with whom being bound we fight with so great perils. Although also in this interval of time it is not doubtful that certain soldiers of Christ have been and are so prudent and strong, that even if they lived then in this mortality when he shall be loosed, they would both most wisely beware of all his snares and impetuses, and most patiently sustain them.

3. But this binding of the devil was not only done from when the Church began to be dilated into other and other nations beyond the land of Judea; but it is even now being done, and will be done even to the end of the age, in which he is to be loosed. Because even now men are converted from infidelity, in which he himself possessed them, to the faith, and even into that end they will undoubtedly be converted: and certainly to each one that strong man is then bound, when he is snatched from him as if his vessel: and the abyss where he was enclosed was not consumed in those when they died, who were then present when he began to be enclosed; but others succeeded them by being born, and they succeed, until this age is finished, who hate Christians, in whose blind and deep hearts he is daily enclosed as if in an abyss. But whether even in those last three years and six months, when being loosed he is to rage with all his strengths, anyone is to come to the faith who had not been in it, is no small question. For how will that stand which was said: "Who enters into the house of a strong man to rob his vessels, unless he first bind the strong man" (Matthew 12:29)? if they are robbed even from him when loosed? And through this that sentence seems to compel this, that we believe that in that time, although short, no one will come to the Christian people, but the devil will fight with those who shall already have been found Christians: of whom even if some being conquered should follow him, they do not pertain to the predestined number of the children of God. For not in vain did the same John the apostle, who also wrote this Apocalypse, say in his epistle concerning some: "They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would certainly have remained with us" (1 John 2:19).

Sed quid fiet de parvulis? Nimium quippe incredibile est, nullos jam natos et nondum baptizatos praeoccupari Christianorum filios illo tempore infantes, nullos etiam ipsis nasci jam diebus; aut si erunt, non eos a parentibus suis ad lavacrum regenerationis modo quocumque perduci. Quod si fiet, quo pacto soluto jam diabolo vasa ista eripientur, in cujus domum nemo intrat, ut vasa ejus eripiat, nisi prius alligaverit eum? Imo vero id potius est credendum, nec qui cadant de Ecclesia, nec qui accedant Ecclesiae illo tempore defuturos: sed profecto tam fortes erunt et parentes pro baptizandis parvulis suis, et hi qui tunc primitus crediturі sunt, ut illum fortem vincant etiam non ligatum, id est, omnibus, qualibus antea nunquam, vel artibus insidiantem, vel urgentem viribus, et vigilanter intelligant, et toleranter ferant; ac sic illi etiam non ligato eripiantur. Nec ideo falsa erit evangelica illa sententia, Quis intrat in domum fortis, ut vasa ejus eripiat, nisi prius alligaverit fortem? Secundum enim sententiae ejus veritatem, ordo iste servatus est, ut prius alligaretur fortis, ereptisque vasis ejus, longe lateque in omnibus gentibus ex firmis et infirmis ita multiplicaretur Ecclesia, ut ex ipsa rerum divinitus praedictarum et impletarum robustissima fide, etiam soluto vasa possit auferre. Sicut enim fatendum est, multorum refrigescere charitatem, cum abundat iniquitas (Matth. XXIV, 12), et inusitatis maximisque persecutionibus atque fallaciis diaboli jam soluti, eos qui in libro vitae scripti non sunt, multos esse cessuros: ita cogitandum est, non solum quos bonos fideles illud tempus inveniet, sed nonnullos etiam qui foris adhuc erunt, adjuvante Dei gratia per considerationem Scripturarum, in quibus et alia et finis ipse praenuntiatus est, quem venire jam sentiunt, ad credendum quod non credebant, futuros esse firmiores, et ad vincendum etiam non ligatum diabolum fortiores. Quod si ita erit, propterea praecessisse dicenda est ejus alligatio, ut et ligati et soluti exspoliatio sequeretur: quoniam de hac re dictum est, Quis intrabit in domum fortis, ut vasa ejus eripiat, nisi prius alligaverit fortem?

Caput IX.

Quod sit regnum sanctorum cum Christo per mille annos, et in quo discernatur a regno aeterno.

But what will become of the little ones? For it is too incredible that no children of Christians already born and not yet baptized should be overtaken as infants at that time, none also being born in those very days; or if they shall be, that they should not be led by their parents to the laver of regeneration in any way. If this shall happen, in what way will these vessels be snatched from the devil already loosed, into whose house no one enters to rob his vessels, unless he first bind him? Rather indeed, it is to be believed that neither those who fall from the Church, nor those who come to the Church, will be lacking at that time: but certainly both the parents for baptizing their little ones, and those who then for the first time will believe, will be so strong that they may overcome that strong man even when not bound, that is, when he is lying in wait with any arts as never before, or pressing with strengths, they may both vigilantly understand and tolerantly bear; and so they may be snatched from him even when not bound. Nor will that evangelical sentence therefore be false: "Who enters into the house of a strong man to rob his vessels, unless he first bind the strong man?" For according to the truth of his sentence, this order was preserved, that first the strong man should be bound, and his vessels being snatched, the Church should be so multiplied far and wide in all nations from the firm and the infirm, that from the very most robust faith of the things divinely predicted and fulfilled, she could take away vessels even from him when loosed. For as it must be confessed, that the charity of many grows cold when iniquity abounds (Matthew 24:12), and that by the unusual and greatest persecutions and fallacies of the devil already loosed, many of those who are not written in the book of life will give way: so it must be thought, that not only those good faithful whom that time will find, but also some who will still be outside, by the grace of God helping through the consideration of the Scriptures, in which both other things and the end itself have been foretold, which they now feel to be coming, will be firmer for believing what they did not believe, and stronger for overcoming the devil even when not bound. Which if it shall be so, his binding is to be said to have preceded for this reason, that the despoiling of him both bound and loosed might follow: since concerning this matter it was said: "Who shall enter into the house of a strong man to rob his vessels, unless he first bind the strong man?"

Chapter IX.

What the Kingdom of the Saints with Christ for a Thousand Years Is, and in What It Is Distinguished from the Eternal Kingdom.

1. Interea dum mille annis ligatus est diabolus, sancti regnant cum Christo etiam ipsis mille annis eisdem sine dubio, et eodem modo intelligendis, id est, isto jam tempore prioris ejus adventus. Excepto quippe illo regno, de quo in fine dicturus est, Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum (Matth. XXV, 34), nisi alio aliquo modo, longe quidem impari, jam nunc regnarent cum illo sancti ejus, quibus ait, Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque in consummationem saeculi (Id. XXVIII, 20); profecto non etiam nunc diceretur Ecclesia regnum ejus, regnumve coelorum. Nam utique isto tempore in regno Dei eruditur scriba ille, qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera (Matth. XIII, 52), de quo supra locuti sumus. Et de Ecclesia collecturi sunt zizania messores illi, quae permisit cum tritico simul crescere usque ad messem: quod exponens ait, Messis est finis saeculi; messores autem Angeli sunt. Sicut ergo colliguntur zizania; et igni comburuntur; sic erit in consummatione saeculi: mittet Filius hominis Angelos suos, et colligent de regno ejus omnia scandala (Ibid., 39-41). Numquid de regno illo, ubi nulla sunt scandala? De isto ergo regno ejus, quod est hic Ecclesia, colligentur. Item dicit, Qui solverit unum de mandatis istis minimis, et docuerit sic homines, minimus vocabitur in regno coelorum: qui autem fecerit, et sic docuerit, magnus vocabitur in regno coelorum (Matth. V, 19). Utrumque dicit in regno coelorum, et qui non facit mandata quae docet, hoc est enim solvere, non servare, non facere; et illum qui facit, et sic docet: sed istum minimum, illum magnum. Et continuo secutus adjungit, Dico enim vobis, quia nisi abundaverit justitia vestra super Scribarum et Pharisaeorum, id est, super justitiam eorum qui solvunt quod docent. De Scribis enim et Pharisaeis dicit alio loco, Quoniam dicunt, et non faciunt (Matth. XXIII, 3). Nisi ergo super eos abundaverit justitia vestra, id est, ut vos non solvatis, sed faciatis potius quod docetis, non intrabitis, inquit, in regnum coelorum (Id. V, 20). Alio modo igitur intelligendum est regnum coelorum, ubi ambo sunt, et ille scilicet qui solvit quod docet, et ille qui facit; sed ille minimus, iste magnus: alio modo autem regnum coelorum dicitur, quo non intrat nisi ille qui facit. Ac per hoc ubi utrumque genus est, Ecclesia est qualis nunc est: ubi autem illud solum erit, Ecclesia est qualis tunc erit, quando malus in ea non erit. Ergo Ecclesia et nunc est regnum Christi, regnumque coelorum.

1. Meanwhile, while the devil is bound for a thousand years, the saints reign with Christ also for those same thousand years, undoubtedly to be understood in the same way, that is, in this time already of his first advent. For except for that kingdom of which he is to say in the end, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you" (Matthew 25:34), unless in some other way, far unequal indeed, his saints already now reigned with him, to whom he says, "Behold, I am with you even to the consummation of the age" (Id. 28:20); certainly the Church would not even now be called his kingdom, or the kingdom of heaven. For certainly in this time that scribe is instructed in the kingdom of God, who brings forth from his treasure things new and old (Matthew 13:52), of whom we have spoken above. And from the Church those reapers are to gather the tares, which he permitted to grow together with the wheat even to the harvest: which explaining he says, "The harvest is the end of the age; but the reapers are the Angels. Even as therefore the tares are gathered, and are burned with fire, so shall it be in the consummation of the age: the Son of man shall send his Angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all scandals" (Ibid., 39-41). Surely not from that kingdom where there are no scandals? From this his kingdom therefore, which is the Church here, they shall be gathered. Likewise he says, "He who shall loose one of these least commandments, and shall so teach men, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven: but he who shall do, and so teach, shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 5:19). He says both are in the kingdom of heaven, both him who does not do the commandments which he teaches—for this is to loose, not to keep, not to do—and him who does, and so teaches: but the former least, the latter great. And immediately following he adds, "For I say to you, that unless your justice shall abound above that of the Scribes and Pharisees," that is, above the justice of those who loose what they teach. For concerning the Scribes and Pharisees he says in another place, "Since they say, and do not" (Matthew 23:3). Unless therefore your justice shall abound above them, that is, so that you do not loose, but rather do what you teach, "you shall not enter," he says, "into the kingdom of heaven" (Id. 5:20). In another way therefore the kingdom of heaven is to be understood, where both are, namely both he who looses what he teaches, and he who does; but the former least, the latter great: but in another way the kingdom of heaven is spoken of, into which none enters except he who does. And through this, where both kinds are, the Church is such as it is now: but where that kind alone shall be, the Church is such as it then shall be, when the evil one shall not be in it. Therefore the Church even now is the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdom of heaven.

Regnant itaque cum illo etiam nunc sancti ejus, aliter quidem, quam tunc regnabunt: nec tamen cum illo regnant zizania, quamvis in Ecclesia cum tritico crescant. Regnant enim cum illo qui faciunt quod Apostolus ait, Si resurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt sapite, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens: quae sursum quaerite, non quae super terram (Coloss. III, 1 et 2). De qualibus item dicit, quod eorum conversatio sit in coelis (Philipp. III 20). Postremo regnant cum illo, qui eo modo sunt in regno ejus, ut sint etiam ipsi regnum ejus. Quomodo autem sunt regnum Christi, qui, ut alia taceam, quamvis ibi sint donec colligantur in fine saeculi de regno ejus omnia scandala, tamen illic sua quaerunt, non quae Jesu Christi (Id. II, 21)?

2. De hoc ergo regno militiae, in quo adhuc cum hoste confligitur, et aliquando repugnatur repugnantibus vitiis, aliquando cedentibus imperatur, donec veniatur ad illud pacatissimum regnum, ubi sine hoste regnabitur, et de hac prima resurrectione quae nunc est, liber iste sic loquitur. Cum enim dixisset, alligari diabolum mille annis, et postea solvi brevi tempore; mox recapitulando quid in istis mille annis agat Ecclesia vel agatur in ea, Et vidi, inquit, sedes et sedentes super eas, et judicium datum est. Non hoc putandum est de ultimo judicio dici: sed sedes praepositorum, et ipsi praepositi intelligendi sunt, per quos Ecclesia nunc gubernatur. Judicium autem datum nullum melius accipiendum videtur, quam id quod dictum est, Quae ligaveritis in terra, ligata erunt et in coelo; et quae solveritis in terra, soluta erunt et in coelo (Matth. XVIII, 18). Unde Apostolus, Quid enim mihi est, inquit, de his qui foris sunt judicare? nonne de his qui intus sunt vos judicatis (I Cor. V, 12)? Et animae, inquit, occisorum propter testimonium Jesu, et propter verbum Dei: subauditur quod postea dicturus est, regnaverunt cum Jesu mille annis (Apoc. XX, 4), animae scilicet martyrum nondum sibi corporibus suis redditis. Neque enim piorum animae mortuorum separantur ab Ecclesia, quae nunc etiam est regnum Christi. Alioquin nec ad altare Dei fieret eorum memoria in communicatione corporis Christi; nec aliquid prodesset ad ejus in periculis Baptismum currere, ne sine illo finiatur haec vita; nec ad reconciliationem, si forte per poenitentiam malamve conscientiam quisque ab eodem corpore separatus est. Cur enim fiunt ista, nisi quia fideles, etiam defuncti, membra ejus sunt? Quamvis ergo cum suis corporibus nondum, jam tamen eorum animae regnant cum illo, dum isti mille anni decurrunt.

Therefore his saints reign with him even now, in a different way indeed from how they then shall reign: nor yet do the tares reign with him, although they grow in the Church with the wheat. For those reign with him who do what the Apostle says, "If you have risen with Christ, savor the things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God: seek the things that are above, not the things that are upon the earth" (Colossians 3:1 and 2). Concerning such ones he likewise says, that their conversation is in heaven (Philippians 3:20). Finally, they reign with him who are in his kingdom in such a way that they themselves are also his kingdom. But how are they the kingdom of Christ, who, to be silent of other things, although they are there until all scandals are gathered in the end of the age from his kingdom, yet there they seek their own things, not the things which are of Jesus Christ (Id. 2:21)?

2. Concerning this kingdom of warfare, in which there is still conflict with the enemy, and sometimes resisting when vices resist, sometimes commanding when they yield, until one comes to that most peaceful kingdom where there will be reigning without an enemy, and concerning this first resurrection which is now, this book so speaks. For when he had said, that the devil is bound for a thousand years, and afterwards loosed for a short time; soon by recapitulating what the Church does or what is done in her in these thousand years, "And I saw," he says, "seats and those sitting upon them, and judgment was given." This is not to be thought to be said of the last judgment: but the seats of the prelates, and the prelates themselves are to be understood, through whom the Church is now governed. But the judgment given seems to be no better accepted than that which was said: "Whatsoever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven" (Matthew 18:18). Whence the Apostle: "For what is it to me," he says, "to judge concerning those who are without? do you not judge concerning those who are within" (1 Corinthians 5:12)? "And the souls," he says, "of those slain because of the testimony of Jesus, and because of the word of God": it is sub-understood what he is about to say later, "they reigned with Jesus for a thousand years" (Apocalypse 20:4), the souls namely of the martyrs their bodies not yet being restored to them. For neither are the souls of the pious dead separated from the Church, which even now is the kingdom of Christ. Otherwise neither would there be made at the altar of God a memory of them in the communication of the body of Christ; nor would it profit anything to run to his Baptism in dangers, lest this life be finished without it; nor to reconciliation, if by chance through penance or a bad conscience anyone is separated from the same body. For why are these things done, unless because the faithful, even deceased, are his members? Although therefore not yet with their own bodies, yet already their souls reign with him, while these thousand years run their course.

Unde in hoc eodem libro et alibi legitur: Beati mortui, qui in Domino moriuntur, amodo et jam dicit Spiritus, ut requiescant a laboribus suis; nam opera eorum sequuntur illos (Id. XIV, 13). Regnat itaque cum Christo nunc primum Ecclesia in vivis et mortuis. Praeterea enim, sicut dicit Apostolus, mortuus est Christus, ut et vivorum et mortuorum dominetur (Rom. XIV, 9). Sed ideo tantummodo martyrum animas commemoravit, quia ipsi praecipue regnant mortui, qui usque ad mortem pro veritate certaverunt. Sed a parte totum etiam caeteros mortuos intelligimus pertinentes ad Ecclesiam, quod est regnum Christi.

3. Quod vero sequitur, Et si qui non adoraverunt bestiam, nec imaginem ejus, nec acceperunt inscriptionem in fronte, aut in manu sua: simul de vivis ac mortuis debemus accipere. Quae sit porro ista bestia, quamvis sit diligentius inquirendum non tamen abhorret a fide recta, ut ipsa impia civitas intelligatur, et populus infidelium contrarius populo fideli et civitati Dei. Imago vero ejus simulatio ejus mihi videtur, in eis videlicet hominibus, qui velut fidem profitentur, et infideliter vivunt. Fingunt enim se esse quod non sunt, vocanturque non veraci effigie, sed fallaci imagine Christiani. Ad eamdem namque bestiam pertinent non solum aperte inimici nominis Christi et ejus gloriosissimae civitatis, sed etiam zizania, quae de regno ejus, quod est Ecclesia, in fine saeculi colligenda sunt. Et qui sunt qui non adorant bestiam nec imaginem ejus, nisi qui faciunt quod ait Apostolus, Ne sitis jugum ducentes cum infidelibus (II Cor. VI, 14)? Non adorant enim, id est, non consentiunt, non subjiciuntur: neque accipiunt inscriptionem, notam scilicet criminis, in fronte, propter professionem; in manu, propter operationem. Ab his igitur malis alieni, sive adhuc in ista mortali carne viventes, sive defuncti, regnant cum Christo jam nunc, quodam modo huic tempori congruo, per totum hoc intervallum, quod numero mille significatur annorum.

4. Reliqui eorum, inquit, non vixerunt. Hora enim nunc est, cum mortui audient vocem Filii Dei; et qui audierint, vivent: reliqui vero eorum non vivent (Joan. V, 25). Quod vero subdidit, donec finiantur mille anni; intelligendum est, quod eo tempore non vixerunt, quo vivere debuerunt, ad vitam scilicet de morte transeundo. Et ideo cum dies venerit, quo fiat et corporum resurrectio, non ad vitam de monumentis procedent, sed ad judicium; ad damnationem scilicet, quae secunda mors dicitur.

Whence in this same book and elsewhere it is read: "Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord, from henceforth and now the Spirit says, that they may rest from their labors; for their works follow them" (Id. 14:13). Therefore the Church reigns with Christ now first in the living and the dead. "For besides," as the Apostle says, "Christ died, that he might dominate both the living and the dead" (Romans 14:9). But for this reason he commemorated only the souls of the martyrs, because they especially reign dead, who fought for the truth even unto death. But by a part for the whole we understand also the rest of the dead pertaining to the Church, which is the kingdom of Christ.

3. But that which follows: "And if any have not adored the beast, nor its image, nor received the inscription on their forehead, or in their hand": we ought to accept simultaneously of the living and the dead. Furthermore, what that beast may be, although it is to be more diligently inquired, yet it is not abhorrent from the right faith, that the impious city itself be understood, and the people of infidels contrary to the faithful people and the city of God. But its image seems to me to be its simulation, in those men namely, who profess as it were the faith, and live infidelly. For they feign themselves to be what they are not, and are called Christians not by a true effigy, but by a fallacious image. For to the same beast pertain not only the open enemies of the name of Christ and of his most glorious city, but also the tares, which are to be gathered at the end of the age from his kingdom, which is the Church. And who are they who do not adore the beast nor its image, except those who do what the Apostle says: "Be not yoked with infidels" (2 Corinthians 6:14)? For they do not adore, that is, they do not consent, they are not subjected: nor do they receive the inscription, the mark namely of crime, on the forehead, because of profession; in the hand, because of operation. Alien therefore from these evils, whether still living in this mortal flesh, or deceased, they reign with Christ already now, in a certain way congruent to this time, through all this interval, which is signified by the number of a thousand years.

4. "The rest of them," he says, "did not live." For the hour is now, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who shall hear, shall live: but the rest of them shall not live (John 5:25). But that which he added, "until the thousand years should be finished," is to be understood, that they did not live at that time when they ought to have lived, namely by passing from death to life. And therefore when the day shall come, in which the resurrection of bodies also takes place, they shall proceed from the tombs not to life, but to judgment; namely to damnation, which is called the second death.

Donec enim finiantur mille anni, quicumque non vixerit, id est, isto toto tempore quo agitur prima resurrectio, non audierit vocem Filii Dei, et ad vitam de morte transierit; profecto in secunda resurrectione, quae carnis est, in mortem secundam cum ipsa carne transibit. Sequitur enim, et dicit, Haec resurrectio prima est. Beatus et sanctus qui habet in hac prima resurrectione partem (Apoc. XX, 5-6), id est, particeps ejus est. Ipse est autem particeps ejus, qui non solum a morte, quae in peccatis est, reviviscit, verum etiam in eo quod revixerit, permanebit. In istis, inquit, secunda mors non habet potestatem. Habet ergo in reliquis, de quibus superius ait, Reliqui eorum non vixerunt, donec finiantur mille anni: quoniam isto toto temporis intervallo, quod mille annos vocat, quantumcumque in eo quisque eorum vixit in corpore, non revixit a morte, in qua eum tenebat impietas, ut sic reviviscendo primae resurrectionis particeps fieret, atque in eo potestatem secunda mors non haberet.

Caput X.

Quid respondendum sit eis, qui putant resurrectionem ad sola corpora, non etiam ad animas pertinere.

Sunt qui putant resurrectionem dici non posse nisi corporum: ideoque istam quoque in corporibus primam futuram esse contendunt. Quorum enim est, inquiunt, cadere, corum est resurgere: cadunt autem corpora moriendo: nam et a cadendo cadavera nuncupantur. Non ergo animarum, inquiunt, resurrectio potest esse, sed corporum. Sed quid contra Apostolum dicunt, qui eam resurrectionem appellat? Nam secundum interiorem, non secundum exteriorem hominem utique resurrexerant, quibus ait, Si resurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt sapite (Coloss. III, 1). Quem sensum verbis aliis alibi posuit, dicens, Ut quemadmodum Christus a mortuis resurrexit per gloriam Patris, sic et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus (Rom. VI, 4). Hinc est et illud, Surge, qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illuminabit te Christus (Ephes. V, 14). Quod autem dicunt, non posse resurgere, nisi qui cadunt; et ideo putant resurrectionem ad corpora, non ad animas pertinere, quia corporum est cadere: cur non audiunt, Non recedatis ab illo, ne cadatis (Eccli. II, 7); et, Suo domino stat aut cadit (Rom. XIV, 4); et, Qui putat se stare, videat ne cadat (I Cor. X, 12)?

For until the thousand years are finished, whosoever shall not have lived, that is, in all this time in which the first resurrection is acted out, shall not have heard the voice of the Son of God, and passed from death to life; surely in the second resurrection, which is of the flesh, he shall pass into the second death with the flesh itself. For it follows, and says, "This is the first resurrection." Blessed and holy is he who has part in this first resurrection" (Apocalypse 20:5-6), that is, is a partaker of it. But he himself is a partaker of it, who not only revives from the death which is in sins, but also shall remain in that in which he has revived. "In these," he says, "the second death has no power." It has power therefore in the rest, concerning whom he said above, "The rest of them did not live, until the thousand years should be finished": because in this whole interval of time, which he calls a thousand years, however much each of them lived in the body, he did not revive from the death in which impiety held him, so that by thus reviving he might become a partaker of the first resurrection, and the second death might not have power over him.

Chapter X.

What is to be answered to those, who think that resurrection pertains to bodies alone, not also to souls.

There are some who think that resurrection cannot be said except of bodies: and therefore they contend that this first resurrection also will be in bodies. For of those, they say, whose it is to fall, of them it is to rise again: but bodies fall by dying: for even from falling (cadendo) corpses (cadavera) are named. Therefore, they say, there cannot be a resurrection of souls, but of bodies. But what do they say against the Apostle, who calls it a resurrection? For surely they had risen according to the interior, not according to the exterior man, to whom he says: "If you be risen with Christ, mind the things that are above" (Colossians 3:1). Which sense he put in other words elsewhere, saying: "That as Christ rose from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life" (Romans 6:4). From this is also that: "Arise, you who sleep, and rise from the dead, and Christ shall enlighten you" (Ephesians 5:14). But as to what they say, that they cannot rise again except those who fall; and therefore they think resurrection pertains to bodies, not to souls, because it is for bodies to fall: why do they not hear: "Depart not from him, lest you fall" (Ecclesiasticus 2:7); and: "To his own lord he stands or falls" (Romans 14:4); and: "He who thinks himself to stand, let him take heed lest he fall" (1 Cor. 10:12)?

Puto enim quod in anima, non in corpore casus iste cavendus est. Si igitur cadentium est resurrectio, cadunt autem et animae; profecto et animas resurgere confitendum est. Quod autem cum dixisset, In istis secunda mors non habet potestatem; adjunxit atque ait, Sed erunt sacerdotes Dei et Christi, et regnaount cum eo mille annis: non utique de solis episcopis et presbyteris dictum est, qui proprie jam vocantur in Ecclesia sacerdotes: sed sicut omnes Christianos dicimus propter mysticum chrisma, sic omnes sacerdotes, quoniam membra sunt unius sacerdotis. De quibus apostolus Petrus, Plebs, inquit, sancta, regale sacerdotium (I Petr. II, 9). Sane, licet breviter atque transeunter, insinuavit Deum esse Christum, dicendo, Sacerdotes Dei et Christi, hoc est, Patris et Filii; quamvis propter formam servi, sicut filius hominis, ita etiam sacerdos Christus effectus sit in aeternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech (Psal. CIX, 4). De qua re in hoc opere non semel diximus.

