

SAINT AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

THE CITY OF GOD

De Civitate Dei

VOLUME IV · IV

SABBATISMUS

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

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LIBER VI

GESIMUS PRIMUS.

De fine debito civitatis diaboli, supplicio scilicet damnatorum sempiterno, deque humanis contra illud incredulorum argumentis.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

De ordine disputationis, qua prius disserendum est de perpetuo supplicio damnatorum cum diabolo, quam de aeterna felicitate sanctorum.

Cum per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, iudicem vivorum atque mortuorum, ad debitos fines ambae pervenerint civitates, quarum una est Dei, altera diaboli, cujusmodi supplicium sit futurum diaboli et omnium ad eum pertinentium, in hoc libro nobis, quantum ope divina valebimus, diligentius disputandum est. Ideo autem hunc tenere ordinem malui, ut postea disseram de felicitate sanctorum, quoniam utrumque cum corporibus erit; et incredibilius videtur esse in aeternis corpora durare cruciatibus, quam sine dolore ullo in aeterna beatitudine permanere. Ac per hoc cum illam poenam non debere esse incredibilem demonstravero, adjuvabit me plurimum, ut multo facilius omni carens molestia immortalitas corporum in sanctis futura credatur. Nec a divinis ordo iste abhorret eloquiis, ubi aliquando quidem bonorum beatitudo prius ponitur, ut est illud, Qui bona fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae; qui autem mala egerunt, in resurrectionem iudicii (Joan. V, 29): sed aliquando et posterius, ut est, Mittet Filius hominis Angelos suos, et colligent de regno ejus omnia scandala, et mittent in caminum ignis ardentis, illic erit fletus et stridor dentium; tunc justi fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris sui (Matth. XIII, 41-43); et illud, Sic ibunt isti in supplicium aeternum; justi autem, in vitam aeternam (Id. XXV, 46). Et in Prophetis, quod commemorare longum est, nunc ille, nunc iste ordo, si quis inspiciat, invenitur. Sed ego istum qua causa elegerim, dixi.

CAPUT II.

An possint corpora in ustione ignis esse perpetua.

BOOK TWENTY

FIRST.

Concerning the due end of the city of the devil, namely, the everlasting punishment of the damned, and concerning the human arguments of the incredulous against it.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

Concerning the order of the disputation, by which the perpetual punishment of the damned with the devil must be discussed before the eternal happiness of the saints.

When through Jesus Christ our Lord, the judge of the living and the dead, both cities shall have reached their due ends, of which one is of God, the other of the devil, what sort of punishment there is to be for the devil and all pertaining to him, in this book we must, as much as we shall be able by divine aid, more diligently dispute. But I have preferred to hold this order, so that afterwards I may discuss the happiness of the saints, since both will be with bodies; and it seems more incredible that bodies should last in eternal tortures, than that they should remain without any pain in eternal beatitude. And through this, when I shall have demonstrated that that punishment ought not to be incredible, it will help me very much, so that much more easily the immortality of bodies in the saints, lacking all molest, may be believed as future. Nor does this order abhor from the divine oracles, where sometimes indeed the beatitude of the good is put first, as is that: "Those who have done good things, unto the resurrection of life; but those who have done evil things, unto the resurrection of judgment" (John 5:29): but sometimes also later, as is: "The Son of man shall send his Angels, and they shall gather from his kingdom all scandals, and shall send them into the furnace of burning fire, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; then the just shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (Matthew 13:41-43); and that: "So these shall go into eternal punishment; but the just, into eternal life" (id. 25:46). And in the Prophets, which to commemorate is long, now that, now this order, if anyone looks, is found. But I have said for what cause I have chosen this one.

CAPUT II.

Whether bodies can be perpetual in the burning of fire.

Quid igitur ostendam, unde convincantur increduli, posse humana corpora animata atque viventia, non solum nunquam morte dissolvi, sed in aeternorum quoque ignium durare tormentis? Nolunt enim hoc ad Omnipotentis nos referre potentiam, sed aliquo exemplo persuaderi sibi flagitant. Quibus si respondebimus, esse animalia profecto corruptibilia, quia mortalia, quae tamen in mediis ignibus vivunt: nonnullum etiam genus vermium in aquarum calidarum scaturigine reperiri, quarum fervorem nemo impune contrectat; illos autem non solum sine ulla sui laesione ibi esse, sed extra esse non posse: aut nolunt credere, si ostendere non valemus; aut si valuerimus sive oculis demonstrare res ipsas, sive per testes idoneos edocere, non satis hoc esse ad exemplum rei, de qua quaestio est, eadem infidelitate contendunt: quia haec animalia nec semper vivunt, et in illis fervoribus sine doloribus vivunt, suae quippe naturae convenientibus vegetantur illis, non cruciantur elementis; quasi non incredibilius sit vegetari, quam cruciari talibus rebus. Mirabile est enim, dolere in ignibus, et tamen vivere: sed mirabilius, vivere in ignibus, nec dolere. Si autem hoc creditur, cur non et illud?

CAPUT III.

An consequens sit ut corporeum dolorem sequatur carnis interitus.

1. Sed nullum est, inquiunt, corpus quod dolore possit, nec possit mori. Et hoc unde scimus? Nam de corporibus quis certus est daemonum, utrum in eis doleant, quando se affligi magnis cruciatibus confitentur? Quod si respondetur, terrenum corpus solidum scilicet atque conspicuum nullum esse, atque ut uno potius nomine id explicem, nullam esse carnem quae dolere possit, morique non possit: quid aliud dicitur, nisi quod sensu corporis homines et experientia collegerunt? Nullam namque carnem nisi mortalem sciunt: et haec est eorum tota ratio, ut quod experti non sunt, nequaquam esse posse arbitrentur. Nam cuius rationis est dolorem facere mortis argumentum, cum vitae potius sit indicium? Etsi enim quaerimus, utrum semper possit vivere: certum tamen est vivere omne quod dolet, doloremque omnem nisi in re vivente esse non posse. Necesse est ergo ut vivat dolens, non est necesse ut occidat dolor: quia nec corpora ista mortalia, et utique moritura, omnis dolor occidit; et ut dolor aliquis possit occidere, illa causa est, quoniam sic est anima connexa huic corpori, ut summis doloribus cedat, atque discedat: quoniam et ipsa compago membrorum atque vitalium sic infirma est, ut eam vim quae magnum vel summum dolorem facit, non valeat sustinere. Tunc autem tali corpori anima et eo connectitur modo, ut illud vinculum sicut nulla temporis longitudine solvitur, ita nullo dolore rumpatur.

What, therefore, shall I show, whence the incredulous may be convinced, that human bodies, animated and living, can not only never be dissolved by death, but also endure in the torments of eternal fires? For they do not want us to refer this to the power of the Almighty, but they demand to be persuaded by some example. To whom if we shall respond, that there are animals certainly corruptible, because mortal, which yet live in the midst of fires: that a certain kind of worms is also found in the gushing of hot waters, whose fervor no one touches with impunity; but that those are there not only without any injury to themselves, but cannot be outside [of them]: either they do not want to believe, if we are not able to show; or if we shall have been able either to demonstrate the things themselves to their eyes, or to teach by suitable witnesses, they will contend by the same infidelity that this is not enough for an example of the thing about which the question is: because these animals neither live forever, and in those fervors they live without pains, being forsooth quickened by those elements suitable to their nature, not tortured; as if it were not more incredible to be quickened, than to be tortured by such things. For it is wonderful to grieve in fires, and yet to live: but more wonderful to live in fires, and not to grieve. But if this is believed, why not also that?

CAPUT III.

Whether it is consequent that the destruction of the flesh should follow corporeal pain.

1. But there is no body, they say, which can [feel] pain, and cannot die. And whence do we know this? For concerning the bodies of demons, who is certain whether they feel pain in them, when they confess that they are afflicted with great tortures? But if it is responded, that there is no earthly body solid indeed and conspicuous, and that I may explain it rather by one name, that there is no flesh which can feel pain, and cannot die: what else is said, but what men have gathered by the sense of the body and experience? For they know no flesh except mortal: and this is their whole reason, that what they have not experienced, they by no means think can be. For what reason is it to make pain an argument of death, when it is rather an indication of life? For even if we ask whether it can always live: it is yet certain that everything that feels pain lives, and that all pain cannot be except in a living thing. It is necessary, therefore, that it live while feeling pain, it is not necessary that pain should kill: because neither does all pain kill these mortal bodies, and certainly about to die; and that some pain can kill, that is the cause, since the soul is so connected to this body, that it yields to the highest pains, and departs: since also the very framework of the members and vitals is so weak, that it is not able to sustain that force which makes great or highest pain. But then the soul is connected to such a body and in that way, that as that bond is dissolved by no length of time, so it is broken by no pain.

Proinde etiamsi caro nunc talis nulla est, quae sensum doloris perpeti possit, mortemque non possit: erit tamen tunc talis caro, qualis nunc non est; sicut talis erit et mors, qualis nunc non est. Non enim nulla, sed sempiterna mors erit, quando nec vivere anima poterit Deum non habendo, nec doloribus corporis carere moriendo. Prima mors animam nolentem pellit e corpore, secunda mors animam nolentem tenet in corpore: ab utraque morte communiter id habetur, ut quod non vult anima, de suo corpore patiatur.

2. Attendunt autem isti contradictores nullam esse nunc carnem, quae dolorem pati possit, mortemque non possit; et non attendunt esse tamen aliquid tale quod corpore majus sit. Ipse quippe animus, cujus praesentia corpus vivit et regitur, et dolorem pati potest, et mori non potest. Ecce inventa res est, quae cum sensum doloris habeat, immortalis est. Hoc igitur erit tunc etiam in corporibus damnatorum, quod nunc esse scimus in animis omnium. Si autem consideremus diligentius, dolor qui dicitur corporis, magis ad animam pertinet. Animae enim est dolere, non corporis, etiam quando ei dolendi causa existit a corpore, cum in eo loco dolet, ubi laeditur corpus. Sicut ergo dicimus corpora sentientia, et corpora viventia, cum ab anima sit corpori sensus et vita; ita et corpora dicimus dolentia, cum dolor corpori nisi ab anima esse non possit. Dolet itaque anima cum corpore in eo loco ejus, ubi aliquid contingit ut doleat. Dolet et sola, quamvis sit in corpore, cum aliqua causa etiam invisibili tristis est ipsa corpore incolumi. Dolet etiam non in corpore constituta: nam utique dolebat dives ille apud inferos, quando dicebat, Crucior in hac flamma (Luc. XVI, 24). Corpus autem nec exanime dolet, nec animatum sine anima dolet. Si ergo a dolore argumentum recte sumeretur ad mortem, ut ideo mors possit accidere, quia potuit accidere et dolor, magis ad animam pertineret mori, ad quam magis pertinet et dolere. Cum vero illa quae magis dolere potest, non possit mori, quid momenti affert cur illa corpora, quoniam futura sunt in doloribus, ideo etiam moritura esse credamus? Dixerunt quidem Platonici, ex terrenis corporibus moribundisque membris esse animae et metuere, et cupere, et dolere, atque gaudere. Unde Virgilius, Hinc, inquit, (id est, ex moribundis terreni corporis membris) metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque (Aeneid. lib. 6, vers. 733). Sed convicimus eos in quarto decimo hujus operis libro, habere animas secundum ipsos ab omni etiam corporis labe purgatas, diram cupiditatem, qua rursus incipiunt in corpora velle reverti (Ibid. vers. 720, 721). Ubi autem potest esse cupiditas, profecto etiam dolor potest.

Accordingly, even if there is no such flesh now which can endure the sense of pain and cannot [endure] death: there will yet be then such flesh as now is not; just as there will also be such a death as now is not. For it will not be no death, but sempiternal death, when neither the soul will be able to live by not having God, nor be able to lack the pains of the body by dying. The first death drives the unwilling soul from the body, the second death holds the unwilling soul in the body: from both deaths it is commonly had, that what the soul does not want, it suffers from its own body.

2. But these objectors attend to the fact that there is now no flesh which can suffer pain and cannot suffer death; and they do not attend to the fact that there is yet something of such a kind that is greater than the body. For the soul itself, by whose presence the body lives and is ruled, can both suffer pain and cannot die. Behold, a thing has been found which, although it has the sense of pain, is immortal. This, therefore, will be then also in the bodies of the damned, which we know to be now in the souls of all. But if we consider more diligently, the pain which is called of the body pertains more to the soul. For it is of the soul to feel pain, not of the body, even when the cause of feeling pain exists for it from the body, when it feels pain in that place where the body is hurt. Just as, therefore, we say sentient bodies and living bodies, since sense and life are to the body from the soul; so also we say pained bodies, since pain for the body cannot be except from the soul. Therefore the soul feels pain with the body in that place of it where something happens so that it feels pain. It feels pain also alone, although it is in the body, when it is sad by some cause even invisible, while the body itself is unharmed. It feels pain even when not constituted in the body: for certainly that rich man in the underworld felt pain, when he said, "I am tormented in this flame" (Luke 16:24). But the body neither feels pain when breathless, nor when animated does it feel pain without the soul. If, therefore, an argument were rightly taken from pain for death, so that death can happen for the reason that pain could happen, it would pertain more to the soul to die, to which it pertains more also to feel pain. But since that which can feel pain more cannot die, what importance does it bring why we should believe those bodies, because they are to be in pains, are therefore also about to die? Indeed the Platonists said that from earthly bodies and dying members the souls have to fear, and to desire, and to feel pain, and to rejoice. Whence Virgil says, "Hence," he says (that is, from the dying members of the earthly body), "they fear and desire, they feel pain and rejoice" (Aeneid lib. 6, v. 733). But we convicted them in the fourteenth book of this work, that souls, according to them, even purified from every stain of the body, have a dire desire by which they again begin to want to return into bodies (Ibid. v. 720, 721). But where there can be desire, surely there can also be pain.

Frustrata quippe cupiditas sive non perveniendo quo tendebat, sive amittendo quo pervenerat, vertitur in dolorem. Quapropter si anima, quae vel sola vel maxime dolet, habet tamen quamdam pro suo modo immortalitatem suam, non ideo mori poterunt illa corpora, quia dolebunt. Postremo si corpora faciunt, ut animae doleant, cur eis dolorem possunt, mortem vero inferre non possunt, nisi quia consequens non est, ut mortem faciat, quod dolorem facit? Cur ergo incredibile est, ita ignes illis corporibus dolorem posse inferre, non mortem, sicut ipsa corpora dolere animas faciunt, quas tamen non ideo mori cogunt? Non est ergo necessarium futurae mortis argumentum dolor.

CAPUT IV.

De naturalibus exemplis, quorum consideratio doceat posse inter cruciatus viventia corpora permanere.

1. Quapropter si, ut scripserunt qui naturas animalium curiosius indagarunt, salamandra in ignibus vivit; et quidam notissimi Siciliae montes, qui tanta diuturnitate temporis atque vetustate usque nunc ac deinceps flammis aestuant, atque integri perseverant, satis idonei testes sunt, non omne quod ardet absumi; et anima indicat, non omne quod dolere potest, posse etiam mori: quid adhuc a nobis rerum poscuntur exempla, quibus doceamus, non esse incredibile, ut hominum corpora sempiterno supplicio punitorum, et in igne animam non amittant, et sine detrimento ardeant, et sine interitu doleant? Habebit enim tunc istam carnis substantia qualitatem ab illo inditam, qui tam miras et varias tot rebus indidit, quas videmus, ut eas, quia multae sunt, non miremur. Quis enim nisi Deus creator omnium dedit carni pavonis mortui ne putresceret? Quod cum auditum incredibile videretur, evenit ut apud Carthaginem nobis cocta apponeretur haec avis: de cuius pectore pulparum, quantum visum est, decerptum servari iussimus: quod post dierum tantum spatium, quanto alia caro quaecumque cocta putresceret, prolatum atque oblatum, nihil nostrum offendit olfactum. Itemque repositum post dies amplius quam triginta, idem quod erat inventum est: idemque post annum, nisi quod aliquantum corpulentiae siccioris et contractioris fuit. Quis paleae dedit vel tam frigidam vim, ut obrutas nives servet; vel tam fervidam, ut poma immatura maturet?

For frustrated desire, either by not arriving where it was tending, or by losing what it had reached, is turned into pain. Wherefore if the soul, which either alone or especially feels pain, has yet a certain immortality of its own according to its mode, those bodies will not therefore be able to die because they will feel pain. Finally, if bodies cause souls to feel pain, why can they [bring] pain to them, but cannot bring death, unless because it is not consequent that what causes pain should cause death? Why, therefore, is it incredible that fires can thus bring pain to those bodies, not death, just as the bodies themselves make the souls feel pain, which they nevertheless do not therefore compel to die? Therefore pain is not a necessary argument for future death.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning natural examples, the consideration of which may teach that living bodies can remain among tortures.

1. Wherefore if, as they have written who have more curiously investigated the natures of animals, the salamander lives in fires; and certain most well-known mountains of Sicily, which for so great a length of time and antiquity even until now and henceforth seethe with flames, and yet persevere whole, are sufficiently suitable witnesses that not everything which burns is consumed; and the soul indicates that not everything which can feel pain can also die: why are examples of things still demanded from us, by which we may teach that it is not incredible that the bodies of men punished with everlasting punishment should both not lose the soul in the fire, and burn without detriment, and feel pain without destruction? For the substance of the flesh will then have that quality bestowed by Him who has bestowed so many wonderful and various [qualities] on so many things which we see, so that, because they are many, we do not wonder at them. For who except God the creator of all gave to the flesh of a dead peacock that it should not rot? Which when it seemed incredible to hear, it happened that at Carthage this bird was served to us cooked: from whose breast we ordered as much of the flesh as seemed fit to be plucked and kept: which after as much space of days as any other cooked meat whatever would rot in, being brought forth and offered, offended nothing of our smell. And likewise having been put back for more than thirty days, it was found the same as it was: and the same after a year, except that it was of a somewhat drier and more contracted bulk. Who gave to straw either so cold a power that it preserves buried snows; or so hot a [power] that it matures immature fruits?

2. De ipso igne mira quis explicet, quo quaeque adusta nigrescunt, cum ipse sit lucidus; et pene omnia quae ambit et lambit, colore pulcherrimus decolorat, atque ex pruna fulgida carbonem teterrimum reddit? Neque id quasi regulariter definitum est: nam e contrario lapides igne candente percocti, et ipsi fiunt candidi, et quamvis ille magis rubeat, illi albicent, congruit tamen luci quod album est, sicut nigrum tenebris. Cum itaque ignis in lignis ardeat, ut lapides coquat, contrarios habet non in contrariis rebus effectus. Etsi enim lapides et ligna diversa sunt; contraria tamen non sunt, sicut album et nigrum, quorum in lapidibus unum facit, alterum in lignis, clarus illos clarificans, haec obfuscans; cum in illis deficeret, nisi in istis viveret. Quid in carbonibus, nonne miranda est et tanta infirmitas, ut ictu levissimo frangantur, pressu facillimo conterantur; et tanta firmitas, ut nullo humore corrumpantur, nulla aetate vincantur, usque adeo ut eos substernere soleant, qui limites figunt, ad convincendum litigatorem, quisquis post quantalibet tempora exstiterit, fixumque lapidem limitem non esse contenderit? Quis eos in terra humida infossos, ubi ligna putrescerent, tam diu durare incorruptibiliter posse, nisi rerum ille corruptor ignis effecit?

3. Intueamur etiam miraculum calcis, excepto eo, de quo jam satis diximus, quod igne candicat, quo alia tetra redduntur, etiam occultissime ab igne ignem concipit, eumque jam gleba tangentibus frigida tam latenter servat, ut nulli nostro sensui prorsus appareat, sed compertus experimento, etiam dum non apparet, sciatur inesse sopitus. Propter quod eam vivam calcem loquimur, velut ipse ignis latens anima sit invisibilis visibilis corporis. Jam vero quam mirum est quod cum exstinguitur, tunc accenditur? Ut enim occulto igne careat, aqua infunditur, aquave perfunditur; et cum ante sit frigida, inde fervescit, unde ferventia cuncta frigescent. Velut expirante ergo illa gleba discedens ignis, qui latebat, apparet, ac deinde tanquam morte sic frigida est, ut adjecta unda non sit arsura, et quam calcem vocabamus vivam, vocemus exstinctam. Quid est quod huic miraculo addi posse videatur? et tamen additur. Nam si non adhibeas aquam, sed oleum, quod magis fomes est ignis, nulla ejus perfusione vel infusione fervescit. Hoc miraculum si de aliquo Indico lapide legeremus, sive audiremus, et in nostrum experimentum venire non posset, profecto aut mendacium putaremus, aut certe granditer miraremur. Quarum vero rerum ante oculos nostros quotidiana documenta versantur, non genere minus mirabili, sed ipsa assiduitate vilescent, ita ut ex ipsa India, quae remota est pars orbis a nobis, desierimus nonnulla mirari, quae ad nos potuerunt miranda perducere.

2. Who could explain the wonders of fire itself, by which whatever things are scorched become black, although it itself is lucid; and almost all things which it surrounds and licks, it, most beautiful in color, discolors, and from a shining ember it renders a most foul coal? Nor is that as if defined regularly: for on the contrary stones thoroughly cooked by glowing fire, also themselves become white, and although that [fire] may be more red, they become white; yet what is white agrees with light, just as black with shadows. Since therefore fire burns in wood so as to cook stones, it has contrary effects not in contrary things. For although stones and wood are diverse, they are nevertheless not contrary, like white and black, of which it makes one in stones, the other in wood, being bright and clarifying those, and darkening these; since it would fail in those, unless it lived in these. What in coals, is there not to be wondered at both so great a weakness, that they are broken by a most light stroke, and ground by a most easy pressure; and so great a firmness, that they are corrupted by no moisture, and overcome by no age, even to the point that they are accustomed to lay them under who fix boundaries, to convince a litigant, whoever after however great a time should stand forth, and contend that the fixed stone is not a boundary? Who [else] caused those buried in moist earth, where wood would rot, to be able to last so long incorruptibly, except that corrupter of things, fire?

3. Let us look also at the miracle of lime, besides that of which we have already said enough, that it whitens by fire, by which other things are rendered foul; it also most secretly conceives fire from fire, and keeps it so latently in a clod that is cold to those touching it, that it by no means appears to any sense of ours, but being found out by experiment, even while it does not appear, it is known to be in it, slumbering. Because of which we call it quicklime, as if the latent fire were the invisible soul of the visible body. But now how wonderful is it that when it is extinguished, then it is kindled? For that it may lack the hidden fire, water is poured in, or it is drenched with water; and when before it was cold, it boils up from that whence all boiling things grow cold. As if by the expiration of that clod, therefore, the departing fire, which was lying hid, appears, and then as if by death it is so cold that, water being added, it will not burn; and what we were calling quicklime, we call extinguished. What is there that seems able to be added to this miracle? And yet it is added. For if you do not apply water, but oil, which is more a fuel for fire, it boils up by no drenching or pouring of it. If we read or heard of this miracle concerning some Indian stone, and it could not come to our experiment, we would surely think it a lie, or certainly wonder greatly at it. But of those things of which daily proofs are turned before our eyes, they grow vile, not by being less wonderful in kind, but by their very assiduitas; so that even from India itself, which is a remote part of the world from us, we have ceased to wonder at some things which were able to be brought to us as wonders.

4. Adamantem lapidem multi apud nos habent, et maxime aurifices insignitores-que gemmarum, qui lapis nec ferro, nec igni, nec alia vi ulla, perhibetur praeter hircino sanguine vinci. Sed qui eum habent atque noverunt, numquid ita mirantur, ut hi quibus primum potentia ejus ostenditur? Quibus autem non ostenditur, fortasse nec credunt; aut si credunt, inexperta mirantur; et si contigerit experiiri, adhuc quidem mirantur insolita, sed assiduitas experiendi paulatim subtrahit admirationis incitamentum. Magnetem lapidem novimus mirabilem ferri esse raptorem: quod cum primum vidi, vehementer inhorruui. Quippe cernebamus a lapide ferreum anulum raptum atque suspensum; deinde tanquam ferro quod rapuerat, vim dedisset suam, communemque fecisset, idem annulus admotus est alteri, eumque suspendit, atque ut ille prior lapidi, sic alter annulus priori annulo cohaerebat: accessit eodem modo tertius, accessit et quartus, jamque sibi per mutua circulis nexis, non implicatorum intrinsecus, sed extrinsecus adhaerentium, quasi catena pependerit annulorum. Quis istam vim lapidis non stupeat, quae illi non solum inerat, verum etiam per tot suspensa transibat, et invisibilibus ea vinculis subligabat? Sed multo est mirabilius, quod a fratre et coepiscopo meo Severo Milevitano de isto lapide comperi. Se ipsum namque vidisse narravit, quemadmodum Bathanarius quondam Comes Africae, cum apud eum convivaretur Episcopus, eundem protulerit lapidem, et tenuerit sub argento, ferrumque super argentum posuerit; deinde sicut subter movebat manum, qua lapidem tenebat, ita ferrum desuper movebatur, atque argento medio nihilque patiente, concitatissimo cursu ac recursu infra lapis ab homine, supra ferrum rapiebatur a lapide. Dixi quod ipse conspexi, dixi quod ab illo audivi, cui tanquam ipse viderim credidi. Quid etiam de isto magnete legerim dicam. Quando juxta eum ponitur adamas, non rapit ferrum; et si jam rapuerat, ut ei appropinquaverit, mox remittit India mittit hos lapides: sed si eos nos cognitos jam desistimus admirari, quanto magis illi a quibus veniunt, si eos facillimos habent, sic forsitan habent ut nos calcem, quam miro modo aqua fervescentem, qua solet ignis exstingui, et oleo non fervescentem, quo solet ignis accendi, quia in promptu nobis est, non miramur?

CAPUT V.

Quanta sint quorum ratio nequeat agnoscere, et tamen eadem vera esse non sit ambiguum.

4. Many among us have the diamond stone, and especially goldsmiths and engravers of gems; which stone is said to be overcome neither by iron, nor by fire, nor by any other force, except by goat's blood. But do those who have it and know it wonder at it thus, as those to whom its power is first shown? But those to whom it is not shown, perhaps do not even believe; or if they believe, they wonder at things unexperienced; and if it happens to be experienced, they still indeed wonder at things unusual, but the assiduitas of experiencing gradually withdraws the incentive for admiration. We know the magnet stone to be a wonderful seizer of iron: which when I first saw, I vehemently shuddered. For I saw an iron ring seized and suspended by the stone; then as if it had given its power to the iron which it had seized, and had made it common, the same ring was moved to another, and suspended it, and as that first one to the stone, so the second ring co-adhered to the first ring: a third was added in the same way, a fourth also was added, and already a chain of rings was hanging, with circles linked to each other, not of those entangled within, but of those adhering on the outside. Who would not be amazed at that power of the stone, which not only was in it, but also passed through so many suspended [rings], and bound them with invisible chains? But it is much more wonderful, what I discovered concerning this stone from my brother and fellow-bishop Severus of Milevis. For he narrated that he himself had seen, how Bathanarius once Count of Africa, when the Bishop was feasting with him, brought forth the same stone, and held it under silver, and placed iron upon the silver; then as he moved his hand below, in which he held the stone, so the iron above was moved, and with the silver in between and suffering nothing, by a most rapid course and recourse the stone below was moved by the man, and the iron above was seized by the stone. I said what I myself beheld, I said what I heard from him, whom I believed as if I myself had seen. I will say also what I have read about this magnet. When a diamond is placed near it, it does not seize iron; and if it had already seized it, as it [the diamond] approaches, it soon releases it. India sends these stones: but if we, having known them, already cease to wonder at them, how much more those from whom they come, if they have them most easily, perhaps they have them so as we have lime, at which we do not wonder, because it is at hand to us, though it boils in a wonderful way with water, by which fire is accustomed to be extinguished, and does not boil with oil, by which fire is accustomed to be kindled?

CHAPTER V.

How great are the things of which the reason cannot be recognized, and yet it is not ambiguous that the same things are true.

1. Verumtamen homines infideles, qui cum divina vel praeterita vel futura miracula praedicamus, quae illis experienda non valemus ostendere, rationem a nobis earum flagitant rerum; quam quoniam non possumus reddere (excedunt enim vires mentis humanae), existimant falsa esse quae dicimus; ipsi de tot mirabilibus rebus, quas vel videre possumus, vel videmus, debent reddere rationem. Quod si fieri ab homine non posse perviderint, fatendum est eis, non ideo aliquid non fuisse, vel futurum non esse, quia ratio inde non potest reddi; quandoquidem sunt ista de quibus similiter non potest. Non itaque pergo per plurima quae mandata sunt litteris, non gesta atque transacta, sed in locis quibusque manentia; quo si quisquam ire voluerit et potuerit, utrum vera sint, explorabit, sed pauca commemoro. Agrigentinum Siciliae salem perhibent: cum fuerit admotus igni, velut in aqua fluescere; cum vero ipsi aquae, velut in igne crepitare. Apud Garamantas quemdam fontem tam frigidum diebus, ut non bibatur; tam fervidum noctibus, ut non tangatur. In Epiro alium fontem, in quo faces, ut in caeteris, exstinguuntur accensae; sed, non ut in caeteris, accenduntur extinctae. Asbeston Arcadiae lapidem propterea sic vocari, quod accensus semel jam non possit exstingui. Lignum cujusdam ficus Aegyptiae, non ut ligna caetera in aquis natate, sed mergi; et quod est mirabilius, eum in imo aliquandiu fuerit, inde ad aquae superficiem rursus emergere, quando madefactum debuit humoris pondere praegravari. Poma in terra Sodomorum gigni quidem, et ad maturitatis faciem pervenire; sed morsu pressuve tentata, in fumum ac favillam corio fatiscente vanescere. Pyritem lapidem Persicum tenentis manum, si vehementius prematur, adurere, propter quod ab igne nomen accepit. In eadem Perside gigni etiam lapidem Selenitem, cujus interiorem candorem cum luna crescere atque deficere. In Cappadocia etiam vento equas concipere, eosdemque fetus non amplius triennio vivere. Tylon Indiae insulam eo praeferrī caeteris terris, quod omnis arbor quae in ea gignitur, nunquam nudatur tegmine foliorum.

2. De his atque aliis innumerabilibus mirabilibus, quae historia non factorum et transactorum, sed manentium locorum tenet, mihi autem aliud agenti ea persequi nimis longum est, reddant rationem, si possunt, infideles isti, qui nolunt divinis Litteris credere; quid aliud quam non putantes eas esse divinas, eo quod res habeant incredibiles, sicuti hoc est unde nunc agimus. Non enim admittit, inquirunt, ulla ratio, ut caro ardeat, nec absumatur; doleat, neque moriatur: ratiocinatores videlicet magni, qui de omnibus rebus quas esse mirabiles constat, possint reddere rationem.

1. Nevertheless infidel men, who, when we preach divine miracles either past or future, which we are not able to show to them to be experienced, demand from us the reason of those things; since we cannot render it (for they exceed the powers of the human mind), they think that what we say is false; they themselves ought to render the reason for so many wonderful things which we either can see or do see. But if they clearly see that this cannot be done by man, they must admit that something has not therefore not been, or is not about to be, because the reason for it cannot be rendered; seeing that there are those things concerning which it likewise cannot [be rendered]. Therefore I do not go through the many things which have been committed to letters, not [as] deeds done and passed, but as remaining in certain places; where if anyone should wish and be able to go, he will explore whether they are true, but I commemorate a few. They say of the Agrigentum salt of Sicily: when it has been applied to fire, it flows as if in water; but when to the water itself, it crackles as if in fire. Among the Garamantes [they say there is] a certain spring so cold in the days that it is not drunk; so hot in the nights that it is not touched. In Epirus another spring, in which torches, as in others, are extinguished when kindled; but, not as in others, are kindled when extinguished. Asbestos, a stone of Arcadia, is called thus for the reason that once kindled it can no longer be extinguished. The wood of a certain Egyptian fig, not like other woods, swims in waters, but is submerged; and what is more wonderful, when it has been at the bottom for some time, it emerges again from there to the surface of the water, when having been soaked it ought to be weighed down by the weight of the moisture. Apples in the land of the Sodomites are indeed produced, and arrive at the appearance of ripeness; but being tried by a bite or pressure, they vanish into smoke and ash, the skin giving way. Pyrites, a Persian stone, burns the hand of the holder if it is pressed more vehemently, because of which it received its name from fire. In the same Persia is produced also the stone Selenite, whose interior whiteness increases and fails with the moon. In Cappadocia also mares conceive by the wind, and the same offspring do not live more than three years. Tylon, an island of India, is preferred to other lands for this, that every tree which is produced in it is never bared of its covering of leaves.

2. Concerning these and other innumerable wonders, which history holds not of deeds done and passed, but of remaining places—and it is too long for me, while doing something else, to pursue them—let those infidels render a reason if they can, who do not wish to believe the divine Scriptures; thinking them to be nothing else than not divine, for the reason that they hold incredible things, just as this is of which we now treat. For no reason, they say, admits that flesh should burn and not be consumed; should feel pain, and not die: great reasoners forsooth, who can render a reason for all things which are known to be wonderful.

Reddant ergo de his , quae pauca posuimus, quae procul dubio si esse nescirent, et ea futura esse diceremus, multo minus crederent, quam quod nunc dicentibus nobis nolunt credere aliquando venturum. Quis enim eorum nobis crederet, si, quemadmodum dicimus futura hominum viva corpora, quae semper arsuratque dolitura, nec tamen aliquando moritura sint, ita diceremus in futuro saeculo futurum salem, quem faceret ignis velut in aqua fluescere, eundemque faceret aqua velut in igne crepitare; aut futurum fontem, cujus aqua in refrigerio noctis sic ardeat, ut non possit tangi; in aestibus vero diei sic algeat, ut bibi non possit; aut futurum lapidem, vel eum qui suo calore manum constringentis adureret, vel eum qui undecumque accensus exstingui omnino non posset, et caetera quae praetermissis aliis innumeris commemoranda interim duxi? Haec ergo in illo saeculo, quod futurum est, si diceremus futura, nobisque increduli responderent, Si vultis ut ea credamus, de singulis reddite rationem: nos non posse confiteremur, eo quod istis et similibus Dei miris operibus infirma mortalium ratiocinatio vinceretur; fixam tamen apud nos esse rationem, non sine ratione Omnipotentem facere, unde animus humanus infirmus rationem non potest reddere: et in multis quidem rebus incertum nobis esse quid velit; illud tamen esse certissimum, nihil eorum illi esse impossibile, quaecumque voluerit: eique nos credere praedicenti, quem neque impotentem, neque mentientem possumus credere. Hi tamen fidei reprehensores, exactoresque rationis, quid ab ista respondent, de quibus ratio reddi ab homine non potest, et tamen sunt, et ipsi rationi naturae videntur esse contraria? Quae si futura esse diceremus, similiter a nobis, sicut eorum quae futura esse dicimus, ab infidelibus ratio posceretur. Ac per hoc, cum in talibus operibus Dei deficiat ratio cordis et sermonis humani, sicut ista non ideo non sunt, sic non ideo etiam illa non erunt, quoniam ratio de utrisque ab homine non potest reddi.

CAPUT VI.

Quod non omnia miracula naturalia sint, sed pleraque humano ingenio modificata, pleraque autem daemonum arte composita.

Let them render it, therefore, concerning these which we have set down as a few, which without doubt if they did not know to exist, and we were saying they were to be in the future, they would believe much less than what they now, while we are saying it, do not wish to believe will ever come. For who of them would believe us, if, in the same way as we say that there are to be living bodies of men which will always be about to burn and about to feel pain, and yet not at any time about to die, so we were saying that in the future age there would be salt which fire would cause to flow as if in water, and water would cause the same to crackle as if in fire; or a future spring, whose water in the coolness of the night should so burn that it could not be touched, but in the heat of the day should so freeze that it could not be drunk; or a future stone, either that which by its heat would burn the hand of one clutching it, or that which having been kindled from anywhere could by no means be extinguished, and other things which, having passed over countless others, I have thought fit to commemorate for the time being? If therefore we were saying that these were to be in that age which is to come, and the incredulous should respond to us, "If you wish us to believe these things, render a reason for each": we would confess that we were not able, for the reason that by these and similar wonderful works of God the weak reasoning of mortals is overcome; yet that the reason is fixed with us, that the Omnipotent does not act without reason in things for which the weak human mind cannot render a reason: and indeed in many things it is uncertain to us what He wills; yet that this is most certain, that nothing of those things is impossible to Him, whatever He has willed: and that we believe Him foretelling, whom we can believe neither powerless nor lying. These backbiters of faith, however, and exactors of reason, what do they respond about those things for which a reason cannot be rendered by man, and yet they are, and they seem to be contrary to the very reason of nature? Which if we were saying were to be in the future, a reason would likewise be demanded from us by the infidels, just as of those things which we say are to be in the future. And through this, since the reason of the human heart and speech fails in such works of God, just as those things are not therefore not [real], so also those things will not therefore not be, since a reason for both cannot be rendered by man.

CHAPTER VI.

That not all miracles are natural, but many are modified by human ingenuity, and many are composed by the art of demons.

1. Hic forte respondeant, Prorsus nec ista sunt, nec ista credimus, falsa de his dicta, falsa conscripta sunt; et adjiciant ratiocinantes, atque dicentes, Si talia credenda sunt, credite et vos quod in easdem litteras est relaturn, fuisse vel esse quoddam Veneris fanum, atque ibi candelabrum, et in eo lucernam sub divo sic ardentem, ut eam nulla tempestas, nullus imber exstingeret, unde sicut ille lapis, ita ista λύχνος ἄσβεστος, id est, lucerna inexstinguibilis, nominata est. Quod propterea poterunt dicere, ut respondendi nobis angustias ingerant: quia si dixerimus non esse credendum, scripta illa miraculorum infirmabimus; si autem credendum esse concesserimus, confirmabimus numina paganorum. Sed nos, sicut jam in libro duodevigesimo hujus operis dixi (cap. 18), non habemus necesse omnia credere quae continet historia gentium, cum et ipsi inter se historici, sicut ait Varro, quasi data opera et quasi ex industria per multa dissentiant; sed ea, si volumus, credimus quae non adversantur libris, quibus non dubitamus oportere nos credere. De his autem miraculorum locis, nobis ad ea quae futura persuadere incredulis volumus, satis illa sufficiunt, quae nos quosque possumus experiri, et eorum testes idoneos non difficile est invenire. De isto autem fano Veneris et lucerna inexstinguibili, non solum in nullas coarctamur angustias, verum etiam latitudinis nobis campus aperitur. Addimus enim ad istam lucernam inexstinguibilem, et humanarum et magicarum, id est per homines daemoniarum artium, et ipsorum per se ipsos daemonum multa miracula: quae si negare voluerimus, eidem ipsi cui credimus sacrarum Litterarum adversabimur veritati. Aut ergo in lucerna illa mechanicum aliquid de lapide asbesto ars humana molita est, aut arte magica factum est, quod homines illo mirarentur in templo, aut daemon quispiam sub nomine Veneris tanta se efficacia praesentavit, ut hoc ibi prodigium et appareret hominibus, et diutius permaneret. Illiciuntur autem daemones ad inhabitandum per creaturas, quas non ipsi, sed Deus condidit, delectabilibus pro sua diversitate diversis, non ut animalia cibus, sed ut spiritus signis, quae cujusque delectationi congruunt, per varia genera lapidum, herbarum, lignorum, animalium, carminum, rituum. Ut autem illiciantur ab hominibus, prius eos ipsi astutissima calliditate seducunt, vel inspirando eorum cordibus virus occultum, vel etiam fallacibus amicitiiis apparendo, eorumque paucos discipulos suos faciunt, plurimorumque doctores. Neque enim potuit, nisi primum ipsis docentibus, disci quid quisque illorum appetat, quid exhorreat, quo invitetur nomine, quo cogatur: unde magicae artes earumque artifices exstiterunt. Maxime autem possident corda mortalium, qua potissimum possessione gloriantur, cum se transfigurant in Angelos lucis (II Cor. XI, 14).

1. Here they may perchance respond: "Neither are those things at all real, nor do we believe them; false things have been said about them, false things have been written"; and they may add, reasoning and saying: "If such things are to be believed, do you also believe what is related in the same letters, that there was or is a certain temple of Venus, and there a candelabrum, and in it a lamp burning in the open air in such a way that no tempest, no rain could extinguish it, whence like that stone, so this was named *λύχνος ἄσβεστος*, that is, an unextinguishable lamp." Which they will be able to say for this reason, that they may crowd us with narrow straits for responding: because if we say it is not to be believed, we shall invalidate those writings of miracles; but if we concede that it is to be believed, we shall confirm the divinities of the pagans. But we, as I have already said in the eighteenth book of this work (chap. 18), have no necessity to believe all things which the history of the nations contains, since even the historians themselves among themselves, as Varro says, disagree through many things as if by design and as if from industry; but we believe those things, if we wish, which are not adverse to the books which we do not doubt we ought to believe. But concerning these places of miracles, those things which we ourselves can experience are sufficient for us for those things which we wish to persuade the incredulous will be in the future, and it is not difficult to find suitable witnesses of them. But concerning this temple of Venus and the unextinguishable lamp, not only are we constrained in no narrow straits, but even a field of latitude is opened to us. For we add to that unextinguishable lamp many miracles both of human and of magic—that is, of demonic arts through men—and of the demons themselves through themselves: which if we should wish to deny, we shall oppose that same truth of the sacred Scriptures in which we believe. Either therefore human art devised some mechanical thing from asbestos stone in that lamp, or it was done by magic art, so that men should wonder at it in that temple, or some demon under the name of Venus presented himself with so much efficacy that this prodigy should both appear to men there and remain for a long time. But demons are enticed to inhabit through creatures which not they themselves, but God founded, things delightful for their diversity to different [beings], not like animals by foods, but like spirits by signs, which agree with the delight of each, through various kinds of stones, herbs, woods, animals, songs, rituals. But that they may be enticed by men, they themselves first seduce them with the most astute cunning, either by inspiring an occult poison into their hearts, or even by appearing in fallacious friendships, and they make a few of them their disciples, and teachers of many. For it could not be learned, except by themselves first teaching, what each of them appetites, what he abhors, by what name he is invited, by what he is compelled: whence magic arts and their artificers have stood forth. But they especially possess the hearts of mortals, in which possession they chiefly glory, when they transfigure themselves into angels of light (2 Cor. 11:14).

Sunt ergo facta eorum plurima, quae quanto magis mirabilia confitemur, tanto cautius vitare debemus. Sed ad hoc unde nunc agimus, nobis etiam ipsa proficiunt. Si enim haec immundi daemones possunt, quanto potentiores sunt sancti Angeli, quanto potentior est his omnibus Deus, qui tantorum miraculorum effectores etiam ipsos Angelos fecit?

2. Quamobrem si tot et tanta mirifica, quae *μηχανήματα* appellant, Dei creatura utentibus humanis artibus fiunt, ut ea qui nesciunt opinentur esse divina; unde factum est, ut in quodam templo lapidibus magnetibus in solo et camera proportionem magnitudinis positus, simulacrum ferreum aeris illius medio inter utrumque lapidem, ignorantibus quid sursum esset ac deorsum, quasi numinis potestate penderet; quale aliquid etiam in illa lucerna Veneris de lapide asbesto ab artifice fieri potuisse jam diximus: si magorum opera, quos nostra Scriptura veneficos et incantatores vocat, in tantum daemones extollere potuerunt, ut congruere hominum sensibus sibi nobilis poeta videretur, de quadam femina, quae tali arte polleret, dicens: Haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes, Quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas; Sistere aquam fluviis, et vertere sidera retro; Nocturnosque ciet manes: mugire videbis. Sub pedibus terram, et descendere montibus ornos: (Virgil. Aeneid. lib. 4, vers. 487-491.) quanto magis Deus potens est facere quae infidelibus sunt incredibilia, sed illius facilia potestati; quandoquidem ipse lapidum aliarumque vim rerum et hominum ingenia, qui ea miris utuntur modis, angelicasque naturas omnibus terrenis potentiores animantibus condidit, universa mirabilia mirabili vincente virtute, et operandi, jubendi, sinendique sapientia, utens omnibus tam mirabiliter, quam creavit?

CAPUT VII.

Quod in rebus miris summa credendi ratio sit omnipotentia Creatoris.

1. Cur itaque facere non possit Deus, ut et resurgant corpora mortuorum, et igne aeterno crucientur corpora damnatorum, qui fecit mundum in coelo, in terra, in aere, in aquis, innumerabilibus miraculis plenum; cum sit omnibus quibus plenus est procul dubio majus et excellentius etiam ipse mundus miraculum? Sed isti cum quibus vel contra quos agimus, qui et Deum esse credunt a quo factus est mundus, et deos ab illo factos per quos ab illo administratur mundus, et miraculorum effectrices, sive spontaneorum, sive cultu et ritu quolibet imperatorum, sive etiam magicorum mundanas vel non negant, vel insuper et praedicant potestates,

There are therefore very many deeds of theirs, which the more we confess them to be wonderful, the more cautiously we ought to avoid them. But for this of which we now treat, even they themselves are of use to us. For if unclean demons can do these things, how much more powerful are the holy angels, how much more powerful than all these is God, who made even the angels themselves the effectors of so great miracles?