Caput XI.

De Gog et Magog, quos ad persequendam Ecclesiam Dei, solutus prope finem saeculi diabolus incitabit.

Et cum finiti fuerint, inquit, mille anni, solvetur satanas de custodia sua, et exibit ad seducendas nationes, quae sunt in quatuor angulis terrae, Gog et Magog, et trahet eos in bellum, quorum numerus est ut arena maris. Ad hoc ergo tunc seducet, ut in hoc bellum trahat. Nam et antea modis quibus poterat, per mala multa et varia seducebat. Exibit autem dictum est, in apertam persecutionem de latebris erumpet odiorum. Haec enim erit novissima persecutionis, novissimo imminente judicio, quam sancta Ecclesia toto terrarum orbe patietur, universa scilicet civitas Christi ab universa diaboli civitate, quantacumque erit utraque super terram. Gentes quippe istae, quas appellat Gog et Magog, non sic sunt accipiendae, tanquam sint aliqui in aliqua parte terrarum barbari constituti, sive quos quidam suspicantur Getas et Massagetas, propter litteras horum nominum primas, sive aliquos alios alienigenas, et a Romano jure sejunctos. Toto namque orbe terrarum significati sunt isti esse, cum dictum est, Nationes quae sunt in quatuor angulis terrae: easque subjecit esse Gog et Magog. Quorum interpretationem nominum esse comperimus Gog tectum, Magog de tecto : tanquam domus, et ipse qui procedit de domo. Gentes igitur sunt, in quibus diabolum velut in abysso superius intelligebamus inclusum; et ipse de illis quodammodo sese efferens et procedens: ut illae sint tectum, ipse de tecto.

For I think that in the soul, not in the body, this fall is to be avoided. If therefore resurrection is of those who fall, and souls also fall; surely it must be confessed that souls also rise again. But because when he had said, "In these the second death has no power," he added and said, "But they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years": this was surely not said only of bishops and presbyters, who are now properly called priests in the Church: but as we call all Christians because of the mystic chrism (mysticum chrisma), so also all are priests, because they are members of the one Priest. Of whom the apostle Peter says: "A holy people, a royal priesthood" (1 Peter 2:9). Truly, although briefly and in passing, he insinuated that Christ is God, by saying, "Priests of God and of Christ," that is, of the Father and of the Son; although because of the form of a servant, as the son of man, so also Christ was made a priest forever, according to the order of Melchizedek (Psalm 109:4). Concerning which matter we have spoken not once in this work.

Chapter XI.

Of Gog and Magog, whom the devil, loosed near the end of the age, will incite to persecute the Church of God.

"And when the thousand years shall be finished," he says, "Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to seduce the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, and shall draw them into war, whose number is as the sand of the sea." To this end therefore he will then seduce, that he may draw them into this war. For even before he seduced in what ways he could, through many and various evils. But "he shall go out" is said, he shall break forth from the hiding places of hatreds into open persecution. For this will be the latest persecution, with the latest judgment imminent, which the holy Church will suffer throughout the whole world, namely the universal city of Christ by the universal city of the devil, however great each shall be upon the earth. For these nations, which he calls Gog and Magog, are not to be accepted as if they were some barbarians established in some part of the earth, whether those whom some suspect to be Getae and Massagetae, because of the first letters of these names, or some other aliens, and separated from Roman law. For they are signified to be in the whole world, when it is said: "The nations which are in the four corners of the earth": and those he subjected to be Gog and Magog. The interpretation of whose names we have found to be: Gog, a roof (tectum); Magog, from a roof (de tecto): as it were a house, and he himself who proceeds from the house. They are therefore the nations in which we understood the devil to be enclosed above as if in an abyss; and he himself as it were bearing himself out and proceeding from them: so that they are the roof, he from the roof.

Si autem utrumque referamus ad gentes, non unum horum ad illas, alterum ad diabolum; et tectum ipsae sunt, quia in eis nunc includitur et quodammodo tegitur inimicus antiquus; et de tecto ipsae erunt, quando in apertum odium de operto erupturae sunt. Quod vero ait, Et ascenderunt super terrae latitudinem, eo cinxerunt castra sanctorum et dilectam civitatem (Apoc. XX, 7, 8): non utique ad unum locum venisse, vel venturi esse significati sunt, quasi aliquo uno loco futura sint castra sanctorum et dilecta civitas; cum haec non sit nisi Christi Ecclesia toto terrarum orbe diffusa: ac per hoc ubicumque tunc erit, quae in omnibus gentibus erit, quod significatum est nomine latitudinis terrae, ibi erunt castra sanctorum, ibi erit dilecta Deo civitas ejus; ibi ab omnibus inimicis suis, quia et ipsi in omnibus gentibus cum illa erunt, persecutionis illius immanitate cingetur, hoc est, in angustias tribulationis arctabitur, urgebitur, concludetur; nec militiam suam deseret, quae vocabulo est appellata castrorum.

Caput XII.

An ad ultimum supplicium pertineat impiorum, quod descendisse ignis de coelo, et eosdem comedisse memoratur.

Quod vero ait, Et descendit ignis de coelos et comedit eos (Apoc. XX, 9): non extremum putandum est id esse supplicium, quod erit, cum dicetur, Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum (Matth. XXV, 41). Tunc quippe in ignem mittentur ipsi, non ignis de coelo veniet super ipsos. Hic autem bene intelligitur ignis de coelo, de ipsa firmitate sanctorum, qua non cessuri sunt saevientibus, ut eorum faciant voluntatem. Firmamentum est enim coelum, cujus firmitate illi cruciabuntur ardentissimo zelo; quoniam non poterunt attrahere in partes Antichristi sanctos Christi. Et ipse erit ignis qui comedet eos, et hoc a Deo: quia Dei munere insuperabiles fiunt sancti, unde excruciantur inimici. Sicut enim in bono positum est, Zelus domus tuae comedit me (Psal. LXVIII, 10); ita e contrario, Zelus occupavit plebem ineruditam, et nunc ignis contrarios comedet (Isai. XXVI, 11, sec. LXX). Et nunc utique, excepto scilicet ultimi illius igne judicii. Aut si eam plagam, qua percutiendi sunt Ecclesiae persecutores, veniente jam Christo, quos viventes inveniet super terram, quando interficiet Antichristum spiritu oris sui (II Thess. II, 8), ignem appellavit descendentem de coelo, eosque comedentem, neque hoc ultimum supplicium erit impiorum, sed illud quod facta corporum resurrectione passuri sunt.

But if we refer both to the nations, not one of these to them and the other to the devil; then they themselves are the roof, because in them the ancient enemy is now enclosed and as it were covered; and they themselves will be from the roof, when they are about to break forth from covered into open hatred. But that which he says: "And they ascended upon the breadth of the earth, and encompassed the camp of the saints and the beloved city" (Apocalypse 20:7-8): they are surely not signified to have come or to be about to come to one place, as if in some one place the camp of the saints and the beloved city were to be; since this is nothing else than the Church of Christ diffused throughout the whole world: and through this wherever she shall be then, who shall be in all nations, which is signified by the name of the breadth of the earth, there will be the camp of the saints, there will be his city beloved by God; there she will be encompassed by the immanity of that persecution by all her enemies, because they themselves also will be with her in all nations, that is, she will be straitened into the anguishes of tribulation, urged, shut in; nor will she desert her warfare, which is called by the name of a camp (castrorum).

Chapter XII.

Whether that which is recorded, that fire descended from heaven and consumed them, pertains to the last punishment of the impious.

But that which he says: "And fire descended from heaven and consumed them" (Apocalypse 20:9): it is not to be thought that this is that extreme punishment which will be, when it shall be said: "Depart from me, you cursed, into eternal fire" (Matthew 25:41). For then they themselves shall be cast into the fire, not fire from heaven shall come upon them. But here "fire from heaven" is well understood of the very firmness of the saints, by which they shall not yield to those raging, so as to do their will. For the firmament is heaven, by whose firmness they shall be tortured with most ardent zeal; because they will not be able to draw the saints of Christ into the parties of Antichrist. And this itself will be the fire which shall consume them, and this "from God": because by the gift of God the saints are made insuperable, whence the enemies are tortured. For as it is put in a good sense: "The zeal of thy house has consumed me" (Psalm 68:10); so on the contrary: "Zeal has occupied the unlearned people, and now fire shall consume the adversaries" (Isaiah 26:11, according to the Septuagint). And "now" surely, that is, except for the fire of that last judgment. Or if he called that plague, by which the persecutors of the Church are to be struck, Christ now coming, whom he shall find living upon the earth, when he shall kill Antichrist with the spirit of his mouth (2 Thessalonians 2:8), fire descending from heaven and consuming them, neither will this be the last punishment of the impious, but that which they are to suffer when the resurrection of bodies has taken place.

Caput XIII.

An tempus persecutionis Antichristi mille annis annumerandum sit.

Haec persecutio novissima, quae futura est ab Antichristo (sicut jam diximus, quia et in hoc libro superius [Apoc. X, et XI], et apud Danielem prophetam [Dan. XII] positum est), tribus annis et sex mensibus erit. Quod tempus, quamvis exiguum, utrum ad mille annos pertineat, quibus et diabolum ligatum dicit, et sanctos regnare cum Christo; an eisdem annis hoc parvum spatium superaddatur, atque sit extra, merito ambigitur. Quia si dixerimus ad eosdem annos hoc pertinere, non tanto tempore, sed prolixiore cum Christo regnum sanctorum reperietur extendi, quam diabolum alligari. Profecto enim sancti cum suo Rege etiam in ipsa praecipue persecutione regnabunt mala tanta vincentes, quando jam diabolus non erit alligatus, ut eos persequi omnibus viribus possit. Quomodo ergo ista Scriptura eisdem mille annis utrumque determinat, diaboli scilicet alligationem, regnumque sanctorum; cum trium annorum et sex mensium intervallo prius desinat alligatio diaboli, quam regnum sanctorum in his mille annis cum Christo? Si autem dixerimus parvum persecutionis hujus hoc spatium non computandum in mille annis, sed eis impletis potius adjiciendum; ut proprie possit intelligi, quod cum dixisset, Sacerdotes Dei et Christi regnabunt cum eo mille annis, adjecit, Et cum finiti fuerint mille anni, solvetur satanas de custodia sua; isto enim modo et regnum sanctorum et vinculum diaboli simul cessatura esse significat, ut deinde persecutionis illius tempus nec ad sanctorum regnum, nec ad custodiam satanae, quorum utrumque in mille annis est, pertinere, sed superadditum et extra computandum esse credatur: cogemur fateri sanctos in illa persecutione regnaturos non esse cum Christo. Sed quis audeat dicere, tunc cum illo non regnatura sua membra, quando ei maxime atque fortissime cohaerebunt, et quo tempore quanto erit acrior impetus belli, tanto major gloria non cedendi, tanto densior corona martyrii?

Chapter XIII.

Whether the time of the persecution of Antichrist is to be numbered in the thousand years.

This latest persecution, which is to be from Antichrist (as we have already said, because it is put both in this book above [Apocalypse 10 and 11], and in the prophet Daniel [Daniel 12]), will be for three years and six months. Whether this time, although small, pertains to the thousand years, in which he says both that the devil is bound and that the saints reign with Christ; or whether this small space is superadded to the same years, and is outside, is deservedly doubted. Because if we should say that this pertains to the same years, the kingdom of the saints with Christ will be found to be extended not for so long a time, but for a more prolonged one, than the devil is bound. For surely the saints will reign with their King even in that persecution especially, overcoming such great evils, when the devil will no longer be bound, so that he may be able to persecute them with all his forces. How therefore does this Scripture determine both by the same thousand years, namely the binding of the devil and the kingdom of the saints; since by an interval of three years and six months the binding of the devil ceases before the kingdom of the saints in these thousand years with Christ? But if we should say that this small space of this persecution is not to be computed in the thousand years, but rather to be added when they are fulfilled; so that it may be properly understood, that when he had said, "The priests of God and of Christ shall reign with him a thousand years," he added, "And when the thousand years shall be finished, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison"; for in this way he signifies that both the kingdom of the saints and the bond of the devil will cease together, so that thence the time of that persecution may be believed neither to pertain to the kingdom of the saints, nor to the custody of Satan, both of which are in the thousand years, but to be superadded and computed outside: we shall be compelled to confess that the saints are not going to reign with Christ in that persecution. But who would dare to say that his members will not reign with him then, when they will cohere to him most greatly and strongly, and at which time by how much the impetus of the war will be sharper, by so much greater will be the glory of not yielding, by so much denser the crown of martyrdom?

Aut si propter tribulationes, quas passuri sunt, non dicendi sunt regnaturi; consequens erit, ut etiam superioribus diebus in eisdem mille annis quicumque tribulabantur sanctorum, eo ipso tempore tribulationis suae cum Christo non regnasse dicantur: ac per hoc et illi, quorum animas auctor libri hujus vidisse se scribit occisorum propter testimonium Jesu et propter verbum Dei, non regnabant cum Christo quando patiebantur persecutionem; et ipsi regnum Christi non erant, quos Christus excellentius possidebat. Absurdissimum id quidem et omni modo aversandum. Sed certe animae victrices gloriosissimorum martyrum, omnibus doloribus ac laboribus superatis atque finitis, posteaquam mortalia membra posuerunt, cum Christo utique regnaverunt et regnant, donec finiantur mille anni, ut postea receptis etiam corporibus jam immortalibus regnent. Proinde tribus illis annis atque dimidio, animae occisorum pro ejus martyrio, et quae antea de corporibus exierunt, et quae ipsa novissima persecutione sunt exiturae, regnabunt cum illo, donec finiatur mortale saeculum, et ad illud regnum, ubi mors non erit, transeatur. Quocirca cum Christo regnantium sanctorum plures anni erunt, quam vinculi diaboli et custodiae: quia illi cum suo rege Dei Filio, jam diabolo non ligato etiam per tres illos annos ac semissem, regnabunt. Remanet igitur, ut cum audimus, Sacerdotes Dei et Christi regnabunt cum illo mille annis, et cum finiti fuerint mille anni, solvetur satanas de custodia sua; aut non regni hujus sanctorum intelligamus annos mille finiri, sed vinculi diaboli atque custodiae; ut annos mille, id est, annos omnes suos, quaeque pars habeat diversis ac propriis prolixitatibus finiendos, ampliore sanctorum regno, breviore diaboli vinculo: aut certe, quoniam trium annorum et sex mensium brevissimum spatium est, computari noluisse credatur, sive quod minus satanae vinculum, sive quod amplius videtur regnum habere sanctorum: sicut de quadringentis annis in sexto decimo hujus operis volumine disputavi (cap. 24); quoniam plus aliquid erant , et tamen quadringenti sunt nuncupati: et talia saepe reperiuntur in Litteris sacris, si quis advertat.

Caput XIV.

De damnatione diaboli cum suis, et per recapitulationem de resurrectione corporea omnium mortuorum, et de judicio ultimae retributionis.

Or if because of the tribulations which they are to suffer, they are not to be said to be going to reign; it will be consequent that also in the former days in the same thousand years whosoever of the saints were being troubled, should be said not to have reigned with Christ at that very time of their tribulation: and through this also those, whose souls the author of this book writes that he saw, of those slain because of the testimony of Jesus and because of the word of God, were not reigning with Christ when they were suffering persecution; and they themselves were not the kingdom of Christ, whom Christ possessed more excellently. That is indeed most absurd and to be averted in every way. But certainly the victorious souls of the most glorious martyrs, all pains and labors being overcome and finished, after they laid down their mortal members, have surely reigned and do reign with Christ, until the thousand years are finished, so that afterwards, their bodies also now immortal being received, they may reign. Therefore in those three years and a half, the souls of those slain for his martyrdom, both those which previously went out from their bodies, and those which are to go out in that latest persecution, shall reign with him, until the mortal age is finished, and one passes to that kingdom where death shall not be. Wherefore there will be more years of the saints reigning with Christ, than of the bond and custody of the devil: because they will reign with their king the Son of God, the devil now not being bound, even through those three years and a half. It remains therefore, that when we hear, "The priests of God and of Christ shall reign with him a thousand years, and when the thousand years shall be finished, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison"; either we understand not that the thousand years of this kingdom of the saints are finished, but of the bond and custody of the devil; so that the thousand years, that is, all their years, each part has to be finished with diverse and proper prolixities, with a more ample kingdom of the saints, a shorter bond of the devil: or certainly, because three years and six months is a very brief space, it should be believed that he did not want it to be computed, whether because the bond of Satan seems to have less, or the kingdom of the saints to have more: as I disputed concerning the four hundred years in the sixteenth volume of this work (chapter 24); because they were something more, and yet they were called four hundred: and such things are often found in the sacred Letters, if anyone attends.

Chapter XIV.

Of the damnation of the devil with his own, and by recapitulation of the corporeal resurrection of all the dead, and of the judgment of the ultimate retribution.

Post hanc autem commemorationem novissimae persecutionis, breviter complectitur totum, quod ultimo jam judicio diabolus, et cum suo principe civitas inimica passura est. Dicit enim: Et diabolus qui seducebat eos, missus est in stagnum ignis et sulphuris, quo bestia et pseudopropheta; et cruciabuntur die ac nocte in saecula saeculorum (Apoc. XX, 9 et 10). Bestiam bene intelligi ipsam impiam civitatem, supra jam diximus. Pseudo vero propheta ejus aut Antichristus est, aut imago illa, id est figmentum, de quo ibi locuti sumus. Post haec ipsum novissimum judicium, quod erit in secunda resurrectione mortuorum, quae corporum est, recapitulando narrans, quomodo fuerit sibi revelatum, Et vidi, inquit, thronum magnum et candidum, et sedentem super eum, cujus a facie fugit coelum et terra, et locus eorum inventus non est (Ibid., 11). Non ait, Vidi thronum magnum et candidum et sedentem super eum, et ab ejus facie fugit coelum et terra; quoniam non tunc factum est, id est, antequam esset de vivis et mortuis judicatum: sed eum se vidisse dixit in throno sedentem, a cujus facie fugit coelum et terra; sed postea. Peracto quippe judicio tunc esse desinet hoc coelum et haec terra, quando incipiet esse coelum novum et terra nova. Mutatione namque rerum, non omni modo interitu transibit hic mundus. Unde et Apostolus ait, Praeterit enim figura hujus mundi, volo vos sine sollicitudine esse (I Cor. VII, 31 et 32). Figura ergo praeterit, non natura. Cum ergo se Joannes vidisse dixisset sedentem super thronum, a cujus facie, quod postea futurum est, fugit coelum et terra: Et vidi, inquit, mortuos magnos et pusillos; et aperti sunt libri; et alius liber apertus est, qui est vitae uniuscujusque ; et judicati sunt mortui ex ipsis scripturis librorum secundum facta sua (Apoc. XX, 12). Libros dixit esse apertos, et librum: sed librum cujusmodi non tacuit; qui est, inquit, vitae uniuscujusque. Ergo illi libri, quos priore loco posuit, intelligendi sunt sancti et veteres et novi, ut in illis ostenderetur quae Deus fieri sua mandata jussisset: in illo autem qui est vitae uniuscujusque, quid horum quisque non fecisset, sive fecisset. Qui liber si carnaliter cogitetur, quis ejus magnitudinem, aut longitudinem, valeat aestimare? aut quanto tempore legi poterit liber, in quo scriptae sunt universae vitae universorum? An tantus Angelorum numerus aderit, quantus hominum erit, et vitam suam quisque ab Angelo sibi adhibito audiet recitari? Non ergo unus liber erit omnium, sed singuli singulorum. Scriptura vero ista unum volens intelligi, Et alius, inquit, liber apertus est. Quaedam igitur vis est intelligenda divina, qua fiet ut cuique opera sua, vel bona vel mala, cuncta in memoriam revocentur, et mentis intuitu mira celeritate cernantur; ut accuset, vel excuset scientia conscientiam; atque ita simul et omnes et singuli judicentur. Quae nimirum vis divina, libri nomen accepit. In ea quippe quodammodo legitur, quidquid ea faciente recolitur .

But after this commemoration of the latest persecution, he briefly embraces the whole, which in the last judgment the devil, and with its prince the enemy city, is to suffer. For he says: "And the devil who seduced them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are; and they shall be tortured day and night forever and ever" (Apocalypse 20:9 and 10). We have already said above that the beast is well understood as the impious city itself. But its false prophet is either Antichrist, or that image, that is, the figment, of which we spoke there. After these things, narrating by recapitulating the last judgment itself, which will be in the second resurrection of the dead, which is of bodies, how it was revealed to him: "And I saw," he says, "a great and white throne, and one sitting upon it, from whose face heaven and earth fled, and their place was not found" (Ibid., 11). He does not say, "I saw a great and white throne and one sitting upon it, and from his face heaven and earth fled"; because it was not done then, that is, before it was judged concerning the living and the dead: but he said that he saw him sitting on the throne, from whose face heaven and earth fled; but afterwards. For the judgment being performed, then this heaven and this earth shall cease to be, when a new heaven and a new earth shall begin to be. For this world shall pass away by a mutation of things, not by an all-out destruction. Whence also the Apostle says: "For the figure of this world passes away, I would have you be without solicitude" (1 Corinthians 7:31 and 32). The figure therefore passes away, not the nature. When therefore John had said that he saw one sitting upon the throne, from whose face (which is to be afterwards) heaven and earth fled: "And I saw," he says, "the dead great and small; and books were opened; and another book was opened, which is of the life of each one; and the dead were judged from those scriptures of the books according to their deeds" (Apocalypse 20:12). He said that books were opened, and a book: but what kind of book he did not keep silent; "which is," he says, "of the life of each one." Therefore those books, which he put in the former place, are to be understood as the holy ones both Old and New, that in them might be shown what commands God had ordered to be done: but in that which is of the life of each one, what of these things each one had not done, or had done. Which book if it be thought carnally, who can estimate its magnitude, or length? or in how much time can the book be read, in which the universal lives of all are written? Or will such a number of Angels be present, as there will be of men, and each one will hear his life recited by the Angel applied to him? Therefore there will not be one book of all, but individual ones of individuals. But this Scripture wanting one to be understood, "And another," it says, "book was opened." A certain divine power is therefore to be understood, by which it shall come to pass that to each one his works, whether good or evil, shall all be recalled to memory, and seen with a marvelous celerity by the intuition of the mind; that knowledge may accuse or excuse conscience; and so simultaneously both all and individuals shall be judged. Which divine power, surely, took the name of a book. For in it is read in a certain way, whatever is recollected by its action.

Ut autem ostendat, qui mortui judicandi sint, pusilli et magni, recapitulando dicit tanquam ad id rediens, quod praeterierat, potiusve distulerat: Et exhibuit mare mortuos qui in eo erant, et mors et infernus reddiderunt mortuos quos in se habebant (Ibid., 13). Hoc procul dubio prius factum est, quam essent mortui judicati: et tamen illud prius dictum est. Hoc est ergo quod dixi, recapitulando eum ad id rediisse quod intermiserat. Nunc autem ordinem tenuit, atque ut explicaretur ipse ordo, commodius etiam de judicatis mortuis, quod jam dixerat, suo repetivit loco. Cum enim dixisset, Et exhibuit mare mortuos qui in eo erant, et mors et infernus reddiderunt mortuos quos in se habebant; mox addidit quod paulo ante posuerat, Et judicati sunt singuli secundum facta sua. Hoc est enim quod supra dixerat, Et judicati sunt mortui secundum facta sua.

Caput XV.

Qui sint mortui, quos ad judicium exhibuit mare, vel quos mors et inferi reddiderunt.

Sed qui sunt mortui, quos exhibuit mare, qui in eo erant? Neque enim qui in mari moriuntur, non sunt in inferno, aut corpora eorum servantur in mari; aut, quod est absurdius, mare habebat bonos mortuos, et infernus malos. Quis hoc putaverit? Sed profecto convenienter quidam hoc loco mare pro isto saeculo positum accipiunt. Cum ergo et quos hic inveniet Christus in corpore constitutos, simul significaret cum iis qui resurrecturi sunt judicandos, etiam ipsos mortuos appellavit, et bonos quibus dicitur, Mortui enim estis, et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo (Coloss. III, 3); et malos de quibus dicitur, Sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos (Matth. VIII, 22). Possunt mortui etiam propter hoc dici, quod mortalia gerunt corpora: unde Apostolus, Corpus quidem, inquit, mortuum est propter peccatum; spiritus autem vita est propter justitiam (Rom. VIII, 10): utrumque in homine vivente, atque in hoc corpore constituto esse demonstrans, et corpus mortuum, et spiritum vitam. Nec tamen dixit corpus mortale, sed mortuum: quamvis eadem paulo post etiam mortalia corpora (Ibid. 11), sicut usitatius vocantur, appellet. Hos ergo mortuos exhibuit mare, qui in eo erant, id est, exhibuit homines hoc saeculum, quicumque in eo erant, quia nondum obierant. Et mors et infernus, inquit, reddiderunt mortuos, quos in se habebant. Mare exhibuit, quia sicut inventi sunt, adfuerunt: mors vero et infernus reddiderunt, quoniam vitae, de qua jam exierant, revocarunt. Nec frustra fortasse non satis fuit ut diceret mors, aut infernus; sed utrumque dictum est: mors, propter bonos, qui tantummodo mortem perpeti potuerunt, non et infernum; infernus autem propter malos, qui etiam poenas apud inferos pendunt.

But that he may show, which dead are to be judged, the small and the great, he says by recapitulating as if returning to that which he had passed over, or rather deferred: "And the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and death and hell gave up the dead which they had in them" (Ibid., 13). This without doubt was done before the dead were judged: and yet that was said before. This is therefore what I said, that by recapitulating he returned to that which he had intermitted. But now he held the order, and that the order itself might be explained, he more commodiously repeated in its place also concerning the judged dead, what he had already said. For when he had said: "And the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and death and hell gave up the dead which they had in them"; soon he added what he had put a little before: "And they were judged each one according to their deeds." For this is what he had said above: "And the dead were judged according to their deeds."

Chapter XV.

Who are the dead, whom the sea gave up for judgment, or whom death and hell restored.

But who are the dead, whom the sea gave up, who were in it? For neither are those who die in the sea, not in hell, or are their bodies preserved in the sea; or, what is more absurd, the sea had the good dead, and hell the bad. Who would have thought this? But surely some acceptably in this place take the sea for this world. When therefore he signified that those also whom Christ shall find established in the body here, are to be judged together with those who are to rise again, he called even those themselves dead, both the good to whom it is said: "For you are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God" (Colossians 3:3); and the bad of whom it is said: "Let the dead bury their dead" (Matthew 8:22). They can also be called dead because they bear mortal bodies: whence the Apostle says: "The body indeed is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of justice" (Romans 8:10): demonstrating both to be in a living man, and established in this body, both the dead body and the living spirit. And yet he did not say mortal body, but dead: although he calls the same a little after even mortal bodies (Ibid. 11), as they are more customarily called. These dead therefore the sea gave up, which were in it, that is, this world gave up the men, whosoever were in it, because they had not yet died. "And death and hell," he says, "gave up the dead, which they had in them." The sea gave up, because as they were found, they were present: but death and hell restored, because they recalled to life, from which they had already gone out. Nor by chance was it perhaps not enough that he should say death, or hell; but both were said: death, because of the good, who could only suffer death, not also hell; but hell because of the bad, who also pay penalties among the infernals.

Si enim non absurde credi videtur, antiquos etiam sanctos, qui venturi Christi tenuerunt fidem, locis quidem a tormentis impiorum remotissimis, sed apud inferos fuisse, donec eos inde sanguis Christi et ad ea loca descensus erueret, profecto deinceps boni fideles effuso illo pretio jam redempti, prorsus inferos nesciunt, donec etiam receptis corporibus, bona recipiant quae merentur. Cum autem dixisset, Et judicati sunt singuli secundum facta sua; breviter subjecit, quemadmodum fuerint judicati: Et mors et infernus, inquit, missi sunt in stagnum ignis: his nominibus significans diabolum, quoniam mortis est auctor et infernarum poenarum, universamque simul daemonum societatem. Hoc est enim quod supra evidentius praeoccupando jam dixerat, et diabolus qui seducebat eos, missus est in stagnum ignis et sulphuris. Quod ibi vero obscurius adjunxerat, dicens, Quo et bestia, et pseudopropheta; hic apertius, Et qui non sunt, inquit, inventi in libro vitae scripti, missi sunt in stagnum ignis (Apoc. XX, 14, 15). Non Deum liber iste commemorat, ne oblivione fallatur: sed praedestinationem significat eorum, quibus aeterna dabitur vita. Neque enim nescit eos Deus, et in hoc libro legit, ut sciat: sed potius ipsa ejus praescientia de illis, quae falli non potest, liber est vitae, in quo sunt scripti, id est, ante praecogniti.

Caput XVI.

De coelo novo, et terra nova.

Finito autem judicio, quo praenuntiavit judicandos malos, restat ut etiam de bonis dicat. Jam enim explicavit quod breviter a Domino dictum est, Ibunt isti in supplicium aeternum; sequitur, ut explicet quod etiam ibi connectitur, Justi autem in vitam aeternam (Matth. XXV, 46). Et vidi, inquit, coelum novum, et terram novam. Nam primum coelum et terra prima recesserunt, et mare jam non est (Apoc. XXI, 1). Isto fiet ordine, quod superius praeoccupando jam dixit, vidisse se super thronum sedentem, a cujus facie fugit coelum et terra. Judicatis quippe his, qui scripti non sunt in libro vitae, et in aeternum ignem missis (qui ignis cujusmodi, et in qua mundi vel rerum parte futurus sit, hominem scire arbitror neminem, nisi forte cui Spiritus divinus ostendit), tunc figura hujus mundi mundanorum ignium conflagratione praeteribit, sicut factum est mundanarum aquarum inundatione diluvium.

For if it seems not absurdly to be believed, that the ancient saints also, who held the faith of the Christ to come, were in places indeed most remote from the torments of the impious, but among the infernals, until the blood of Christ and his descent to those places should rescue them, surely henceforth the good faithful now redeemed by that price being shed, are altogether ignorant of the infernals, until their bodies also being received, they may receive the good things which they merit. But when he had said: "And they were judged each one according to their deeds"; he briefly subjected, in what way they were judged: "And death and hell," he says, "were cast into the lake of fire": signifying by these names the devil, since he is the author of death and of infernal punishments, and the universal society of demons together. For this is what he had already said above more evidently by preoccupying: "and the devil who seduced them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone." But what he had annexed there more obscurely, saying: "Where both the beast, and the false prophet"; here more openly: "And they who were not," he says, "found written in the book of life, were cast into the lake of fire" (Apocalypse 20:14, 15). This book does not commemorate God, lest he be deceived by oblivion: but it signifies the predestination of those, to whom eternal life shall be given. For neither does God not know them, and read in this book, that he may know: but rather his very foreknowledge concerning them, which cannot be deceived, is the book of life, in which they are written, that is, foreknown before.

Chapter XVI.

Of the new heaven, and the new earth.

But the judgment being finished, by which he foretold that the bad are to be judged, it remains that he should speak also concerning the good. For he has already explained what was briefly said by the Lord: "These shall go into eternal punishment"; it follows, that he should explain what is also connected there: "But the just into life eternal" (Matthew 25:46). "And I saw," he says, "a new heaven, and a new earth." For the first heaven and the first earth have departed, and the sea is now no more" (Apocalypse 21:1). That will be done in that order, which he already said above by preoccupying, that he had seen one sitting upon the throne, from whose face heaven and earth fled. For those being judged who are not written in the book of life, and being sent into eternal fire (which fire of what kind, and in what part of the world or of things it is to be, I think no man knows, unless perhaps him to whom the divine Spirit has shown), then the figure of this world will pass away by the conflagration of worldly fires, as the flood took place by the inundation of worldly waters.

Illa itaque, ut dixi, conflagratione mundana elementorum corruptibilium qualitates, quae corporibus nostris corruptibilibus congruebant, ardendo penitus interibunt; atque ipsa substantia eas qualitates habebit, quae corporibus immortalibus mirabili mutatione conveniant: ut scilicet mundus in melius innovatus, apte accommodetur hominibus etiam carne in melius innovatis. Quod autem ait, Et mare jam non est: utrum maximo illo ardore siccetur, an et ipsum vertatur in melius, non facile dixerim. Coelum quippe novum et terram novam futuram legimus: de mari autem novo aliquid me uspiam legisse, non recolo; nisi quod in hoc eodem libro reperitur, tanquam mare vitreum simile crystallo (Apoc. IV, 6; XV, 2), Sed tunc non de isto fine saeculi loquebatur: nec proprie dixisse videtur mare, sed tanquam mare. Quamvis et nunc, sicut amat prophetica locutio propriis verbis translata miscere, ac sic quodammodo velare quod dicitur, potuit de illo mari dicere, Et mare jam non est; de quo supra dixerat, Et exhibuit mare mortuos, qui in eo erant. Jam enim tunc non erit hoc saeculum vita mortalium turbulentum et procellosum, quod maris nomine figuravit.

Caput XVII.

De Ecclesiae glorificatione sine fine post finem.

Et civitatem, inquit, magnam Jerusalem novam vidi descendentem de coelo a Deo, aptatam, quasi novam nuptam ornatam marito suo. Et audivi vocem magnam de throno dicentem, Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, et habitabit cum eis, et ipsi erunt populus ejus, et ipse Deus erit cum eis. Et absterget Deus omnem lacrymam ab oculis eorum; et mors jam non erit, neque luctus, neque clamor, sed nec dolor ullus, quia priora abierunt. Et dixit sedens in throno, Ecce nova facio omnia (Id. XXI, 2-5).

De coelo descendere ista civitas dicitur, quoniam coelestis est gratia, qua Deus eam fecit. Propter quod ei dicit etiam per Isaiam, Ego sum Dominus faciens te (Isai. XLV, 8). Et de coelo quidem ab initio sui descendit, ex quo per hujus saeculi tempus, gratia Dei desuper veniente per lavacrum regenerationis in Spiritu sancto misso de coelo subinde cives ejus accrescunt. Sed per judicium Dei, quod erit novissimum per ejus Filium Jesum Christum, tanta ejus et tam nova de Dei munere claritas apparebit, ut nulla remaneant vetustatis vestigia: quandoquidem et corpora ad incorruptionem atque immortalitatem novam ex vetere corruptione atque mortalitate transibunt. Nam hoc de isto tempore accipere, quo regnat cum Rege suo mille annis, impudentiae nimiae mihi videtur: cum apertissime dicat, Absterget Deus omnem lacrymam ab oculis eorum; et mors jam non erit, neque luctus, neque clamor, sed nec dolor ullus.

Therefore by that worldly conflagration, as I said, the qualities of the corruptible elements, which were congruent to our corruptible bodies, will entirely perish by burning; and the substance itself will have those qualities which may agree with immortal bodies by a marvelous mutation: so that namely the world being innovated for the better, may be aptly accommodated to men even in the flesh innovated for the better. But as to what he says: "And the sea is now no more": whether it be dried up by that greatest heat, or whether it also be turned for the better, I could not easily say. For we read that there will be a new heaven and a new earth: but concerning a new sea I do not recall that I have read anything anywhere; except what is found in this same book: "as it were a sea of glass like to crystal" (Apocalypse 4:6; 15:2). But then he was not speaking concerning this end of the age: nor does he seem to have said sea properly, but "as it were a sea." Although even now, as prophetic locution loves to mix translated with proper words, and thus in a certain way to veil what is said, he could have said concerning that sea: "And the sea is now no more"; concerning which he had said above: "And the sea gave up the dead which were in it." For then this age will no longer be, turbulent and stormy with the life of mortals, which he figured by the name of the sea.

Chapter XVII.

Of the glorification of the Church without end after the end.

"And the great city," he says, "new Jerusalem I saw descending from heaven from God, prepared, as a new bride adorned for her husband." And I heard a great voice from the throne saying: Behold the tabernacle of God with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them." And God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor clamor, but nor any pain, because the former things have passed away." And he who sat on the throne said: Behold, I make all things new" (Id. 21:2-5).

This city is said to descend from heaven, since the grace is celestial, by which God made it. Because of which he says to it also through Isaiah: "I am the Lord making thee" (Isaiah 45:8). And from heaven indeed it has descended from its beginning, from which through the time of this age, the grace of God coming from above through the laver of regeneration in the Holy Spirit sent from heaven, its citizens increase from time to time. But through the judgment of God, which will be the latest through his Son Jesus Christ, so great and so new a clarity from the gift of God will appear, that no vestiges of antiquity will remain: since even the bodies will pass to incorruption and a new immortality from the old corruption and mortality. For to accept this concerning this time, in which it reigns with its King for a thousand years, seems to me of excessive impudence: when it most openly says: "God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor clamor, but nor any pain."

Quis vero tam sit absurdus, et obstinatissima contentione vesanus, qui audeat affirmare in hujus mortalitatis aerumnis, non dico populum sanctum, sed unumquemque sanctorum, qui hanc vel ducat, vel ducturus sit, vel duxerit vitam, nullas habentem lacrymas et dolores; cum potius quanto quisque est sanctior et desiderii sancti plenior, tanto sit ejus in orando fletus uberior? Annon est vox civis supernae Jerusalem, Factae sunt mihi lacrymae meae panis die ac nocte (Psal. XLI, 4)? et, Lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum, in lacrymis meis stratum meum rigabo (Psal. VI, 7)? et, Gemitus meus non est absconditus a te (Psal. XXXVII, 10)? et, Dolor meus renovatus est (Psal. XXXVIII, 3)? Aut vero non ejus filii sunt, qui ingemiscunt gravati, in quo nolunt exspoliari, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale a vita (II Cor. V, 4)? Nonne ipsi sunt, qui primitias habentes Spiritus, in semetipsis ingemiscunt, adoptionem exspectantes, redemptionem corporis sui (Rom. VIII, 23)? An ipse apostolus Paulus non erat supernus Jerosolymitanus, vel non multo magis hoc erat, quando pro Israelitis fratribus carnalibus suis tristitia illi erat magna, et continuus dolor cordi ejus (Rom. IX, 2)? Quando autem mors non erit in ista civitate, nisi quando dicetur, Ubi est, mors, contentio tua ? ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? Aculeus autem mortis est peccatum (I Cor. XV, 55 et 56)? Quod tunc utique non erit, quando dicetur, Ubi est? Nunc vero non quilibet infimus civis illius civitatis, sed idem ipse Joannes in Epistola sua clamat, Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est (I Joan. I, 8). Et in hoc quidem libro, cujus nomen est Apocalypsis, obscure multa dicuntur, ut mentem legentis exerceant, et pauca in eo sunt, ex quorum manifestatione indagentur caetera cum labore: maxime quia sic eadem multis modis repetit, ut alia atque alia dicere videatur; cum aliter atque aliter haec ipsa dicere vestigetur. Verum in his verbis, ubi ait, Absterget Deus omnem lacrymam ab oculis eorum; et mors jam non erit, neque luctus, neque clamor, sed nec dolor ullus: tanta luce dicta sunt de saeculo futuro et immortalitate atque aeternitate sanctorum (tunc enim solum, atque ibi solum ista non erunt), ut nulla debeamus in Litteris sacris quaerere vel legere manifesta, si haec putaverimus obscura.

Caput XVIII.

Quid apostolus Petrus de novissimo Dei judicio praedicarit.

But who is so absurd, and insane with most obstinate contention, who would dare to affirm in the miseries of this mortality, I do not say the holy people, but any one of the saints, who either leads, or is about to lead, or has led this life, having no tears and pains; when rather by how much each one is holier and more full of holy desire, by so much is his weeping in praying more abundant? Is it not the voice of a citizen of the supernal Jerusalem: "My tears have been my bread day and night" (Psalm 41:4)? and: "I will wash my bed every night, with my tears I will water my couch" (Psalm 6:7)? and: "My groaning is not hid from thee" (Psalm 37:10)? and: "My pain is renewed" (Psalm 38:3)? Or indeed are they not his sons, who groan being burdened, in which they wish not to be unclothed, but to be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life (2 Corinthians 5:4)? Are they not the ones, who having the firstfruits of the Spirit, groan within themselves, expecting the adoption, the redemption of their body (Romans 8:23)? Was not the apostle Paul himself a supernal Jerusalemite, or was he not much more this, when for his carnal brothers the Israelites there was great sadness to him, and continual pain to his heart (Romans 9:2)? But when will death not be in that city, unless when it shall be said: "Where is, O death, thy contention? where is, O death, thy sting? But the sting of death is sin" (1 Corinthians 15:55 and 56)? Which surely will not be then, when it shall be said: "Where is it?" But now not any lowest citizen of that city, but the same John himself in his Epistle cries out: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (1 John 1:8). And in this book indeed, whose name is Apocalypse, many things are said obscurely, that they may exercise the mind of the reader, and there are few things in it, from whose manifestation the rest may be tracked out with labor: especially because it so repeats the same things in many ways, that it seems to say other and other things; while it is tracked that it says these very things in other and other ways. But in these words, where he says: "God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor clamor, but nor any pain": they are said with such light concerning the future age and the immortality and eternity of the saints (for then alone, and there alone these things will not be), that we ought to seek or read no manifest things in the sacred Letters, if we think these to be obscure.

Chapter XVIII.

What the apostle Peter preached concerning the last judgment of God.

Nunc jam videamus, quid etiam apostolus Petrus de hoc judicio scripserit: Venient, inquit, in novissimo dierum illusione illudentes, secundum proprias concupiscentias suas euntes, et dicentes, Ubi est promissum praesentiae ipsius? Ex quo enim patres dormierunt, sic omnia perseverant ab initio creaturae. Latet enim illos hoc volentes, quia coeli erant olim et terra de aqua, et per aquam constituta Dei verbo; per quae, qui tunc erat mundus, aqua inundatus deperiit. Qui autem nunc sunt coeli et terra, eodem verbo repositi sunt, igni reservandi in diem judicii et perditionis hominum impiorum. Hoc unum vero non lateat vos, charissimi, quia unus dies apud Dominum, sicut mille anni; et mille anni, sicut dies unus. Non tardat Dominus promissum, sicut quidam tarditatem existimant: sed patienter fert propter vos, nolens aliquem perire, sed omnes in poenitentiam converti. Veniet autem dies Domini ut fur, in quo coeli magno impetu transcurrent: elementa autem ardentia resolventur; et terra, et quae in ipsa sunt opera exurentur. His ergo omnibus pereuntibus, quales oportet esse vos in sanctis conversationibus exspectantes, et properantes ad praesentiam diei Domini, per quam coeli ardentes solventur, et elementa ignis ardore decoquentur? Novos vero coelos, et terram novam, secundum promissa ipsius, exspectamus, in quibus justitia inhabitat (II Petr. III, 3-13).

Nihil hic dixit de resurrectione mortuorum: sed sane de perditione mundi hujus satis. Ubi etiam commemorans factum ante diluvium, videtur admonuisse quodammodo, quatenus in fine hujus saeculi mundum istum periturum esse credamus. Nam et illo tempore perisse dixit, qui tunc erat, mundum: nec solum orbem terrae, verum etiam coelos, quos utique istos aerios intelligimus, quorum locum ac spatium tunc aqua crescendo superaverat. Ergo totus, aut pene totus aer iste ventosus (quod coelum vel potius coelos vocat, sed istos utique imos, non illos supremos, ubi sol, et luna, et sidera constituta sunt), conversus fuerat in humidam qualitatem ; atque hoc modo cum terra perierat, cujus terrae utique prior facies fuerat deleta diluvio. Qui autem nunc sunt, inquit, coeli et terra, eodem verbo repositi sunt, igni reservandi in diem judicii et perditionis hominum impiorum. Proinde qui coeli, et quae terra, id est, qui mundus, pro eo mundo qui diluvio periit, ex eadem aqua repositus est, ipse igni novissimo reservatur in diem judicii et perditionis hominum impiorum. Nam et hominum, propter magnam quamdam commutationem, non dubitat dicere perditionem futuram; cum tamen eorum, quamvis in aeternis poenis, sit mansura natura.

Now let us see what the apostle Peter also wrote concerning this judgment: "There shall come," he says, "in the last of the days, mockers with mockery, walking according to their own lusts, and saying: Where is the promise of his presence? For from the time the fathers fell asleep, all things so continue from the beginning of the creation. For this is hidden from them, being willing, that the heavens were of old, and the earth of water, and constituted through water by the word of God; through which things the world that then was, being inundated with water, perished. But the heavens and the earth which are now, are laid up by the same word, being reserved for fire unto the day of judgment and of the perdition of impious men. But let this one thing not be hidden from you, most dearly beloved, that one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord does not delay the promise, as some count slowness: but deals patiently for your sake, not willing that any should perish, but that all should return to repentance. But the day of the Lord shall come as a thief, in which the heavens shall pass away with great impetus: and the elements being on fire shall be dissolved; and the earth, and the works that are in it, shall be burnt up. Since all these things are therefore to perish, what manner of people ought you to be in holy conversations, expecting and hastening to the presence of the day of the Lord, through which the burning heavens shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with the heat of fire? But we expect new heavens and a new earth, according to his promises, in which justice dwells" (2 Peter 3:3-13).

He said nothing here concerning the resurrection of the dead: but certainly enough concerning the perdition of this world. Where also, commemorating what was done before the flood, he seems to have admonished in a certain way, to what extent we should believe that this world is to perish at the end of this age. For even at that time he said that the world which then was had perished: and not only the orb of the earth, but also the heavens, which surely we understand to be these airy ones, whose place and space the water had then surpassed by increasing. Therefore all, or almost all this windy air (which he calls heaven, or rather heavens, but surely these lowest ones, not those supreme ones where the sun, and the moon, and the stars are established), had been turned into a humid quality; and in this way it had perished with the earth, of which earth surely the former face had been deleted by the flood. "But the heavens and the earth which are now," he says, "are laid up by the same word, being reserved for fire unto the day of judgment and of the perdition of impious men." Accordingly, those heavens and that earth, that is, that world, which was laid up out of the same water in place of that world which perished by the flood, is itself reserved for the last fire unto the day of judgment and of the perdition of impious men. For even of men, on account of a certain great change, he does not hesitate to say that there will be a future perdition; although their nature is to remain, even if in eternal punishments.

Quaerat forsitan aliquis, si post factum judicium mundus iste ardebit, antequam pro illo coelum novum, et terra nova reponatur, eo ipso tempore conflagrationis ejus ubi erunt sancti, quum eos habentes corpora in aliquo corporali loco esse necesse sit. Possumus respondere, futuros eos esse in superioribus partibus, quo ita non ascendet flamma illius incendii, quemadmodum nec unda diluvii. Talia quippe illis inerunt corpora, ut illic sint, ubi esse voluerint. Sed nec ignem conflagrationis illius pertimescent immortales atque incorruptibiles facti: sicut virorum trium corruptibilia corpora atque mortalia, in camino ardenti vivere illaesa potuerunt (Dan. III, 24).

CAPUT XIX.---Quid apostolus Paulus Thessalonicensibus scripserit de manifestatione Antichristi, cujus tempus dies Domini subsequetur. 1. Multas evangelicas apostolicasque sententias de divino isto judicio novissimo video mihi esse praetercundas, ne hoc volumen in nimiam longitudinem provolvatur : sed nullo modo est praetereundus apostolus Paulus, qui scribens ad Thessalonicenses, Rogamus, inquit, vos, fratres, per adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et nostrae congregationis in ipsum, ut non cito moveamini mente, neque terreamini, neque per spiritum, neque per verbum, neque per epistolam tanquam per nos missam, quasi instet dies Domini: ne quis vos seducat ullo modo. Quoniam nisi venerit refuga primum, ut revelatus fuerit homo peccati, filius interitus, qui adversatur et superextollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur; ita ut in templo Dei sedeat, ostentans se tanquam sit Deus. Non retinetis in memoria, quod adhuc cum essem apud vos, haec dicebam vobis? Et nunc quid detineat scitis, ut reveletur in suo tempore. Jam enim mysterium iniquitatis operatur. Tantum qui modo tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat: et tunc revelabitur iniquus , quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et evacuabit illuminatione praesentiae suae eum, cujus est praesentia secundum operationem satanae, in omni virtute, et signis, et prodigiis mendacii, et in omni seductione iniquitatis, his qui pereunt; pro eo quod dilectionem veritatis non receperunt, ut salvi fierent. Et ideo mittet illis Deus operationem erroris, ut credant mendacio, et judicentur omnes qui non crediderunt veritati, sed consenserunt iniquitati (II Thess. II, 1-11).

2. Nulli dubium est, eum de Antichristo ista dixisse; diemque judicii (hunc enim appellat diem Domini) non esse venturum, nisi ille prior venerit, quem refugam vocat, utique a Domino Deo. Quod si de omnibus impiis merito dici potest, quanto magis de isto? Sed in quo templo Dei sit sessurus , incertum est: utrum in illa ruina templi, quod a Salomone rege constructum est, an vero in Ecclesia. Non enim templum alicujus idoli aut daemonis, templum Dei Apostolus diceret.

Someone might perhaps ask, if after the judgment is done this world shall burn, before the new heaven and new earth are established in its place, at that very time of its conflagration where will the saints be, since it is necessary for those having bodies to be in some corporeal place. We can answer that they will be in the superior parts, to which the flame of that fire shall not ascend, just as the wave of the flood did not. For such bodies will be in them, that they may be there, where they shall have willed to be. But nor will they fear the fire of that conflagration, having been made immortal and incorruptible: just as the corruptible and mortal bodies of the three men were able to live unharmed in the burning furnace (Daniel 3:24).

CHAPTER XIX.---What the apostle Paul wrote to the Thessalonians concerning the manifestation of Antichrist, whose time the day of the Lord will follow. 1. I see that I must pass over many evangelical and apostolic sentences concerning this divine last judgment, lest this volume be rolled out into excessive length: but by no means is the apostle Paul to be passed over, who, writing to the Thessalonians, says: "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of our gathering together unto him, that you be not easily moved in mind, nor terrified, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by epistle as if sent by us, as if the day of the Lord were at hand: let no man seduce you by any means. For unless the apostate shall come first, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sits in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God. Do you not retain in memory, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now you know what withholds, that he may be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity already works. Only let him who now holds, hold, until he be taken out of the way: and then that wicked one shall be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his presence him, whose presence is according to the operation of Satan, in all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and in all seduction of iniquity, to those who perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And therefore God shall send them the operation of error, that they may believe a lie, and all may be judged who have not believed the truth, but have consented to iniquity" (2 Thessalonians 2:1-11).