2. Wherefore if so many and so great wonderful things, which they call μηχανήματα [mechanisms], are made by human arts using God's creature, so that those who are ignorant of them think they are divine; whence it happened, that in a certain temple, magnetic stones being placed in the floor and the roof in proportion to their size, an iron image hung in the middle of that air between each stone, while those ignorant of what was above and below [thought it hung] as if by the power of a divinity; such a thing as we have already said could have been made by an artificer in that lamp of Venus from asbestos stone: if the works of magicians, whom our Scripture calls sorcerers and enchanters, demons have been able to extol so much, that the noble poet seemed to himself to agree with the senses of men, saying of a certain woman who excelled in such art: "She promises by her charms to release what minds she wills, but to cast hard cares upon others; to stay the water in rivers, and to turn the stars backward; and she summons the nocturnal manes: you will see the earth bellow under your feet," and the ash trees descend from the mountains": (Virgil, Aeneid lib. 4, v. 487-491) how much more is God powerful to do things which are incredible to infidels, but easy to His power; seeing that He Himself founded the power of stones and of other things, and the geniuses of men who use them in wonderful modes, and the angelic natures more powerful than all earthly living beings, conquering all wonders by His wonderful virtue, and by the wisdom of working, commanding, and permitting, using all things as wonderfully as He created them?

CHAPTER VII.

That in wonderful things the highest reason for believing is the omnipotence of the Creator.

1. Why therefore could God not cause both the bodies of the dead to rise again, and the bodies of the damned to be tortured by eternal fire, He who made the world in heaven, on earth, in air, in the waters, full of innumerable miracles; since the world itself is without doubt a greater and more excellent miracle than all [the miracles] with which it is full? But these with whom or against whom we act, who both believe God to exist by whom the world was made, and gods made by Him through whom the world is administered by Him, and who either do not deny or moreover even preach the mundane powers which are the effectors of miracles, whether spontaneous, or commanded by whatever worship and rite, or even magic;

quando eis rerum vim mirabilem proponimus aliarum, quae nec animalia sunt rationalia, nec ulla ratione praediti spiritus, sicut sunt ea, quorum pauca commemoravimus, respondere assolent: Vis est ista naturae, natura eorum sic se habet, propriarum istae sunt efficaciae naturarum. Tota itaque ratio est, cur Agrigentinum salem flamma fluere faciat, aqua crepitare, quia haec est natura ejus. At hoc esse potius contra naturam videtur, quae non igni, sed aquae dedit salem solvere; torrere autem igni, non aquae. Sed ista, inquiunt, salis hujus naturalis est vis, ut his contraria patiatur. Haec igitur ratio redditur et de illo fonte Garamantico, ubi una vena friget diebus, noctibus fervet, vi utraque molesta tangentibus. Haec et de illo alio, qui cum sit contrectantibus frigidus, et facem sicut alii fontes exstinguat accensam, dissimiliter tamen atque mirabiliter idem ipse accendit exstinctam. Haec et de lapide asbesto, qui cum ignem nullum habeat proprium, accepto tamen sic ardet alieno, ut non possit exstingui. Haec de caeteris quae piget retexere, quibus licet vis insolita contra naturam inesse videatur, alia tamen de illis non redditur ratio, nisi ut dicatur, hanc eorum esse naturam. Brevis sane ista est ratio, fateor, sufficiensque responsio. Sed cum Deus auctor sit naturarum omnium, cur nolunt fortiolem nos reddere rationem, quando aliquid velut impossibile nolunt credere, eisque redditionem rationis poscentibus respondemus, hanc esse voluntatem omnipotentis Dei; qui certe non ob aliud vocatur omnipotens, nisi quoniam quidquid vult potest; qui potuit creare tam multa, quae nisi ostenderentur, aut a credendis hodieque testibus dicerentur, profecto impossibilia putarentur, non solum quae ignotissima apud nos, verum etiam quae notissima posui. Illa enim quae apud nos praeter eos, quorum de his libros legimus, non habent testem, et ab eis conscripta sunt qui non sunt divinitus docti atque humanitus falli forte potuerunt, licet cuique sine recta reprehensione non credere.

2. Nam nec ego volo temere credi cuncta quae posui, quia nec a me ipso ita creduntur tanquam nulla de illis sit in mea cogitatione dubitatio, exceptis his quae vel ipse sum expertus, et cuivis facile est experiri;

when we propose to them the wonderful power of other things, which are neither rational animals nor spirits endowed with any reason, such as are those of which we have commemorated a few, they are accustomed to respond: "That is the force of nature, their nature has itself thus, those are the efficacies of their own natures." Therefore the whole reason why flame causes Agrigentum salt to flow, and water to crackle, is because this is its nature. But this seems rather contrary to nature, which gave to water, not to fire, to dissolve salt; but to scorch by fire, not by water. But that, they say, is the natural power of this salt, that it should suffer these contrary things. This reason, therefore, is rendered also concerning that Garamantic spring, where one vein is cold in the days and boils in the nights, with each power being troublesome to those touching it. This also of that other [spring], which although it is cold to those handling it, and like other springs extinguishes a kindled torch, yet dissimilarly and wonderfully the same [spring] kindles an extinguished one. This also of the asbestos stone, which although it has no fire of its own, yet having received a foreign one it burns so that it cannot be extinguished. This [reason is rendered] of the others which it irks to review, in which although an unusual force seems to be in them contrary to nature, yet no other reason is rendered concerning them, except that it be said, this is their nature. That reason is surely brief, I confess, and a sufficient response. But since God is the author of all natures, why do they not want us to render a stronger reason, when they do not want to believe something as if impossible, and to them demanding a rendering of the reason we respond, that this is the will of the almighty God; who certainly is called almighty for no other reason, except because He can do whatever He wills; who was able to create so many things, which unless they were shown, or said by witnesses to be believed even today, would surely be thought impossible, not only those which are most unknown among us, but even those most known which I have set down. For those things which among us have no witness besides those whose books we read concerning them, and were written by those who are not divinely taught and perchance could be humanly deceived, it is permitted to anyone not to believe without right reprehension.

2. For neither do I wish all things which I have set down to be rashly believed, because they are not so believed by myself as if there were no doubt concerning them in my thought, except those things which I myself have experienced, and which are easy for anyone to experience;

sicut de calce, quod fervet in aqua, in oleo frigida est; de magnete lapide, quod nescio qua sorbitione insensibili stipulam non moveat, et ferrum rapiat; de carne non putrescente pavonis, cum putruerit et Platonis; de palea sic frigente ut fluescere nivem non sinat, sic calente ut maturescere poma compellat; de igne fulgido, quod secundum suum fulgorem lapides coquendo candificet, et contra eundem suum fulgorem urendo plurima obfuscet. Tale est quod et nigrae maculae offunduntur ex oleo splendido, similiter nigrae lineae de candido imprimuntur argento. De carbonibus etiam, quod accendente igne sic vertantur in contrarium, ut de lignis pulcherrimis tetri, fragiles de duris, imputribiles de putribilibus fiant. Haec ipse quaedam cum multis, quaedam cum omnibus novi, et alia plurima, quae huic libro inserere longum fuit. De his autem quae posui non experta, sed lecta praeter de fonte illo, ubi faces exstinguuntur ardentes et accenduntur exstinctae, et de pomis terrae Sodomorum forinsecus quasi maturis, intrinsecus fumeis, nec testes aliquos idoneos a quibus utrum vera essent audirem, potui reperire. Et illum quidem fontem non inveni, qui in Epiro vidisse se dicerent, sed qui in Gallia similem nossent non longe a Gratianopoli civitate. De fructibus autem Sodomitarum arborum, non tantum litterae fide dignae indicant, verum etiam tam multi se loquuntur expertos, ut hinc dubitare non possim. Caetera vero sic habeo, ut neque affirmanda, neque neganda decreverim: sed ideo etiam ipsa posui, quoniam apud eorum, contra quos agimus, historicos legi: ut ostenderem qualia multa, multique illorum, nulla reddita ratione, in suorum litteratorum scripta litteris credant, qui nobis credere, quando id quod eorum experientiam sensumque transgreditur, omnipotentem Deum dicimus esse facturum, nec reddita ratione dignantur. Nam quae melior et validior ratio de rebus talibus redditur, quam cum Omnipotens ea posse facere perhibetur, et facturus dicitur, quae praenuntiasset ibi legitur, ubi alia multa praenuntiavit, quae fecisse monstratur? Ipse quippe faciet, quia se facturum esse praedixit, quae impossibilia putantur, qui promisit et fecit ut ab incredulis gentibus incredibilia crederentur.

CAPUT VIII.

Non esse contra naturam, cum in aliqua re, cujus natura innotuit, aliquid ab eo quod erat notum, incipit esse diversum.

as concerning lime, that it boils in water, and is cold in oil; concerning the magnet stone, that I know not by what insensible suction it does not move a straw, and seizes iron; concerning the meat of the peacock not rotting, when even the [body] of Plato has rotted; concerning straw so freezing that it does not permit snow to flow, and so heating that it compels apples to mature; concerning bright fire, that according to its own brightness it whitens stones by cooking [them], and contrary to that same brightness of its own it darkens very many things by burning [them]. Such a thing is that both black spots are spread from splendid oil, and likewise black lines are imprinted from white silver. Concerning coals also, that by the kindling fire they are so turned into the contrary, that from most beautiful wood they become foul, fragile from hard, and imputrescible from putrescible. Some of these things I myself know with many [people], some with all, and very many other things, which it was long to insert into this book. But concerning those which I set down not as experienced but as read—except concerning that spring where burning torches are extinguished and extinguished ones are kindled, and concerning the apples of the land of the Sodomites outwardly as if mature, inwardly smoky—I have not been able to find any suitable witnesses from whom I might hear whether they were true. And indeed I have not found those who said they had seen that spring in Epirus, but those who knew a similar one in Gaul not far from the city of Grenoble. But concerning the fruits of the Sodomite trees, not only do letters worthy of faith indicate [it], but even so many speak of themselves as experienced, that I cannot doubt of this. But the other things I hold so that I have decreed they are neither to be affirmed nor to be denied: but I have set them down for this reason also, since I read [them] among the historians of those against whom we act: so that I might show what kind of many things, and many of them, they believe in the writings committed to letters by their own literati, no reason being rendered, who do not deign to believe us, even when a reason is rendered, when we say that the almighty God is about to do that which transcends their experience and sense. For what better and more valid reason is rendered concerning such things, than when the Omnipotent is said to be able to do them, and is said to be about to do what He is read to have foretold there, where He foretold many other things which He is shown to have done? For He Himself will do, because He predicted that He would do, things which are thought impossible, He who promised and caused that incredible things should be believed by incredulous nations.

CHAPTER VIII.

That it is not against nature, when in some thing whose nature has become known, something begins to be diverse from that which was known.

1. Si autem propterea respondent, se non credere quae de humanis semper arsuris nec unquam morituris corporibus dicimus, quia humanorum corporum naturam novimus longe aliter institutam; unde nec illa ratio hinc reddi potest, quae de illis naturis mirabilibus reddebatur, ut dici possit, Vis istan naturalist est, rei hujus ista natura est; quoniam scimus humanae carnis istam non esse naturam: habemus quidem quod respondeamus de Litteris sacris, hanc ipsam scilicet humanam carnem aliter institutam fuisse ante peccatum, id est, ut posset nunquam perpeti mortem; aliter autem post peccatum, qualis in aerumna hujus mortalitatis innotuit, ut perpetem vitam tenere non possit. Sic ergo aliter quam nobis nota est, instituetur in resurrectione mortuorum. Sed quoniam istis non credunt litteris, ubi legitur qualis in paradiso vixerit homo, quantumque fuerit a necessitate mortis alienus, quibus utique si crederent, non cum illis poena damnatorum, quae futura est, operosius ageremus; de litteris eorum, qui doctissimi apud illos fuerunt, aliquid proferendum est, quo appareat posse fieri, ut aliter se habeat quaeque res, quam prius in rebus innotuerat suae determinatione naturae.

2. Est in Marci Varronis libris, quorum inscriptio est, De gente populi Romani, quod eisdem verbis, quibus ibi legitur, et hic ponam: «In coelo, inquit, mirabile exstitit portentum: nam in stella Veneris nobilissima, quam Plautus Vesperuginem Homerus Hesperon appellat, pulcherrimam dicens, Castor scribit tantum portentum exstitisse, ut mutaret colorem, magnitudinem, figuram, cursum: quod factum ita neque antea, nec postea sit. Hoc factum Ogyge rege dicebant Adrastus Cyzicenus et Dion Neapolites, mathematici nobiles». Hoc certe Varro tantus auctor portentum non appellaret, nisi esse contra naturam videretur. Omnia quippe portenta contra naturam dicimus esse: sed non sunt. Quomodo est enim contra naturam, quod Dei fit voluntate, cum voluntas tanti utique Conditoris conditae rei cujusque natura sit? Portentum ergo fit, non contra naturam, sed contra quam est nota natura. Quis autem portentorum numerat multitudinem, quae historia gentium continetur? Sed nunc in hoc uno attendamus, quod ad rem de qua agimus pertinet. Quid ita dispositum est ab auctore naturae coeli et terrae, quemadmodum cursus ordinatissimus siderum? quid tam ratis legibus fixisque firmatum? Et tamen quando ille voluit, qui summo regit imperio ac potestate quod condidit, stella prae caeteris magnitudine atque splendore notissima, colorem magnitudinem, figuram, et (quod est mirabilius) sui cursus ordinem legemque mutavit.

1. But if they respond for this reason, that they do not believe what we say concerning human bodies always to be about to burn and never about to die, because we know the nature of human bodies to have been instituted far otherwise; whence neither can that reason be rendered from this, which was rendered concerning those wonderful natures, so that it can be said, "This is a natural force, this is the nature of this thing"; since we know that this is not the nature of human flesh: we indeed have what we may respond from the sacred Scriptures, namely, that this same human flesh was instituted otherwise before sin, that is, so that it could never suffer death; but otherwise after sin, such as it has become known in the misery of this mortality, so that it cannot hold perpetual life. Thus therefore otherwise than it is known to us, will it be instituted in the resurrection of the dead. But since they do not believe those writings, where it is read what kind of man lived in paradise, and how much he was alien from the necessity of death—to which indeed if they believed, we would not act more laboriously with them concerning the punishment of the damned, which is to come—something must be brought forth from the letters of those who were most learned among them, by which it may appear that it can happen that any thing may have itself otherwise than had previously become known in things by the determination of its own nature.

2. There is in the books of Marcus Varro, the title of which is, *On the Race of the Roman People*, that which I shall also place here in the same words in which it is read there: "In the sky," he says, "there appeared a wonderful portent: for in the very noble star of Venus, which Plautus calls *Vesperugo*, and Homer *Hesperos*, calling it most beautiful, Castor writes that so great a portent appeared, that it changed its color, magnitude, figure, and course; which fact happened neither before nor after. Adrastus of Cyzicus and Dion of Naples, noble mathematicians, said that this happened during the reign of King Ogyges." Certainly Varro, so great an author, would not call this a portent unless it seemed to be against nature. For we say that all portents are against nature; but they are not. For how is that against nature which happens by the will of God, since the will of so great a Founder is the nature of each created thing? A portent, therefore, happens not against nature, but against the nature that is known. But who can count the multitude of portents which are contained in the history of the nations? But now let us attend to this one, which pertains to the matter of which we are treating. What has been so disposed by the author of the nature of heaven and earth as the most orderly course of the stars? What is so strengthened by fixed and established laws? And yet, when He willed it, who rules what He founded with the highest command and power, the star most noble above the rest in magnitude and splendor changed its color, magnitude, figure, and (what is more wonderful) the order and law of its course.

Turbavit profecto tunc, si ulli jam fuerunt canones astrologorum, quos velut inerrabili computatione de praeteritis ac futuris astrorum motibus conscriptos habent, quos canones sequendo ausi sunt dicere hoc quod de Lucifero contigit, nec antea, nec postea contigisse. Nos autem in divinis libris legimus, etiam solem ipsum et stetisse; cum hoc a Domino Deo petivisset vir sanctus Jesus Nave, donec coeptum praelium victoria terminaret; et retrorsum redisse, ut regi Ezechiae quindecim anni ad vivendum additi, hoc etiam prodigio promissioni Dei significarentur adjuncto. Sed ista quoque miracula, quae meritis sunt concessa sanctorum, quando credunt isti facta, magicis artibus tribuunt. Unde illud est quod superius commemoravi dixisse Virgilium, Sistere aquam fluviiis, et vertere sidera retro. Nam et fluvium stetisse superius, inferiusque fluxisse, cum populus Dei, ductore supra memorato Jesu Nave, viam carperet, et Elia propheta transeunte, ac postea discipulo ejus Elisaeo id esse factum in sacris Litteris legimus; et retro versum fuisse maximum sidus regnante Ezechia, modo commemoravimus. Quod vero de Lucifero Varro scripsit, non est illic dictum alicui homini petenti id fuisse concessum.

3. Non ergo de notitia naturarum caliginem sibi faciant infideles, quasi non possit in aliqua re divinitus fieri aliud, quam in ejus natura per humanam suam experientiam cognoverunt: quamvis et ipsa quae in rerum natura omnibus nota sunt, non minus mira sint; essentque stupenda considerantibus cunctis, si solerent homines mirari mira nisi rara. Quis enim, consulta ratione, non videat in hominum innumerabili numerositate, et tanta naturae similitudine, valde mirabiliter sic habere singulos singulas facies, ut nisi inter se similes essent, non discerneretur species eorum ab animalibus caeteris; et rursus nisi inter se dissimiles essent, non discernerentur singuli ab hominibus caeteris? Quos ergo similes confitemur, eosdem dissimiles invenimus. Sed mirabilior est consideratio dissimilitudinis; quoniam similitudinem Justius videtur exposcere natura communis. Et tamen quoniam quae sunt rara, ipsa sunt mira, multo amplius admiramur quando duos ita similes reperimus, ut in eis discernendis aut semper, aut frequenter erremus.

He certainly then disturbed, if there were already any canons of the astrologers, which they have written down as if by unerring computation concerning the past and future movements of the stars—following which canons they have dared to say that this which happened concerning Lucifer happened neither before nor after. But we read in the divine books that even the sun itself stood still, when the holy man Joshua [Jesus Nave] had asked this from the Lord God, until he might terminate the battle he had begun with victory; and that it went backward, so that fifteen years were added to the life of King Hezekiah, this miracle being added as a sign of God's promise. But these miracles also, which were granted to the merits of the saints, when they believe them to have happened, they attribute to magic arts. Whence is that which I commemorated above that Virgil said: "To stop the water in the rivers, and to turn the stars backward." For we read in the sacred Scriptures that a river also stood above, and flowed below, when the people of God, under the leader Joshua mentioned above, took their way; and that this was done when the prophet Elijah crossed over, and afterward his disciple Elisha; and we have just commemorated that the greatest star was turned backward while Hezekiah was reigning. But as for what Varro wrote concerning Lucifer, it is not said there that it was granted to some man asking for it.

3. Therefore, let not the infidels create a darkness for themselves from the knowledge of natures, as if something else cannot happen divinely in some thing than what they have known in its nature through their own human experience; although those very things which are known to all in the nature of things are no less wonderful, and would be stupendous to all considering them, if men were not accustomed to wonder at wonders only if they are rare. For who, having consulted reason, would not see in the innumerable numerosity of men, and so great a similarity of nature, that it is very wonderfully so that each one has an individual face, so that unless they were similar to each other, their species would not be discerned from the rest of the animals; and again, unless they were dissimilar to each other, individuals would not be discerned from the rest of men? Those, therefore, whom we confess to be similar, we find to be the same ones dissimilar. But more wonderful is the consideration of dissimilarity; since common nature seems more justly to demand similarity. And yet, since those things which are rare are themselves wonderful, we admire much more when we find two so similar that in discerning them we err either always or frequently.

4. Sed quod dixi scriptum a Varrone, licet eorum sit historicus idemque doctissimus, fortasse vere factum esse non credunt; aut quia non diu mansit talis ejusdem sideris cursus, sed reditum est ad solitum, minus isto moventur exemplo. Habent ergo aliud, quod etiam nunc possit ostendi, eisque puto debere sufficere, quo commoneantur, cum aliquid adverterint in aliqua institutione naturae, eamque sibi notissimam fecerint, non se inde Deo debere praescribere, quasi eam non possit in longe aliud, quam eis cognita est, vertere atque mutare. Terra Sodomorum non fuit utique ut nunc est: sed jacebat simili caeteris facie, eademque vel etiam uberiore fecunditate pollebat; nam Dei paradiso in divinis eloquiis comparata est. Haec posteaquam tacta de coelo est, sicut illorum quoque attestatur historia, et nunc ab eis qui veniunt ad loca illa conspicitur, prodigiosa fuligine horrori est, et poma ejus interiorem favillam mendaci superficie maturitatis includunt. Ecce non erat talis, et talis est. Ecce a Conditore naturarum natura ejus in hanc foedissimam diversitatem mirabili mutatione conversa est: et quod post tam longum accidit tempus, tam longo tempore perseverat.

5. Sicut ergo non fuit impossibile Deo, quas voluit, instituere; sic ei non est impossibile, in quidquid voluerit, quas instituit, mutare naturas. Unde illorum quoque miraculorum multitudo silvescit, quae monstra, ostenta, portenta, prodigia nuncupantur: quae recolere et commemorare si velim, hujus operis quis erit finis? Monstra sane dicta perhibent a monstrando, quod aliquid significando demonstrent; et ostenta ab ostendendo; et portenta a portendendo, id est, praeostendendo; et prodigia, quod porro dicant, id est, futura praedicant. Sed viderint eorum conjectores, quomodo ex eis sive fallantur, sive instinctu spirituum, quibus cura est tali poena dignos animos hominum noxae curiositatis retibus implicare, etiam vera praedicant, sive multa dicendo aliquando in aliquid veritatis incurrant. Nobis tamen ista quae velut contra naturam fiunt, et contra naturam fieri dicuntur (quo more hominum locutus est et Apostolus, dicendo, contra naturam in olea insitum oleastrum factum esse participem pinguedinis oleae), et monstra, ostenta, portenta, prodigia nuncupantur, hoc monstrare debent, hoc ostendere, vel praeostendere, hoc praedicere, quod facturus sit Deus, quae de corporibus hominum se praenuntiavit esse facturum, nulla impediante difficultate, nulla praescribente lege naturae. Quomodo autem praenuntiaverit, satis in libro superiore docuisse me existimo, decerpendo de Scripturis sanctis et novis et veteribus, non quidem omnia ad hoc pertinentia, sed quae sufficere huic operi judicavi.

4. But what I said was written by Varro, although he is their own historian and also most learned, perhaps they do not believe was truly done; or because such a course of that same star did not remain for long, but there was a return to the accustomed one, they are less moved by that example. They have therefore another thing, which even now can be shown, and which I think ought to suffice for them, by which they may be reminded, when they have noticed something in some institution of nature and have made it most known to themselves, that they ought not from that to prescribe to God, as if He cannot turn and change it into something far otherwise than it is known to them. The land of the Sodomites was certainly not as it is now: but it lay with a face similar to the others, and flourished with the same or even more abundant fecundity; for it is compared to the paradise of God in the divine oracles. This land, after it was touched from heaven, as their history also attests, and is now seen by those who come to those places, is an object of horror with a prodigious soot, and its apples enclose an interior cinder within a deceitful surface of maturity. Behold, it was not such, and it is such. Behold, by the Founder of natures, its nature was converted by a wonderful mutation into this most foul diversity: and that which happened after so long a time, perseveres for so long a time.