2. No one doubts that he said these things concerning Antichrist; and that the day of judgment (for this he calls the day of the Lord) will not come, unless he comes first, whom he calls the apostate, surely from the Lord God. Which if it can be deservedly said of all the impious, how much more of him? But in what temple of God he is to sit is uncertain: whether in that ruin of the temple which was constructed by King Solomon, or indeed in the Church. For the Apostle would not call the temple of any idol or demon the temple of God.

Unde nonnulli, non ipsum principem, sed universum quadammodo corpus ejus, id est, ad eum pertinentem hominum multitudinem, simul cum ipso suo principe hoc loco intelligi Antichristum volunt: rectiusque putant etiam latine dici, sicut in graeco est, non, in templo Dei; sed, in templum Dei sedeat , tanquam ipse sit templum Dei, quod est Ecclesia: sicut dicimus, Sedet in amicum, id est, velut amicus; vel si quid aliud isto locutionis genere dici solet. Quod autem ait, Et nunc quid detineat scitis, id est, quid sit in mora, quae causa sit dilationis ejus, ut reveletur in suo tempore, scitis: quoniam scire illos dixit, aperte hoc dicere noluit. Et ideo nos qui nescimus quod illi sciebant, pervenire cum labore ad id quod sensit Apostolus, cupimus, nec valemus: praesertim quia et illa quae addidit, hunc sensum faciunt obscuriorem. Nam quid est, Jam enim mysterium iniquitatis operatur. Tantum qui modo tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat; et tunc revelabitur iniquus? Ego prorsus quid dixerit, me fateor ignorare. Suspiciones tamen hominum, quas vel audire, vel legere potui, non tacebo.

3. Quidam putant hoc de imperio dictum fuisse Romano; et propterea Paulum apostolum non id aperte scribere voluisse, ne calumniam videlicet incurreret, quod Romano imperio male optaverit, cum speraretur aeternum: ut hoc quod dixit, Jam enim mysterium iniquitatis operatur, Neronem voluerit intelligi, cujus jam facta velut Antichristi videbantur. Unde nonnulli ipsum resurrecturum, et futurum Antichristum suspicantur . Alii vero nec occisum putant, sed subtractum potius, ut putaretur occisus; et vivum occultari in vigore ipsius aetatis, in qua fuit, cum crederetur exstinctus, donec suo tempore reveletur, et restituatur in regnum . Sed multum mihi mira est haec opinantium tanta praesumptio. Illud tamen quod ait Apostolus, Tantum qui modo tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat: non absurde de ipso Romano imperio creditur dictum, tanquam dictum sit, Tantum qui modo imperat imperet, donec de medio fiat, id est, de medio tollatur. Et tunc revelabitur iniquus: quem significari Antichristum, nullus ambigit. Alii vero et quod ait, Quid detineat scitis; et, mysterium operari iniquitatis, non putant dictum, nisi de malis et fictis, qui sunt in Ecclesia, donec perveniant ad tantum numerum, qui Antichristo magnum populum faciat; et hoc esse mysterium iniquitatis, quia videtur occultum. Hortari autem Apostolum fideles, ut in fide quam tenent tenaciter perseverent, dicendo, Tantum qui modo tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat: hoc est, donec exeat de medio Ecclesiae mysterium iniquitatis, quod nunc occultum est.

Whence some wish Antichrist to be understood in this place not as the prince himself, but as his whole body in a certain way, that is, the multitude of men belonging to him, together with their prince himself: and they think it is more correctly said even in Latin, as it is in the Greek, not "in the temple of God", but "unto the temple of God he sits", as if he himself were the temple of God, which is the Church: just as we say, "He sits as a friend", that is, like a friend; or if anything else is usually said in that kind of locution. But as to what he says, "And now you know what withholds," that is, what is in delay, what is the cause of his procrastination, "that he may be revealed in his time, you know": since he said that they know, he did not wish to say this openly. And therefore we, who do not know what they knew, desire with labor to reach that which the Apostle felt, nor are we able: especially because those things also which he added make this sense more obscure. For what is, "For the mystery of iniquity already works. Only let him who now holds, hold, until he be taken out of the way; and then that wicked one shall be revealed"? I confess that I entirely do not know what he said. Nevertheless, the suspicions of men, which I have been able either to hear or to read, I will not keep silent.

3. Some think that this was said concerning the Roman Empire; and that for this reason the apostle Paul did not wish to write it openly, lest he should incur calumny, namely, that he wished ill to the Roman Empire, when it was hoped to be eternal: so that in this which he said, "For the mystery of iniquity already works," he wished Nero to be understood, whose deeds already seemed like those of Antichrist. Whence some suspect that he himself will rise again, and will be the future Antichrist. Others indeed do not think he was killed, but rather withdrawn, so that he might be thought killed; and that he is hidden alive in the vigor of that very age in which he was when he was believed to be extinct, until in his own time he be revealed and restored to his kingdom. But the great presumption of those thinking these things is very wonderful to me. Nevertheless, that which the Apostle says, "Only let him who now holds, hold, until he be taken out of the way": is not absurdly believed to be said concerning the Roman Empire itself, as if it were said: "Only let him who now commands, command, until he be taken out of the way," that is, removed from the midst. "And then that wicked one shall be revealed": by whom no one doubts that Antichrist is signified. But others think that what he says, "You know what withholds"; and, "the mystery of iniquity works," is not said except concerning the evil and the feigned who are in the Church, until they arrive at such a number as may make a great people for Antichrist; and that this is the mystery of iniquity, because it seems hidden. But they think the Apostle exhorts the faithful to persevere tenaciously in the faith which they hold, saying, "Only let him who now holds, hold, until he be taken out of the way": that is, until the mystery of iniquity, which is now hidden, goes out from the midst of the Church.

Ad ipsum enim mysterium pertinere arbitrantur, quod ait in Epistola sua Joannes evangelista, Pueri, novissima hora est: et sicut audistis, quod Antichristus sit venturus; nunc autem antichristi multi facti sunt: unde cognoscimus quod novissima sit hora. Ex nobis exierunt: sed non erant ex nobis. Quod si fuissent ex nobis, permansissent utique nobiscum (I Joan. II, 18 et 19). Sicut ergo ante finem in hac hora, inquiunt, quam Joannes novissimam dicit, exierunt multi haeretici de medio Ecclesiae, quos multos dicit antichristos: ita omnes tunc inde exibunt, qui non ad Christum, sed ad illum novissimum Antichristum pertinebunt, et tunc revelabitur.

4. Alius ergo sic, alius autem sic Apostoli obscura verba conjectant: quod tamen eum dixisse non dubium est, Non veniet ad vivos et mortuos judicandos Christus, nisi prius venerit ad seducendos in anima mortuos adversarius ejus Antichristus; quamvis ad occultum jam judicium Dei pertineat, quod ab illo seducentur. Praesentia quippe ejus erit, sicut dictum est, secundum operationem satanae, in omni virtute, et signis, et prodigiis mendacii, et in omni seductione iniquitatis, his qui pereunt. Tunc enim solvetur satanas, et per illum Antichristum in omni sua virtute mirabiliter quidem, sed mendaciter operabitur. Quae solet ambigi utrum propterea dicta sint signa et prodigia mendacii, quoniam mortales sensus per phantasmata decepturus est; ut quod non facit, facere videatur: an quia illa ipsa, etiamsi erunt vera prodigia, ad mendacium pertrahent credituros non ea potuisse nisi divinitus fieri, virtutem diaboli nescientes; maxime quando tantam, quantam nunquam habuit, acceperit potestatem . Non enim quando de coelo ignis cecidit, et tantam familiam cum tantis gregibus pecorum sancti Job uno impetu absumpsit, et turbo irruens et domum dejiciens filios ejus occidit (Job I), phantasmata fuerunt: quae tamen fuerunt opera satanae, cui Deus dederat hanc potestatem. Propter quid horum ergo dicta sint prodigia et signa mendacii, tunc potius apparebit. Sed propter quodlibet horum dictum sit, seducentur eis signis atque prodigiis, qui seduci merebuntur: pro eo quod dilectionem veritatis, inquit, non receperunt, ut salvi fierent. Nec dubitavit Apostolus addere, et dicere: Ideo mittet illis Deus operationem erroris, ut credant mendacio . Deus enim mittet, quia Deus diabolum facere ista permittet, justo ipse judicio, quamvis faciat ille iniquo malignoque consilio. Ut judicentur, inquit, omnes qui non crediderunt veritati, sed consenserunt iniquitati. Proinde judicati seducentur, et seducti judicabuntur.

For they think that what John the evangelist says in his Epistle belongs to that very mystery: "Little children, it is the last hour: and as you have heard that Antichrist is to come; now however many antichrists have become: whence we know that it is the last hour. They went out from us: but they were not of us. For if they had been of us, they would surely have remained with us" (1 John 2:18 and 19). Just as therefore before the end, in this hour which John calls the last, many heretics went out from the midst of the Church, whom he calls many antichrists: so all shall then go out from there, who shall not belong to Christ, but to that last Antichrist, and then he shall be revealed.

4. One therefore conjectures the obscure words of the Apostle in this way, and another in that way: but yet it is not doubtful that he said this, that Christ will not come to judge the living and the dead, unless his adversary Antichrist shall first have come to seduce those dead in soul; although it already belongs to the hidden judgment of God that they shall be seduced by him. For his presence will be, as it was said, "according to the operation of Satan, in all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and in all seduction of iniquity, to those who perish." For then Satan shall be loosed, and through that Antichrist he shall work in all his power, wonderfully indeed, but lyingly. It is usually doubted whether they are called signs and wonders of a lie for this reason, because he is to deceive mortal senses through phantasms, so that he seems to do what he does not do; or because those very things, even if they shall be true wonders, will draw to a lie those who will believe that they could not have been done except by divine power, being ignorant of the power of the devil; especially when he shall have received such great power as he never had before. For when fire fell from heaven, and consumed so great a household with such great flocks of cattle of the holy Job in one impetus, and a whirlwind rushing in and casting down the house killed his sons (Job 1), they were not phantasms: which yet were the works of Satan, to whom God had given this power. For which of these reasons they are called wonders and signs of a lie, will then rather appear. But for whichever of these it was said, they will be seduced by those signs and wonders, who shall deserve to be seduced: "because they received not the love of the truth," he says, "that they might be saved." Nor did the Apostle hesitate to add and to say: "Therefore God shall send them the operation of error, that they may believe a lie." For God shall send, because God will permit the devil to do these things, by a just judgment of his own, although the other does it with a wicked and malignant counsel. "That all may be judged," he says, "who have not believed the truth, but have consented to iniquity." Accordingly, being judged they shall be seduced, and being seduced they shall be judged.

Sed judicati seducentur illis judiciis Dei occulte justis, juste occultis, quibus ab initio peccati rationalis creaturae nunquam judicare cessavit: seducti autem judicabuntur novissimo manifestoque judicio per Jesum Christum, justissime judicaturum, injustissime judicatum.

Caput XX.

Quid idem apostolus in prima ad eosdem Epistola de resurrectione mortuorum docuerit.

1. Sed hic Apostolus tacuit de resurrectione mortuorum: ad eosdem autem scribens in Epistola prima, Nolumus, inquit, ignorare vos, fratres, de dormientibus, ut non contristemini, sicut et caeteri, qui spem non habent. Nam si credimus, quod Jesus mortuus est, et resurrexit: ita et Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jesum, adducet cum eo. Hoc enim vobis dicimus in verbo Domini, quia nos viventes, qui reliqui sumus in adventum Domini, non praeveniemus eos qui ante dormierunt: quoniam ipse Dominus in jussu, et in voce Archangeli, et in tuba Dei descendet de coelo; et mortui in Christo resurgent primo ; deinde nos viventes, qui reliqui sumus, simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus in obviam Christo in aera; et ita semper cum Domino erimus (I Thess. IV, 12-16). Haec verba apostolica resurrectionem mortuorum futuram, quando veniet Dominus Christus, utique ad vivos et mortuos judicandos, praeclarissime ostendunt.

2. Sed quaeri solet, utrum illi quos hic viventes inventurus est Christus, quorum personam in se atque illos qui tunc secum vivebant, transfigurabat Apostolus, nunquam omnino morituri sunt; an ipso temporis puncto, quo cum resurgentibus rapientur in nubibus in obviam Christo in aera, ad immortalitatem per mortem mira celeritate transibunt . Neque enim dicendum est, fieri non posse, ut dum per aera in sublime portantur, in illo spatio et moriantur, et reviviscant. Quod enim ait, Et ita semper cum Domino erimus: non sic accipiendum est, tanquam in aere nos dixerit semper cum Domino esse mansuros; quia nec ipse utique ibi manebit, quia veniens transiturus est. Venienti quippe ibitur obviam, non manenti: sed ita cum Domino erimus, id est, sic erimus habentes corpora sempiterna, ubicumque cum illo fuerimus.

But being judged they shall be seduced by those judgments of God, hiddenly just, justly hidden, by which from the beginning of the sin of the rational creature he has never ceased to judge: but being seduced they shall be judged by the last and manifest judgment through Jesus Christ, who will judge most justly, having been most unjustly judged.

Chapter XX.

What the same apostle taught in the first Epistle to the same concerning the resurrection of the dead.

1. But here the Apostle was silent concerning the resurrection of the dead: but writing to the same in the first Epistle, he says: "We would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them who are asleep, that you be not sorrowful, even as others who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again: so also God will bring with him them who have slept through Jesus. For this we say to you in the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them who have slept before: for the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trumpet of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we who are alive, who remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet Christ into the air; and so shall we always be with the Lord" (1 Thessalonians 4:13-17). These apostolic words most clearly show the future resurrection of the dead, when the Lord Christ shall come, surely to judge the living and the dead.

But it is usually asked whether those whom Christ shall find living here, whose person the Apostle was transfiguring into himself and those who then lived with him, are never to die at all; or whether at that very point of time in which they shall be caught up with those rising in the clouds to meet Christ into the air, they shall pass to immortality through death with wonderful celerity. For it must not be said that it is impossible that, while they are carried on high through the air, they should both die and live again in that space. For what he says, "And so shall we always be with the Lord": is not to be understood as if he said that we are to remain always in the air with the Lord; because neither surely will he himself remain there, since coming he is about to pass through. For he will be gone to meet him coming, not him remaining: but "so shall we be with the Lord," that is, so we shall be having everlasting bodies, wherever we shall be with him.

Ad hunc autem sensum, quo existimemus etiam illos, quos hic vivos inventurus est Dominus, in ipso parvo spatio et passuros mortem et accepturos immortalitatem, ipse Apostolus nos videtur urgere, ubi dicit, In Christo omnes vivificabuntur (I Cor. XV, 22): cum alio loco de ipsa loquens resurrectione corporum dicat, Tu quod seminas, non vivificatur, nisi moriatur (Ibid., 36). Quomodo igitur, quos viventes hic Christus inveniet, per immortalitatem in illo vivificabuntur, etsi non moriantur; cum videamus propter hoc esse dictum, Tu quod seminas, non vivificatur, nisi moriatur? Aut si recte non dicimus seminari, nisi ea corpora hominum, quae moriendo quoquo modo revertuntur in terram; sicut sese habet etiam illa in transgressorem patrem generis humani divinitus prolata sententia, Terra es, et in terram ibis (Gen. III, 19): fatendum est istos, quos nondum de corporibus egressos, cum veniet Christus, inveniet, et istis verbis Apostoli, et illis de Genesi non teneri: quoniam sursum in nubibus rapti, non utique seminantur; quia nec eunt in terram, nec redeunt; sive nullam prorsus experiantur mortem, sive paululum in aere moriantur.

3. Sed aliud rursus occurrit, quod idem dixit apostolus, cum de resurrectione corporum ad Corinthios loqueretur: Omnes resurgemus; vel, sicut alii codices habent, Omnes dormiemus (I Cor. XV, 51). Cum ergo nec resurrectio fieri possit, nisi mors praecesserit; nec dormitionem possimus illo loco intelligere, nisi mortem; quomodo omnes vel dormient, vel resurgent, si tam multi, quos in corpore inventurus est Christus, nec dormient, nec resurgent? Si ergo sanctos, qui reperientur Christo veniente viventes, eique in obviam rapientur, crediderimus in eodem raptu de mortalibus corporibus exituros, et ad eadem mox immortalia redituros, nullas in verbis Apostoli patiemur angustias, sive ubi dicit, Tu quod seminas, non vivificatur, nisi moriatur; sive ubi dicit, Omnes resurgemus; aut, Omnes dormiemus: quia nec illi per immortalitatem vivificabuntur, nisi, quamlibet paululum, tamen ante moriantur; ac per hoc et a resurrectione non erunt alieni, quam dormitio praecedit , quamvis brevissima, non tamen nulla. Cur autem nobis incredibile videatur, illam multitudinem corporum in aere quodammodo seminari, atque ibi protinus immortaliter atque incorruptibiliter reviviscere, cum credamus, quod idem ipse Apostolus apertissime dicit , in ictu oculi futuram resurrectionem (I Cor. XV, 52), et in membra sine fine victura tanta facilitate tamque inaestimabili velocitate rediturum antiquissimorum cadaverum pulverem?

But to this sense, by which we may think that even those whom the Lord shall find alive here, are both to suffer death and to receive immortality in that very small space, the Apostle himself seems to urge us, where he says: "In Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Corinthians 15:22): when in another place speaking of that very resurrection of bodies he says: "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die" (ibid., 36). How therefore shall those whom Christ shall find living here be made alive in him through immortality, even if they do not die; when we see it was said on account of this: "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die"? Or if we correctly do not say that anything is sown except those bodies of men which by dying return in some way to the earth; just as that sentence divinely pronounced against the transgressor father of the human race holds itself: "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou go" (Genesis 3:19): it must be confessed that these, whom Christ when he comes shall find not yet departed from their bodies, are not held by both these words of the Apostle and those of Genesis: since being caught up on high in the clouds, they are surely not sown; because neither do they go into the earth, nor return; whether they experience no death at all, or die for a little while in the air.

3. But another thing again occurs, which the same Apostle said when he was speaking to the Corinthians concerning the resurrection of bodies: "We shall all rise"; or, as other codices have it, "We shall all sleep" (1 Corinthians 15:51). Since therefore neither can resurrection take place unless death has preceded; nor can we understand "sleeping" in that place except as death; how shall all either sleep or rise, if so many, whom Christ shall find in the body, shall neither sleep nor rise? If therefore we believe that the saints who shall be found living when Christ comes, and shall be caught up to meet him, will go out from their mortal bodies in that same rapture, and will soon return to the same as immortal, we shall suffer no straits in the words of the Apostle, whether where he says, "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die"; or where he says, "We shall all rise"; or, "We shall all sleep": because nor will they be made alive through immortality unless they die before, however little; and through this they will not be aliens from the resurrection, which "sleeping" precedes, although very brief, yet not none. But why should it seem incredible to us that that multitude of bodies should be sown in the air in a certain way, and there immediately live again immortally and incorruptibly, when we believe what the same Apostle most openly says, that the resurrection will be in the twinkling of an eye (1 Corinthians 15:52), and that the dust of the most ancient corpses will return into members that are to live without end with such great facility and such inestimable velocity?

Nec ab illa sententia, qua homini dictum est, Terra es, et in terram ibis, futuros illos sanctos arbitramur immunes, si eorum morientium in terram non recident corpora, sed sicut in ipso raptu morientur, ita et resurgent, dum ferentur in aera. In terram quippe ibis, est, in hoc ibis amissa vita, quod eras antequam sumeres vitam: id est, Hoc eris exanimatus , quod eras antequam esses animatus. Terrae quippe insufflavit Deus in faciem flatum vitae, cum factus est homo in animam vivam: tanquam diceretur, Terra es animata, quod non eras; terra eris exanimis, sicut eras. Quod sunt et antequam putrescant omnia corpora mortuorum: quod erunt et illa, si morientur, ubicumque moriantur, cum vita carebunt, quam continuo receptura sunt. Sic ergo ibunt in terram, quia ex vivis hominibus terra erunt: quemadmodum it in cinerem, quod fit cinis; it in vetustatem, quod fit vetus; it in testam, quod ex luto fit testa: et alia sexcenta sic loquimur. Quomodo autem sit futurum quod nunc pro nostrae ratiunculae viribus utcumque conjicimus, tunc erit potius, ut nosse possimus. Resurrectionem quippe mortuorum futuram esse in carne , quando Christus venturus est vivos judicaturus et mortuos, oportet, si christiani esse volumus, ut credamus. Sed non ideo de hac re inanis est fides nostra, si quemadmodum futura sit, perfecte comprehendere non valemus. Verum jam, sicut supra promisimus, de hoc judicio Dei novissimo etiam prophetici veteres libri quid praenuntiaverint, quantum satis esse videbitur, debemus ostendere: quae, sicut arbitror, non tanta mora necesse erit tractari et exponi, si istis, quae praemisimus, lector curaverit adjuvari.

Caput XXI.

Quid Isaias propheta de mortuorum resurrectione et de retributione judicii sit locutus.

1. Propheta Isaias, Resurgent, inquit, mortui, et resurgent qui in sepulcris erant: et laetabuntur omnes qui sunt in terra; ros enim qui abs te est, sanitas illis est: terra vero impiorum cadet (Isai. XXVI, 19, sec. LXX). Totum illud superius ad resurrectionem pertinet beatorum. Quod autem ait, Terra vero impiorum cadet, bene intelligitur dictum, Corpora vero impiorum ruina damnationis excipiet.

Nor do we judge that those future saints will be immune from that sentence by which it was said to man, "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou go," if their bodies when dying do not fall back into the earth, but as they shall die in the rapture itself, so also they shall rise while they are being carried into the air. For "unto earth shalt thou go" is: you shall go into this, life having been lost, which you were before you took life: that is, you shall be this when inanimate, which you were before you were animate. For God breathed into the face of the earth the breath of life when man was made into a living soul: as if it were said: You are animate earth, which you were not; you shall be inanimate earth, as you were. Which all bodies of the dead are even before they rot: which those also will be if they shall die, wherever they may die, when they shall lack life, which they are immediately to receive back. Thus therefore they shall go into the earth, because from living men they shall be earth: just as that goes into ash which becomes ash; that goes into old age which becomes old; that goes into a potsherd which from mud becomes a potsherd: and six hundred other things we speak thus. But how that which we now conjecture in any way according to the strength of our small reasoning is to be, will then rather be so that we may be able to know it. For we ought to believe, if we wish to be Christians, that there will be a resurrection of the dead in the flesh, when Christ is to come to judge the living and the dead. But not for that reason is our faith vain concerning this matter, if we are not able perfectly to comprehend in what manner it is to be. But now, as we promised above, we ought to show what the ancient prophetic books also foretold concerning this last judgment of God, as much as shall seem to be enough: which things, as I judge, it will not be necessary to treat and explain with so great a delay, if the reader shall have taken care to be helped by those things which we have premised.

Chapter XXI.

What the prophet Isaiah spoke concerning the resurrection of the dead and the retribution of judgment.

1. The prophet Isaiah says: "The dead shall rise, and they who were in the tombs shall rise: and all who are in the earth shall rejoice; for the dew which is from thee is health to them: but the land of the impious shall fall" (Isaiah 26:19, according to LXX). All that upper part belongs to the resurrection of the blessed. But what he says, "But the land of the impious shall fall," is well understood as said: the bodies of the impious the ruin of damnation shall receive.

Jam porro si de bonorum resurrectione quod dictum est, diligentius et distinctius velimus intueri, ad primam referendum est quod dictum est, Resurgent mortui; ad secundam vero quod sequitur, et resurgent qui in sepulcris erant. Jam si et illos inquiramus sanctos, quos hic vivos inventurus est Dominus, eis congrue deputabitur quod adjunxit, Et laetabuntur omnes qui sunt in terra; ros enim qui abs te est, sanitas illis est. Sanitatem loco isto, immortalitatem rectissime accipimus. Ea namque est plenissima sanitas, quae non reficitur alimentis tanquam quotidianis medicamentis. Item de judicii die spem prius dans bonis, deinde terrens malos, idem propheta sic loquitur: Haec dicit Dominus, Ecce ego declino in eos ut flumen pacis, et ut torrens inundans gloriam gentium. Filii eorum super humeros portabuntur, et super genua consolabuntur. Quemadmodum si quem mater consoletur, ita ego vos consolabor; et in Jerusalem consolabimini: et videbitis, et gaudebit cor vestrum, et ossa vestra ut herba exorientur. Et cognoscetur manus Domini colentibus eum: et comminabitur contumacibus. Ecce enim Dominus ut ignis veniet, et ut tempestas currus ejus, reddere in indignatione vindictam, et vastationem in flamna ignis. In igne enim Domini judicabitur omnis terra, et in gladio ejus omnis caro: multi vulnerati erunt a Domino (Id. LXVI, 12-16, sec. LXX). In bonorum promissione flumen pacis profecto abundantiam pacis illius debemus accipere, qua major esse non possit. Hac utique in fine rigabimur: de qua in praecedenti libro abundanter locuti sumus. Hoc flumen se in eos declinare dicit, quibus tantam beatitudinem pollicetur, ut intelligamus in illius felicitatis regione, quae in coelis est, hoc flumine omnia satiari. Sed quia et terrenis corporibus pax incorruptionis atque immortalitatis inde influet , ideo declinare se dicit hoc flumen, ut de supernis quodammodo etiam inferiora perfundat, et homines aequales Angelis reddat. Jerusalem quoque, non illam quae servit cum filiis suis, sed liberam matrem nostram intelligamus, secundum Apostolum, aeternam in coelis (Galat. IV, 26). Ibi post labores aerumnarum curarumque mortalium consolabimur, tanquam parvuli ejus in humeris genibusque portati. Rudes enim nos et novos blandissimis adjutoriis insolita nobis illa beatitudo suscipiet. Ibi videbimus, et gaudebit cor nostrum. Nec expressit quid videbimus: sed quid, nisi Deum? ut impleatur in nobis promissum evangelicum, Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8); et omnia illa, quae nunc non videmus, credentes autem, pro modulo capacitatis humanae, longe minus quam sunt atque incomparabiliter cogitamus. Et videbitis, inquit, et gaudebit cor vestrum. Hic creditis, ibi videbitis.