5. Just as therefore it was not impossible for God to institute those natures which He willed; so it is not impossible for Him to change those natures which He instituted into whatever He willed. Whence also that multitude of miracles grows wild, which are named monsters, ostents, portents, prodigies: which if I were to recall and commemorate, what will be the end of this work? They hold that monsters are called from *monstrando* (showing), because they demonstrate something by signifying it; and ostents from *ostendendo* (showing forth); and portents from *portendendo* (portending), that is, pre-showing; and prodigies, because they say things from afar (*porro dicant*), that is, they predict future things. But let their diviners see how from them they are either deceived, or by the instinct of spirits whose care it is to involve the minds of men worthy of such punishment in the nets of harmful curiosity, they even predict true things, or by saying many things they sometimes run into something of truth. To us, however, these things which are done as if against nature, and are said to be done against nature (in which manner of men the Apostle also spoke, by saying that contrary to nature the wild olive was grafted into the olive and made a partaker of its fatness), and are named monsters, ostents, portents, prodigies, ought to show this, ought to demonstrate or pre-show this, ought to predict this: that God will do what He pre-announced He would do concerning the bodies of men, with no difficulty impeding, with no law of nature prescribing against it. But how He pre-announced it, I think I have sufficiently taught in the previous book, by plucking from the holy Scriptures both new and old, not indeed all things pertaining to this, but what I judged to suffice for this work.

CAPUT IX.

De gehenna, et aeternarum qualitate poenarum.

1. Quod igitur de sempiterno supplicio damnatorum per suum prophetam Deus dixit fiet, omnino fiet: Vermis eorum non morietur, et ignis eorum non exstinguetur. Ad hoc enim vehementius commendandum, etiam Dominus Jesus, cum membra quae hominem scandalizant pro his hominibus poneret, quos ut sua membra dextra quis diligit, eaque praeciperet amputari: Bonum est, inquit, tibi debilem introire in vitam, quam duas manus habentem ire in gehennam, in ignem inexstinguibilem, ubi vermis eorum non moritur, et ignis eorum non exstinguitur. Similiter de pede: Bonum est tibi, inquit, claudum introire in vitam aeternam, quam duos pedes habentem mitti in gehennam ignis inexstinguibilis, ubi vermis eorum non moritur, et ignis non exstinguitur. Non aliter ait et de oculo: Bonum est tibi luscum introire in regnum Dei, quam duos oculos habentem mitti in gehennam ignis, ubi vermis eorum non moritur, et ignis non exstinguitur. Non eum piguit uno loco eadem verba ter dicere: quem non terreat ista repetitio, et illius poenae comminatio tam vehemens ore divino?

2. Utrumque autem horum, ignem scilicet atque vermem, qui volunt ad animi poenas, non ad corporis pertinere, dicunt etiam uri dolore animi sero atque infructuose poenitentis eos qui fuerint a regno Dei separati: et ideo ignem pro isto dolore urente non incongrue poni potuisse contendunt: unde illud Apostoli est, Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror? Eundem etiam vermem putant intelligendum esse. Nam scriptum est, inquit, Sicut tinea vestimentum et vermis lignum, sic moeror excruciat cor viri. Qui vero poenas et animi et corporis in illo supplicio futuras esse non dubitant, igne uri corpus, animum autem rodi quodammodo verme moeroris affirmant. Quod etsi credibilius dicitur; quia utique absurdum est, ibi dolorem aut corporis, aut animi defuturum: ego tamen facilius est ut ad corpus dicam utrumque pertinere, quam neutrum; et ideo tacitum in illis divinae Scripturae verbis animi dolorem, quoniam consequens esse intelligitur, etiamsi non dicatur, ut corpore sic dolente animus quoque sterili poenitentia crucietur.

CHAPTER IX.

Of Gehenna, and the quality of eternal punishments.

1. Therefore, what God said through His prophet concerning the everlasting punishment of the damned will happen, it will altogether happen: "Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be extinguished." For to commend this more vehemently, the Lord Jesus also, when He put the members which scandalize a man for those men whom anyone loves as his own right members, and commanded them to be cut off, said: "It is good for thee to enter into life feeble, than having two hands to go into Gehenna, into unquenchable fire, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not extinguished." Similarly of the foot: "It is good for thee," He said, "to enter into eternal life lame, than having two feet to be sent into the Gehenna of unquenchable fire, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not extinguished." Not otherwise did He say also of the eye: "It is good for thee to enter into the kingdom of God one-eyed, than having two eyes to be sent into the Gehenna of fire, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not extinguished." It did not irk Him to say the same words thrice in one place: whom does that repetition not terrify, and that so vehement commination of that punishment from the divine mouth?

2. But both of these, namely the fire and the worm, those who wish to pertain to the punishments of the soul, and not of the body, say also that those who shall have been separated from the kingdom of God are burned with the grief of a soul repenting late and fruitlessly: and therefore they contend that the fire could not incongruously have been placed for that burning grief: whence is that saying of the Apostle: "Who is scandalized, and I am not burned?" They think the same worm also is to be understood. For it is written, they say: "As a moth a garment and a worm wood, so does sorrow torment the heart of a man." But those who do not doubt that there will be punishments of both soul and body in that torment, affirm that the body is burned by fire, but the soul is gnawed in some way by the worm of sorrow. Which although it is said more credibly; because certainly it is absurd that there the grief either of the body or of the soul will be lacking: I however would more easily say that both pertain to the body than neither; and therefore the grief of the soul is silent in those words of divine Scripture, because it is understood to be a consequence, even if it is not said, that while the body so grieves, the soul also is tortured by a sterile repentance.

Legitur quippe et in veteribus Scripturis, Vindicta carnis, impii, ignis et vermis. Potuit brevius dici, Vindicta impii. Cur ergo dictum est, carnis impii, nisi quia utrumque, id est, et ignis et vermis, poena erit carnis? Aut si vindictam carnis propterea dicere voluit, quia hoc in homine vindicabitur, quod secundum carnem vixerit (propter hoc enim veniet in mortem secundam, quam significavit Apostolus dicens, Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis moriemini); eligat quisque quod placet, aut ignem tribuere corpori, animo vermem: hoc proprie, illud tropice; aut utrumque proprie corpori. Jam enim satis superius disputavi, posse animalia etiam in ignibus vivere, in ustione sine consumptione, in dolore sine morte, per miraculum omnipotentissimi Creatoris: cui hoc possibile esse qui negat, a quo sit quidquid in naturis omnibus minatur ignorat. Ipse enim est Deus, qui omnia in hoc mundo magna et parva miracula quae commemoravimus, et incomparabiliter plura quae non commemoravimus, fecit, eademque ipso mundo uno atque omnium maximo miraculo inclusit. Eligat ergo unum de duobus quisque quod placet, utrum et vermem ad corpus proprie, an ad animum translato a corporalibus ad incorporea vocabulo existimet pertinere. Quid autem horum verum sit, res ipsa expeditius indicabit, quando erit scientia tanta sanctorum, ut eis cognoscendarum illarum poenarum necessaria non sit experientia, sed ea quae tunc erit plena atque perfecta, ad hoc quoque sciendum sapientia sola sufficiat. Nunc enim ex parte scimus, donec veniat quod perfectum est. Dum tamen nullo modo illa corpora talia futura esse credamus, ut nullis ab igne afficiantur doloribus.

CAPUT X.

An ignis gehennae, si corporalis est, possit malignos spiritus, id est daemones incorporeos, tactu suo adurere.

1. Hic occurrit quaerere, si non erit ignis incorporealis, sicut est animi dolor, sed corporalis, tactu noxius, ut eo possint corpora cruciari; quomodo in eo erit etiam poena spirituum malignorum? Idem quippe ignis, erit supplicio scilicet hominum attributus et daemonum, dicente Christo, Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus. Nisi quia sunt quaedam sua etiam daemonibus corpora, sicut doctis hominibus visum est, ex isto aere crasso atque humido, cujus impulsus vento flante sentitur.

For it is read also in the ancient Scriptures: “The vengeance of the flesh of the ungodly is fire and the worm.” It could have been said more briefly: “The vengeance of the ungodly.” Why therefore was it said, “of the flesh of the ungodly,” unless because both, that is, both fire and worm, will be the punishment of the flesh? Or if he willed to say the vengeance of the flesh for this reason, because that will be avenged in man which he lived according to the flesh (for on account of this he shall come into the second death, which the Apostle signified saying: “For if you shall have lived according to the flesh, you shall die”); let each one choose what pleases him, either to attribute the fire to the body, and the worm to the soul: this properly, that tropically; or both properly to the body. For I have already sufficiently disputed above that animals can live even in fires, in burning without consumption, in pain without death, through the miracle of the most omnipotent Creator: he who denies this to be possible for Him, is ignorant by whom whatever exists in all natures is administered. For He Himself is God, who made all the great and small miracles in this world which we have commemorated, and incomparably more which we have not commemorated, and included them in this one world, the greatest miracle of all. Let each one therefore choose one of the two which pleases him, whether he thinks the worm also pertains to the body properly, or to the soul with the name translated from corporal to incorporeal things. But which of these is true, the thing itself will more readily indicate, when there shall be so great knowledge of the saints, that experience of knowing those punishments shall not be necessary to them, but that which shall then be full and perfect, wisdom alone may suffice to know this also. For now we know in part, until that which is perfect comes. Provided, however, we by no means believe those bodies will be such as to be affected by no pains from the fire.

CHAPTER X.

Whether the fire of Gehenna, if it is corporal, can burn malignant spirits, that is, incorporeal demons, by its touch.

1. Here it occurs to inquire, if the fire shall not be incorporeal, as is the grief of the soul, but corporal, noxious to the touch, so that bodies can be tortured by it; how will there also be in it the punishment of malignant spirits? For the same fire shall certainly be attributed for the punishment of men and of demons, as Christ says: “Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels.” Unless perhaps even demons have certain bodies of their own, as it has seemed to learned men, from this thick and humid air, whose impulse is felt when the wind blows.

Quod genus elementi si nihil igne perpeti posset, non ureret fervefactus in balneis. Ut enim urat, prior uritur, facitque quod patitur. Si autem quisquam nulla habere corpora daemones asseverat, non est de hac re aut laborandum operosa inquisitione, aut contentiosa disputatione certandum. Cur enim non dicamus, quamvis miris, tamen veris modis etiam spiritus incorporeos posse poena corporalis ignis affligi, si spiritus hominum, etiam ipsi profecto incorporei, et nunc potuerunt includi corporalibus membris, et tunc poterunt corporum suorum vinculis insolubiliter alligari? Adhaerebunt ergo, si eis nulla sunt corpora, spiritus daemonum, imo spiritus daemones, licet incorporei, corporeis ignibus cruciandi: non ut ignes ipsi, quibus adhaerebunt, eorum junctura inspirentur, et animalia fiant, quae constant spiritu et corpore; sed, ut dixi, miris et ineffabilibus modis adhaerendo, accipientes ex ignibus poenam, non dantes ignibus vitam. Quia et iste alius modus, quo corporibus adhaerent spiritus, et animalia fiunt, omnino mirus est, nec comprehendi ab homine potest, et hoc ipse homo est.

2. Dicerem quidem sic arsuos sine ullo suo corpore spiritus, sicut ardebat apud inferos ille dives, quando dicebat, Crucior in hac flamma; nisi convenienter responderi cernerem, talem fuisse illam flammam, quales oculi quos levavit, et Lazarum vidit, qualis lingua cui humorem exiguum desideravit infundi, qualis digitus Lazari de quo id sibi fieri postulavit: ubi tamen erant sine corporibus animae. Sic ergo incorporealis et illa flamma qua exarsit, et illa guttula quam poposcit; qualia etiam sunt visa dormientium sive in ecstasi cernentium res incorporeales, habentes tamen similitudinem corporum. Nam et ipse homo cum spiritu, non corpore, sit in talibus visis, ita se tamen tunc similem suo corpori videt, ut discernere omnino non possit. At vero gehenna illa, quod etiam stagnum ignis et sulphuris dictum est, corporeus ignis erit, et cruciabit corpora damnatorum, aut et hominum et daemonum, solida hominum, aëria daemonum; aut tantum hominum corpora cum spiritibus, daemones autem spiritus sine corporibus, haerentes sumendo poenam, non impertiendo vitam corporalibus ignibus. Unus quippe utrisque ignis erit, sicut Veritas dixit.

CAPUT XI.

An hoc ratio justitiae habeat, ut non sint extensiora poenarum tempora, quam fuerint peccatorum.

If this kind of element could suffer nothing from fire, it would not burn when heated in baths. For that it may burn, it is first burned, and does that which it suffers. But if anyone asserts that demons have no bodies, we must not labor with laborious inquiry concerning this matter, nor contend with contentious disputation. For why should we not say that, although in wonderful but true ways, even incorporeal spirits can be afflicted by the punishment of corporal fire, if the spirits of men, being themselves also certainly incorporeal, both now have been able to be included in corporal members, and then shall be able to be insolubly bound by the chains of their own bodies? Therefore, the spirits of demons, or rather the spirits who are demons, although incorporeal, shall adhere to be tortured by corporal fires: not so that the fires themselves, to which they shall adhere, may be inspired by their joining, and become animals which consist of spirit and body; but, as I said, by adhering in wonderful and ineffable ways, receiving punishment from the fires, not giving life to the fires. Because also this other way, by which spirits adhere to bodies and become animals, is altogether wonderful, nor can it be comprehended by man, and this very thing is man.

2. I would indeed say that spirits without any body of their own would burn thus, just as that rich man was burning in the lower regions, when he was saying: "I am tortured in this flame"; unless I saw that it could be conveniently responded that that flame was such as were the eyes which he lifted up and saw Lazarus, such as the tongue for which he desired a small amount of moisture to be poured in, such as the finger of Lazarus from which he asked this to be done for him: where nevertheless were souls without bodies. Thus therefore both that flame in which he burned and that drop which he asked were incorporeal; such as are also the things seen by those sleeping or those discerning incorporeal things in ecstasy, having nevertheless the likeness of bodies. For man himself also, when he is in such visions with his spirit, not his body, yet sees himself then so similar to his own body, that he cannot discern at all. But indeed that Gehenna, which is also called the lake of fire and sulfur, shall be a corporal fire, and shall torture the bodies of the damned, either of both men and demons, the solid bodies of men, the aerial of demons; or only the bodies of men with their spirits, but the demons as spirits without bodies, adhering by taking punishment, not by imparting life to the corporal fires. For there shall be one fire for both, as the Truth has said.

CHAPTER XI.

Whether the reason of justice holds that the times of punishments should not be more extended than those of the sins were.

Sic autem quidam eorum, contra quos defendimus civitatem Dei, injustum putant, ut pro peccatis quamlibet magnis, parvo scilicet tempore perpetratis, poena quisque damnatur aeterna; quasi ullius id unquam iustitia legis attendat, ut tanta mora temporis quisque puniatur, quanta mora temporis unde puniretur admisit. Octo genera poenarum in legibus esse scribit Tullius, damnum, vincula, verbera, talionem, ignominiam, exsilium, mortem, servitutem. Quid horum est quod in breve tempus pro cuiusque peccati celeritate coarctetur, ut tanta vindicetur morula, quanta deprehenditur perpetratum, nisi forte talio? id enim agit, ut hoc patiatur quisque quod fecit. Unde illud est Legis, Oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente (Exod. XXI, 24). Fieri enim potest, ut tam brevi tempore quisque amittat oculum severitate vindictae, quam tulit ipse alteri improbitate peccati. Porro autem si alienae feminae osculum infixum, rationis sit verberare vindicare, nonne qui illud puncto temporis fecerit, incomparabili horarum spatio verberatur, et suavitas voluptatis exiguae diuturno dolore punitur? Quid, in vinculis numquid tam diu quisque iudicandus est esse debere, quam diu fecit unde meruit alligari; cum iustissime annosas poenas servus in compedibus pendat, qui verbo aut ictu celerrime transeunte vel laccessivit dominum, vel plagavit? Jam vero damnum, ignominia, exsilium, servitus, cum plerumque sic infliguntur, ut nulla venia relaxentur, nonne pro huius vitae modo similia poenis videntur aeternis? Ideo quippe aeterna esse non possunt, quia nec ipsa vita, quae his plectitur, porrigitur in aeternum: et tamen peccata, quae vindicantur longissimi temporis poenis, brevissimo tempore perpetrantur; nec quisquam exstitit qui censeret tam cito nocentium finienda esse tormenta, quam cito factum est vel homicidium, vel adulterium, vel sacrilegium, vel quodlibet aliud scelus, non temporis longitudine, sed iniquitatis et impietatis magnitudine metiendum. Qui vero pro aliquo grandi crimine morte mulctatur, numquid mora qua occiditur, quae perbrevis est, ejus supplicium leges aestimant, et non quod eum in sempiternum auferunt de societate viventium? Quod est autem de ista civitate mortali homines supplicio primae mortis, hoc est de civitate illa immortalis homines supplicio secundae mortis auferre. Sicut enim non efficiunt leges huius civitatis, ut in eam quisque revocetur occisus; sic nec illius, ut in vitam revocetur aeternam, secunda morte damnatus. Quomodo ergo verum est, inquiunt, quod ait Christus vester. In qua mensura mensi fueritis, in ea remetietur vobis (Luc. VI, 38), si temporale peccatum supplicio punitur aeterno?

But some of those against whom we defend the City of God think it unjust that for sins however great, perpetrated indeed in a small time, anyone should be condemned to eternal punishment; as if the justice of any law ever attended to this, that anyone should be punished for as long a delay of time as was the delay of time in which he admitted that for which he should be punished. Cicero [Tullius] writes that there are eight kinds of punishments in the laws: damage, chains, lashes, retaliation, ignominy, exile, death, servitude. Which of these is it that is restricted into a brief time for the speed of each sin, so that as much of a little delay is avenged as is detected to have been perpetrated, unless perhaps retaliation? For that acts so that each one suffers what he did. Whence is that of the Law: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." For it can happen that in as brief a time anyone loses an eye by the severity of vengeance, as he himself took it from another by the wickedness of sin. Furthermore, if it be of reason to avenge by a lash a kiss fixed on another's woman, is not he who did that in a point of time lashed for an incomparable space of hours, and the sweetness of a small pleasure punished with long-lasting pain? What? in chains, is anyone to be judged to ought to be for as long as he did that whence he deserved to be bound; since most justly a slave may pay year-long punishments in fetters, who by a word or a blow most quickly passing either provoked his master or struck him? Now indeed damage, ignominy, exile, servitude, since they are mostly so inflicted that they are relaxed by no pardon, do they not seem similar to eternal punishments according to the mode of this life? For they cannot be eternal for this reason, because life itself, which is punished by these, is not extended into eternity: and yet sins, which are avenged by punishments of the longest time, are perpetrated in the shortest time; nor has anyone existed who thought that the torments of the guilty ought to be ended as quickly as was done either homicide, or adultery, or sacrilege, or any other crime, to be measured not by the length of time, but by the magnitude of iniquity and impiety. But he who is mulcted with death for some great crime, do the laws estimate his punishment by the delay in which he is killed, which is very brief, and not because they take him away forever from the society of the living? But what it is to take men away from this mortal city by the punishment of the first death, this it is to take men away from that immortal city by the punishment of the second death. For as the laws of this city do not effect that anyone killed be recalled into it; so neither of that city, that he who is damned by the second death be recalled into eternal life. How therefore is it true, they say, what your Christ says: "In what measure you shall have measured, in it shall it be measured back to you," if temporal sin is punished with eternal punishment?

Nec attendunt, non propter aequale temporis spatium, sed propter vicissitudinem mali, id est, ut qui mala fecerit, mala patiatur, eandem dictam fuisse mensuram. Quamvis hoc in ea re proprie possit accipi, de qua Dominus cum hoc diceret, loquebatur, id est, de judiciis et condemnationibus. Proinde qui iudicat et condemnat injuste, si iudicatur et condemnat juste, in eadem mensura recipit, quamvis non hoc quod dedit. Iudicio enim fecit, iudicio patitur: quamvis fecerit damnatione quod iniquum est patiatur damnatione quod justum est.

CAPUT XII.

De magnitudine praevaricationis primae, ob quam aeterna poena omnibus debeatur, qui extra gratiam fuerint Salvatoris.

Sed poena aeterna ideo dura et injusta sensibus videtur humanis, quia in hac infirmitate moribundorum sensuum deest ille sensus altissimae purissimaeque sapientiae, quo sentiri possit quantum nefas in illa prima praevaricatione commissum sit. Quanto enim magis homo fruebatur Deo, tanto majore impietate dereliquit Deum, et factus est malo dignus aeterno, qui hoc in se peremit bonum, quod esse posset aeternum. Hinc est universa generis humani massa damnata: quoniam qui hoc primitus admisit, cum ea quae in illo fuerat radicata sua stirpe punitus est, ut nullus ab hoc justo debitoque supplicio, nisi misericordia et indebita gratia liberetur; atque ita dispertiatur genus humanum, ut in quibusdam demonstretur quid valeat misericors gratia, in caeteris quid justa vindicta. Neque enim utrumque demonstraretur in omnibus: quia, si omnes remanerent in poenis justae damnationis, in nullo appareret misericors gratia redimentis: rursum, si omnes a tenebris transferrentur in lucem, in nullo appareret severitas ultionis. In qua propterea multo plures quam in illa sunt, ut sic ostendatur quid omnibus deberetur. Quod si omnibus redderetur, justitiam vindicantis juste nemo reprehenderet: quia vero tam multi exinde liberantur, est unde agantur maximae gratiae gratuito muneri liberantis.

CAPUT XIII.

Contra opinionem eorum qui putant criminosis supplicia post mortem causa purgationis adhiberi.

Nor do they attend that the same measure was said not on account of an equal space of time, but on account of the vicissitude of evil, that is, so that he who did evil things, may suffer evil things. Although this can be properly taken in that matter of which the Lord was speaking when He said this, that is, concerning judgments and condensations. Therefore he who judges and condemns unjustly, if he is judged and condemned justly, receives in the same measure, although not this which he gave. For he acted by judgment, he suffers by judgment: although he did by damnation what is iniquitous, he suffers by damnation what is just.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the magnitude of the first transgression, on account of which eternal punishment is due to all who shall have been outside the grace of the Savior.

But eternal punishment therefore seems hard and unjust to human senses, because in this infirmity of moribund senses that sense of highest and purest wisdom is lacking, by which it might be felt how great a crime was committed in that first transgression. For by how much more man enjoyed God, by so much greater impiety did he abandon God, and became worthy of eternal evil, who killed in himself that good which could have been eternal. Hence the whole mass of the human race is condemned: because he who first admitted this was punished together with that stock which had been rooted in him, so that no one is liberated from this just and due punishment except by mercy and unmerited grace; and thus the human race is divided, so that in some it may be demonstrated what merciful grace can do, and in the others what just vengeance can do. For both would not be demonstrated in all: because, if all remained in the punishments of just damnation, in no one would the merciful grace of the Redeemer appear; again, if all were transferred from darkness into light, in no one would the severity of vengeance appear. In which therefore there are many more than in the other, so that thus it may be shown what was due to all. Which if it were rendered to all, no one would justly reprehend the justice of the avenger: but because so many are liberated from it, there is whence the greatest thanks may be given to the gratuitous gift of the Liberator.

CHAPTER XIII.

Against the opinion of those who think that punishments are applied to criminals after death for the sake of purgation.

Platonici quidem, quamvis impunita nulla velint esse peccata, tamen omnes poenas emendationi adhiberi putant, vel humanis inflictas legibus, vel divinis, sive in hac vita, sive post mortem, si aut parcatur hic cuique, aut ita plectatur ut hic non corrigatur. Hinc est Maronis illa sententia, ubi cum dixisset de terrenis corporibus moribundisque membris, quod animae Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, nec auras Suspiciunt, clausae tenebris et carcere caeco; secutus adjunxit, atque ait: Quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit; id est, cum die novissimo reliquit eas ista vita. Non tamen (inquit) omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes Corporeae excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris. Ergo exercentur poenis, veterumque malorum Supplicia expendunt: aliae panduntur inanes Suspensae ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni. Qui hoc opinantur, nullas poenas nisi purgatorias volunt esse post mortem, ut quoniam terris superiora sunt elementa, aqua, aer, ignis, ex aliquo istorum mundetur per expiatorias poenas, quod terrena contagione contractum est. Aer quippe accipitur in eo quod ait, Suspensae ad ventos: aqua in eo quod ait, Sub gurgite vasto: ignis autem suo nomine expressus est, cum dixit, Aut exuritur igni. Nos vero etiam in hac quidem mortali vita esse quasdam poenas purgatorias confitemur, non quibus affliguntur quorum vita vel non inde fit melior, vel potius inde fit pejor; sed illis sunt purgatoriae, qui eis coerciti corriguntur. Caeterae omnes poenae, sive temporariae, sive sempiternae, sicut unusquisque divina providentia tractandus est, inferuntur, vel pro peccatis sive praeteritis, sive in quibus adhuc vivit ille qui plectitur, vel pro exercendis declarandisque virtutibus, per homines et angelos, seu bonos seu malos. Nam etsi quisquam mali aliquid alterius improbitate vel errore patiatur, peccat quidem homo, qui vel ignorantia, vel injustitia cuiquam mali aliquid facit: sed non peccat Deus, qui justo, quamvis occulto, judicio fieri sinit. Sed temporarias poenas alii in hac vita tantum, alii post mortem, alii et nunc et tunc, verumtamen ante iudicium illud severissimum novissimumque patiuntur. Non autem omnes veniunt in sempiternas poenas, quae post illud iudicium sunt futurae, qui post mortem sustinent temporales. Nam quibusdam, quod in isto non remittitur, remitti in futuro saeculo (Matth. XII, 32), id est, ne futuri saeculi aeterno supplicio puniantur, jam supra diximus.

The Platonists indeed, although they wish no sins to be unpunished, nevertheless think that all punishments are applied for emendation, whether inflicted by human laws or by divine ones, whether in this life or after death, if anyone is either spared here or so punished that he is not corrected here. Hence is that sentence of Virgil [Maro], where, when he had said concerning earthly bodies and moribund members that souls: "Hence they fear and desire, they grieve and rejoice, nor do they look up at the breezes, enclosed in darkness and a blind prison"; he followed by adding, and says: "Nay even when life has left them with the supreme light"; that is, when this life has left them on the last day. "Yet (he says) not every evil leaves the miserable ones, nor do all corporeal plagues utterly depart, and it is entirely necessary that many things long concreted should grow in in wonderful ways. Therefore they are exercised with punishments, and they pay the penalties of ancient evils: some are spread out empty suspended to the winds, for others the infected crime is washed out under a vast whirlpool, or is burned out by fire." Those who think this, wish there to be no punishments after death except purgatorial ones, so that since there are elements superior to the earth—water, air, fire—one of these may cleanse by expiatory punishments what was contracted by earthly contagion. For air is understood in that which he says, "Suspended to the winds"; water in that which he says, "Under a vast whirlpool"; but fire is expressed by its own name, when he said, "Or is burned out by fire." But we indeed confess that even in this mortal life there are some purgatorial punishments, not those by which they are afflicted whose life either does not become better therefrom, or rather becomes worse; but they are purgatorial to those who, being coerced by them, are corrected. All other punishments, whether temporary or everlasting, as each one is to be treated by divine providence, are inferred either for sins whether past or in which he who is punished still lives, or for exercising and declaring virtues, through men and angels, whether good or bad. For even if anyone suffers something of evil by the wickedness or error of another, man indeed sins, who either by ignorance or by injustice does something of evil to anyone: but God does not sin, who by a just, though occult, judgment permits it to happen. But some suffer temporary punishments only in this life, others after death, others both now and then, nevertheless before that most severe and last judgment. But not all who sustain temporary punishments after death come into everlasting punishments, which are to come after that judgment. For we have already said above that to some, what is not remitted in this world, is remitted in the world to come (Matth. XII, 32), that is, so that they may not be punished with the eternal punishment of the world to come.

CAPUT XIV.

De poenis temporalibus istius vitae, quibus subjecta est humana conditio.

Rarissimi sunt autem qui nullas in hac vita, sed tantum post eam poenas luunt. Fuisse tamen aliquos, qui usque ad decrepitam senectudem ne levissimam quidem febriculam senserint, quietamque duxerint vitam, ipsi et novimus et audivimus: quamquam vita ipsa mortalium tota poena sit, quia tota tentatio est, sicut sacrae Litterae personant, ubi scriptum est, Numquid non tentatio est vita humana super terram (Job VII, 1, sec. LXX)? Non enim parva poena est ipsa insipientia, vel imperitia, quae usque adeo fugienda merito iudicatur, ut per poenas doloribus plenas pueri cogantur quaeque artificia vel litteras discere: ipsumque discere, ad quod poenis adiguntur, tam poenale est eis, ut nonnunquam ipsas poenas per quas compelluntur discere, malint ferre, quam discere. Quis autem non exhorreat, et mori eligat, si ei proponatur, aut mors perpetianda, aut rursus infantia? Quae quidem quod non a risu, sed a fletu orditur hanc lucem, quid malorum ingressa sit, nesciens prophetat quodammodo. Solum, quando natus est, ferunt risisse Zoroastrem, nec ei boni aliquid monstrosus risus ille portendit. Nam magicarum artium fuisse perhibetur inventor: quae quidem illi nec ad praesentis vitae vanam felicitatem contra suos inimicos prodesse potuerunt. A Nino quippe rege Assyriorum, cum esset ipse Bactrianorum, bello superatus est. Prorsus quod scriptum est, Grave jugum super filios Adam, a die exitus de ventre matris eorum, usque in diem sepulturae in matrem omnium (Eccli. XL, 1), usque adeo impleri necesse est, ut ipsi parvuli per lavacrum regenerationis ab originalis peccati, quo solo tenebantur, vinculo jam soluti, mala multa patientes, nonnulli et incursus spirituum malignorum aliquando patiantur. Quae quidem passio absit ut eis obsit, si hanc vitam in illa aetate, etiam ipsa passione ingravescente et animam de corpore excludente, finierint.

CAPUT XV.

Quod omne opus gratiae Dei eruentis nos de profunditate veteris mali, ad futuri saeculi pertineat novitatem.

Verumtamen in gravi jugo quod positum est super filios Adam, a die exitus de ventre matris eorum, usque in diem sepulturae in matrem omnium, etiam hoc malum mirabile reperitur, ut sobrii simus, atque intelligamus hanc vitam de peccato illo nimis nefario, quod in paradiso perpetratum est, factam nobis esse poenalem, totumque quod nobiscum agitur per Testamentum novum, non pertinere nisi ad novi saeculi haereditatem novam, ut hic pignore accepto, illud cujus hoc pignus est suo tempore consequamur:

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the temporary punishments of this life, to which the human condition is subject.

But they are very rare who pay no punishments in this life, but only after it. We ourselves have known and heard that there have been some who, up to a decrepit old age, felt not even the lightest little fever, and led a quiet life: although the life of mortals is itself entirely a punishment, because it is entirely a temptation, as the sacred Scriptures resound, where it is written: "Is not the life of man upon earth a temptation?" For ignorance itself, or unskilfulness, is no small punishment, which is deservedly judged so much to be fled, that boys are compelled through punishments full of pains to learn any arts or letters: and learning itself, to which they are driven by punishments, is so penal to them, that sometimes they prefer to bear those very punishments by which they are compelled to learn, rather than to learn. But who would not shudder, and choose to die, if it were proposed to him either to suffer death, or to be an infant again? Which indeed, because it begins this light not with laughter but with weeping, unknowingly prophesies in some way what evils it has entered. They say that Zoroaster alone laughed when he was born, nor did that monstrous laughter portend anything of good to him. For he is reported to have been the inventor of magic arts: which indeed could not profit him even for the vain happiness of the present life against his enemies. For he was overcome in war by Ninus, king of the Assyrians, when he himself was of the Bactrians. Truly what is written: "A heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam, from the day of their coming out of their mother's womb, until the day of their burial into the mother of all," is so necessarily fulfilled, that even little children already loosed through the laver of regeneration from the bond of original sin, by which alone they were held, suffer many evils, and some even suffer the incursions of malignant spirits at times. Which passion indeed, far be it from hurting them, if they have finished this life at that age, even with that passion growing heavy and excluding the soul from the body.

CHAPTER XV.

That every work of the grace of God delivering us from the depth of the old evil, pertains to the novelty of the future age.

Nevertheless, in the heavy yoke which is placed upon the sons of Adam, from the day of their coming out of their mother's womb until the day of their burial into the mother of all, this wonderful evil is also found: that we may be sober, and understand that this life has been made penal to us from that too nefarious sin which was perpetrated in paradise, and that everything which is done with us through the New Testament pertains to nothing but the new inheritance of the new age, so that having received the pledge here, we may follow that of which this is the pledge in its own time:

nunc autem ambulemus in spe, et proficientes de die in diem, spiritu facta carnis mortificemus (Rom. VIII, 13). Novit enim Dominus qui sunt ejus (II Tim. II, 19); et, Quotquot Spiritu Dei aguntur, hi filii sunt Dei (Rom. VIII, 14), Sed gratia, non natura. Unicus enim natura Dei Filius, propter nos misericordia factus est filius hominis, ut nos natura filii hominis, filii Dei per illum gratia fieremus. Manens quippe ille immutabilis, naturam nostram, in qua nos susciperet, suscepit a nobis; et tenax divinitatis suae, nostrae infirmitatis particeps factus est: ut nos in melius commutati, quod peccatores mortalesque sumus, ejus immortalis et justici participatione amittamus, et quod in natura nostra bonum fecit, impletum summo bono in ejus naturae bonitate servemus. Sicut enim per unum hominem peccantem (Id. V, 12) in hoc tam grave malum devenimus: ita per unum hominem eundemque Deum justificantem ad illud bonum tam sublime veniemus. Nec quisquam se debet ab isto ad illum transisse confidere, nisi cum ibi fuerit, ubi tentatio nulla erit; nisi pacem tenuerit, quam belli hujus, in quo caro concupiscit adversus spiritum et spiritus adversus carnem (Galat. V, 17), multis et variis certaminibus quaerit. Hoc autem bellum nunquam ullum esset, si natura humana per liberum arbitrium in rectitudine, in qua facta est, perstitisset. Nunc vero quae pacem felix cum Deo habere noluisset, secum pugnat infelix, et cum sit hoc malum miserabile, melius est tamen quam priora vitae hujus. Melius configitur quippe cum vitiis, quam cum sine ulla conflictione dominantur. Melius est, inquam, bellum cum spe aeternae pacis, quam sine ulla liberationis cogitatione captivitas. Cupimus quidem etiam hoc bello carere, et ad capessendam ordinatissimam pacem, ubi firmissima stabilitate potioribus inferiora subdantur, igne divini amoris accendimur. Sed si, quod absit, illius tanti boni spes nulla esset, malle debuimus in hujus conflictationis molestia remanere, quam vitiis in nos dominationem non eis resistendo permittere.

CAPUT XVI.

Sub quibus gratiae legibus omnes regenerantium habeantur aetates.

Verum tanta est Dei misericordia in vasa misericordiae quae praeparavit in gloriam, ut etiam prima hominis aetas, id est, infantia quae sine ullo renisu subjacet carni, et secunda quae pueritia nuncupatur, ubi nondum ratio suscepit hanc pugnam, et fere sub omnibus vitiosis delectationibus jacet, quia licet jam fari valeat, et ideo infantiam transisse videatur, nondum in ea est praecepti capax infirmitas mentis;

but now let us walk in hope, and progressing from day to day, let us mortify the deeds of the flesh by the spirit. For “the Lord knoweth who are His”; and, “as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God.” But by grace, not by nature. For the only Son of God by nature was made the son of man through mercy for our sake, so that we, who are sons of men by nature, might become sons of God through Him by grace. For He, remaining immutable, took our nature from us in which He might receive us; and tenacious of His divinity, He was made a partaker of our infirmity: so that we, changed for the better, might lose that we are sinners and mortals by participation in Him who is immortal and just, and that He might save what He made good in our nature, fulfilled with the highest good in the goodness of His nature. For as through one man sinning we came into this so heavy evil: so through one man, the same being God, justifying, we shall come to that so sublime good. Nor ought anyone to trust that he has passed from the former to the latter, unless when he shall be there where there will be no temptation; unless he shall hold the peace which he seeks through many and various contests of this war, in which the flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh. But this war would never be any, if human nature had persisted in the rectitude in which it was made through free will. But now, she who happy willed not to have peace with God, unhappy fights with herself; and although this evil is miserable, it is nevertheless better than the prior things of this life. For it is better to conflict with vices than for them to dominate without any conflict. It is better, I say, war with the hope of eternal peace, than captivity without any thought of liberation. We indeed desire to be without even this war, and for the grasping of the most orderly peace, where the inferior things may be subjected to the superior ones with the firmest stability, we are kindled with the fire of divine love. But if, which far be it, there were no hope of so great a good, we ought to have preferred to remain in the molestation of this conflict, than to permit vices a domination over us by not resisting them.

CHAPTER XVI.

Under what laws of grace all the ages of the regenerated are held.

But so great is the mercy of God toward the vessels of mercy which He has prepared for glory, that even the first age of man, that is, infancy, which lies subject to the flesh without any resistance, and the second which is called childhood, where reason has not yet undertaken this fight, and which lies under almost all vicious delights, because although it is already able to speak, and therefore seems to have passed infancy, the infirmity of the mind is not yet capable of the commandment;

si sacramenta Mediatoris acceperit, etiamsi hanc in eis annis vitam finiat, translata scilicet a potestate tenebrarum in regnum Christi, non solum poenis non praeparetur aeternis, sed ne ulla quidem post mortem purgatoria tormenta patiatur. Sufficit enim sola spiritualis regeneratio, ne post mortem obsit quod carnalis generatio cum morte contraxit.

Cum autem ventum fuerit ad aetatem, quae praeceptum jam capit, et subdi potest legis imperio, suscipiendum est bellum contra vitia, et gerendum acriter, ne ad damabilia peccata perducatur. Et si quidem nondum victoriarum consuetudine roborata sunt, facilius vincuntur et cedunt: si autem vincere atque imperare consueverunt, laboriosa difficultate superantur. Neque id fit veraciter atque sinceriter, nisi verae delectatione iustitiae: haec est autem in fide Christi. Nam si lex iubens adsit, et spiritus iuvans desit per ipsam prohibitionem desiderio crescente atque vincente peccati, etiam reatus praevaricationis accedit. Nonnunquam sane apertissima vitia aliis vitiis vincuntur occultis, quae putantur esse virtutes, in quibus regnat superbia et quaedam sibi placendi altitudo ruinosa. Tunc itaque victa vitia deputanda sunt, cum Dei amore vincuntur, quem nisi Deus ipse non donat, nec aliter nisi per Mediatorem Dei et hominum hominem Jesum Christum, qui factus est particeps mortalitatis nostrae, ut nos participes faceret divinitatis suae. Paucissimi autem sunt tantae felicitatis, ut ab ipsa ineunte adolescentia nulla damabilia peccata committant, vel in flagitiis, vel in facinoribus, vel in nefariae cujusquam impietatis errore, sed magna spiritus largitate opprimant, quidquid eis posset carnali delectatione dominari. Plurimi vero praecepto legis accepto, cum prius victi fuerint praevalentibus vitiis et praevaricatores ejus effecti, tunc ad gratiam confugiunt adjuvantem, qua fiant et amarius poenitendo, et vehementius pugnando, prius Deo subditi, atque ita carni praeposita mente victores. Quisquis igitur cupit poenas evadere sempiternas, non solum baptizetur, verum etiam justificetur in Christo, ac sic vere transeat a diabolo ad Christum. Purgatoria autem poenas nullas futuras opinetur, nisi ante illud ultimum tremendumque iudicium. Nequaquam tamen negandum est, etiam ipsum aeternum ignem pro diversitate meritorum quamvis malorum aliis leviolem, aliis futurum esse graviolem, sive ipsius vis atque ardor pro poena digna cuiusque varietur, sive ipse aequaliter ardeat, sed non aequali molestia sentiatur.

CAPUT XVII.

De his qui putant nullorum hominum poenas in aeternum esse mansuras.

if it shall have received the sacraments of the Mediator, even if it finishes this life in those years, being translated from the power of darkness into the kingdom of Christ, it not only is not prepared for eternal punishments, but suffers not even any purgatorial torments after death. For spiritual regeneration alone suffices, so that what carnal generation contracted with death may not hinder after death.

But when one has come to the age which already receives the commandment, and can be subjected to the command of the law, the war against vices must be undertaken, and must be waged sharply, lest it lead to damnable sins. And if indeed they are not yet strengthened by the custom of victories, they are more easily overcome and yield: but if they have been accustomed to overcome and command, they are surmounted with laborious difficulty. Nor is this done truthfully and sincerely, except by the delight of true justice: but this is in the faith of Christ. For if the law commanding be present, and the spirit helping be absent, through the prohibition itself the desire of sin increasing and overcoming, even the guilt of transgression is added. Indeed, sometimes most open vices are overcome by other hidden vices, which are thought to be virtues, in which pride and a certain ruinous loftiness of pleasing oneself reigns. Then, therefore, vices are to be reputed conquered when they are conquered by the love of God, which none but God Himself gives, nor otherwise than through the Mediator of God and men, the man Jesus Christ, who was made a partaker of our mortality, so that He might make us partakers of His divinity. But very few are of so great happiness, that from entering adolescence itself they commit no damnable sins, either in outrages, or in crimes, or in the error of any nefarious impiety, but by a great largess of the spirit they oppress whatever could dominate them by carnal delight. But very many, having received the commandment of the law, since they were first overcome by prevailing vices and made transgressors of it, then flee to helping grace, by which they may become victors, both by repenting more bitterly and by fighting more vehemently, with the mind first subjected to God, and thus placed over the flesh. Whoever therefore desires to escape everlasting punishments, let him not only be baptized, but also be justified in Christ, and thus truly pass from the devil to Christ. But let him think there will be no purgatorial punishments, except before that last and tremendous judgment. Nevertheless, it is by no means to be denied that even that eternal fire will be lighter for some and heavier for others, according to the diversity of merits, although bad ones; whether its force and heat vary for the worthy punishment of each, or it burns equally, but is not felt with equal molestation.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of those who think that the punishments of no men will remain for eternity.

Nunc jam cum misericordibus nostris agendum esse video, et pacifice disputandum, qui vel omnibus illis hominibus, quos justissimus Judex dignos gehennae supplicio judicabit, vel quibusdam eorum nolunt credere poenam sempiternam futuram, sed post certi temporis metas pro cuiusque peccati quantitate longioris sive brevioris eos inde existimant liberandos. Qua in re misericordior profecto fuit Origenes, qui et ipsum diabolum atque angelos ejus post graviora pro meritis et diuturniora supplicia ex illis cruciatibus eruendos atque sociandos sanctis Angelis credidit. Sed illum et propter hoc, et propter alia nonnulla, et maxime propter alternantes sine cessatione beatitudines et miseras, et statutis saeculorum intervallis ab istis ad illas, atque ab illis ad istas itus ac reditus interminabiles, non immerito reprobavit Ecclesia: quin et hoc quod misericors videbatur amisit, faciendo sanctis veras miseras quibus poenas luerent, et falsas beatitudines in quibus verum ac securum, hoc est, sine timore certum sempiterni boni gaudium non haberent. Longe autem aliter istorum misericordia humano errat affectu, qui hominum illo judicio damnatorum miseras temporales, omnium vero qui vel citius vel tardius liberantur, aeternam felicitatem putant. Quae sententia si propterea bona et vera quia misericors est, tanto erit melior et verior quanto misericordior fuerit. Extendatur ergo ac profundatur fons hujus misericordiae usque ad damnatos angelos, saltem post multa atque prolixa quantumlibet saecula liberandos. Cur usque ad universam naturam manat humanam, et cum ad angelicam ventum fuerit, mox arescit? Non audent tamen se ulterius miserando porrigere, et ad liberationem ipsius quoque diaboli pervenire. Verum si aliquis audet, vincit nempe istos, et tamen tanto invenitur errare deformius, et contra recta Dei verba perversius, quanto sibi videtur sentire clementius.

CAPUT XVIII.

De his qui novissimo judicio, propter intercessionem sanctorum, neminem hominum putant esse damnandum.

1. Sunt etiam, quales in colloctionibus nostris ipse sum expertus, qui cum venerari videantur Scripturas sanctas, moribus improbandi sunt; et agendo causam suam, multo majorem quam isti misericordiam Deo tribuunt erga humanum genus. Dicunt enim de malis et infidelibus hominibus divinitus quidem verum praedictum esse, quod digni sunt poena: sed cum ad judicium ventum fuerit, misericordiam esse superaturam. Donabit enim eos, inquit, misericors Deus precibus et intercessionibus sanctorum suorum.