Now furthermore, if we wish to look more diligently and distinctly at what was said concerning the resurrection of the good, that which is said, "The dead shall rise," is to be referred to the first; but to the second indeed that which follows, "and they who were in the tombs shall rise." Now if we also inquire after those saints whom the Lord shall find living here, that which he added will be congruously assigned to them: "And all who are in the earth shall rejoice; for the dew which is from thee is health to them." Health in this place we most correctly understand as immortality. For that is the fullest health, which is not refreshed by foods as by daily medicines. Likewise concerning the day of judgment, first giving hope to the good, then terrifying the evil, the same prophet speaks thus: "Thus saith the Lord: Behold I turn aside unto them like a river of peace, and like a flooding torrent the glory of the nations. Their children shall be carried upon the shoulders, and shall be comforted upon the knees. As if a mother should comfort someone, so will I comfort you; and in Jerusalem you shall be comforted: and you shall see, and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall rise up like grass. And the hand of the Lord shall be known to them that worship him: and he shall threaten the contumacious. For behold the Lord shall come like fire, and his chariot like a tempest, to render vengeance in indignation, and devastation in a flame of fire. For in the fire of the Lord all the earth shall be judged, and all flesh in his sword: many shall be wounded by the Lord" (Isaiah 66:12-16, according to LXX). In the promise of the good, we ought certainly to understand by the river of peace that abundance of peace than which there can be none greater. With this surely we shall be watered in the end: concerning which we have spoken abundantly in the preceding book. He says that he turns this river aside unto them to whom he promises so great beatitude, that we may understand that in the region of that felicity which is in the heavens, all things are satiated by this river. But because the peace of incorruption and immortality shall flow thence even to earthly bodies, therefore he says that he turns aside this river, that from the supernal things it may in a certain way also drench the lower things, and make men equal to the Angels. Let us also understand Jerusalem, not that which serves with her children, but our free mother, according to the Apostle, eternal in the heavens (Galatians 4:26). There after the labors of mortal miseries and cares we shall be comforted, like her little ones carried on shoulders and knees. For that beatitude, unusual to us, will receive us, unformed and new, with the most soothing aids. There we shall see, and our heart shall rejoice. Nor did he express what we shall see: but what, except God? that the evangelical promise may be fulfilled in us: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matthew 5:8); and all those things which we now do not see, but believing, according to the measure of human capacity, we think of them far less than they are and incomparably. "And you shall see," he says, "and your heart shall rejoice." Here you believe, there you shall see.

2. Sed quoniam dixit, Et gaudebit cor vestrum: ne putaremus illa bona Jerusalem ad nostrum tantummodo spiritum pertinere; Et ossa, inquit, vestra ut herba exorientur: ubi resurrectionem corporum strinxit, velut quod non dixerat reddens: neque enim cum viderimus, fiet; sed cum fuerit facta , videbimus. Nam et de coelo novo ac terra nova jam supra dixerat, dum ea quae sanctis promittuntur in fine, saepe ac multiformiter diceret : Erit, inquit, coelum novum et terra nova, et non erunt memores priorum, nec ascendent in cor ipsorum: sed laetitiam et exsultationem invenient in ea. Ecce ego faciam Jerusalem exsultationem, et populum meum laetitiam; et exsultabo in Jerusalem, et laetabor in populo meo; et ultra non audietur in illa vox fletus (Isai. LXV, 17-19, sec. LXX): et caetera, quae quidam ad carnales illos mille annos referre conantur. Locutiones enim tropicae propriis prophetico more miscentur: ut ad intellectum spiritualem intentio sobria cum quodam utili ac salubri labore perveniat: pigritia vero carnalis, vel ineruditae atque inexercitatae tarditas mentis contenta litterae superficie, nihil putat interius requirendum. Haec de propheticis verbis, quae ante istum locum scripta sunt, satis dixerim. In hoc autem loco, unde ad illa digressi sumus, cum dixisset, Et ossa vestra ut herba exorientur, ut resurrectionem quidem carnis, sed tamen bonorum , se nunc commemorare monstraret, adjunxit, Et cognoscetur manus Domini colentibus eum. Quid est hoc, nisi manus distinguentis cultores suos a contemptoribus suis? De quibus sequentia contexens, Et comminabitur, inquit, contumacibus, sive, ut ait alius interpres, incredulis. Nec tunc comminabitur: sed quae nunc dicuntur minaciter, tunc efficaciter implebuntur. Ecce enim Dominus, inquit, ut ignis veniet, et ut tempestas currus ejus, reddere in indignatione vindictam, et vastationem in flamma ignis. In igne enim Domini judicabitur omnis terra, et in gladio ejus omnis caro: multi vulnerati erunt a Domino. Sive igne, sive tempestate, sive gladio, poenam judicii significat: quandoquidem ipsum Dominum quasi ignem dicit esse venturum, eis profecto quibus poenalis ejus erit adventus. Currus vero ejus (nam pluraliter dicti sunt) angelica ministeria non inconvenienter accipimus.

2. But since he said, "And your heart shall rejoice": lest we should think those goods of Jerusalem belong only to our spirit; "And your bones," he says, "shall rise up like grass": where he touched upon the resurrection of bodies, as if rendering what he had not said: for it will not happen when we shall have seen it; but when it shall have been done, we shall see it. For he had also spoken above concerning the new heaven and the new earth, while he said those things which are promised to the saints in the end, often and in many forms: "There shall be," he says, "a new heaven and a new earth, and they shall not be mindful of the former things, nor shall they ascend into their heart: but they shall find joy and exultation in it. Behold I will make Jerusalem an exultation, and my people a joy; and I will exult in Jerusalem, and I will rejoice in my people; and the voice of weeping shall no more be heard in it" (Isaiah 65:17-19, according to LXX): and other things, which some try to refer to those carnal thousand years. For tropical locutions are mixed with literal ones in the prophetic manner: so that a sober intention may arrive at a spiritual understanding with a certain useful and salutary labor: but carnal laziness, or the slowness of an unlearned and unexercised mind, content with the surface of the letter, thinks nothing more inward is to be required. I should have said enough concerning these prophetic words which were written before this place. But in this place, whence we digressed to those things, when he had said, "And your bones shall rise up like grass," so that he might show that he now commemorates indeed the resurrection of the flesh, but yet of the good, he added: "And the hand of the Lord shall be known to them that worship him." What is this, except the hand of him distinguishing his worshippers from his contemners? Concerning whom weaving together the following things, "And he shall threaten," he says, "the contumacious," or, as another interpreter says, "the incredulous." Nor will he then threaten: but those things which are now said threateningly, will then be effectively fulfilled. "For behold the Lord," he says, "shall come like fire, and his chariot like a tempest, to render vengeance in indignation, and devastation in a flame of fire. For in the fire of the Lord all the earth shall be judged, and all flesh in his sword: many shall be wounded by the Lord." Whether by fire, or by tempest, or by sword, he signifies the punishment of judgment: since he says that the Lord himself is to come like fire, surely to those to whom his advent will be penal. But his chariots (for they are spoken of in the plural) we understand not inconveniently as angelic ministries.

Quod autem ait, omnem terram et omnem carnem in ejus igne et in gladio judicari, non etiam hic spirituales intelligamus et sanctos, sed terrenos atque carnales, de qualibus dictum est, Qui terrena sapiunt (Philipp. III, 19); et, Sapere secundum carnem, mors est (Rom. VIII, 6): et quales omnino caro appellantur a Domino, ubi dicit, Non permanebit spiritus meus in hominibus istis, quoniam caro sunt (Gen. VI, 3). Quod vero hic positum est, Multi vulnerati erunt a Domino: isto vulnere fiet mors secunda. Potest quidem et ignis, et gladius, et vulnus accipi in bono. Nam et ignem Dominus velle se dixit mittere in mundum (Luc. XII, 49). Et visae sunt illis linguae divisae velut ignis, quando venit Spiritus sanctus (Act. II, 3). Et, Non veni, inquit idem Dominus, pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium (Matth. X, 34). Et sermonem Dei dicit Scriptura gladium bis acutum (Hebr. IV, 12); propter aciem geminam Testamentorum duorum. Et in Cantico canticorum, charitate se dicit sancta Ecclesia vulneratam, velut amoris impetu sagittatam (Cantic. II, 5, sec. LXX). Sed hic cum legimus vel audimus ultorem Dominum esse venturum, quemadmodum haec intelligenda sint, clarum est.

3. Deinde breviter commemoratis eis, qui per hoc judicium consumentur; sub figura ciborum in Lege vetere vetitorum, a quibus se non abstinuerunt, peccatores impiosque significans, recapitulat ab initio gratiam novi Testamenti a primo Salvatoris adventu usque ad ultimum judicium, de quo nunc agimus, perducens finiensque sermonem. Narrat namque Dominum dicere se venire, ut congreget omnes gentes, easque venturas et visuras gloriam ejus (Isai. LXVI, 17, 18). Omnes enim, sicut dicit Apostolus, peccaverunt, et egent gloria Dei (Rom. III, 23). Et relicturum se dicit super eos signa, quae utique mirantes credant in eum: et emissurum ex illis salvatos in gentes diversas, et in longinquas insulas, quae non audierunt nomen ejus, neque viderunt gloriam ejus; et annuntiaturos gloriam ejus in gentibus; et adducturos fratres istorum, quibus loquebatur, id est, in fide sub Deo Patre fratres Israelitarum electorum: adducturos autem ex omnibus gentibus munus Domino in jumentis et vehiculis (quae jumenta et vehicula bene intelliguntur adjutoria esse divina, per cujusque generis ministeria Dei, vel angelica, vel humana), in civitatem sanctam Jerusalem, quae nunc in sanctis fidelibus est diffusa per terras. Ubi enim divinitus adjuvantur, ibi credunt; et ubi credunt, ibi veniunt. Comparavit autem illos Dominus, tanquam per similitudinem, filiis Israel offerentibus ei suas hostias cum psalmis in domo ejus; quod ubique jam facit Ecclesia; et promisit ab ipsis se accepturum sibi Sacerdotes et Levitas; quod nihilominus fieri nunc videmus.

But as to what he says, that all the earth and all flesh are judged in his fire and in his sword, let us not here also understand the spiritual and the saints, but the earthly and the carnal, of such as it is said: "Who mind earthly things" (Philippians 3:19); and: "To mind the things of the flesh is death" (Romans 8:6): and such as are called flesh entirely by the Lord, where he says: "My spirit shall not remain in these men, because they are flesh" (Genesis 6:3). But as to what is placed here, "Many shall be wounded by the Lord": by this wound shall be made the second death. Fire, and sword, and wound can indeed be taken in a good sense. For the Lord also said he wished to cast fire into the world (Luke 12:49). And divided tongues as of fire appeared to them when the Holy Spirit came (Acts 2:3). And, "I came not," says the same Lord, "to send peace upon earth, but a sword" (Matthew 10:34). And Scripture calls the word of God a two-edged sword (Hebrews 4:12); on account of the double edge of the two Testaments. And in the Canticle of Canticles, the holy Church says she is wounded with charity, as if shot by the impetus of love (Canticles 2:5, according to LXX). But here when we read or hear that the Lord is to come as an avenger, it is clear how these things are to be understood.

3. Then, having briefly commemorated those who shall be consumed through this judgment; signifying the sinners and the impious under the figure of foods forbidden in the old Law, from which they did not abstain, he recapitulates from the beginning the grace of the New Testament from the first advent of the Savior even to the last judgment, of which we now treat, leading through and finishing his discourse. For he relates that the Lord says he is coming to gather all nations, and that they shall come and see his glory (Isaiah 66:17, 18). "For all," as the Apostle says, "have sinned, and do need the glory of God" (Romans 3:23). And he says that he will leave signs upon them, which surely marvelling at they may believe in him: and that he will send from them those saved into diverse nations, and into far-off islands which have not heard his name, nor seen his glory; and they shall announce his glory among the nations; and they shall bring their brethren, to whom he was speaking, that is, the brethren of the elect Israelites in faith under God the Father: and they shall bring a gift to the Lord from all nations upon beasts of burden and in vehicles (which beasts of burden and vehicles are well understood to be divine aids, through the ministries of God of every kind, whether angelic or human), into the holy city Jerusalem, which is now diffused through the lands in the holy faithful. For where they are divinely helped, there they believe; and where they believe, there they come. But the Lord compared them, as if through a similitude, to the children of Israel offering him their victims with psalms in his house; which the Church already does everywhere; and he promised that he would receive from them Priests and Levites for himself; which nonetheless we now see being done.

Non enim ex genere carnis et sanguinis, sicut erat primum secundum ordinem Aaron; sed sicut oportebat in Testamento novo, ubi secundum ordinem Melchisedech summus sacerdos est Christus (Psal. CIX, 4), pro cujusque merito quod in eum gratia divina contulerit, Sacerdotes et Levitas eligi nunc videmus: qui non isto nomine, quod saepe assequuntur indigni, sed ea quae non est bonis malisque communis, sanctitate pensandi sunt.

4. Haec cum de ista, quae nunc impertitur Ecclesiae, perspicua nobisque notissima Dei miseratione dixisset; promisit et fines ad quos per ultimum judicium facta bonorum malorumque discretione venietur, dicens per Prophetam, vel de Domino dicens ipse Propheta: Quomodo enim coelum novum et terra nova manebit coram me, dixit Dominus, sic stabit semen vestrum et nomen vestrum; et erit mensis ex mense, et sabbatum ex sabbato. Veniet omnis caro in conspectu meo adorare in Jerusalem, dixit Dominus: et egredientur, et videbunt membra hominum qui praevaricati sunt in me. Vermis eorum non morietur, et ignis eorum non exstinguetur, et erunt visui omni carni (Isai. LXVI, 22-24, sec. LXX). Ad hoc iste propheta terminavit librum, ad quod terminabitur saeculum. Quidam sane non interpretati sunt, membra hominum, sed cadavera virorum , per cadavera significantes evidentem corporum poenam: quamvis cadaver nisi caro exanimis, non soleat nuncupari; illa vero animata erunt corpora, alioquin nulla poterunt sentire tormenta: nisi forte quia mortuorum erunt corpora, id est, eorum qui in secundam mortem cadent, ideo non absurde etiam cadavera dici possunt. Unde est et illud, quod ab eodem propheta dictum jam supra posui: Terra vero impiorum cadet. Quis autem non videat a cadendo esse appellata cadavera ? Virorum autem pro eo posuisse illos interpretes, quod est hominum, manifestum est. Neque enim quisquam dicturus est, praevaricatrices feminas in illo supplicio non futuras: sed ex potiore, praesertim de quo femina facta est, uterque sexus accipitur. Verum quod ad rem maxime pertinet, cum et in bonis dicitur, Veniet omnis caro: quia ex omni genere hominum populus iste constabit; non enim omnes homines ibi erunt, quando in poenis plures erunt: sed, ut dicere coeperam, cum et in bonis caro, et in malis membra vel cadavera nominantur; profecto post resurrectionem carnis, cujus fides his rerum vocabulis omnino firmatur, illud quo boni et mali suis finibus dirimentur, futurum esse judicium declaratur.

Caput XXII.

Qualis futura sit egressio sanctorum ad videndas poenas malorum.

For not from the race of flesh and blood, as it was at first according to the order of Aaron; but as was fitting in the New Testament, where according to the order of Melchisedech Christ is the High Priest (Psalm 109:4), we now see Priests and Levites being chosen according to the merit of each, which divine grace shall have conferred upon him: who are to be weighed not by this name, which the unworthy often obtain, but by that holiness which is not common to the good and the evil.

4. When he had said these things concerning that clear mercy of God, most well-known to us, which is now imparted to the Church; he also promised the ends to which, by the last judgment, the discretion of the good and the evil having been made, it shall be come, saying through the Prophet, or the Prophet himself saying concerning the Lord: "For as the new heaven and the new earth shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name stand; and there shall be month after month, and sabbath after sabbath. All flesh shall come in my sight to adore in Jerusalem, saith the Lord: and they shall go out, and shall see the limbs of the men who have prevaricated against me. Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be extinguished, and they shall be for a sight to all flesh" (Isaiah 66:22-24, according to LXX). At this point that prophet finished his book, where the age shall be finished. Some indeed have not interpreted "limbs of men," but "carcasses of men," signifying through carcasses the evident punishment of bodies: although a carcass is not usually named except as inanimate flesh; but those will be animate bodies, otherwise they could feel no torments: unless perhaps because they will be bodies of the dead, that is, of those who shall fall into the second death, for that reason not absurdly can they be called even carcasses. Whence is also that which I have already placed above as said by the same prophet: "But the land of the impious shall fall." But who does not see that carcasses are so called from falling? But it is manifest that those interpreters placed "of men" (*virorum*) for that which is "of human beings" (*hominum*). For no one is to say that prevaricating women will not be in that supplication: but from the more excellent, especially from whom woman was made, each sex is understood. But what most pertains to the matter, since even in the good it is said, "All flesh shall come": because from every kind of men this people shall consist; for not all men will be there, since many more will be in punishments: but, as I had begun to say, since both in the good flesh, and in the evil limbs or carcasses are named; certainly after the resurrection of the flesh, the faith of which is entirely confirmed by these names of things, that judgment is declared to be future by which the good and the evil shall be separated into their own ends.

Chapter XXII.

What will be the going out of the saints to see the punishments of the evil.

Sed quomodo egredientur boni ad videndas poenas malorum? Numquid corporis motu beatas illas relicturi sunt sedes, et ad loca poenalia perrecturi, ut malorum tormenta conspiciant praesentia corporali? Absit: sed egredientur per scientiam. Hoc enim verbo significatum est, eos qui cruciabuntur extra futuros. Propter quod et Dominus ea loca tenebras exteriores vocat (Matth. XXV, 30): quibus contrarius est ille ingressus de quo dicitur servo bono, Intra in gaudium Domini tui (Ibid. 21): ne illuc mali putentur ingredi, ut sciantur; sed ad illos potius velut egredi scientia, qua eos cognituri sunt, boni; quia id quod extra est cognituri sunt. Qui enim erunt in poenis quid agatur intus in gaudio Domini nescient: qui vero erunt in illo gaudio, quid agatur foris in illis tenebris exterioribus scient. Ideo dictum est, egredientur: quia eos etiam qui foris ab eis erunt, utique non latebunt. Si enim haec Prophetae nondum facta nosse potuerunt, per hoc quod erat Deus, quantulumcumque erat, in eorum mortalium mentibus; quomodo immortales sancti jam facta tunc nescient, cum Deus erit omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 28)? Stabit ergo in illa beatitudine sanctorum semen et nomen; semen, scilicet de quo Joannes ait, Et semen ejus in ipso manet (I Joan. III, 9): nomen vero, de quo per hunc Isaiam dictum est, Nomen aeternum dabo eis (Isai. LVI, 5). Et erit eis mensis ex mense et sabbatum ex sabbato, tanquam luna ex luna et requies ex requie: quorum utrumque ipsi erunt, cum ex his umbris veteribus et temporalibus in illa lumina nova ac sempiterna transibunt. In poenis autem malorum et inexstinguibilis ignis et vivacissimus vermis, ab aliis atque aliis aliter atque aliter est expositus. Alii quippe utrumque ad corpus, alii utrumque ad animum retulerunt: alii proprie ad corpus ignem, tropice ad animum vermem, quod credibilius esse videtur. Sed nunc de hac differentia non est temporis disputare. De judicio namque ultimo, quo fiet diremptio bonorum et malorum, hoc volumen implere suscepimus: de ipsis vero praemiis et poenis alias diligentius disserendum est.

Caput XXIII.

Quid prophetaverit Daniel de persecutione Antichristi, et de judicio Dei, regnoque sanctorum.

But how shall the good go out to see the punishments of the evil? Shall they by a movement of the body leave those blessed seats, and proceed to the penal places, that they may behold the torments of the evil by their corporeal presence? Far from it: but they shall go out through knowledge. For by this word it was signified that they who shall be tortured will be outside. On account of which the Lord also calls those places outer darkness (Matthew 25:30): to which that entrance is contrary concerning which it is said to the good servant: "Enter into the joy of thy Lord" (ibid. 21): lest the evil should be thought to enter there, that they may be known; but rather knowledge, by which the good are to know them, should go out as it were to them; because they are to know that which is outside. For they who shall be in punishments will not know what is done inside in the joy of the Lord: but they who shall be in that joy will know what is done outside in those outer darknesses. Therefore it was said, "they shall go out": because those also who shall be outside from them will surely not be hidden. For if the Prophets could know these things not yet done, through that which God was, however little it was, in the minds of those mortals; how shall the immortal saints then not know things already done, when God shall be all in all (1 Corinthians 15:28)? Therefore the seed and name of the saints shall stand in that beatitude; the seed, namely concerning which John says: "And his seed remains in him" (1 John 3:9): the name indeed, concerning which it was said through this Isaiah: "An eternal name will I give them" (Isaiah 56:5). "And there shall be to them month from month and sabbath from sabbath," as if light from light and rest from rest: both of which they themselves shall be, when from these old and temporal shadows they shall pass into those new and sempiternal lights. But concerning the punishments of the evil, both the unquenchable fire and the most vivacious worm have been explained by some in one way and by others in another. For some have referred both to the body, others both to the soul: others fire properly to the body, the worm tropically to the soul, which seems to be more credible. But now is not the time to dispute concerning this difference. For we have undertaken to fill this volume concerning the last judgment, by which the separation of the good and the evil shall be made: but concerning the rewards and punishments themselves, it must be discoursed more diligently at another time.

Chapter XXIII.

What Daniel prophesied concerning the persecution of the Antichrist, and concerning the judgment of God, and the kingdom of the saints.

1. Daniel de hoc ultimo judicio sic prophetat, ut Antichristum prius quoque venturum esse praenuntiet, atque ad aeternum regnum sanctorum perducat narrationem suam. Cum enim visione prophetica quatuor bestias significantes quatuor regna vidisset; ipsumque quartum a quodam rege superatum, qui Antichristus agnoscitur; et post haec aeternum regnum Filii hominis, qui intelligitur Christus: Horruit, inquit, spiritus meus, ego Daniel in habitudine mea, et visus capitis mei conturbabant me. Et accessi, inquit, ad unum de stantibus, et veritatem quaerebam ab eo de his omnibus: et dixit mihi veritatem. Deinde, quid audierit ab illo, a quo de omnibus his quaesivit, tanquam eo sibi exponente, sic loquitur: Hae quatuor bestiae magnae, quatuor regna surgent in terra, quae auferentur, et accipient regnum sancti Altissimi: et obtinebunt illud usque in saeculum et in usque saeculum saeculorum. Et quaerebam, inquit, diligenter de bestia quarta, quae erat differens prae omni bestia, terribilis amplius: dentes ejus ferrei, et ungues ejus aerei, manducans et comminuens, et reliqua pedibus suis conculcans: et de cornibus ejus decem, quae erant in capite ejus, et de altero quod ascendit, et excussit de prioribus tria: cornu illud in quo erant oculi, et os loquens magna; et visus ejus major caeteris. Videbam, et cornu illud faciebat bellum cum sanctis: et praevalebat ad ipsos, donec venit vetustus dierum, et regnum dedit sanctis Altissimi: et tempus pervenit, et regnum obtinuerunt sancti. Haec Daniel quaesisse se dixit. Deinde quid audierit, continuo subjungens, Et dixit, inquit, id est, ille a quo quaesierat, respondit, et dixit, Bestia quarta, quartum regnum erit in terra, quod praevalebit omnibus regnis; et manducabit omnem terram, et conculcabit eam, et concidet. Et decem cornua ejus, decem reges surgent: et post eos surget alius, qui superabit malis omnes, qui ante eum fuerunt; et tres reges humiliabit, et verba adversus Altissimum loquetur: et sanctos Altissimi conteret. Et suspicabitur mutare tempora et legem: et dabitur in manu ejus usque ad tempus, et tempora, et dimidium temporis. Et judicium sedebit, et principatum removebunt ad exterminandum et perdendum usque in finem; et regnum, et potestas, et magnitudo regum, qui sub omni coelo sunt, data est sanctis Altissimi. Et regnum ejus regnum sempiternum: et omnes principatus ipsi servient, et obaudient. Huc usque, inquit, finis sermonis. Ego Daniel, multum cogitationes meae conturbabant me, et forma mea immutata est super me, et verbum in corde meo conservavi. (Dan. VII, 15-28). Quatuor illa regna exposuerunt quidam Assyriorum, Persarum, Macedonum, et Romanorum.