Now indeed I see that I must deal with our merciful ones, and dispute peacefully, who either for all those men whom the most just Judge shall judge worthy of the punishment of hell, or for some of them, are unwilling to believe that the punishment will be everlasting, but think that after the boundaries of a certain time, according to the quantity of each one's sin, longer or shorter, they are to be delivered from there. In which matter Origen was certainly more merciful, who believed that even the devil himself and his angels, after heavier and longer punishments according to their merits, were to be rescued from those torments and associated with the holy Angels. But him, both for this and for some other things, and especially for the ceaseless alternation of beatitudes and miseries, and the endless goings and returns from these to those and from those to these at fixed intervals of ages, the Church has not without merit reprov'd: indeed, he even lost this which seemed merciful, by making true miseries for the saints in which they would pay penalties, and false beatitudes in which they would not have a true and secure, that is, a certain joy of eternal good without fear. But far otherwise the mercy of these others errs by human affection, who think that the miseries of those men condemned in that judgment are temporal, but that the happiness of all who are delivered sooner or later is eternal. Which opinion, if it be good and true for the reason that it is merciful, will be so much better and truer as it shall be more merciful. Let the fountain of this mercy, therefore, be extended and deepened even to the damned angels, at least to be delivered after many and as long as you please ages. Why does it flow even to all human nature, and as soon as it comes to the angelic, presently dry up? Yet they do not dare to stretch themselves further by pitying, and to reach even to the liberation of the devil himself. But if any one dares, he indeed surpasses these, and yet is found to err so much more deformedly, and more perversely against the straight words of God, as he seems to himself to feel more clemently.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of those who think that in the last judgment, on account of the intercessions of the saints, no man is to be condemned.

1. There are also some, such as I have myself experienced in our conferences, who, although they seem to revere the holy Scriptures, are to be reprov'd for their morals; and in pleading their own cause, they attribute to God a much greater mercy toward the human race than those others. For they say concerning wicked and infidel men that it was indeed truly predicted by God that they are worthy of punishment: but when it shall have come to the judgment, mercy will prevail. For the merciful God, they say, will grant them to the prayers and intercessions of His saints.

Si enim orabant pro illis, quando eos patiebantur inimicos, quanto magis quando videbunt humiles supplicesque prostratos? Neque enim credendum est, aiunt, tunc amissuros sanctos viscera misericordiae, cum fuerint plenissimae ac perfectissimae sanctitatis, ut qui tunc orabant pro inimicis suis, quando et ipsi sine peccato non erant, tunc non orent pro supplicibus suis, quando nullum coeperint habere peccatum. Aut vero Deus tunc eos non exaudiet tot et tales filios suos, quando in tanta eorum sanctitate nullum inveniet orationis impedimentum? Testimonium vero Psalmi, et illi quidem qui permittunt infideles atque impios homines saltem longo tempore cruciari, et postea de malis omnibus erui, sed magis isti pro se dicunt esse, ubi legitur: Numquid obliviscetur misereri Deus, aut continebit in ira sua miserationes suas (Psal. LXXVI, 10)? Ira ejus est, inquiunt, ut omnes indigni beatitudine sempiterna, ipso judicante puniantur supplicio sempiterno. Sed si vel longum, vel prorsus ullum esse permiserit, profecto ut possit hoc fieri, continebit in ira sua miserationes suas, quod eum Psalmus dicit non esse facturum. Non enim ait, Numquid diu continebit in ira sua miserationes suas? sed quod prorsus non continebit, ostendit.

2. Sic ergo isti volunt iudicii Dei comminationem non esse mendacem, quamvis sit neminem damnaturus, quemadmodum ejus comminationem, qua dixit eversurum se esse Niniven civitatem (Jonae III, 4), mendacem non possumus dicere; et tamen non factum est, inquiunt, quod sine ulla conditione praedixit. Non enim ait, Ninive evertetur, si non egerint poenitentiam, seque correxerint: sed hoc non addito praenuntiavit futuram eversionem illius civitatis. Quam comminationem propterea veracem putant, quia hoc praedixit Deus quod vere digni erant pati, quamvis hoc non esset ipse facturus. Nam etsi poenitentibus pepercit, inquiunt, utique illos poenitentiam non ignorabat acturos, et tamen absolute ac definite eorum eversionem futuram esse praedixit. Hoc ergo erat, inquiunt, in veritate severitatis, quia id erant digni; sed in ratione miserationis non erat, quam non continuit in ira sua, ut ab ea poena supplicibus parceret, quam fuerat contumacibus comminatus. Si ergo tunc pepercit, aiunt, quando sanctum suum Prophetam fuerat parcendo contristaturus, quanto magis tunc miserabilius supplicantibus parcat, quando ut parcat omnes sancti ejus orabunt?

For if they prayed for them when they suffered them as enemies, how much more when they shall see them humble and prostrate as suppliants? For it is not to be believed, they say, that the saints will then lose the bowels of mercy, when they shall have become of the fullest and most perfect holiness, so that they who then prayed for their enemies, when they themselves were not without sin, should not then pray for their suppliants, when they shall have begun to have no sin. Or indeed will God not then hear so many and such children of His, when in so great holiness of theirs He shall find no impediment to prayer? But the testimony of the Psalm, both those indeed who allow infidel and impious men to be tortured at least for a long time, and afterwards to be rescued from all evils, and especially these others say is for them, where it is read: "Will God forget to be merciful, or will He in His anger shut up His mercies?" (Psal. LXXVI, 10). His anger, they say, is that all unworthy of eternal beatitude should be punished by Him judging with eternal punishment. But if He shall permit it to be either long, or at all any, surely that this may be possible, He will in His anger shut up His mercies, which the Psalm says He will not do. For it does not say, "Will He for a long time shut up His mercies in His anger?" but shows that He will not shut them up at all.

2. Thus, therefore, these will have it that the threat of God's judgment is not false, although He is to condemn no one, just as we cannot call His threat false by which He said He would overturn the city of Nineveh (Jonah III, 4); and yet, they say, that was not done which He predicted without any condition. For He did not say, "Nineveh shall be overturned if they do not do penance and correct themselves": but without this addition He foretold the future overturning of that city. Which threat they think to be true for this reason, because God predicted this which they were truly worthy to suffer, although He was not going to do it himself. For even if He spared the penitent, they say, He certainly was not ignorant that they would do penance, and yet He predicted their future overturning absolutely and definitely. This therefore was, they say, in the truth of severity, because they were worthy of it; but it was not in the reason of miseration, which He did not shut up in His anger, so that He might spare from that punishment the suppliants whom He had threatened as contumacious. If therefore He spared then, they say, when He was to grieve His holy Prophet by sparing, how much more will He spare those who then more miserably supplicate, when all His saints shall pray that He may spare?

Sed hoc quod ipsi suis cordibus suspicantur, ideo putant Scripturas tacuisse divinas, ut multi se corrigant, vel prolixarum vel aeternarum timore poenarum, et sint qui possint orare pro eis, qui se non correxerint: nec tamen opinantur omni modo id eloquia divina tacuisse. Nam quo pertinet, inquit, quod scriptum est, Quam multa multitudo dulcedinis tuae, Domine, quam abscondisti metuentibus te (Psal. XXX, 20)! nisi ut intelligamus propter timorem fuisse absconditam misericordiae divinae tam multam secretamque dulcedinem? Addunt etiam propterea dixisse Apostolum, Concluit enim Deus omnes in infidelitate, ut omnium misereatur (Rom. XI, 32), quo significaret, quod ab illo nemo damnabitur. Nec isti tamen qui hoc sentiunt, hanc opinionem suam usque ad liberationem vel nullam damnationem diaboli atque angelorum ejus extendunt. Humana quippe circa solos homines moventur misericordia, et causam maxime agunt suam, per generalem in genus humanum quasi Dei miserationem impunitatem falsam suis perditis moribus pollicentes: ac per hoc superabunt eos in praedicanda Dei misericordia, qui hanc impunitatem etiam principi daemonum et ejus satellitibus pollicentur.

CAPUT XIX.

De his qui impunitatem omnium peccatorum promittunt etiam haereticis, propter participationem corporis Christi.

Item sunt alii, ab aeterno supplicio liberationem, nec ipsis saltem omnibus hominibus promittentes, sed tantummodo Christi Baptismate ablutis, qui participes fiunt corporis ejus, quomodolibet vixerint, in quacumque haeresi vel impietate fuerint, propter illud quod ait Jesus: Hic est panis qui de coelo descendit, ut si quis ex ipso manducaverit, non moriatur. Ego sum panis vivus, qui de coelo descendi: si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane, vivet in aeternum (Joan. VI, 50-52). Ab aeterna ergo morte, inquit, necesse est istos erui, et ad vitam aeternam quandocumque perducere.

CAPUT XX.

De his qui non omnibus, sed iis tantum qui apud Catholicos sunt renati, etiamsi postea in multa crimina erroresque proruperint, indulgentiam pollicentur.

Item sunt qui hoc nec omnibus habentibus Baptismatis Christi et ejus corporis sacramentum, sed solis Catholicis, quamvis male viventibus pollicentur; quia non solo sacramento, sed re ipsa manducaverunt corpus Christi, in ipso ejus corpore constituti, de quo dicit Apostolus, Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus (I Cor.

But this which they suspect in their own hearts, they think the divine Scriptures have for this reason kept silent, that many may correct themselves through fear of either long or eternal punishments, and that there may be those who can pray for those who have not corrected themselves: yet they do not think that the divine eloquence has altogether kept this silent. For to what does it pertain, they say, what is written, "How great is the multitude of Thy sweetness, O Lord, which Thou hast hidden for them that fear Thee!" (Psal. XXX, 20), unless that we should understand that on account of fear so great and secret a sweetness of divine mercy has been hidden? They add also that for this reason the Apostle said, "For God has concluded all in unbelief, that He may have mercy upon all" (Rom. XI, 32), by which he would signify that no one will be condemned by Him. Nor yet do those who feel this extend this opinion of theirs even to the liberation or no condemnation of the devil and his angels. For they are moved by human mercy toward men alone, and especially plead their own cause, promising a false impunity to their lost morals through a general miseration of God, as it were, toward the human race: and by this they will be surpassed in preaching the mercy of God by those who promise this impunity even to the prince of demons and his satellites.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of those who promise impunity for all sins even to heretics, on account of the participation of the body of Christ.

Likewise there are others, promising liberation from eternal punishment, not even to all men themselves, but only to those washed by the Baptism of Christ, who become partakers of His body, in whatever way they may have lived, in whatever heresy or impiety they may have been, on account of that which Jesus says: This is the bread which comes down from heaven, that if any one eat of it, he may not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any one shall eat of this bread, he shall live forever (John VI, 50-52). From eternal death, therefore, they say, it is necessary that these be rescued, and at some time be led to eternal life.

CHAPTER XX.

Of those who promise indulgence not to all, but to those only who have been reborn among Catholics, even if they have afterwards broken out into many crimes and errors.

Likewise there are those who promise this not to all who have the sacrament of Christ's Baptism and of His body, but to Catholics alone, although living wickedly; because they have eaten the body of Christ not by the sacrament alone, but in reality, being constituted in His very body, of which the Apostle says, "We being many are one bread, one body" (I Cor.

X, 17): ut etiamsi postea in aliquam haeresim vel etiam in gentilium idololatriam lapsi fuerint, tantum quia in corpore Christi, id est in Ecclesia catholica, sumpserunt Baptismum Christi et manducaverunt corpus Christi, non moriantur in aeternum, sed vitam quandoque consequantur aeternam; atque illa omnis impietas quanto major fuerit, non eis valeat ad aeternitatem, sed ad diuturnitatem magnitudinemque poenarum.

CAPUT XXI.

De his qui eos qui permanent in catholica fide, etiamsi pessime vixerint, et ob hoc urimeruerint, tamen propter fidei fundamentum salvandos esse definiunt.

Sunt autem qui propter id quod scriptum est, Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit (Matth. XXIV, 13): non nisi in Ecclesia catholica perseverantibus, quamvis in ea male viventibus, hoc promittunt, per ignem videlicet salvandis merito fundamenti, de quo ait Apostolus, Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere, praeter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Jesus. Si quis autem aedificat super fundamentum hoc aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, fenum, stipulam, uniuscujusque opus manifestabitur. Dies enim declarabit; quoniam in igne revelabitur, et uniuscujusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit. Si cujus opus permanserit quod superaedificavit, mercedem accipiet: si cujus opus autem arserit, damnum patietur; ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem (I Cor. III, 11-15). Dicunt ergo cujuslibet vitae catholicum Christianum Christum habere in fundamento, quod fundamentum nulla haeresis habet a corporis ejus unitate praecisa. Et ideo propter hoc fundamentum, etiamsi malae vitae fuerit catholicus Christianus, velut qui superaedificaverit ligna, fenum, stipulam, putant eum salvum fieri per ignem, id est, post poenas ignis illius liberari, quo igne in ultimo judicio punientur mali.

CAPUT XXII.

De his qui putant ea crimina, quae inter eleemosynarum opera committuntur, ad damnationis judicium non vocari.

X, 17): so that even if they should afterwards have fallen into some heresy or even into the idolatry of the Gentiles, only because in the body of Christ, that is, in the Catholic Church, they received the Baptism of Christ and ate the body of Christ, they should not die forever, but at some time attain eternal life; and that all that impiety, however great it may be, should avail for them not to the eternity, but to the long duration and greatness of punishments.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of those who define that those who remain in the Catholic faith, even if they have lived most wickedly, and on this account have deserved to be burned, are nevertheless to be saved on account of the foundation of the faith.

But there are those who, on account of that which is written, "He that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved" (Matt. XXIV, 13), promise this to none but those persevering in the Catholic Church, although living wickedly in it, to be saved, namely, through fire by merit of the foundation, of which the Apostle says: "For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire" (I Cor. III, 11-15). They say, therefore, that a Catholic Christian of whatever life has Christ in the foundation, which foundation no heresy has that is cut off from the unity of His body. And therefore on account of this foundation, even if the Catholic Christian shall have been of a wicked life, as one who has built thereupon wood, hay, stubble, they think that he is saved through fire, that is, delivered after the punishments of that fire, with which fire the wicked shall be punished in the last judgment.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of those who think that those crimes which are committed among works of almsgiving are not called to the judgment of condemnation.

Comperi etiam quosdam putare eos tantummodo arsueros illius aeternitate supplicii, qui pro peccatis suis facere dignas eleemosynas negligunt, juxta illud apostoli Jacobi: Judicium autem sine misericordia illi qui non fecit misericordiam (Jacobi II, 13). Qui ergo fecerit, inquit, quamvis mores in melius non mutaverit, sed inter ipsas suas eleemosynas nefarie ac nequiter vixerit, judicium illi cum misericordia futurum est, ut aut nulla damnatione plectatur, aut post aliquod tempus sive parvum, sive prolixum, ab illa damnatione liberetur. Ideo Judicem ipsum vivorum atque mortuorum noluisse existimant aliud commemorare se esse dicturum, sive dextris quibus est vitam daturus aeternam, sive sinistris quos aeterno supplicio damnaturus (Math. XXV, 33 sqq.), nisi eleemosynas sive factas, sive non factas. Ad hoc pertinere aiunt et in oratione Dominica quotidianam postulationem: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris (Id. VI, 12). Quisquis enim illi qui in eum peccavit, dimittit ignoscendo peccatum, procul dubio eleemosynam facit. Quam rem Dominus sic ipse commendavit, ut diceret: Si enim dimiseritis peccata hominibus, dimittet vobis et Pater vester peccata vestra: si autem non dimiseritis hominibus, neque Pater vester qui in coelis est, dimittet vobis (Ibid., 14, 15). Ergo et ad hoc genre eleemosynarum pertinet quod ait apostolus Jacobus, judicium futurum sine misericordia ei qui non fecit misericordiam. Nec dixit Dominus, inquit, magna vel parva; sed, Dimittet vobis Pater vester peccata vestra, si et vos dimiseritis hominibus. Ac per hoc putant etiam eis qui perditae vixerint, donec claudant diem vitae hujus extremum, per hanc orationem, qualiacumque et quantacumque fuerint, omnia quotidie peccata dimitti, sicut ipsa quotidie frequentatur oratio, si hoc tantummodo custodire meminerint, ut quando ab eis veniam petunt, qui eos peccato qualicumque laeserunt, ex corde dimittant. Cum ad haec omnia, Deo donante, respondero, liber iste claudendus est.

CAPUT XXIII.

Contra opinionem eorum qui dicunt, nec diaboli, nec hominum malorum perpetua futura supplicia.

Ac primum quaeri oportet atque cognosci, cur Ecclesia ferre nequiverit hominum disputationem, diabolo etiam post maximas et diuturnissimas poenas, purgationem vel indulgentiam pollicentem. Neque enim tot sancti et sacris veteribus ac novis Litteris eruditi, mundationem et regni coelorum beatitudinem post qualiacumque et quantacumque supplicia, qualibuscumque et quantiscumque angelis inviderunt: sed potius viderunt divinam vacuari vel infirmari non posse sententiam, quam se Dominus praenuntiavit in iudicio prolaturum atque dicturum, Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus (Math. XXV, 41). Sic quippe ostendit aeterno igne diabolum et angelos ejus arsueros.

I have also found that some think that only those will burn in the eternity of that punishment who neglect to do worthy alms for their sins, according to that of the apostle James: "For judgment without mercy to him who has not shown mercy" (James II, 13). He, therefore, who shall have done it, they say, although he has not changed his morals for the better, but has lived nefariously and wickedly among those very alms of his, there will be for him judgment with mercy, so that either he is punished with no condemnation, or after some time, whether small or long, he is delivered from that condemnation. For this reason they think that the Judge Himself of the living and the dead was unwilling to mention that He would say anything else, either to those on the right to whom He is about to give eternal life, or to those on the left whom He is about to condemn to eternal punishment (Matt. XXV, 33 sqq.), except alms either done or not done. To this they say pertains also in the Lord's prayer the daily petition: "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors" (Id. VI, 12). For whoever forgives a sin to him who has sinned against him, without doubt does an alms. Which thing the Lord Himself so commended, that He said: "For if you forgive men their sins, your Father also will forgive you your sins: but if you do not forgive men, neither will your Father who is in heaven forgive you" (Ibid., 14, 15). Therefore also to this kind of alms pertains what the apostle James says, that judgment will be without mercy to him who has not shown mercy. Nor did the Lord say, they say, great or small; but, "Your Father will forgive you your sins, if you also forgive men." And through this they think that even to those who have lived perditely, until they close the last day of this life, all daily sins, of whatever sort and how great soever they were, are forgiven through this prayer, as the prayer itself is daily frequented, if only they remember to keep this, that when they seek pardon from them, who have hurt them by any sin whatever, they forgive from the heart. When to all these things, God granting, I shall have responded, this book is to be closed.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Against the opinion of those who say that neither the punishments of the devil nor of wicked men will be perpetual.

And first it ought to be asked and known why the Church has been unable to bear the disputation of men promising purgation or indulgence to the devil even after the greatest and longest punishments. For not so many saints and those learned in the sacred letters of the Old and New Testaments have envied the cleansing and the beatitude of the kingdom of heaven to any sort and any number of angels after any sort and any quantity of punishments: but rather they saw that the divine sentence cannot be made void or weakened, which the Lord foretold He would bring forth and say in the judgment: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt. XXV, 41). For thus He showed that the devil and his angels will burn with eternal fire.

Et quod scriptum est in Apocalypsi, Diabolus qui seducebat eos, missus est in stagnum ignis et sulphuris, quo et bestia et pseudopropheta; et cruciabuntur die ac nocte in saecula saeculorum (Apoc. XX, 9, 10). Quod ibi dictum est, aeternum; hic dictum est, in saecula saeculorum: quibus verbis nihil Scriptura divina significare consuevit, nisi quod finem non habet temporis. Quamobrem prorsus nec alia causa, nec justior atque manifestior inveniri potest, cur verissima pietate teneatur fixum et immobile, nullum regressum ad justitiam vitamque sanctorum diabolus et angelos ejus habituros, nisi quia Scriptura, quae neminem fallit, dicit eis Deum non pepercisse (II Petr. II, 4), et sic ab illo esse interim praedamnatos, ut carceribus caliginis inferi retrusi traderentur servandi, atque ultimo judicio puniendi, quando eos aeternus ignis accipiet, ubi cruciabuntur in saecula saeculorum. Quod si ita est, quomodo ab hujus aeternitate poenae, vel universi, vel quidam homines post quantumlibet temporis subtrahentur, ac non statim enervabitur fides, qua creditur sempiternum daemonum futurum esse supplicium? Si enim quibus dicitur, Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus (Matth. XXV, 41), vel universi vel aliqui eorum non semper ibi erunt; quid causae est cur diabolus et angeli ejus semper ibi futuri esse credantur? an forte Dei sententia, quae in malos et angelos et homines proferetur, in angelos vera erit, in homines falsa? Ita plane hoc erit, si non quod Deus dixit, sed quod suspicantur homines plus valebit. Quod fieri quia non potest, non argumentari adversus Deum, sed divino potius, dum tempus est, debent parere praecepto, qui sempiterno cupiunt carere supplicio. Deinde quale est aeternum supplicium pro igne diuturni temporis existimare, et vitam aeternam credere sine fine, cum Christus eodem ipso loco, in una eademque sententia dixerit utrumque complexus, Sic ibunt isti in supplicium aeternum; justi autem, in vitam aeternam (Ibid. 46)? Si utrumque aeternum, profecto aut utrumque cum fine diuturnum, aut utrumque sine fine perpetuum debet intelligi. Par pari enim relata sunt, hinc supplicium aeternum, inde vita aeterna. Dicere autem in hoc uno eodemque sensu, Vita aeterna sine fine erit, supplicium aeternum finem habebit, multum absurdum est. Unde, quia vita aeterna sanctorum sine fine erit, supplicium quoque aeternum quibus erit, finem procul dubio non habebit.

CAPUT XXIV.

Contra eorum sensum, qui in judicio Dei omnibus reis propter sanctorum preces putant esse parcendum.

And what is written in the Apocalypse: "The devil who seduced them was cast into the lake of fire and sulfur, where both the beast and the false prophet are; and they shall be tortured day and night forever and ever" (Apoc. XX, 9, 10). What is there called "eternal," is here called "forever and ever": by which words the divine Scripture has been accustomed to signify nothing but what has no end of time. Wherefore neither any other cause, nor one more just and manifest, can be found why it should be held by most true piety as fixed and immobile that the devil and his angels shall have no return to justice and the life of the saints, except because Scripture, which deceives no one, says that God did not spare them (II Pet. II, 4), and that they have been so pre-condemned by Him in the meantime, that being thrust back they were delivered to the prisons of the darkness of hell to be kept, and to be punished in the last judgment, when the eternal fire shall receive them, where they shall be tortured forever and ever. But if it is so, how shall either all or some men be withdrawn from the eternity of this punishment after however much time, and not immediately the faith be enervated by which it is believed that the punishment of the demons will be everlasting? For if those to whom it shall be said, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt. XXV, 41), either all or some of them shall not always be there; what cause is there why the devil and his angels should be believed to be always about to be there? Or perhaps will the sentence of God, which shall be pronounced against both wicked angels and men, be true in the case of the angels, false in the case of men? Plainly it will be so if not what God said, but what men suspect shall prevail more. Which because it cannot be, those who desire to be without everlasting punishment ought not to argue against God, but rather to obey the divine precept while there is time. Then, what a thing it is to think eternal punishment is for a fire of a long time, and to believe eternal life is without end, when Christ in that very same place, in one and the same sentence having embraced both, said: "So these shall go into eternal punishment; but the just into eternal life" (Ibid. 46)? If both are eternal, surely either both ought to be understood as long-lasting with an end, or both as perpetual without end. For they are related as equal to equal: on this side eternal punishment, on that side eternal life. But to say in this one and the same sense, "Eternal life shall be without end, eternal punishment shall have an end," is very absurd. Whence, because the eternal life of the saints shall be without end, eternal punishment also shall without doubt have no end for those to whom it shall be.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Against the sense of those who think that in the judgment of God all the guilty are to be spared on account of the prayers of the saints.

1. Hoc autem et adversus eos valet, qui suas agentes causas contra Dei venire verba, velut misericordia majore conantur; ut ideo videlicet vera sint, quia ea quae dixit homines esse passuros, pati digni sunt, non quia passuri sunt. Donabit enim eos, inquit, precibus sanctorum suorum, etiam tunc tanto magis orantium pro inimicis suis, quanto sunt utique sanctiores, eorumque efficacior est oratio, et exauditione Dei dignior, jam nullum habentium omnino peccatum. Cur ergo eadem perfectissima sanctitate, et cuncta impetrare valentibus mundissimis et misericordissimis precibus, etiam pro angelis non orabunt, quibus paratus est ignis aeternus, ut Deus sententiam suam mitiget, et reflectat in melius, eosque ab illo igne faciat alienos? An erit forsitan quisquam, qui et hoc futurum esse praesumat, affirmans etiam sanctos Angelos simul cum sanctis hominibus, qui tunc aequales erunt Angelis Dei, pro damnandis et angelis et hominibus oraturos, ut misericordia non patiantur, quod veritate merentur pati? Quod nemo sanae fidei dixit, nemo dicturus est. Alioqui nulla causa est, cur non etiam nunc pro diabolo et angelis ejus oret Ecclesia, quam Magister Deus pro inimicis suis jussit orare. Haec igitur causa, qua fit ut nunc Ecclesia non oret pro malis angelis, quos suos esse novit inimicos, eadem ipsa causa est, qua fiet ut in illo tunc iudicio etiam pro hominibus aeterno igne cruciandis, quamvis perfecta sit sanctitate, non oret. Nunc enim propterea pro eis orat, quos in genere humano habet inimicos, quia tempus est poenitentiae fructuosae. Nam quid maxime pro eis orat, nisi ut det illis Deus, sicut dicit Apostolus, poenitentiam, et resipiscant de diaboli laqueis, a quo captivi tenentur secundum ipsius voluntatem (II Tim. II, 25, 26)? Denique si de aliquibus ita certa esset, ut qui sint illi, etiam nosset, qui licet adhuc in hac vita sint constituti, tamen praedestinati sunt in aeternum ignem ire cum diabolo; tam pro eis non oraret, quam nec pro ipso. Sed quia de nullo certa est, orat pro omnibus duntaxat hominum inimicis suis in hoc corpore constitutis: nec tamen pro omnibus exauditur. Pro his enim solis exauditur, qui, etsi adversantur Ecclesiae, ita sunt tamen praedestinati, ut pro eis exaudiat Ecclesia, et filii efficiantur Ecclesiae. Si qui autem usque ad mortem habebunt cor impenitens, nec ex inimicis convertentur in filios, numquid jam pro eis, id est, pro talium defunctorum spiritibus, orat Ecclesia? Quid ita, nisi quia jam in parte diaboli computatur qui, dum esset in corpore, non est translatus in Christum?

1. But this also avails against those who, pleading their own causes, attempt to come against the words of God with a greater mercy, as it were; so that, forsooth, they are true for the reason that those things which He said men are about to suffer, they are worthy to suffer, not because they are about to suffer them. For He will grant them, they say, to the prayers of His saints, even then praying so much the more for their enemies as they are surely holier, and their prayer more efficacious, and more worthy of being heard by God, now having no sin at all. Why therefore, with the same most perfect holiness, and with most pure and most merciful prayers able to obtain all things, will they not also pray for the angels for whom the eternal fire is prepared, that God may mitigate His sentence and bend it for the better, and make them strangers to that fire? Or will there perchance be any one who presumes even that this will be, affirming that even the holy Angels together with holy men, who then shall be equal to the Angels of God, will pray for both angels and men to be condemned, that by mercy they may not suffer what by truth they deserve to suffer? Which no one of sound faith has said, no one is about to say. Otherwise there is no cause why even now the Church should not pray for the devil and his angels, which the Master God commanded to pray for its enemies. This cause, therefore, by which it happens that now the Church does not pray for the wicked angels, whom it knows to be its enemies, is the same cause by which it will happen that in that judgment then, although it be perfect in holiness, it will not pray even for the men to be tortured in eternal fire. For now it prays for them whom it has as enemies in the human race for the reason that it is the time of fruitful penance. For what does it especially pray for them, unless "that God may give them," as the Apostle says, "repentance, and that they may recover themselves from the snares of the devil, by whom they are held captive according to his will" (II Tim. II, 25, 26)? Finally, if it were so certain concerning some, that it even knew who they are, who, although they are still constituted in this life, yet are predestined to go into eternal fire with the devil; it would as little pray for them as for himself. But because it is certain of no one, it prays for all men at least, its enemies, constituted in this body: yet it is not heard for all. For it is heard for these alone who, although they oppose the Church, are yet so predestined that the Church may be heard for them, and they be made children of the Church. But if any shall have an impenitent heart until death, and shall not be converted from enemies into children, does the Church now pray for them, that is, for the spirits of such defunct persons? Why so, unless because he is already computed in the party of the devil who, while he was in the body, was not translated into Christ?

2. Eadem itaque causa est, cur non oretur tunc pro hominibus aeterno igne puniendis, quae causa est, ut neque nunc, neque tunc oretur pro angelis malis: quae itidem causa est, ut quamvis pro hominibus, tamen jam nec nunc oretur pro infidelibus impiisque defunctis. Nam pro defunctis quibusdam, vel ipsius Ecclesiae, vel quorumdam piorum exauditur oratio: sed pro his quorum in Christo regeneratorum nec usque adeo vita in corpore male gesta est, ut tali misericordia judicentur digni non esse, nec usque adeo bene, ut talem misericordiam reperiantur necessariam non habere. Sicut etiam facta resurrectione mortuorum non deerunt quibus post poenas, quas patiuntur spiritus mortuorum, impertiatur misericordia, ut in ignem non mittantur aeternum. Neque enim de quibusdam veraciter diceretur, quod non eis remittatur neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro (Matth. XII, 32), nisi essent quibus, etsi non in isto, tamen remitteretur in futuro. Sed cum dictum fuerit a Iudice vivorum atque mortuorum, Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi: et aliis e contrario, Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo, et angelis ejus; et, Ibunt isti in supplicium aeternum, justi autem in vitam aeternam (Id. XXV, 34, 41, 46): nimiae praesumptionis est dicere, cuiquam eorum aeternum supplicium non futurum, quos Deus ituros in supplicium dixit aeternum, ut per hujus praesumptionis persuasionem facere, ut de ipsa quoque vita vel desperetur vel dubitetur aeterna.

3. Nemo itaque sic intelligat Psalmum canentem, Numquid obliviscetur misereri Deus, aut continebit in ira sua miserationes suas (Psal. LXXVI, 10)? ut opinetur de hominibus bonis veram, de malis falsam, aut de bonis hominibus et malis angelis veram, de malis autem hominibus falsam Dei esse sententiam. Hoc enim quod ait Psalmus, ad vasa misericordiae pertinet, et ad filios promissionis, quorum erat unus etiam ipse Propheta; qui cum dixisset, Numquid obliviscetur misereri Deus, aut continebit in ira sua miserationes suas? continuo subjecit, Et dixi, Nunc coepi, haec est immutatio dexteræ Excelsi (Ibid. 11). Exposuit profecto quid dixerit, Numquid continebit in ira sua miserationes suas? Ira enim Dei est etiam ista vita mortalis, ubi homo vanitati similis factus est, et dies ejus velut umbra praetereunt (Psal. CXLIII, 4). In qua tamen ira non obliviscitur misereri Deus, faciendo solem suum oriri super bonos et malos, et pluendo super justos et injustos; ac sic non continet in ira sua miserationes suas (Matth. V, 45): maximeque in eo quod expressit hic Psalmus, dicendo, Nunc coepi, haec est immutatio dexteræ Excelsi; quoniam in hac ipsa aerumnosissima vita, quae ira Dei est, vasa misericordiae mutat in melius, quamvis adhuc in hujus corruptionis miseria maneat ira ejus, quia nec in ipsa ira sua continet miserationes suas.

2. There is therefore the same cause why there is no prayer then for men to be punished with eternal fire, which cause there is that there is no prayer either now or then for the wicked angels: which likewise is the cause that, although for men, yet already neither now is there prayer for the infidel and impious dead. For for some dead, either the prayer of the Church itself or of certain pious people is heard: but for those whose life led in the body, being regenerated in Christ, was neither so badly managed that they are judged not to be worthy of such mercy, nor so well that they are found not to have such mercy necessary. Just as also when the resurrection of the dead has been made, there will not be wanting those to whom after the punishments which the spirits of the dead suffer, mercy may be imparted, so that they may not be sent into eternal fire. For neither would it be said truly of some that it shall not be forgiven them neither in this world nor in the future (Matt. XII, 32), unless there were those to whom, although not in this, yet it will be forgiven in the future. But when it shall have been said by the Judge of the living and the dead: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the constitution of the world": and to others on the contrary: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels"; and: "These shall go into eternal punishment, but the just into eternal life" (Id. XXV, 34, 41, 46): it is of too great presumption to say that eternal punishment will not be for any of them whom God said were to go into eternal punishment, so as by the persuasion of this presumption to make it that eternal life itself also should be either despaired of or doubted.

3. Let no one therefore so understand the Psalm singing: "Will God forget to be merciful, or will He in His anger shut up His mercies?" (Psal. LXXVI, 10), as to think the sentence of God is true concerning good men, false concerning bad ones, or true concerning good men and bad angels, but false concerning bad men. For this which the Psalm says pertains to the vessels of mercy and to the children of the promise, of whom even the Prophet himself was one; who when he had said: "Will God forget to be merciful, or will He in His anger shut up His mercies?" immediately added: "And I said, Now have I begun; this is the change of the right hand of the Most High" (Ibid. 11). He surely explained what he said: "Will He in His anger shut up His mercies?" For that mortal life is also the anger of God, where man is made like to vanity, and his days pass away as a shadow (Psal. CXLIII, 4). In which anger, nevertheless, God does not forget to be merciful, by making His sun to rise upon the good and the bad, and by raining upon the just and the unjust; and thus He does not shut up His mercies in His anger (Matt. V, 45): and especially in that which this Psalm expressed by saying: "Now have I begun; this is the change of the right hand of the Most High"; because in this very most calamitous life, which is the anger of God, He changes the vessels of mercy for the better, although His anger still remains in the misery of this corruption, because neither in His anger itself does He shut up His mercies.

Cum ergo isto modo compleatur divini illius cantici veritas, non est eam necesse etiam illic intelligi, ubi non pertinentes ad civitatem Dei sempiterno supplicio puniuntur. Sed quibus placet istam sententiam usque ad illa impiorum tormenta protendere, saltem sic intelligant, ut, manente in eis ira Dei, quae in aeterno est pronuntiata supplicio, non contineat Deus in hac ira sua miserationes suas, et faciat eos non tanta quanta digni sunt poenarum atrocitate cruciari; non ut eas poenas vel nunquam subeant, vel aliquando finiant, sed ut eas mitiores quam merita sunt eorum levioresque patiantur. Sic enim et ira Dei manebit, et in ipsa ira sua miserationes suas non continebit. Quod quidem non ideo confirmo, quoniam non resisto.

4. Caeterum eos qui putant minaciter potius quam veraciter dictum, Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum; et, Ibunt isti in supplicium aeternum (Matth. XXV, 41, 46); et, Cruciabuntur in saecula saeculorum (Apoc. XX, 10), et, Vermis eorum non morietur, et ignis non exstinguetur (Isai. LXVI, 24), et caetera huiusmodi, non tam ego, quam ipsa Scriptura divina planissime atque plenissime redarguit ac refellit. Ninivitae quippe in hac vita egerunt poenitentiam (Jonae III, 7); et ideo fructuosam, velut in hoc agro seminantes, in quo Deus voluit cum lacrymis seminari, quod postea cum laetitia meteretur (Psal. CXXV, 6); et tamen quis negabit, quod Dominus praedixit, in eis fuisse completum, nisi parum advertat, quemadmodum peccatores Deus non solum iratus, verum etiam miseratus evertat? Evertuntur enim peccatores duobus modis, aut sicut Sodomitae, ut pro peccatis suis ipsi homines puniantur, aut sicut Ninivitae, ut ipsa hominum peccata poenitendo destruantur. Factum est ergo quod praedixit Deus: eversa est Ninive quae mala erat, et bona aedificata est quae non erat. Stantibus enim moenibus atque domibus, eversa est civitas in perditis moribus. Ac sic quamvis Propheta fuerit contristatus, quia non est factum quod illi homines timuerunt illo prophetante venturum (Jonae IV, 1-3): factum est tamen quod fuerat Deo praesciente praedictum; quoniam noverat qui praedixit, quomodo in melius esset implendum.

5. Ut autem noverint isti in perversum misericordes quo pertineat quod scriptum est, Quam multa multitudo dulcedinis tuae, Domine, quam abscondisti timentibus te! legant quod sequitur, perfecisti autem sperantibus in te (Psal. XXX, 20). Quid est, Abscondisti timentibus, perfecisti sperantibus, nisi quia illis qui timore poenarum suam volunt justitiam constituere quae in lege est, non est justitia Dei dulcis (Rom. X, 3), quia nesciunt eam? Non enim gustaverunt eam.

When therefore the truth of that divine song is fulfilled in this way, it is not necessary that it be understood also there where those not pertaining to the city of God shall be punished with everlasting punishment. But those to whom it pleases to extend that sentence even to those torments of the impious, let them at least so understand it that, while the anger of God remains in them, which was pronounced in eternal punishment, God should not shut up His mercies in this His anger, and should make them to be tortured not with so great an atrocity of punishments as they are worthy of; not so that they should either never undergo those punishments, or some time finish them, but that they should suffer them milder and lighter than their merits are. For thus both the anger of God will remain, and in His anger itself He will not shut up His mercies. Which indeed I do not therefore confirm, because I do not resist.

4. As for those who think that it was said threateningly rather than truly: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire"; and, "These shall go into eternal punishment" (Matt. XXV, 41, 46); and, "They shall be tortured forever and ever" (Rev. XX, 10), and, "Their worm shall not die, and the fire shall not be extinguished" (Isai. LXVI, 24), and other such things, not so much I as the divine Scripture itself most clearly and fully refutes and repels them. For the Ninevites indeed performed penance in this life (Jonah III, 7); and therefore it was fruitful, as if sowing in this field in which God willed should be sown with tears, what afterwards should be reaped with joy (Psal. CXXV, 6): and yet who will deny that what the Lord foretold was fulfilled in them, unless he little notices how God overturns sinners not only being angry, but also having pitied? For sinners are overturned in two ways: either as the Sodomites, so that the men themselves are punished for their sins, or as the Ninevites, so that the sins of the men themselves are destroyed by repenting. Therefore that which God foretold was done: Nineveh was overturned which was bad, and a good one was built which was not. For while the walls and houses stood, the city was overturned in its lost morals. And thus although the Prophet was saddened because that was not done which those men feared would come at his prophesying (Jonah IV, 1-3): yet that was done which had been foretold by God's foreknowledge; since He who foretold knew how it was to be fulfilled for the better.

5. But that those perversely merciful ones may know to what pertains that which is written: "How great is the multitude of Thy sweetness, O Lord, which Thou hast hidden for them that fear Thee!" let them read what follows: "but Thou hast perfected for them that hope in Thee" (Psal. XXX, 20). What is, "Thou hast hidden for them that fear, Thou hast perfected for them that hope," unless because to those who by the fear of punishments wish to establish their own justice which is in the law, the justice of God is not sweet (Rom. X, 3), because they know it not? For they have not tasted it.

In se namque sperant, non in ipso: et ideo eis absconditur multitudo dulcedinis Dei; quoniam timent quidem Deum, sed illo timore servili, qui non est in charitate, quia perfecta charitas foras mittit timorem (I Joan. IV, 18). Ideo sperantibus in eum perficit dulcedinem suam, inspirando eis charitatem suam, ut timore casto, non quem charitas foras mittit, sed permanente in saeculum saeculi (Psal. XVIII, 10), cum gloriantur, in Domino glorientur. Justitia quippe Dei Christus est, qui factus est nobis, sicut dicit Apostolus, sapientia a Deo, et justitia; et sanctificatio, et redemptio: ut quemadmodum scriptum est, Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur (I Cor. I, 30 et 31). Hanc Dei justitiam, quam donat gratia sine meritis, nesciunt illi qui suam justitiam volunt constituere, et ideo justitiae Dei, quod Christus est, non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 3). In qua justitia est multa multitudo dulcedinis Dei, propter quam dicitur in Psalmo, Gustate, et videte quam dulcis est Dominus (Psal. XXXIII, 9). Et hanc quidem in hac peregrinatione gustantes, non ad satietatem sumentes, esurimus eam potius ac sitimus, ut ea postea saturemur, cum videbimus eum sicuti est (I Joan. III, 2), et implebitur quod scriptum est, Saturabor, cum manifestabitur gloria tua (Psal. XVI, 15). Ita perficit Christus multam multitudinem dulcedinis suae sperantibus in eum. Porro autem si eam, quam illi putant, dulcedinem suam Deus abscondit timentibus eum qua non est impios damnaturus, ut hoc nescientes et damnari timentes recte vivant, ac sic possint esse qui orent pro non recte viventibus; quomodo eam perficit sperantibus in eum, quandoquidem, sicut somniant, per hanc dulcedinem non damnaturus est eos, qui non sperant in eum? Illa igitur ejus dulcedo quaeratur quam perficit sperantibus in eum, non quam perficere putatur contemnentibus et blasphemantibus cum. Frustra itaque homo post hoc corpus inquirat, quod in hoc corpore sibi comparare neglexit.

6. Illud quoque apostolicum, Conclusit enim Deus omnes in infidelitate, ut omnium misereatur: non ideo dictum est; quod neminem sit damnaturus: sed superius apparet unde sit dictum. Nam cum de Judaeis postea credituris Apostolus loqueretur ad Gentes, ad quas utique jam credentes conscribebat epistolas: Sicut enim vos, inquit, aliquando non credidistis Deo, nunc autem misericordiam consecuti estis illorum incredulitate; sic et hi nunc non crediderunt in vestra misericordia, ut et ipsi misericordiam consequantur (Rom. XI, 31, 32). Deinde subjecit, unde isti sibi errando blandiuntur, atque ait, Conclusit enim Deus omnes in infidelitate, ut omnium misereatur. Quos omnes, nisi de quibus loquebatur, tanquam dicens, et vos et illos?

For they hope in themselves, not in Him: and therefore the multitude of God's sweetness is hidden from them; since they indeed fear God, but with that servile fear which is not in charity, because perfect charity casteth out fear (I John IV, 18). Therefore He perfects His sweetness for them that hope in Him, by inspiring His charity into them, so that with chaste fear—not that which charity casteth out, but that which remaineth forever and ever (Psal. XVIII, 10)—when they glory, they may glory in the Lord. For Christ is the justice of God, who is made to us, as the Apostle says, "wisdom from God, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption: that as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord" (I Cor. I, 30 and 31). This justice of God, which grace gives without merits, those know not who wish to establish their own justice, and therefore are not subject to the justice of God, which is Christ (Rom. X, 3). In which justice is a great multitude of God's sweetness, on account of which it is said in the Psalm: "Taste and see how sweet the Lord is" (Psal. XXXIII, 9). And indeed tasting this in this pilgrimage, not taking it to satiety, we rather hunger and thirst for it, so that we may afterwards be saturated with it when we shall see Him as He is (I John III, 2), and that shall be fulfilled which is written: "I shall be saturated when Thy glory shall be manifested" (Psal. XVI, 15). So Christ perfects a great multitude of His sweetness for them that hope in Him. But furthermore, if God hides that His sweetness, as they think, from them that fear Him, by which He is not to damn the impious, so that they, not knowing this and fearing to be damned, may live rightly, and thus may be able to be those who pray for those not living rightly; how does He perfect it for them that hope in Him, since, as they dream, by this sweetness He is not to damn them who do not hope in Him? Let that sweetness of His therefore be sought which He perfects for them that hope in Him, not that which is thought to be perfected for them that contemn and blaspheme Him. In vain therefore does a man seek after this body what he neglected to procure for himself in this body.

6. That apostolic saying also: "For God hath concluded all in unbelief, that He may have mercy upon all," was not therefore said because He is to damn no one: but it appears above from where it was said. For when the Apostle was speaking of the Jews who were afterwards to believe, to the Gentiles to whom he was writing the epistles as already believing: "For as you," he said, "at one time did not believe God, but now have obtained mercy through their unbelief; so these also now have not believed in your mercy, that they also may obtain mercy" (Rom. XI, 31, 32). Then he added that from which these people flatter themselves by erring, and said: "For God hath concluded all in unbelief, that He may have mercy upon all." Whom all, unless those of whom he was speaking, as if saying: "both you and them"?

Deus ergo et Gentiles et Judaeos, quos praescivit et praedestinavit conformes imaginis Filii sui (Id. VIII, 29), omnes in infidelitate conclusit: ut de amaritudine infidelitatis suae poenitendo confusi, et ad dulcedinem misericordiae Dei credendo conversi, clamarent illud in Psalmo, Quam multa multitudo dulcedinis tuae. Domine, quam abscondisti timentibus te, perfecisti autem sperantibus, non in se, sed in te! Omnium itaque miseretur vasorum misericordiae. Quid est, omnium? Et eorum scilicet quos ex Gentibus, et eorum quos ex Judaeis praedestinavit, vocavit, justificavit, glorificavit; non omnium hominum, sed istorum omnium neminem damnaturus.

CAPUT XXV.---An hi qui inter haereticos baptizati sunt, et deteriores postea male vivendo facti sunt, vel hi qui apud Catholicos renati ad haereses aut schismata transierunt, vel hi qui a Catholicis apud quos renati sunt, non recedentes, criminose vivere perstiterunt, possint privilegio Sacramentorum remissionem aeterni sperare supplicii. 1. Sed jam respondeamus etiam illis, qui non solum diabolo et angelis ejus, sicut nec isti, sed ne ipsis quidem omnibus hominibus liberationem ab aeterno igne promittunt; verum eis tantum qui Christi Baptismate abluti et corporis ejus et sanguinis participes facti sunt, quomodolibet vixerint, in quacumque haeresi vel impietate fuerint. Sed contradicit eis Apostolus, dicens: Manifesta autem sunt opera carnis, quae sunt fornicatio, immunditia, luxu ia, idolorum servitus, veneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes, animositates, dissensiones, haereses, invidiae, ebrietates, comessiones, et his similia: quae praedico vobis, sicut praedixi, quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt (Galat. V, 19-21). Haec profecto apostolica falsa est sententia, si tales post quantalibet tempora liberati regnum Dei possidebunt. Sed quoniam falsa non est, profecto regnum Dei non possidebunt. Et si in regni Dei possessione nunquam erunt, aeterno supplicio tenebuntur: quoniam non est locus medius, ubi non sit in supplicio, qui illo non fuerit constitutus in regno.