1. Daniel prophesies concerning this last judgment in such a way as to announce also that the Antichrist is to come first, and he leads his narration to the eternal kingdom of the saints. For when in a prophetic vision he had seen four beasts signifying four kingdoms, and the fourth itself overcome by a certain king, who is recognized as the Antichrist, and after these the eternal kingdom of the Son of Man, who is understood as Christ: "My spirit," he said, "I, Daniel, shuddered in my habit, and the visions of my head troubled me. And I approached," he said, "one of those standing by, and I sought the truth from him concerning all these things: and he told me the truth." Then, what he heard from him, from whom he sought concerning all these things, as if he were explaining them to him, he speaks thus: "These four great beasts are four kingdoms that shall rise upon the earth, which shall be taken away, and the saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom: and they shall obtain it even for ever and ever. And I sought," he said, "diligently concerning the fourth beast, which was different from every beast, exceeding terrible: its teeth were of iron, and its claws of bronze, eating and breaking in pieces, and trampling the rest with its feet: and concerning its ten horns, which were on its head, and concerning the other which came up, and plucked up three from the former ones: that horn in which there were eyes, and a mouth speaking great things; and its look was greater than the others. I beheld, and that horn made war with the saints: and it prevailed against them, until the Ancient of Days came, and gave the kingdom to the saints of the Most High: and the time came, and the saints obtained the kingdom." These things Daniel said he had sought. Then what he heard, immediately subjoining, "And he said," he says, that is, he from whom he had sought answered and said, "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon the earth, which shall prevail over all kingdoms; and it shall devour the whole earth, and shall trample it, and shall cut it to pieces. And its ten horns are ten kings that shall arise: and after them another shall arise, who shall surpass in evils all who were before him; and he shall humble three kings, and shall speak words against the Most High: and he shall crush the saints of the Most High. And he shall think to change times and the law: and it shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and half a time. And the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away the principality to exterminate and to destroy even until the end; and the kingdom, and the power, and the greatness of the kings who are under the whole heaven, is given to the saints of the Most High. And his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom: and all principalities shall serve him, and obey." "Hitherto," he says, "is the end of the discourse. I, Daniel, my thoughts troubled me much, and my appearance was changed upon me, and I kept the word in my heart." (Daniel 7:15-28). Certain ones have explained those four kingdoms as the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans.

Quam vero convenienter id fecerint, qui nosse desiderant, legant presbyteri Hieronymi librum in Danielem, satis diligenter eruditeque conscriptum. Antichristi tamen adversus Ecclesiam saevissimum regnum, licet exiguo spatio temporis sustinendum, donec Dei ultimo judicio regnum sancti accipiant sempiternum, qui vel dormitans haec legit, dubitare non sinitur. Tempus quippe et tempora et dimidium temporis, annum unum esse et duos et dimidium, ac per hoc tres annos et semissem, etiam numero dierum posterius posito dilucescit, aliquando in Scripturis et mensium numero declaratur. Videntur enim tempora indefinite hic dicta lingua latina: sed per dualem numerum dicta sunt, quem latini non habent. Sicut autem Graeci, ita hunc dicuntur habere et Hebraei. Sic ergo dicta sunt tempora, tanquam dicerentur duo tempora. Vereri me sane fateor, ne in decem regibus, quos tanquam decem homines videtur inventurus Antichristus, forte fallamur, atque ita ille inopinatus adveniat, non existentibus tot regibus in orbe Romano. Quid enim si numero isto denario universitas regum significata est, post quos ille venturus est: sicut millenario, centenario, septenario significatur plerumque universitas, et aliis atque aliis numeris, quos nunc commemorare non est necesse?

2. Alio loco idem Daniel, Et erit, inquit, tempus tribulationis, qualis non fuit ex quo nata est gens super terram usque ad tempus illud. Et in tempore illo salvabitur populus tuus omnis qui inventus fuerit scriptus in libro. Et multi dormientium in terrae aggere exsurgent: hi in vitam aeternam, et hi in opprobrium et in confusionem aeternam. Et intelligentes fulgebunt sicut claritas firmamenti, et ex justis multi sicut stellae in saecula (Dan. XII, 1-3). Et adhuc sententiae illi evangelicae est locus iste simillimus, de resurrectione duntaxat mortuorum corporum. Nam qui illic dicti sunt esse in monumentis, ipsi hic dormientes in terrae aggere; vel, sicut alii interpretati sunt, in terrae pulvere. Et sicut ibi, procedent, dictum est; ita hic, exsurgent. Sicut ibi, Qui bona fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae; qui autem mala egerunt, in resurrectionem judicii; ita et isto loco, Hi in vitam aeternam, et hi in opprobrium et in confusionem aeternam (Joan. V, 28, 29). Non autem diversum putetur, quod cum ibi positum sit, Omnes qui sunt in monumentis, hic non ait Propheta, Omnes; sed, Multi dormientium in terrae aggere. Ponit enim aliquando Scriptura pro omnibus multos. Propterea et Abrahae dictum est, Patrem multarum gentium posui te; cui tamen alio loco, In semine, inquit, tuo benedicentur omnes gentes (Gen. XVII, 5; XXII, 18). De tali autem resurrectione huic quoque ipsi prophetae Danieli paulo post dicitur: Et tu veni, et requiesce: adhuc enim dies in completionem consummationis; et requiesces, et resurges in sorte tua in fine dierum (Dan. XII, 43).

How appropriately they have done this, those who desire to know, let them read the book of the priest Jerome on Daniel, written with sufficient diligence and erudition. Yet concerning the most cruel kingdom of the Antichrist against the Church, though to be sustained for a short space of time, until the saints receive the everlasting kingdom by the last judgment of God, he who even dozing reads these things is not permitted to doubt. For "a time and times and half a time" is one year and two and a half, and by this three years and a half, which is also made clear by the number of days placed later, and is sometimes declared in the Scriptures by the number of months. For "times" seem to be said indefinitely here in the Latin tongue: but they are said by the dual number, which the Latins do not have. But just as the Greeks, so the Hebrews are said to have this. Thus therefore "times" were said, as if "two times" were said. I confess indeed that I fear lest in the ten kings, whom the Antichrist seems to be about to find as ten men, we may perhaps be deceived, and thus he may come unobserved, there not being so many kings in the Roman world. For what if by that denary number the universality of kings is signified, after whom he is to come: just as by the millenary, centenary, and septenary number the universality is mostly signified, and by various other numbers, which it is not necessary to mention now?

2. In another place the same Daniel says: "And there shall be a time of tribulation, such as has not been from the time that a nation was born upon the earth even until that time. And in that time thy people shall be saved, every one who shall be found written in the book. And many of those that sleep in the mound of the earth shall rise: these unto eternal life, and those unto eternal reproach and confusion. And the intelligent shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and from the just many as stars for ever" (Daniel 12:1-3). And this place is still very similar to that evangelical sentence concerning the resurrection, at least, of the bodies of the dead. For those who were said there to be "in the monuments," are here "sleeping in the mound of the earth"; or, as others have interpreted, "in the dust of the earth." And as there it was said, "they shall come forth"; so here, "they shall rise." As there, "Those who have done good, unto the resurrection of life; but those who have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment"; so also in this place, "These unto eternal life, and those unto eternal reproach and confusion" (John 5:28, 29). But let it not be thought different that whereas it was placed there, "All who are in the monuments," here the Prophet does not say "All"; but, "Many of those that sleep in the mound of the earth." For sometimes Scripture puts "many" for "all." On that account it was also said to Abraham, "I have placed thee as the father of many nations"; to whom, however, in another place it says: "In thy seed all nations shall be blessed" (Genesis 17:5; 22:18). Concerning such a resurrection it is also said a little after to this same prophet Daniel: "And thou come, and rest: for as yet there are days until the completion of the consummation; and thou shalt rest, and shalt rise in thy lot at the end of the days" (Daniel 12:43).

Caput XIV.

In Psalmis Davidicis quae de fine saeculi hujus et novissimo Dei judicio prophetentur.

1. Multa de judicio novissimo dicuntur in Psalmis, sed eorum plura transeunter et strictim. Hoc tamen quod de fine hujus saeculi apertissime dictum est ibi, nequaquam silentio praeteribo. Principio terram tu fundasti, Domine, et opera manuum tuarum sunt coeli. Ipsi peribunt, tu autem permanes: et omnes sicut vestimentum veterascent, et sicut opertorium mutabis eos, et mutabuntur; tu autem idem ipse es, et anni tui non deficient (Psal. CI, 26-28). Quid est quod Porphyrius, cum pietatem laudet Hebraeorum, qua magnus et verus et ipsis numinibus terribilis ab eis colitur Deus, Christianos ob hoc arguit maximae stultitiae, etiam ex oraculis deorum suorum, quod istum mundum dicunt esse periturum ? Ecce in litteris pietatis Hebraeorum dicitur Deo, quem confitente tanto philosopho, etiam ipsa numina perhorrescunt, Opera manuum tuarum sunt coeli, ipsi peribunt. Numquid, quando coeli peribunt, mundus, cujus iidem coeli superior pars est tutior, non peribit? Si haec sententia Jovi displicet, cujus, ut scribit iste philosophus, velut gravioris auctoritatis oraculo in christianorum credulitate culpatur; cur non similiter sapientiam, tanquam stultitiam, culpat Hebraeorum, in quorum libris piissimis invenitur? Porro si in illa sapientia, quae Porphyrio tam multum placet, ut eam deorum quoque suorum vocibus praedicet, legitur coelos esse perituros; cur usque adeo vana est ista fallacia, ut in fide Christianorum, vel inter caetera, vel prae caeteris hoc detestentur, quod in ea periturus creditur mundus, quo utique nisi perunte coeli non possunt perire? Et in Litteris quidem sacris, quae proprie nostrae sunt, non Hebraeis nobisque communes, id est, in evangelicis et apostolicis libris legitur, Praeterit figura hujus mundi (I Cor. VII, 31): legitur, Mundus transit (I Joan. II, 17): legitur, Caelum et terra transibunt, (Matth. XXII, 35). Sed puto quod praeterit, transit, transibunt, aliquando mitius dicta sunt, quam peribunt. In Epistola quoque Petri apostoli, ubi aqua inundatus, qui tunc erat, perisse dictus est mundus (II Petr. III, 6), satis clarum est, et quae pars mundi a toto significata, et quatenus perisse dicta sit, et qui coeli repositi igni reservandi in diem judicii et perditionis hominum impiorum.

Chapter XIV.

What things may be prophesied in the Davidic Psalms concerning the end of this age and the last judgment of God.

1. Many things are said concerning the last judgment in the Psalms, but more of them in passing and briefly. Yet this which has been said most clearly there concerning the end of this age, I shall by no means pass over in silence. "In the beginning thou, O Lord, didst found the earth, and the heavens are the works of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest: and all shall grow old like a garment, and as a covering thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same thyself, and thy years shall not fail" (Psalm 101:26-28). Why is it that Porphyry, while he praises the piety of the Hebrews, by which the great and true God, terrible even to the divinities themselves, is worshipped by them, accuses the Christians of the greatest folly for this reason, even from the oracles of his own gods, because they say that this world is to perish? Behold, in the writings of the piety of the Hebrews it is said to God, whom, as so great a philosopher confesses, even the divinities themselves dread: "The heavens are the works of thy hands, they shall perish." Shall not the world, of which the same heavens are the higher and more secure part, perish when the heavens shall perish? If this sentence is displeasing to Jove, by whose oracle, as that philosopher writes, it is blamed in the credulity of the Christians as if of a heavier authority; why does he not similarly blame as folly the wisdom of the Hebrews, in whose most pious books it is found? Furthermore, if in that wisdom which pleases Porphyry so much that he proclaims it even with the voices of his own gods, it is read that the heavens are to perish; why is that fallacy so vain as to detest this in the faith of the Christians, either among other things or above others, because in it the world is believed to be about to perish, which surely cannot perish unless the heavens perish? And indeed in the Sacred Letters, which are properly ours, not common to the Hebrews and to us, that is, in the evangelical and apostolic books, it is read: "The figure of this world passes away" (1 Corinthians 7:31); it is read: "The world passes" (1 John 2:17); it is read: "Heaven and earth shall pass away" (Matthew 24:35). But I think that "passes away," "passes," "shall pass away," were sometimes said more mildly than "shall perish." In the Epistle of Peter the Apostle also, where the world that then was, being inundated with water, was said to have perished (2 Peter 3:6), it is clear enough both what part of the world was signified by the whole, and how far it was said to have perished, and which heavens were laid up, to be reserved for fire unto the day of judgment and perdition of impious men.

Et in eo quod paulo post ait, Veniet dies Domini ut fur, in quo coeli magno impetu transcurrent, elementa autem ardentia resolventur, et terra, et quae in ipsa sunt opera exurentur; ac deinde subjecit, His omnibus pereuntibus quales oportet vos esse (Ibid. 10, 11)? possunt illi coeli intelligi perituri, quos dixit repositos igni reservandos; et ea elementa accipi arsura, quae in hac ima mundi parte subsistunt procellosa et turbulenta, in qua eosdem coelos dixit esse repositos, salvis illis superioribus, et in sua integritate manentibus, in quorum firmamento sunt sidera constituta. Nam et illud quod scriptum est, stellas de coelo esse casuras (Matth. XXIV, 29), praeter quod potest multo probabilius et aliter intelligi, magis ostendit mansuros esse illos coelos: si tamen stellae inde casurae sunt; cum vel tropica sit locutio, quod est credibilis, vel in isto imo coelo futurum sit , utique mirabilius quam nunc fit. Unde et illa Virgiliana Stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit, et Idaea se condidit silva (Aeneid. lib. II, v. 694, 696.) Hoc autem quod de Psalmo commemoravi, nullum coelorum videtur relinquere, quod periturum esse non dixerit. Ubi enim dicitur, Opera manuum tuarum sunt coeli, ipsi peribunt; quam nullum eorum ab opere Dei, tam nullum eorum a perditione secernitur. Non enim dignabuntur de Petri apostoli locutione, quem vehementer oderunt, Hebraeorum defendere pietatem, deorum suorum oraculis approbatam; ut saltem ne totus mundus periturus esse credatur, sic a toto pars accipiatur, in eo quod dictum est, Ipsi peribunt, cum soli coeli infimi sint perituri; quemadmodum in apostolica illa Epistola a toto pars accipitur, quod diluvio perisse dictus est mundus, quamvis sola ejus cum suis coelis pars ima perierit. Sed quia hoc, ut dixi, non dignabuntur, ne vel apostoli Petri approbent sensum vel tantum concedant conflagrationi novissimae, quantum dicimus valuisse diluvium, qui nullis aquis, nullis flammis totum genus humanum posse perire contendunt: restat ut dicant, quod propterea dii eorum Hebraeam sapientiam laudaverunt, quia istum Psalmum non legerant.

2. In Psalmo etiam quadragesimo nono de judicio Dei novissimo intelligitur dictum, Deus manifestus veniet, Deus noster, et non silebit. Ignis in conspectu ejus ardebit, et in circumitu ejus tempestas valida. Advocabit coelum sursum, et terram discernere populum suum. Congregate illi justos ejus, qui disponunt testamentum ejus super sacrificia (Psal. XLIX, 3-5). Hoc nos de Domino nostro Jesu Christo intelligimus, quem de coelo speramus esse venturum ad vivos et mortuos judicandos.

And in that which he says a little after: "The day of the Lord shall come as a thief, in which the heavens shall pass away with great impetuosity, but the elements being on fire shall be dissolved, and the earth and the works that are in it shall be burned up"; and then he added: "All these things perishing, what sort of persons ought you to be" (ibid. 10, 11)? those heavens can be understood as about to perish which he said were laid up and reserved for fire; and those elements can be taken as about to burn which subsist in this lowest part of the world, stormy and turbulent, in which he said those same heavens are laid up, while those higher ones remain safe and in their integrity, in whose firmament the stars were established. For also that which is written, that the stars are to fall from heaven (Matthew 24:29), besides that it can be understood much more probably in another way, shows rather that those heavens are to remain: if indeed the stars are to fall from there; whereas either the speech is tropical, which is more credible, or it is to happen in this lowest heaven, surely more wonderfully than it happens now. Whence also that Virgilian "Star drawing a torch ran with much light, and hid itself in the Idaean forest" (Aeneid, Book II, v. 694, 696). But this which I have mentioned from the Psalm seems to leave no heaven which it has not said is to perish. For where it is said: "The heavens are the works of thy hands, they shall perish"; as none of them is separated from the work of God, so none of them is separated from perdition. For they will not deign to defend the piety of the Hebrews, approved by the oracles of their own gods, from the speech of Peter the Apostle, whom they vehemently hated; so that at least, lest the whole world should be believed to be about to perish, the part might be taken for the whole in that which was said, "They shall perish," since only the lowest heavens are to perish; just as in that apostolic Epistle the part is taken for the whole, because the world was said to have perished by the flood, although only its lowest part with its heavens perished. But because they will not deign this, as I have said, lest they should either approve the sense of the Apostle Peter or grant as much to the last conflagration as we say the flood was able to do—they who contend that the whole human race can perish by no waters, by no flames—it remains that they should say that their gods praised the Hebrew wisdom for this reason, because they had not read this Psalm.

2. In the forty-ninth Psalm also it is understood to be said concerning the last judgment of God: "God shall come manifestly, our God, and shall not keep silence. A fire shall burn in his sight, and round about him a mighty tempest. He shall call the heaven above, and the earth to discern his people. Gather ye together his saints to him, who set his covenant above sacrifices" (Psalm 49:3-5). This we understand concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we hope is to come from heaven to judge the living and the dead.

Manifestus enim veniet inter justos et injustos judicaturus juste, qui prius venit occultus ab injustis judicandus injuste. Ipse, inquam, manifestus veniet, et non silebit, id est, in voce judicis evidens apparebit, qui prius cum venisset occultus, ante judicem siluit, quando sicut ovis ad immolandum ductus est, et sicut agnus coram tondente fuit sine voce, quemadmodum de illo per Isaiam legimus prophetatum (Isai. LIII, 7), et in Evangelio videmus impletum (Matth. XXVI, 63). De igne vero et tempestate, cum in Isaiae prophetia tale aliquid tractaremus, quomodo essent haec intelligenda, jam diximus (cap. 21). Quod vero dictum est, Advocabit coelum sursum: quoniam sancti et justi recte coelum appellantur; nimirum hoc est, quod ait Apostolus, Simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus in obviam Christo in aera (I Thess. IV, 16). Nam secundum litterae superficiem, quomodo sursum advocatur coelum, quasi possit esse nisi sursum? Quod autem adjunctum est, Et terram discernere populum suum, si tantummodo subaudiatur advocabit, id est, advocabit et terram, nec subaudiatur sursum, hunc videtur habere sensum secundum rectam fidem, ut coelum intelligatur in eis qui cum illo sunt judicaturi, et terra in eis qui judicandi sunt: ut Advocabit coelum sursum, non hic intelligamus, Rapiet in aera; sed, In judiciarias sedes eriget. Potest et illud intelligi: Advocabit coelum sursum, Advocabit Angelos in supernis et excelsis locis, cum quibus descendat ad faciendum judicium: Advocabit et terram, id est, homines in terra utique judicandos. Si autem utrumque subaudiendum est, cum dicitur, et terram, id est et advocabit, et sursum; ut iste sit sensus, Advocabit coelum sursum, et terram advocabit sursum: nihil melius intelligi existimo, quam homines qui rapientur in obviam Christo in aera, sed coelum dictum propter animas, terram propter corpora. Discernere porro populum suum, quid est, nisi per judicium separare bonos a malis, tanquam oves ab haedis? Deinde conversio sermonis ad Angelos facta est: Congregate illi justos ejus. Profecto enim per angelicum ministerium tanta res peragenda est. Si autem quaerimus, quos justos ei congregaturi sunt Angeli: Qui disponunt, inquit, testamentum ejus super sacrificia. Haec est omnis vita justorum, disponere testamentum Dei super sacrificia.

For he shall come manifestly to judge justly between the just and the unjust, who before came hidden to be judged unjustly by the unjust. He himself, I say, "shall come manifestly, and shall not keep silence," that is, he shall appear evident in the voice of the judge, who before when he had come hidden, kept silence before the judge, when as a sheep he was led to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer was without voice, as we read prophesied of him through Isaiah (Isaiah 53:7), and see fulfilled in the Gospel (Matthew 26:63). But concerning the fire and the tempest, we have already said (chapter 21) how these were to be understood, when we were treating something such in the prophecy of Isaiah. But as to what was said, "He shall call the heaven above": since the saints and the just are rightly called heaven; surely this is what the Apostle says: "Together with them we shall be caught up in the clouds to meet Christ into the air" (1 Thessalonians 4:16). For according to the surface of the letter, how is the heaven called above, as if it could be except above? But as to what was added, "And the earth to discern his people," if only "he shall call" is subunderstood, that is, he shall call also the earth, and "above" is not subunderstood, it seems to have this sense according to the right faith, that heaven is understood in those who are to judge with him, and earth in those who are to be judged: so that we should not understand here "He shall call the heaven above" as "He shall catch up into the air"; but, "He shall raise up into the judicial seats." It can also be understood: "He shall call the heaven above," He shall call the Angels in the supernal and lofty places, with whom he may descend to perform judgment: "He shall call also the earth," that is, men on the earth surely to be judged. But if both are to be subunderstood, when it is said, "and the earth," that is both "he shall call" and "above"; so that this may be the sense, "He shall call the heaven above, and he shall call the earth above": I think nothing better is understood than men who shall be caught up to meet Christ into the air, but heaven said on account of the souls, earth on account of the bodies. Furthermore, what is "To discern his people" but to separate the good from the evil through judgment, as sheep from goats? Then the turning of the speech was made to the Angels: "Gather ye together his just ones to him." For surely so great a matter is to be performed through the angelic ministry. But if we ask which just ones the Angels are to gather to him: "Who set," he says, "his covenant above sacrifices." This is the whole life of the just, to set the covenant of God above sacrifices.

Aut enim opera misericordiae sunt super sacrificia, id est sacrificiis praeponenda, juxta sententiam Dei dicentis, Misericordiam volo quam sacrificium (Oseae VI, 6): aut si super sacrificia, in sacrificiis intelligitur dictum, quomodo super terram fieri dicitur quod fit utique in terra: profecto ipsa opera misericordiae sunt sacrificia quibus placetur Deo sicut in libro hujus operis decimo me disseruisse reminiscor (cap. 6, et alibi): in quibus operibus disponunt justi testamentum Dei, quia propter promissiones quae Novo ejus Testamento continentur, haec faciunt. Unde congregatis sibi justis suis, et ad suam dexteram constitutis, novissimo utique judicio, dicturus est Christus, Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi. Esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare (Matth. XXV, 34); et caetera quae ibi proferuntur de bonorum operibus bonis, et de eorum praemiis sempiternis per ultimam sententiam judicantis .

Caput XXV.

De prophetia Malachiae qua Dei judicium ultimum declaratur, et quorumdam dicitur per purificatorias poenas facienda mundatio.

Propheta Malachias, sive Malachi, qui et Angelus dictus est, qui etiam Esdras sacerdos, cujus alia in canonem scripta recepta sunt, ab aliquibus creditur (nam de illo hanc esse Hebraeorum opinionem dicit Hieronymus [Proaem. in Malach.]), judicium novissimum prophetat, dicens: Ecce venit, dicit Dominus omnipotens: et quis sustinebit diem introitus ejus, aut quis ferre poterit ut aspiciat eum? Quia ipse ingreditur quasi ignis conflatorii, et quasi herba lavantium: et sedebit conflans, et emundans, sicut aurum et sicut argentum, et emundabit filios Levi, et fundet eos sicut aurum et argentum: et erunt, Domino offerentes hostias in justitia. Et placebit Domino sacrificium Juda et Jerusalem, sicut diebus pristinis, et sicut annis prioribus. Et accedam ad vos in judicio, et ero testis velox super maleficos, et super adulteros, et super eos qui jurant in nomine meo mendaciter, et qui fraudant mercedem mercenario , et opprimunt per potentiam viduas, et percutiunt pupillos, et pervertunt judicium advenae et qui non timent me, dicit Dominus omnipotens. Quoniam ego Dominus Deus vester, et non mutor (Malach. III, 1-6). Ex his quae dicta sunt, videtur evidentius apparere in illo judicio quasdam quorumdam purgatorias poenas futuras.

For either works of mercy are "above sacrifices," that is, to be preferred to sacrifices, according to the sentence of God saying: "I will mercy rather than sacrifice" (Hosea 6:6): or if "above sacrifices" is understood as said in sacrifices, as that which is done in the earth is said to be done upon the earth: surely the works of mercy themselves are sacrifices by which God is pleased, as I remember having discoursed in the tenth book of this work (chapter 6, and elsewhere): in which works the just set the covenant of God, because they do these things on account of the promises which are contained in his New Testament. Whence, his just ones being gathered to him, and established at his right hand, surely in the last judgment, Christ is about to say: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the constitution of the world. For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat" (Matthew 25:34); and the rest which are brought forward there concerning the good works of the good, and concerning their everlasting rewards through the last sentence of the one judging.

Chapter XXV.

Concerning the prophecy of Malachi by which the last judgment of God is declared, and the cleansing of certain ones is said to be accomplished through purificatory punishments.

The prophet Malachi, or Malachi, who is also called an Angel, who is also believed by some to be Ezra the priest, whose other writings are received into the canon (for Jerome says this is the opinion of the Hebrews concerning him [Preface to Malachi]), prophesies the last judgment, saying: "Behold he comes, saith the Lord almighty: and who shall sustain the day of his coming, or who shall be able to bear to look upon him? Because he himself enters like a refiner's fire, and like the herb of the washers: and he shall sit refining and cleansing, as gold and as silver, and he shall cleanse the sons of Levi, and shall melt them as gold and silver: and they shall be offering victims to the Lord in justice. And the sacrifice of Judah and Jerusalem shall please the Lord, as in the former days, and as in the prior years. And I will approach to you in judgment, and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against those who swear falsely in my name, and who defraud the hireling of his wages, and oppress widows by power, and strike orphans, and pervert the judgment of the stranger, and who do not fear me, saith the Lord almighty. Because I am the Lord your God, and I am not changed" (Malachi 3:1-6). From these things which have been said, it seems to appear more evidently that in that judgment there will be certain purgatory punishments of certain ones.

Ubi enim dicitur, Quis sustinebit diem introitus ejus, aut quis ferre poterit ut aspiciat eum? Quia ipse ingreditur quasi ignis conflatorii, et quasi herba lavantium: et sedebit conflans, et emundans, sicut aurum et sicut argentum, et emundabit filios Levi, et fundet eos sicut aurum et argentum; quid aliud intelligendum est? Dicit tale aliquid et Isaias: Lavabit Dominus sordes filiorum et filiarum Sion, et sanguinem emundabit de medio eorum spiritu judicii et spiritu conbustionis (Isai. IV, 4). Nisi forte sic eos dicendum est emundari a sordibus, et eliquari quodammodo, cum ab eis mali per poenale judicium separantur, ut illorum segregatio atque damnatio purgatio sit istorum, quia sine talium de caetero permixtione victuri sunt. Sed cum dicit, Et emundabit filios Levi, et fundet eos sicut aurum et argentum, et erunt Domino offerentes hostias in justitia, et placebit Domino sacrificium Juda et Jerusalem, utique ostendit eos ipsos, qui emundabuntur, deinceps in sacrificiis justitiae Domino esse placituros, ac per hoc ipsi a sua injustitia mundabuntur, in qua Domino displicebant. Hostiae porro in plena perfectaque justitia, cum mundati fuerint, ipsi erunt. Quid enim acceptius Deo tales offerunt, quam se ipsos? Verum ista quaestio de purgatoriis poenis, ut diligentius pertractetur, in tempus aliud differenda est. Filios autem Levi et Juda et Jerusalem, ipsam Dei Ecclesiam debemus accipere, non ex Hebraeis tantum, sed ex aliis etiam gentibus congregatam: nec talem, qualis nunc est, ubi si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est (I Joan., I, 8): sed qualis tunc erit, velut area per ventilationem, ita per judicium purgata novissimum; eis quoque igne mundatis, quibus talis mundatio necessaria est; ita ut nullus omnino sit qui offerat sacrificium pro peccatis suis. Omnes enim qui sic offerunt, profecto in peccatis sunt, pro quibus dimittendis offerunt, ut cum obtulerint, acceptumque Deo fuerit, tunc dimittantur.

Caput XXVI.

De sacrificiis quae sancti offerent Deo sic placitura, quomodo in diebus pristinis et annis prioribus placuerunt.

1. Volens autem Deus ostendere civitatem suam tunc in ista consuetudine non futuram, dixit filios Levi oblaturos hostias in justitia: non ergo in peccato, ac per hoc non pro peccato. Unde intelligi potest in eo quod secutus adjunxit, atque ait, Et placebit Domino sacrificium Juda et Jerusalem, sicut diebus pristinis, et sicut annis prioribus, frustra sibi Judaeos secundum legem veteris Testamenti sacrificiorum suorum praeterita tempora polliceri.

For where it is said: "Who shall sustain the day of his coming, or who shall be able to bear to look upon him? Because he himself enters like a refiner's fire, and like the herb of the washers: and he shall sit refining and cleansing, as gold and as silver, and he shall cleanse the sons of Levi, and shall melt them as gold and silver"; what else is to be understood? Isaiah also says something such: "The Lord shall wash away the filth of the sons and daughters of Zion, and shall cleanse the blood from the midst of them by the spirit of judgment and the spirit of burning" (Isaiah 4:4). Unless perhaps they are to be said to be cleansed from filth, and to be as it were refined, when the evil are separated from them by the penal judgment, so that the segregation and damnation of those may be the purgation of these, because they are to live without the admixture of such for the rest. But when he says: "And he shall cleanse the sons of Levi, and shall melt them as gold and silver, and they shall be offering victims to the Lord in justice, and the sacrifice of Judah and Jerusalem shall please the Lord," he surely shows that those same ones who shall be cleansed will thereafter please the Lord in sacrifices of justice, and by this they themselves shall be cleansed from their injustice, in which they were displeasing to the Lord. Furthermore, they themselves will be victims in full and perfect justice, when they shall have been cleansed. For what more acceptable thing do such offer to God than themselves? But that question concerning purgatory punishments, that it may be more diligently treated, must be deferred to another time. But the sons of Levi and of Judah and of Jerusalem, we ought to understand as the Church of God itself, gathered not only from the Hebrews, but also from other nations: and not such as it is now, where "if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (1 John 1:8): but such as it will be then, as a floor by winnowing, so cleansed by the last judgment; those also being cleansed by fire, for whom such a cleansing is necessary; so that there may be no one at all who offers sacrifice for his sins. For all who thus offer are surely in sins, for the dismissal of which they offer, that when they have offered, and it has been accepted by God, they may then be dismissed.

Chapter XXVI.

Concerning the sacrifices which the saints shall offer to God as being thus about to please Him, in the same way as they pleased Him in the former days and in the prior years.

1. But God willing to show that His city would not then be in that custom, said that the sons of Levi would offer victims in justice: therefore not in sin, and by this not for sin. Whence it can be understood in what he followed and added, and said: "And the sacrifice of Judah and Jerusalem shall please the Lord, as in the former days and as in the prior years," that the Jews in vain promise themselves the past times of their sacrifices according to the law of the Old Testament.

Non enim tunc in justitia, sed in peccatis hostias offerebant, quando pro peccatis praecipue ac primitus offerebant, usque adeo ut sacerdos ipse, quem debemus utique credere caeteris fuisse justiorem, secundum Dei mandatum soleret primum pro suis offerre peccatis, deinde pro populi (Levit. XVI, 6; Hebr. VII, 27). Quapropter exponere nos oportet quomodo sit accipiendum quod dictum est, Sicut diebus pristinis, et sicut annis prioribus. Fortassis enim tempus illud commemorat, quo primi homines in paradiso fuerunt. Tunc enim puri atque integri ab omni sorde ac labe peccati se ipsos Deo mundissimas hostias offerebant. Caeterum ex quo commissae praevaricationis causa inde dimissi sunt, atque humana in eis natura damnata est, excepto uno Mediatore, et post lavacrum regenerationis quibusque adhuc parvulis, Nemo mundus a sorde, sicut scriptum est, nec infans, cujus est vita unius diei super terram (Job XIV, 4, sec. LXX). Quod si respondetur, etiam eos merito dici posse offerre hostias in justitia, qui offerunt in fide; Justus enim ex fide vivit (Rom. I, 17); quamvis se ipsum seducat, si dixerit se peccatum non habere (I Joan. I, 8); et ideo non dicat, quia ex fide vivit: numquid dicturus est quispiam hoc fidei tempus illi fini esse coaequandum, quando igne judicii novissimi mundabuntur, qui offerant hostias in justitia? Ac per hoc quoniam post talem mundationem nullum peccatum justos habituros esse credendum est, profecto illud tempus, quantum attinet ad non habere peccatum, nulli tempori comparandum est, nisi quando primi homines in paradiso ante praevaricationem innocentissima felicitate vixerunt. Recte itaque intelligitur hoc significatum esse, cum dictum est, Sicut diebus pristinis, et sicut annis prioribus. Nam et per Isaiam posteaquam coelum novum et terra nova promissa est, inter caetera, quae ibi de sanctorum beatitudine per allegorias et aenigmata exsequitur, quibus expositionem congruam reddere nos prohibuit vitandae longitudinis cura, Secundum dies, inquit, ligni vitae erunt dies populi mei (Isai. LXV, 22). Quis autem sacras Litteras attigit, et ignorat ubi Deus plantaverit lignum vitae, a cujus cibo separatis illis hominibus, quando eos sua de paradiso ejecit iniquitas, eidem ligno circumposita est ignea terribilisque custodia?

2. Quod si quisquam illos dies ligni vitae, quos commemoravit propheta Isaias, istos qui nunc aguntur Ecclesiae Christi dies esse contendit, ipsumque Christum lignum vitae prophetice dictum, quia ipse est Sapientia Dei, de qua Salomon ait, Lignum vitae est omnibus amplectentibus eam (Prov. III, 18); nec annos egisse aliquos in paradiso illos primos homines, unde tam cito ejecti sunt, ut nullum ibi gignerent filium; et ideo non posse illud tempus intelligi in eo quod dictum est, Sicut diebus pristinis, et sicut annis prioribus:

For they were not then offering victims in justice, but in sins, when they were offering especially and primarily for sins, to such an extent that the priest himself, whom we ought surely to believe was more just than the rest, according to God's command used first to offer for his own sins, then for those of the people (Leviticus 16:6; Hebrews 7:27). Wherefore it behooves us to explain how what was said, "As in the former days and as in the prior years," is to be taken. For perhaps he commemorates that time in which the first men were in paradise. For then, pure and integrity from all filth and blemish of sin, they were offering themselves as most clean victims to God. For the rest, from the time they were dismissed thence because of the transgression committed, and human nature was condemned in them, except for the one Mediator, and after the laver of regeneration for whichever infants, "No one is clean from filth," as it is written, "not even an infant, whose life is of one day upon the earth" (Job 14:4, according to LXX). But if it is answered that even they can rightly be said to offer victims in justice who offer in faith; for "the just lives by faith" (Romans 1:17); although he deceives himself if he says he has no sin (1 John 1:8); and therefore he does not say so because he lives by faith: shall anyone say that this time of faith is to be equaled to that end, when those who offer victims in justice shall be cleansed by the fire of the last judgment? And by this, since it is to be believed that after such a cleansing the just will have no sin, surely that time, as far as it pertains to not having sin, is to be compared to no time except when the first men in paradise before the transgression lived in most innocent happiness. Correctively, therefore, it is understood that this was signified when it was said: "As in the former days and as in the prior years." For also through Isaiah, after the new heaven and new earth were promised, among the rest which he follows there concerning the beatitude of the saints through allegories and enigmas—to which care for avoiding length prohibited us from rendering a suitable exposition—he says: "According to the days of the tree of life shall be the days of my people" (Isaiah 65:22). But who has touched the sacred Letters and is ignorant where God planted the tree of life, from whose food those men being separated when their iniquity cast them out of paradise, a fiery and terrible guard was placed around the same tree?

2. But if anyone contends that those days of the tree of life, which the prophet Isaiah mentioned, are these days of the Church of Christ which are now being spent, and that Christ himself was prophetically called the tree of life, because he himself is the Wisdom of God, concerning which Solomon says: "She is a tree of life to all who embrace her" (Proverbs 3:18); and that those first men did not spend any years in paradise, whence they were so quickly ejected that they begot no son there; and that therefore that time cannot be understood in what was said, "As in the former days and as in the prior years":

istam praetereo quaestionem, ne cogar (quod prolixum est) cuncta discutere, ut aliquid horum veritas manifestata confirmet. Video quippe alterum sensum, ne dies pristinos et annos priores carnalium sacrificiorum nobis pro magno munere per Prophetam promissos fuisse credamus. Hostiae namque illae veteris Legis in quibusque pecoribus immaculatae ac sine ullo prorsus vitio jubebantur offerri, et significabant homines sanctos, qualis solus inventus est Christus, sine ullo omnino peccato. Proinde quia post judicium, cum fuerint etiam igne mundati qui ejusmodi mundatione sunt digni, in omnibus sanctis nullum invenietur omnino peccatum, atque ita se ipsos offerent in justitia, ut tales hostiae omni modo immaculatae ac sine ullo vitio sint futurae, erunt profecto sicut pristinis diebus et sicut annis prioribus, quando in umbra hujus rei futurae mundissimae offerebantur hostiae. Haec erit namque munditia tunc in immortali carne ac mente sanctorum, quae figurabatur in illarum corporibus hostiarum.

3. Deinde propter eos qui non mundatione, sed damnatione sunt digni, Et accedam, inquit, ad vos in judicium, et ero testis velox super maleficos et super adulteros, et caetera, quibus damnabilibus enumeratis criminibus addidit, Quoniam ego Dominus Deus vester, et non mutor: tanquam diceret, Cum vos mutaverit et in deterius culpa vestra, et in melius gratia mea, ego non mutor. Testem vero se dicit futurum, quia in judicio suo non indiget testibus: eumque velocem, sive quia repente venturus est, eritque judicium ipso inopinato ejus adventu celerrimum, quod tardissimum videbatur; sive quia ipsas convincet sine ulla sermonis prolixitate conscientias. In cogitationibus enim, sicut scriptum est, impii interrogatio erit (Sap. I, 9). Et Apostolus, Cogitationibus, inquit, accusantibus, vel etiam excusantibus in die qua judicabit Deus occulta hominum, secundum Evangelium meum per Jesum Christum (Rom. II, 15, 16). Etiam sic ergo Dominus futurus testis intelligendus est velox, cum sine mora revocaturus est in memoriam, unde convincat puniatque conscientiam.

Caput XXVII.

De separatione bonorum et malorum, per quam novissimi judicii discretio declaratur.

Illud etiam, quod aliud agens in octavo decimo libro ex isto propheta posui (capite 35, fine), ad judicium novissimum pertinet, ubi ait: Erunt mihi, dicit Dominus omnipotens, in die qua ego facio in acquisitionem, et eligam eos sicut eligit homo filium suum qui servit ei: et convertemini , et videbitis quid sit inter justum et iniquum, et inter servientem Deo et eum qui non servit ei.

I pass over that question, lest I be compelled (which is prolix) to discuss all things, that the manifested truth may confirm something of these. For I see another sense, lest we should believe that the former days and prior years of carnal sacrifices were promised to us by the Prophet as a great gift. For those victims of the old Law in whichever cattle were commanded to be offered immaculate and without any blemish at all, and they signified holy men, such as Christ alone was found, without any sin at all. Therefore because after the judgment, when those who are worthy of such a cleansing shall have been cleansed even by fire, in all the saints no sin at all shall be found, and thus they shall offer themselves in justice, that such victims shall be in every way immaculate and without any blemish, they shall surely be as in the former days and as in the prior years, when in the shadow of this future thing most clean victims were offered. For this shall be the cleanness then in the immortal flesh and mind of the saints, which was figured in the bodies of those victims.

3. Then on account of those who are worthy not of cleansing but of damnation, "And I will approach," he says, "to you in judgment, and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers and against the adulterers," and the rest, to which damnable crimes enumerated he added: "Because I am the Lord your God, and I am not changed": as if he were saying, When your fault has changed you for the worse, and my grace has changed you for the better, I am not changed. But he says he will be a witness, because in his judgment he does not need witnesses: and him a swift one, either because he is to come suddenly, and the judgment will be most swift by his very unexpected coming, which seemed most slow; or because he will convince the consciences themselves without any prolixity of speech. "For in the thoughts," as it is written, "of the impious there shall be interrogation" (Wisdom 1:9). And the Apostle says: "Their thoughts accusing, or even excusing, in the day when God shall judge the hidden things of men, according to my Gospel through Jesus Christ" (Romans 2:15, 16). In this way also, therefore, the Lord is to be understood as a swift witness, when without delay he shall recall to memory whence he may convince and punish the conscience.

Chapter XXVII.

Concerning the separation of the good and the evil, by which the discretion of the last judgment is declared.

That also, which acting otherwise I placed in the eighteenth book from this prophet (chapter 35, end), pertains to the last judgment, where he says: "They shall be to me, saith the Lord almighty, in the day in which I make a purchase, and I will choose them as a man chooses his son who serves him: and you shall be converted, and you shall see what is between the just and the iniquitous, and between him that serves God and him that serves Him not.

Quia ecce dies venit ardens sicut clibanus, et comburet eos, et erunt omnes alienigenae, et universi qui faciunt iniquitatem, stipula: et succendet eos dies veniens, dicit Dominus omnipotens: et non relinquetur in eis radix, neque ramus. Et orietur vobis, qui timetis nomen meum, sol justitiae, et sanitas in pennis ejus; et egrediemini, et salietis sicut vituli de vinculis relaxati: et conculcabitis iniquos, et erunt cinis sub pedibus vestris, dicit Dominus omnipotens (Malach. III, 17, 18; IV, 1-3). Haec distantia praemiorum atque poenarum justos dirimens ab injustis, quae sub isto sole in hujus vitae vanitate non cernitur, quando sub illo sole justitiae in illius vitae manifestatione clarebit, tunc profecto erit judicium quale nunquam fuit.

Caput XXVIII.

De lege Moysi spiritualiter intelligenda, ne in damnabilia murmura carnalis sensus incurrat.

Quod vero subjungit idem propheta, Mementote legis Moysi servi mei, quam mandavi ei in Choreb ad omnem Israel (Malach. IV, 4); praecepta et judicia opportune commemorat, post declaratum tam magnum futurum inter observatores legis contemptoresque discrimen; simul etiam ut discant legem spiritualiter intelligere, et inveniant in ea Christum, per quem judicem facienda est inter bonos et malos ipsa discretio. Non enim frustra idem Lord ait Judaeis, Si crederetis Moysi, crederetis et mihi; de me enim ille scripsit (Joan. V, 46). Carnaliter quippe accipiendo legem, et ejus promissa terrena rerum coelestium figuras esse nescientes, in illa murmura corruerunt, ut dicere auderent, Vanus est qui servit Deo: et quid amplius, quia custodivimus mandata ejus, et quia ambulavimus supplices ante faciem Domini omnipotentis? Et nunc nos beatos dicimus alienos, et aedificantur omnes qui faciunt iniquitatem (Malach. III, 14 et 15). Quibus eorum verbis quodammodo propheta compulsus est novissimum praenuntiare judicium, ubi mali nec saltem falso sint beati, sed apertissime appareant miserrimi; et boni nulla temporali saltem miseria laborent, sed clara ac sempiterna beatitudine perfruantur. Dixerat quippe istorum talia quaedam verba etiam superius dicentium, Omnis qui facit malum, bonus est in conspectu Domini, et tales ei placent (Id. II, 17). Ad haec, inquam, contra Deum murmura pervenerunt, legem Moysi accipiendo carnaliter.

Because behold the day comes burning as a furnace, and it shall burn them, and all the aliens, and all who do iniquity, shall be stubble: and the day coming shall set them on fire, saith the Lord almighty: and there shall not be left in them root, nor branch. And the sun of justice shall rise to you who fear my name, and health in his wings; and you shall go forth, and shall leap as calves released from bonds: and you shall trample the iniquitous, and they shall be ashes under your feet, saith the Lord almighty" (Malachi 3:17, 18; 4:1-3). This distance of rewards and punishments separating the just from the unjust, which is not discerned under this sun in the vanity of this life, when it shall be clear under that sun of justice in the manifestation of that life, then surely there will be a judgment such as never was.

Chapter XXVIII.

Concerning the law of Moses to be understood spiritually, lest the carnal sense should run into damnable murmurs.

But what the same prophet subjoins: "Remember the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded him in Horeb to all Israel" (Malachi 4:4); he opportunely commemorates the precepts and judgments, after so great a future discrimination between the observers of the law and the contemners has been declared; at the same time also that they may learn to understand the law spiritually, and find in it Christ, through whom as judge that same discretion between the good and the evil is to be made. For not in vain the same Lord said to the Jews: "If you believed Moses, you would believe also me; for he wrote of me" (John 5:46). For by receiving the law carnally, and not knowing that its earthly promises were figures of heavenly things, they fell into those murmurs, so that they dared to say: "Vain is he who serves God: and what more, because we have kept his commands, and because we have walked as suppliants before the face of the Lord almighty? And now we call the aliens blessed, and all who do iniquity are built up" (Malachi 3:14 and 15). By which words of theirs the prophet was in a way compelled to preannounce the last judgment, where the evil should not even falsely be blessed, but should appear most miserable most openly; and the good should labor under no temporal misery at least, but should enjoy clear and everlasting beatitude. For he had said some such words of theirs even above, saying: "Everyone who does evil is good in the sight of the Lord, and such please him" (id. 2:17). To these murmurs against God, I say, they came by receiving the law of Moses carnally.

Unde et ille in Psalmo septuagesimo secundo, pene commotos dicit fuisse pedes suos, et effusos gressus suos, utique in lapsum, quia zelavit in peccatoribus, pacem peccatorum intuens; ita ut inter caetera diceret, Quomodo scivit Deus, et si est scientia in Altissimo? diceret etiam, Numquid vane justificavi cor meum, et lavi in innocentibus manus meas? Ut autem solveret hanc difficillimam quaestionem, quae fit, cum videntur boni esse miseri, et felices mali: Hoc, inquit, labor est ante me, donec introeam in sanctuarium Dei, et intelligam in novissima (Psal. LXXII, 11, 13, 16, 17). Judicio quippe novissimo non sic erit: sed in aperta iniquorum miseria, et aperta felicitate justorum, longe quam nunc est aliud apparebit.

Caput XXIX.

De adventu Eliae ante judicium, cujus praedicatione Scripturarum secreta reserante, Judaei convertentur ad Christum.

Cum autem admonuisset, ut meminissent legis Moysi: quoniam praevidebat eos multo adhuc tempore non eam spiritualiter, sicut oportuerat, accepturos, continuo subjecit: Et ecce ego mittam vobis Eliam Thesbiten, antequam veniat dies Domini magnus et illustris, qui convertet cor patris ad filium, et cor hominis ad proximum suum, ne forte veniens percutiam terram penitus (Malach. IV, 5, 6, sec. LXX). Per hunc Eliam magnum mirabilemque prophetam exposita sibi lege, ultimo tempore ante judicium, Judaeos in Christum verum, id est, in Christum nostrum esse credituros, celeberrimum est in sermonibus cordibusque fidelium. Ipse quippe ante adventum judicis Salvatoris non immerito speratur esse venturus: quia etiam nunc vivere non immerito creditur. Curru namque igneo raptus est de rebus humanis, quod evidentissime sancta Scriptura testatur (IV Reg. II, 11). Cum venerit ergo, exponendo legem spiritualiter, quam nunc Judaei carnaliter sapiunt, convertet cor patris ad filium, id est, cor patrum ad filios: singularem quippe pro numero plurali interpretes Septuaginta posuerunt. Et est sensus, ut etiam filii sic intelligant legem, id est Judaei, quemadmodum patres eam intellexerunt, id est Prophetae, in quibus erat et ipse Moyses. Sic enim cor patrum convertetur ad filios, cum intelligentia patrum perducetur ad intelligentiam filiorum; et cor filiorum ad patres eorum, dum in id quod senserunt illi, consentient et isti: ubi Septuaginta dixerunt, et cor hominis ad proximum suum. Sunt enim inter se valde proximi patres et filii.

Whence also he in the seventy-second Psalm says that his feet were almost moved, and his steps poured out, surely unto a slip, because he was zealous against sinners, beholding the peace of sinners; so that among the rest he said: "How did God know, and if there is knowledge in the Most High?" he said also: "Have I in vain justified my heart, and washed my hands among the innocent?" But that he might solve this most difficult question, which arises when the good seem to be miserable and the evil happy: "This," he says, "is a labor before me, until I enter into the sanctuary of God, and understand in the last things" (Psalm 72:11, 13, 16, 17). For in the last judgment it will not be so: but in the open misery of the iniquitous, and the open happiness of the just, another thing far different than it is now will appear.

Chapter XXIX.

Concerning the coming of Elijah before the judgment, by whose preaching, the secrets of the Scriptures being unlocked, the Jews shall be converted to Christ.

But when he had admonished them to remember the law of Moses: because he foresaw that for a long time yet they would not receive it spiritually, as it behooved them, he immediately subjoined: "And behold, I will send you Elijah the Tishbite, before the great and illustrious day of the Lord comes, who shall turn the heart of the father to the son, and the heart of a man to his neighbor, lest perchance coming I should smite the earth utterly" (Malachi 4:5, 6, according to LXX). It is most celebrated in the sermons and hearts of the faithful that through this Elijah, the great and wonderful prophet, the law having been explained to them, in the last time before the judgment, the Jews are to believe in the true Christ, that is, in our Christ. For he himself is not undeservedly hoped to come before the advent of the Judge and Savior: because even now he is not undeservedly believed to live. For he was snatched from human affairs in a fiery chariot, which holy Scripture most evidently testifies (4 Kings 2:11). When he comes, therefore, by explaining the law spiritually, which the Jews now savor carnally, "he shall turn the heart of the father to the son," that is, the heart of the fathers to the sons: for the Septuagint interpreters put the singular for the plural number. And the sense is, that even the sons should so understand the law, that is the Jews, as the fathers understood it, that is the Prophets, in whom was Moses himself. For thus the heart of the fathers shall be turned to the sons, when the understanding of the fathers is brought to the understanding of the sons; "and the heart of the sons to their fathers," while in that which those felt, these also shall consent: where the Septuagint said, "and the heart of a man to his neighbor." For the fathers and sons are very near to each other.

Quanquam in verbis Septuaginta interpretum, qui prophetice interpretati sunt, potest sensus alius idemque electior inveniri; ut intelligatur Elias cor Dei Patris conversurus ad Filium: non utique agendo ut Pater diligat Filium, sed docendo quod Pater diligat Filium; ut et Judaei, quem prius oderant, diligant eumdem, qui noster est, Christum. Judaeis enim nunc aversum cor habet Deus a Christo nostro, quia hoc putant. Eis ergo tunc cor ejus convertetur ad Filium, cum ipsi converso corde didicerint dilectionem Patris in Filium. Quod vero sequitur, et cor hominis ad proximum suum, id est, convertet Elias et cor hominis ad proximum suum; quid melius intelligitur, quam cor hominis ad hominem Christum? Cum enim sit in forma Dei Deus noster, formam servi accipiens esse dignatus est etiam proximus noster. Hoc ergo faciet Elias. Ne forte, inquit, veniam, et percutiam terram penitus. Terra sunt enim, qui terrena sapiunt; sicut Judaei carnales usque nunc: ex quo vitio contra Deum murmura illa venerunt, Quia mali ei placent; et, Vanus est qui servit Deo (Malach. II, 17; III, 14).

CAPUT XXX.---Quod in libris Veteris Testamenti cum Deus legitur judicaturus, non evidenter Christi persona monstretur: sed ex quibusdam testimoniis, ubi Dominus Deus loquitur, appareat non dubie quod ipse sit Christus.

1. Multa alia sunt Scripturarum testimonia divinarum de novissimo judicio Dei; quae si omnia colligam, nimis longum erit. Satis ergo sit, quod et novis et veteribus Litteris sacris hoc praenuntiatum esse probavimus. Sed veteribus per Christum futurum esse judicium, id est, judicem Christum de coelo esse venturum, non tam, quam novis, evidenter expressum est: propterea quia cum ibi dicit Dominus Deus se esse venturum, vel Dominum Deum dicitur esse venturum, non consequenter intelligitur Christus. Dominus enim Deus et Pater est, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus: neque hoc tamen intestatum relinquere nos oportet. Primo itaque demonstrandum est, quemadmodum Jesus Christus tanquam Dominus Deus loquatur in propheticis libris, et tamen Jesus Christus evidenter appareat: ut et quando sic non apparet, et tamen ad illud ultimum judicium Dominus Deus dicitur esse venturus, possit Jesus Christus intelligi. Est locus apud Isaiam prophetam, qui hoc quod dico evidenter ostendit. Deus enim per prophetam, Audi me, inquit, Jacob et Israel quem ego voco.

Although in the words of the Septuagint interpreters, who interpreted prophetically, another and even more choice sense can be found; that Elijah is understood to turn the heart of God the Father to the Son: not indeed by acting so that the Father should love the Son, but by teaching that the Father loves the Son; so that even the Jews, whom they previously hated, may love the same Christ who is ours. For to the Jews God now has a heart turned away from our Christ, because they think this. Therefore his heart shall then be turned to the Son for them, when they themselves with a converted heart shall have learned the love of the Father for the Son. But what follows, "and the heart of a man to his neighbor," that is, Elijah shall also turn the heart of a man to his neighbor; what is better understood than the heart of a man to the man Christ? For since he is our God in the form of God, taking the form of a servant he deigned also to be our neighbor. This, therefore, Elijah shall do. "Lest perchance," he says, "I come, and smite the earth utterly." For those are the earth who savor earthly things; as the carnal Jews even until now: from which vice those murmurs against God came, "Because the evil please him"; and, "Vain is he who serves God" (Malachi 2:17; 3:14).

CHAPTER XXX.---That in the books of the Old Testament when God is read as about to judge, the person of Christ is not evidently shown: but from certain testimonies, where the Lord God speaks, it appears without doubt that he himself is Christ.

1. Many other are the testimonies of the divine Scriptures concerning the last judgment of God; which if I gather them all, it will be too long. Let it be enough, therefore, that we have proved this to have been preannounced in both the New and the Old sacred Writings. But that through Christ the judgment is to be in the Old, that is, that Christ the judge is to come from heaven, is not as evidently expressed as in the New: for this reason, because when there the Lord God says that he himself is to come, or the Lord God is said to be about to come, it is not consequently understood as Christ. For the Lord God is both Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit: nor yet does it behoove us to leave this unattested. Therefore, first it must be shown how Jesus Christ speaks as the Lord God in the prophetic books, and yet Jesus Christ evidently appears: so that both when he does not so appear, and yet the Lord God is said to be about to come to that last judgment, Jesus Christ can be understood. There is a place in the prophet Isaiah which evidently shows this that I say. For God says through the prophet: "Hear me, Jacob and Israel whom I call.

Ego sum primus, et ego in sempiternum: et manus mea fundavit terram, et dextera mea firmavit coelum. Vocabo eos, et stabunt simul, et congregabuntur omnes, et audient. Quis eis nuntiavit haec ? Diligens te, feci voluntatem tuam super Babylonem, ut auferrem semen Chaldaeorum Et locutus sum, et ego vocavi: adduxi eum, et prosperam feci viam ejus. Accedite ad me, et audite haec. Non a principio in abscondito locutus sum: quando fiebant, ibi eram. Et nunc Dominus Deus misit me, et Spiritus ejus (Isai. XLVIII, 12-16). Nempe ipse est, qui loquebatur sicut Dominus Deus: nec tamen intelligeretur Jesus Christus, nisi addidisset, Et nunc Dominus Deus misit me, et Spiritus ejus. Hoc enim dixit secundum formam servi, de re futura utens praeteriti temporis verbo: quemadmodum apud eumdem prophetam legitur, Sicut ovis ad immolandum ductus est (Id. LIII, 7, sec. LXX). Non enim ait, Ducetur: sed pro eo quod futurum erat, praeteriti temporis verbum posuit. Et assidue prophetia sic loquitur.

2. Est et alius locus apud Zachariam, qui hoc evidenter ostendit, quod omnipotentem misit omnipotens: quis quem, nisi Deus Pater Deum Filium? Nam ita scriptum est: Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens, Post gloriam misit me super gentes, quae spoliaverunt vos; quia qui tetigerit vos, quasi qui tangit pupillam oculi ejus. Ecce ego inferam manum meam super eos, et erunt spolia his qui servierant eis; et cognoscetis quia Dominus omnipotens misit me (Zach. II, 8 et 9). Ecce dicit Dominus omnipotens, a Domino omnipotente se missum. Quis hic audeat intelligere nisi Christum loquentem, scilicet ovibus quae perierant domus Israel? Ait namque in Evangelio, Non sum missus, nisi ad oves quae perierunt domus Israel (Matth. XV, 24): quas hic comparavit pupillae oculi Dei, propter excellentissimum dilectionis affectum; ex quo genere ovium etiam ipsi Apostoli fuerunt. Sed post gloriam resurrectionis utique suae, quae antequam fieret, ait evangelista, Jesus nondum erat glorificatus (Joan. VII, 39); etiam super gentes missus est in Apostolis suis: ac sic impletum est quod in Psalmo legitur, Erues me de contradictionibus populi, constitues me in caput gentium (Psal. XVII, 44): ut qui spoliaverant Israelitas, quibusque Israelitae servierant, quando sunt gentibus subditi, non vicissim eodem modo spoliarentur, sed ipsi spolia fierent Israelitarum. Hoc enim Apostolis promiserat, dicens, Faciam vos piscatores hominum (Matth. IV, 19). Et uni eorum, Ex hoc jam, inquit, homines eris capiens (Luc. V, 10). Spolia ergo fierent sed in bonum, tanquam erepta vasa illi forti, sed fortius alligato (Matth. XII, 29).

I am the first, and I in eternity: and my hand founded the earth, and my right hand established the heaven. I will call them, and they shall stand together, and they shall all be gathered, and they shall hear. Who has announced these things to them? Loving you, I have done your will upon Babylon, that I might take away the seed of the Chaldeans. And I have spoken, and I have called: I have led him, and I have made his way prosperous. Draw near to me, and hear these things. Not from the beginning have I spoken in secret: when they were being made, there I was. And now the Lord God has sent me, and his Spirit" (Isaiah 48:12-16). Surely it is he himself who was speaking as the Lord God: and yet Jesus Christ would not be understood, unless he had added: "And now the Lord God has sent me, and his Spirit." For he said this according to the form of a servant, using a verb of past time concerning a future thing: just as it is read in the same prophet: "As a sheep he was led to the slaughter" (id. 53:7, according to LXX). For he did not say, "He shall be led": but for that which was to be future, he put a verb of past time. And prophecy constantly speaks thus.

2. There is also another place in Zechariah which evidently shows this, that the Almighty sent the Almighty: who [sent] whom, but God the Father [sent] God the Son? For thus it is written: "These things says the Lord almighty: After the glory he has sent me upon the nations which spoiled you; because he who has touched you, is as he who touches the pupil of his eye. Behold, I will bring my hand upon them, and they shall be spoils to those who had served them; and you shall know that the Lord almighty has sent me" (Zechariah 2:8 and 9). Behold, the Lord almighty says that he was sent by the Lord almighty. Who would dare here to understand any but Christ speaking, namely to the sheep which had perished of the house of Israel? For he says in the Gospel: "I am not sent, but to the sheep which perished of the house of Israel" (Matthew 15:24): which here he compared to the pupil of the eye of God, because of the most excellent affection of love; from which kind of sheep even the Apostles themselves were. But after the glory indeed of his resurrection, which before it happened, the evangelist says: "Jesus was not yet glorified" (John 7:39); he was also sent upon the nations in his Apostles: and thus was fulfilled what is read in the Psalm: "Thou shalt deliver me from the contradictions of the people, thou shalt constitute me at the head of the nations" (Psalm 17:44): so that those who had spoiled the Israelites, and whom the Israelites had served, when they are subjected to the nations, they should not be spoiled in turn in the same way, but they themselves should become the spoils of the Israelites. For he had promised this to the Apostles, saying: "I will make you fishers of men" (Matthew 4:19). And to one of them, "From this time now," he said, "you shall be catching men" (Luke 5:10). They should become spoils therefore, but for good, as if vessels snatched from that strong one, but more strongly bound (Matthew 12:29).

3. Item per eumdem prophetam Dominus loquens, Et erit, inquit, in die illa, quaeram auferre omnes gentes quae veniunt contra Jerusalem, et effundam super domum David, et super habitatores Jerusalem Spiritum gratiae et misericordiae; et aspicient ad me, pro eo quod insultaverunt; et plangent super eum planctum quasi super charissimum, et dolebunt dolore quasi super unigenitum (Zach. XII, 9, 10). Numquid nisi Dei est auferre omnes gentes inimicas sanctae civitatis Jerusalem, quae veniunt contra eam, id est, contrariae sunt ei, vel, sicut alii sunt interpretati, veniunt super eam, id est, ut eam sibi subjiciant: aut super domum David effundere, et super habitatores ejusdem civitatis Spiritum gratiae et misericordiae? Hoc utique Dei est, et ex persona Dei dicitur per Prophetam: et tamen hunc Deum haec tam magna et tam divina facientem sese Christus ostendit, adjungendo atque dicendo, Et aspicient ad me, pro eo quod insultaverunt; et plangent super eum planctum quasi super charissimum (sive, dilectum), et dolebunt dolore quasi super unigenitum. Poenitebit quippe in die illa Judaeos, etiam eos qui accepturi sunt Spiritum gratiae et misericordiae, quod in ejus passione insultaverint Christo, cum ad eum adspexerint in sua majestate venientem, eumque esse cognoverint, quem prius humilem in suis parentibus illuserunt: quamvis et ipsi parentes eorum tantae illius impietatis auctores resurgentes videbunt eum, sed puniendi jam, non adhuc corrigendi. Non itaque hoc loco ipsi intelligendi sunt, ubi dictum est, Et effundam super domum David et super habitatores Jerusalem Spiritum gratiae et misericordiae; et aspicient ad me, pro eo quod insultaverunt: sed tamen de illorum stirpe venientes , qui per Eliam illo tempore sunt crediturі. Sed sicut dicimus Judaeis, Vos occidistis Christum, quamvis hoc parentes eorum fecerint: sic et isti se dolebunt fecisse quodammodo, quod fecerunt illi, ex quorum stirpe descendunt. Quamvis ergo accepto Spiritu gratiae et misericordiae jam fideles non damnabuntur cum impiis parentibus suis; dolebunt tamen tanquam ipsi fecerint, quod ab illis factum est. Non igitur dolebunt reatu criminis, sed pietatis affectu. Sane ubi dixerunt Septuaginta interpretes, Et aspicient ad me, pro eo quod insultaverunt; sic interpretatum est ex Hebraeo, Et aspicient ad me, quem confixerunt . Quo quidem verbo evidentius Christus apparet crucifixus. Sed illa insultatio, quam Septuaginta ponere maluerunt, ejus universae non defuit passioni. Nam et detento, et alligato, et adjudicato, et opprobrio ignominiosae vestis induto, et spinis coronato, et calamo in capite percusso, et irridenter fixis genibus adorato , et crucem suam portanti, et in ligno jam pendenti utique insultaverunt. Proinde interpretationem non sequentes unam, sed utramque jungentes, cum et insultaverunt, et confixerunt legimus, plenius veritatem Dominicae passionis agnoscimus.

3. Likewise, the Lord speaking through the same prophet: "And it shall be in that day," he says, "I will seek to take away all the nations which come against Jerusalem, and I will pour out upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Spirit of grace and mercy; and they shall look upon me, because they have insulted [me]; and they shall mourn over him a mourning as if over a most dear one, and they shall grieve with grief as if over an only-begotten" (Zechariah 12:9, 10). Is it not for God alone to take away all the enemy nations of the holy city Jerusalem, which "come against" it, that is, are contrary to it, or, as others have interpreted, "come upon" it, that is, that they may subject it to themselves: or to pour out upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of the same city the Spirit of grace and mercy? This indeed is of God, and is said from the person of God through the Prophet: and yet Christ shows himself as this God doing these things so great and so divine, by subjoining and saying: "And they shall look upon me, because they have insulted [me]; and they shall mourn over him a mourning as if over a most dear one" (or, "beloved"), "and they shall grieve with grief as if over an only-begotten." For the Jews shall repent in that day, even those who are to receive the Spirit of grace and mercy, that in his passion they insulted Christ, when they shall have looked upon him coming in his majesty, and shall have known him to be the one whom previously humble in his parents they mocked: although also those parents of theirs, the authors of so great an impiety, rising again shall see him, but now to be punished, not yet to be corrected. Therefore in this place they are not to be understood where it is said: "And I will pour out upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Spirit of grace and mercy; and they shall look upon me, because they have insulted [me]": but yet those coming from their stock, who through Elijah at that time are to believe. But as we say to the Jews: "You killed Christ," although their parents did this: so also these shall grieve that they have in a way done what those did, from whose stock they descend. Although, therefore, having received the Spirit of grace and mercy, being now faithful they shall not be damned with their impious parents; they shall nevertheless grieve as if they themselves had done what was done by them. They shall not, therefore, grieve by the guilt of the crime, but by the affection of piety. Truly where the Septuagint interpreters said: "And they shall look upon me, because they have insulted [me]"; it has been interpreted thus from the Hebrew: "And they shall look upon me, whom they pierced." By which word indeed Christ more evidently appears crucified. But that insult, which the Septuagint preferred to put, was not absent from his whole passion. For both when detained, and bound, and adjudicated, and clothed in the reproach of an ignominious garment, and crowned with thorns, and struck on the head with a reed, and mockingly adored with fixed knees, and carrying his own cross, and now hanging on the wood, they surely insulted him. Accordingly, not following one interpretation, but joining both, when we read both "they insulted," and "they pierced," we more fully recognize the truth of the Lord's passion.

4. Cum ergo in propheticis litteris ad novissimum judicium faciendum Deus legitur esse venturus, etsi ejus alia distinctio non ponatur; tantummodo propter ipsum judicium Christus debet intelligi: quia etsi Pater, judicabit, per adventum Filii hominis judicabit. Nam ipse per suae praesentiae manifestationem non judicat quemquam, sed omne judicium dedit Filio (Joan. V, 22): qui manifestabitur homo judicaturus, sicut homo est judicatus. Quis est enim alius, de quo item Deus loquitur per Isaiam sub nomine Jacob et Israel, de cujus semine corpus accepit? quod ita scriptum est: Jacob puer meus, suscipiam illum: Israel electus meus, assumpsit eum anima mea. Dedi Spiritum meum in illum, judicium gentibus proferet. Non clamabit, neque cessabit, neque audietur foris vox ejus. Calamum quassatum non conteret, et linum fumans non exstinguet; sed in veritate proferet judicium. Refulgebit, et non confringetur, donec ponat in terra judicium; et in nomine ejus gentes sperabunt (Isai. XLII, 1-4, sec. LXX). In hebraeo non legitur Jacob et Israel: sed quod ibi legitur servus meus, nimirum Septuaginta interpretes volentes admonere quatenus id accipiendum sit, quia scilicet propter formam servi dictum est, in qua se Altissimus humillimum praebuit, ipsius hominis nomen ad eum significandum posuerunt, de cujus genere eadem servi forma suscepta est. Datus est in eum Spiritum sanctus, quod et columbae specie, Evangelio teste, monstratum est (Matth. III, 16). Judicium gentibus protulit, quia praenuntiavit futurum, quod gentibus erat occultum. Mansuetudine non clamavit, nec tamen in praedicanda veritate cessavit. Sed non est audita foris vox ejus, nec auditur; quandoquidem ab eis qui foris ab ejus corpore praecisi sunt, non illi obeditur: ipsosque suos persecutores Judaeos, qui calamo quassato perdita integritate, et lino fumanti amisso lumine comparati sunt, non contrivit, nec exstinxit; quia pepercit eis, qui nondum venerat eos judicare, sed ab eis judicari . In veritate sane judicium protulit, praedicens eis quando puniendi essent, si in sua malignitate persisterent. Refulsit in monte facies ejus (Matth. XVII, 1, 2), in orbe fama ejus: nec confractus, sive contritus est, quia neque in se, neque in Ecclesia sua, ut esse desisteret, persecutoribus cessit. Et ideo non est factum, nec fiet, quod inimici ejus dixerunt, vel dicunt, Quando morietur et peribit nomen ejus (Psal. XL, 6)? Donec ponat in terra judicium. Ecce manifestatum est quod absconditum quaerebamus. Hoc enim est novissimum judicium, quod ponet in terra, cum venerit ipse de coelo. De quo jam videmus impletum, quod hic ultimum positum est: Et in nomine ejus gentes sperabunt.

4. Therefore, when in the prophetic writings God is read as being about to come to perform the last judgment, even if another distinction of him is not put; solely because of the judgment itself Christ ought to be understood: because even if the Father shall judge, he shall judge through the advent of the Son of man. For he himself through the manifestation of his presence "judges no one, but has given all judgment to the Son" (John 5:22): who shall be manifested as a man about to judge, just as he was judged as a man. For who else is he, of whom God likewise speaks through Isaiah under the name of Jacob and Israel, from whose seed he took a body? which is thus written: "Jacob my servant, I will uphold him: Israel my elect, my soul has assumed him. I have given my Spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the nations. He shall not cry, nor shall he cease, nor shall his voice be heard abroad. A bruised reed he shall not break, and smoking flax he shall not extinguish; but in truth he shall bring forth judgment. He shall shine, and shall not be broken, until he set judgment in the earth; and in his name the nations shall hope" (Isaiah 42:1-4, according to LXX). In the Hebrew "Jacob" and "Israel" are not read: but what is read there is "my servant," surely the Septuagint interpreters, wanting to admonish how far it should be received, because forsooth it was said because of the form of a servant, in which the Most High showed himself most humble, put the name of the man himself to signify him, from whose kind the same form of a servant was assumed. The Holy Spirit was given upon him, which also was shown in the species of a dove, the Gospel witnessing (Matthew 3:16). He brought forth judgment to the nations, because he preannounced the future, which was hidden from the nations. In mildness he did not cry, nor yet in preaching the truth did he cease. But his voice was not heard abroad, nor is it heard; since by those who are cut off from his body abroad, he is not obeyed: and his own persecutors the Jews themselves, who are compared to a bruised reed having lost integrity, and to smoking flax having lost light, he did not break, nor extinguish; because he spared them, who had not yet come to judge them, but to be judged by them. In truth surely he brought forth judgment, preannouncing to them when they were to be punished, if they should persist in their malignancy. His face shone on the mountain (Matthew 17:1, 2), his fame in the world: nor was he broken, or bruised, because neither in himself, nor in his Church, that he should cease to be, did he yield to persecutors. And therefore it has not happened, nor shall happen, what his enemies said, or say: "When shall he die and his name perish" (Psalm 40:6)? "Until he set judgment in the earth." Behold, what we were seeking hidden has been manifested. For this is the last judgment, which he shall set in the earth, when he himself shall come from heaven. Concerning which we now see fulfilled, what is put last here: "And in his name the nations shall hope."

Per hoc certe quod negari non potest, etiam illud credatur quod impudenter negatur. Quis enim speraret, quod etiam hi qui nolunt adhuc credere in Christum, jam nobiscum vident, et quoniam negare non possunt, dentibus suis frendent, et tabescunt? Quis, inquam, speraret gentes in Christi nomine sperаturas, quando tenebatur, ligabatur, caedebatur, illudebatur, crucifigebatur; quando et ipsi discipuli spem perdiderant, quam in illo habere jam coeperant? Quod tunc vix unus latro speravit in cruce, nunc sperant gentes longe lateque diffusae; et ne in aeternum moriantur, ipsa in qua ille mortuus est, cruce signantur.

5. Nullus igitur vel negat vel dubitat, per Jesum Christum tale quale istis sacris Litteris praenuntiatur, futurum esse novissimum judicium, nisi qui eisdem Litteris, nescio qua incredibili animositate seu caecitate, non credit, quae jam veritatem suam orbi demonstravere terrarum. In illo itaque judicio vel circa illud judicium has res didicimus esse venturas, Eliam Thesbiten, fidem Judaeorum, Antichristum persecuturum, Christum judicaturum, mortuorum resurrectionem, bonorum malorumque diremptionem, mundi conflagrationem, ejusdemque renovationem. Quae omnia quidem ventura esse credendum est: sed quibus modis, et quo ordine veniant, magis tunc docebit rerum experientia, quam nunc ad perfectum hominum intelligentia valet consequi. Existimo tamen eo quo a me commemorata sunt ordine esse ventura.

6. Duo nobis ad hoc opus pertinentes reliqui sunt libri, ut adjuvante Domino promissa compleamus: quorum unus erit de malorum supplicio, alius de felicitate justorum: in quibus maxime, sicut Deus donaverit, argumenta refellentur humana, quae contra praedicta ac promissa divina sapienter sibi miseri rodere videntur, et salubris fidei nutrimenta velut falsa et ridenda contemnunt. Qui vero secundum Deum sapiunt, omnium quae incredibilia videntur hominibus, et tamen Scripturis sanctis, quarum jam veritas multis modis asserta est, continentur, maximum argumentum tenent veracem Dei omnipotentiam, quem certum habent nullo modo in eis potuisse mentiri, et posse facere quod impossibile est infideli.

Through this certainly which cannot be denied, let that also be believed which is impudently denied. For who would hope, what even those who do not yet want to believe in Christ, already see with us, and since they cannot deny it, gnash with their teeth, and pine away? Who, I say, would hope that the nations would hope in Christ's name, when he was being held, bound, beaten, mocked, crucified; when also the disciples themselves had lost the hope which they had already begun to have in him? What then scarcely one thief hoped on the cross, now the nations far and wide diffused hope; and lest they should die in eternity, they are signed with the very cross in which he died.

5. No one, therefore, either denies or doubts that through Jesus Christ the last judgment will be as it is preannounced in those sacred Writings, except he who does not believe in the same Writings, I know not by what incredible animosity or blindness, which have now demonstrated their truth to the world. In that judgment, therefore, or around that judgment, we have learned that these things are to come: Elijah the Tishbite, the faith of the Jews, the Antichrist to persecute, Christ to judge, the resurrection of the dead, the separation of the good and the evil, the conflagration of the world, and its renovation. All which things indeed must be believed as about to come: but in what ways, and in what order they may come, the experience of things will then teach more than the intelligence of men is now able to follow to perfection. I think, however, that they are to come in the order in which they have been commemorated by me.

6. Two books pertaining to this work are remaining to us, that with the Lord helping we may fulfill the promises: one of which shall be concerning the punishment of the evil, the other concerning the happiness of the just: in which especially, as God shall have granted, human arguments shall be refuted, which the miserable seem to themselves wisely to gnaw against the divine predictions and promises, and they contemn the nourishments of a healthful faith as if false and laughable. But those who savor according to God, hold as the greatest argument of all things which seem incredible to men, and yet are contained in the holy Scriptures, whose truth has now been asserted in many ways, the truthful omnipotence of God, whom they hold certain could in no way have lied in them, and to be able to do what is impossible to the infidel.