2. Quamobrem quod ait Dominus Jesus, Hic est panis qui de coelo descendit, ut si quis ex ipso manducaverit, non moriatur. Ego sum panis vivus, qui de coelo descendi; si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane, vivet in aeternum (Joan. VI, 50-52), quomodo sit accipiendum, merito quaeritur. Et ab istis quidem quibus nunc respondemus, hunc intellectum auferunt illi quibus deinde respondendum est: hi sunt autem qui hanc liberationem, nec omnibus habentibus sacramentum Baptismatis et corporis Christi, sed solis Catholicis, quamvis male viventibus, pollicentur: quia non solo, inquit, sacramento, sed re ipsa manducaverunt corpus Christi, in ipso scilicet ejus corpore constituti: de quo corpore ait Apostolus, Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus (I Cor. X, 17).

God therefore concluded both Gentiles and Jews, whom He foreknew and predestinated to be conformed to the image of His Son (Id. VIII, 29), all in unbelief: so that being confounded by repenting of the bitterness of their unbelief, and being converted by believing to the sweetness of God's mercy, they might cry out that saying in the Psalm: "How great is the multitude of Thy sweetness, O Lord, which Thou hast hidden for them that fear Thee, but Thou hast perfected for them that hope," not in themselves, but "in Thee!" He therefore has mercy on all the vessels of mercy. What is, "of all"? Both of those whom from the Gentiles, and of those whom from the Jews He predestinated, called, justified, glorified; He is to damn none of all those, not of all men.

CHAPTER XXV.---Whether those who were baptized among heretics and afterwards became worse by living badly, or those who, being reborn among Catholics, passed over to heresies or schisms, or those who, not receding from the Catholics among whom they were reborn, persisted in living criminally, can by the privilege of the Sacraments hope for the remission of eternal punishment. 1. But let us now answer also those who promise liberation from eternal fire not only to the devil and his angels, as neither do these, nor even to all men indeed; but only to those who have been washed by the Baptism of Christ and made partakers of His body and blood, however they have lived, in whatever heresy or impiety they have been. But the Apostle contradicts them, saying: "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are fornication, uncleanness, luxury, service of idols, poisonings, enmities, contentions, emulations, animosities, dissensions, heresies, envies, ebrieties, revellings, and such like: which I foretell to you, as I have foretold, that they who do such things shall not possess the kingdom of God" (Galat. V, 19-21). Surely this apostolic sentence is false, if such persons, being liberated after whatever length of time, shall possess the kingdom of God. But since it is not false, surely they shall not possess the kingdom of God. And if they shall never be in the possession of the kingdom of God, they shall be held in eternal punishment: since there is no middle place where he is not in punishment who has not been established in that kingdom.

Wherefore, what the Lord Jesus says: "This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that if any one eat of it, he may not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any one eat of this bread, he shall live forever" (John VI, 50-52), how it is to be understood is deservedly asked. And from these indeed to whom we now answer, those to whom we must answer next take away this understanding: these are those, however, who promise this liberation not to all having the sacrament of Baptism and of the body of Christ, but to Catholics alone, although living badly: because, they say, not by the sacrament alone, but in the thing itself they have eaten the body of Christ, being established, namely, in that His body; of which body the Apostle says: "We being many are one bread, one body" (I Cor. X, 17).

Qui ergo est in ejus corporis unitate, id est, in Christianorum compage membrorum, cujus corporis sacramentum fideles communicantes de altari sumere consueverunt, ipse vere dicendus est manducare corpus Christi, et bibere sanguinem Christi. Ac per hoc haeretici et schismatici ab hujus unitate corporis separati possunt idem percipere sacramentum, sed non sibi utile, imo vero etiam noxium, quo judicentur gravius, quam vel tardius liberentur. Non sunt quippe in eo vinculo pacis, quod illo exprimitur sacramento.

3. Sed rursus etiam isti qui recte intelligunt, non dicendum esse cum manducare corpus Christi, qui in corpore non est Christi, non recte promittunt eis qui vel in haeresim, vel etiam in gentilium superstitionem, ex illius corporis unitate labuntur, liberationem quandoque ab aeterni igne supplicii. Primum, quia debent attendere, quam sit intolerabile atque a sana doctrina nimis devium, ut multi ac pene omnes, qui haereses impias condiderunt exeuntes de catholica Ecclesia, et facti sunt haeresiarchae, meliores habeant causas, quam hi qui nunquam fuerunt catholici, cum in eorum laqueos incidissent; si illos haeresiarchas hoc facit liberari a supplicio sempiterno, quod in catholica Ecclesia baptizati sunt, et sacramentum corporis Christi in vero Christi corpore primitus acceperunt: cum pejor utique sit desertor fidei et ex desertore oppugnator ejus effectus, quam ille qui non deseruit quam nunquam tenuit. Deinde quia et his occurrit Apostolus eadem verba proferens, et enumeratis illis carnis operibus eadem veritate praedicens, Quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt (Galat. V, 21).

4. Unde nec illi in perditis et damnabilibus moribus debent esse securi, qui usque in finem quidem velut in communione Ecclesiae catholicae perseverant, intuentes quod dictum est, Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit (Matth. X, 22); et per vitae iniquitatem, ipsam vitae justitiam, quod eis Christus est, deserunt, sive fornicando, sive alias immunditias flagitiorum, quas nec Apostolus exprimere voluit, in suo corpore perpetrando, sive turpitudine luxuriae diffluendo, sive aliquid aliud eorum agendo de quibus ait, Quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt. Ac per hoc quicumque agunt talia, nisi in sempiterno supplicio non erunt, quia in Dei regno esse non poterunt. In his enim perseverando usque in hujus vitae finem, non utique dicendi sunt in Christo perseverasse usque in finem: quia in Christo perseverare, est in ejus fide perseverare. Quae fides, ut eam definit idem apostolus, per dilectionem operatur (Galat. V, 6). Dilectio autem, sicut ipse alibi dicit, malum non operatur (I Cor. XIII, 4; Rom. XIII, 10). Nec isti ergo dicendi sunt manducare corpus Christi; quoniam nec in membris computandi sunt Christi.

He therefore who is in the unity of that body, that is, in the framework of the Christian members, of which body the faithful communicating are accustomed to receive the sacrament from the altar, he is truly to be said to eat the body of Christ and to drink the blood of Christ. And through this, heretics and schismatics, separated from the unity of this body, can receive the same sacrament, but not useful to themselves, nay even indeed noxious, by which they may be judged more heavily than either more slowly liberated. For they are not in that bond of peace which is expressed by that sacrament.

But again even these who correctly understand that it is not to be said that he eats the body of Christ who is not in the body of Christ, do not correctly promise to those who fall from the unity of that body either into heresy or even into the superstition of the Gentiles, liberation some time from the punishment of eternal fire. First, because they ought to notice how intolerable and too deviant from sound doctrine it is that many and almost all who have founded impious heresies going out from the Catholic Church, and have become heresiarchs, should have better causes than those who never were Catholics when they had fallen into their snares; if that which makes those heresiarchs be liberated from everlasting punishment is that they were baptized in the Catholic Church and at first received the sacrament of the body of Christ in the true body of Christ: since surely worse is the desertion of the faith and who from a deserter has been made an oppugner of it, than he who did not desert what he never held. Then because the Apostle also meets these, bringing forth the same words, and having enumerated those works of the flesh, foretelling with the same truth: "That they who do such things shall not possess the kingdom of God" (Galat. V, 21).

4. Whence neither ought those to be secure in lost and damnable morals who indeed persevere even unto the end as if in the communion of the Catholic Church, looking at what was said: "He that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved" (Matt. X, 22); and through the iniquity of life desert life's justice itself, which Christ is to them, whether by fornicating, or by perpetrating other uncleanness of crimes in their body which the Apostle did not even wish to express, or by flowing away in the turpitude of luxury, or by doing some other of those things of which he says: "For they who do such things shall not possess the kingdom of God." And through this, whoever do such things shall not be but in eternal punishment, because they shall not be able to be in the kingdom of God. For by persevering in these even unto the end of this life, they are surely not to be said to have persevered in Christ unto the end: because to persevere in Christ is to persevere in His faith. Which faith, as the same apostle defines it, "worketh by love" (Galat. V, 6). But love, as he himself says elsewhere, "worketh no evil" (I Cor. XIII, 4; Rom. XIII, 10). Nor therefore are these to be said to eat the body of Christ; since neither are they to be counted among the members of Christ.

Ut enim alia taceam, non possunt simul esse et membra Christi, et membra meretricis (I Cor. VI, 15). Denique ipse dicens, Qui manducat carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo (Joan. VI, 57); ostendit quid sit non sacramento tenus, sed re vera corpus Christi manducare, et ejus sanguinem bibere: hoc est enim in Christo manere, ut in illo maneat et Christus. Sic enim hoc dixit, tanquam diceret, Qui non in me manet, et in quo ego non maneo, non se dicat aut existimet manducare corpus meum, aut bibere sanguinem meum. Non itaque manent in Christo, qui non sunt membra ejus. Non sunt autem membra Christi, qui se faciunt membra meretricis, nisi malum illud poenitendo esse destiterint, et ad hoc bonum reconciliatione redierint.

CAPUT XXVI.

Quid sit in fundamento habere Christum, et quibus spondeatur salus quasi per ignis usturam.

1. Sed habent, inquit, Christiani catholici in fundamento Christum, a cujus unitate non recesserunt, tametsi huic fundamento supraedificaverunt quamlibet pessimam vitam, velut ligna, fenum, stipulam (I Cor. III, 11, 12): recta itaque fides, per quam Christus est fundamentum, quamvis cum damno, quoniam illa quae supraedificata sunt exurentur, tamen poterit eos quandoque ab illius ignis perpetuitate salvare. Respondeat eis breviter apostolus Jacobus: Si quis dicat se fidem habere, opera autem non habeat, numquid poterit fides salvare eum (Jacobi II, 14)? Et quis est, inquit, de quo dicit apostolus Paulus, Ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem (I Cor. III, 15)? Simul quis iste sit, inquiramus: hunc tamen non esse, certissimum est, ne duorum Apostolorum sententias mittamus in rixam, si unus dicit, Etiam si mala opera quis habuerit, salvabit eum fides per ignem; alius autem, Si opera non habeat, numquid poterit fides salvare eum?

2. Inveniemus ergo quis possit salvari per ignem, si prius invenerimus quid sit habere in fundamento Christum. Quod ut de ipsa similitudine quantocius advertamus: Nihil in aedificio praepositur fundamento; quisquis itaque sic habet in corde Christum, ut ei terrena et temporalia nec ea quae licita sunt atque concessa praeponat, fundamentum habet Christum.

For, to say nothing of other things, they cannot be at once both members of Christ and members of a harlot (I Cor. VI, 15). Finally, He Himself saying: "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him" (John VI, 57); showed what it is not as far as the sacrament, but in very deed to eat the body of Christ and to drink His blood: for this is to abide in Christ, so that Christ also may abide in him. For He said this as if He were saying: "He who abideth not in me, and in whom I abide not, let him not say or think that he eats my body or drinks my blood." They therefore do not abide in Christ who are not His members. But they are not members of Christ who make themselves members of a harlot, unless they have ceased to be that evil thing by repenting, and have returned to this good thing by reconciliation.

CHAPTER XXVI.

What it is to have Christ in the foundation, and to whom salvation is promised as if through the burning of fire.

1. But Catholic Christians, they say, have Christ in the foundation, from whose unity they have not receded, although they have built upon this foundation however very bad a life, like wood, hay, stubble (I Cor. III, 11, 12): therefore the right faith, through which Christ is the foundation, although with loss, since those things which were built upon it shall be burned up, yet will be able some time to save them from the perpetuity of that fire. Let the apostle James answer them briefly: "If any one say that he hath faith, but hath not works, shall faith be able to save him?" (James II, 14). And who is it, they say, of whom the apostle Paul says: "But he himself shall be saved, yet so as through fire" (I Cor. III, 15)? Together let us inquire who this may be: that it is not this one, however, is most certain, lest we should set the sentences of the two Apostles at strife, if one says: "Even if one shall have had bad works, faith will save him through fire"; but the other: "If he have not works, shall faith be able to save him?"

2. We shall find therefore who can be saved through fire, if first we shall have found what it is to have Christ in the foundation. Which that we may as soon as possible notice from the similitude itself: Nothing in a building is placed before the foundation; whoever therefore so has Christ in his heart that he does not place before Him earthly and temporal things, not even those which are licit and conceded, has Christ as a foundation.

Si autem praeponit, etsi videatur habere fidem Christi, non est tamen in eo fundamentum Christus, cui talia praeponuntur: quanto magis, si salutaria praecepta contemnens committat illicita, non praeposuisse Christum, sed postposuisse convincitur, quem posthabuit imperantem sive concedentem, dum contra ejus imperata sive concessa suam per flagitia delegit explere libidinem? Si quis itaque christianus diligit meretricem, eique adhaerens unum corpus efficitur (Id. VI, 16), jam in fundamento non habet Christum. Si quis autem diligit uxorem suam, si secundum Christum (Ephes. V, 25), quis ei dubitet in fundamento esse Christum? Si vero secundum hoc saeculum, si carnaliter, si in morbo concupiscentiarum, sicut et gentes quae ignorant Deum (I Thess. IV, 5), etiam hoc secundum veniam concedit Apostolus, imo per Apostolum Christus. Potest ergo et iste habere in fundamento Christum. Si enim ei nihil talis affectionis voluptatisque praeponat, quamvis superaedificet ligna, fenum, stipulam, Christus est fundamentum, propter hoc salvus erit per ignem. Delicias quippe hujusmodi amoresque terrenos, propter conjugalem quidem copulam non damnabiles, tribulationis ignis exuret: ad quem ignem pertinent et orbitates, et quaecumque calamitates quae auferunt haec. Ac per hoc ei qui aedificavit, erit aedificatio ista damnosa; quia non habebit quod superaedificavit, et eorum amissione cruciabitur, quibus fruendo utique laetabatur. Sed per hunc ignem salvus erit merito fundamenti, quia etsi utrum id, an Christum habere mallet, a persecutore proponeretur, illud Christo non praeponeretur. Vide in Apostoli verbis hominem aedificantem super fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos: Qui sine uxore est, inquit, cogitat quae sunt Dei, quomodo placeat Deo. Vide alium aedificantem ligna, fenum, stipulam: Qui autem matrimonio junctus est, inquit, cogitat quae sunt mundi, quomodo placeat uxori (I Cor. VII, 32, 33). Uniuscujusque opus manifestabitur: dies enim declarabit; dies utique tribulationis: quoniam in igne, inquit, revelabitur (Id. III, 13). Eandem tribulationem ignem vocat, sicut alibi legitur, Vasa figuli probat fornax, et homines justos tentatio tribulationis (Eccli. XXVII, 6). Et, Uniuscujusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit. Si cujus opus permanserit (permanet enim quod quisque cogitat quae sunt Dei, quomodo placeat Deo), quod superaedificavit, mercedem accipiet: id est, unde cogitavit, hoc sumet. Si cujus autem opus arserit, damnum patietur: quoniam quod dilexerat, non habebit. Ipse autem salvus erit; quia nulla eum tribulatio ab illius fundamenti stabilitate movit: sic tamen quasi per ignem (I Cor. III, 13-15).

But if he places them before, even if he should seem to have the faith of Christ, yet Christ is not in him a foundation, to whom such things are preferred: how much more, if contemning salutary precepts he should commit illicit things, is he convicted of having not preferred Christ but postponed Him, whom he held of less account when commanding or conceding, while against His commands or concessions he chose to fulfill his own lust through crimes? If therefore any Christian loves a harlot, and adhering to her is made one body (Id. VI, 16), he no longer has Christ in the foundation. But if any one loves his own wife, if according to Christ (Ephes. V, 25), who would doubt that Christ is in the foundation for him? But if indeed according to this world, if carnally, if in the disease of concupiscences, as even the Gentiles who know not God (I Thess. IV, 5), even this the Apostle concedes according to indulgence, nay rather Christ through the Apostle. Therefore even this one can have Christ in the foundation. For if he places nothing of such affection and pleasure before Him, although he builds upon it wood, hay, stubble, Christ is the foundation, on account of this he shall be saved through fire. For the fire of tribulation shall burn up delights of this kind and earthly loves, not damnable indeed on account of the conjugal bond; to which fire pertain both bereavements and whatever calamities which take away these things. And through this to him who built, that building shall be lossful; because he shall not have what he built upon it, and he shall be tortured by the loss of those things in whose enjoyment he indeed rejoiced. But through this fire he shall be saved by the merit of the foundation, because even if it were proposed by a persecutor whether he would rather have that or Christ, that would not be preferred to Christ. See in the Apostle's words a man building upon the foundation gold, silver, precious stones: "He that is without a wife," he says, "thinketh on the things that are of God, how he may please God." See another building wood, hay, stubble: "But he that is joined in marriage," he says, "thinketh on the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife" (I Cor. VII, 32, 33). "Every man's work shall be manifest: for the day shall declare it"; the day, namely, of tribulation: "because it shall be revealed in fire," he says (Id. III, 13). He calls the same tribulation fire, as is read elsewhere: "The furnace trieth the potter's vessels, and the temptation of tribulation just men" (Ecclus. XXVII, 6). And: "The fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work shall remain" (for that remains which each one thinks on the things that are of God, how he may please God), "which he hath built upon it, he shall receive a reward": that is, from where he thought, this he shall receive. But if any man's work shall burn, he shall suffer loss: since what he had loved, he shall not have. But he himself shall be saved; because no tribulation moved him from the stability of that foundation: yet so as through fire (I Cor. III, 13-15).

Quod enim sine illicente amore non habuit, sine urente dolore non perdit. Ecce, quantum mihi videtur, inventus est ignis, qui nullum eorum damnet, sed unum ditet, alterum damnificet, ambos probet.

3. Si autem ignem illum isto loco voluerimus accipere, de quo Dominus dicit sinistris, *Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum* (Matth. XXV, 41); ut in eis etiam isti esse credantur, qui aedificant super fundamentum ligna, fenum, stipulam, eosque ex illo igne post tempus pro malis meritis impertitum liberet boni meritum fundamenti: quid arbitrabimur dextros quibus dicitur, *Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum* (Ibid., 34), nisi eos qui aedificaverunt super fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos? Sed in illum ignem, de quo dictum est, sic tamen quasi per ignem, si hoc modo est intelligendus, utrique mittendi sunt, et dextri scilicet, et sinistri. Illo quippe igne utrique probandi sunt, de quo dictum est, *Dies enim declarabit, quoniam in igne revelabitur, et uniuscujusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit* (I Cor. III, 13). Si ergo utrumque probabit ignis, ut si cujus opus permanserit, id est, non fuerit igne consumptum, quod supraedificavit, mercedem accipiat; si cujus autem opus arserit, damnum patietur: profecto non est ipse aeternus ille ignis. In illum enim soli sinistri novissima et perpetua damnatione mittentur, iste autem dextros probat. Sed alios eorum sic probat, ut aedificium quod super Christum fundamentum ab eis invenerit esse constructum, non exurat atque consumat: alios autem aliter, id est, ut quod supraedificaverunt, ardeat, damnumque inde patiatum; salvi fiant autem, quoniam Christum in fundamento stabiliiter positum praecellenti charitate tenuerunt. Si autem salvi fient, profecto et ad dexteram stabunt, et cum caeteris audient, *Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum: non ad sinistram, ubi illi erunt, qui salvi non erunt, et ideo audient, Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum. Nemo quippe ab illo igne salvabitur, quia in supplicium aeternum ibunt illi omnes* (Matth. XXV, 46), ubi vermis eorum non morietur, et ignis non exstinguetur (Isai. LXVI, 24), quo cruciabuntur die ac nocte in saecula saeculorum (Apoc. XX, 10).

4. Post istius sane corporis mortem, donec ad illum veniatur, qui post resurrectionem corporum futurus est damnationis et remunerationis ultimus dies, si hoc temporis intervallo spiritus defunctorum ejusmodi ignem dicuntur perpeti, quem non sentiant illi qui non habuerunt tales mores et amores in hujus corporis vita, ut eorum ligna, fenum, stipula consumatur;

For what he did not have without an alluring love, he does not lose without a burning grief. Behold, as much as it seems to me, the fire has been found which damns none of them, but enriches one, causes loss to the other, and proves both.

3. But if in this place we should wish to receive that fire of which the Lord will say to those on the left: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire" (Matt. XXV, 41); so that in them even these should be believed to be who build upon the foundation wood, hay, stubble, and the merit of the good foundation should liberate them from that fire after a time imparted for their bad merits: what shall we judge those on the right to be, to whom it shall be said: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you" (Ibid., 34), unless those who built upon the foundation gold, silver, precious stones? But into that fire of which it is said: "yet so as through fire," if it is to be understood in this way, both are to be sent, namely, both those on the right and those on the left. For by that fire both are to be proved, of which it is said: "For the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed in fire, and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is" (I Cor. III, 13). If therefore the fire shall try both, so that if any man's work shall remain, that is, shall not have been consumed by fire, which he built upon it, he should receive a reward; but if any man's work shall burn, he should suffer loss: surely it is not that eternal fire itself. For into that only those on the left shall be sent by the last and perpetual damnation, but this one proves those on the right. But some of them it proves so that the building which it finds to have been constructed by them upon Christ the foundation, it does not burn and consume: but others otherwise, that is, so that what they built upon it should burn, and they suffer loss therefrom; but they should become safe, because they held Christ placed stably in the foundation with surpassing charity. But if they shall become safe, surely they will also stand at the right hand, and with the rest will hear: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you": not at the left hand, where those will be who will not be safe, and therefore will hear: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire." For no one shall be saved from that fire, because they all shall go into eternal punishment (Matt. XXV, 46), where their worm shall not die and the fire shall not be extinguished (Isai. LXVI, 24), by which they shall be tortured day and night forever and ever (Rev. XX, 10).

4. After the death of this body indeed, until that last day of damnation and remuneration which is to be after the resurrection of bodies, if in this interval of time the spirits of the dead are said to endure fire of this sort, which those do not feel who had not such morals and loves in the life of this body that their wood, hay, stubble should be consumed;

alii vero sentiant qui ejusmodi secum aedificia portaverunt, sive ibi tantum, sive et hic et ibi, sive ideo hic ut non ibi, saecularia, quamvis a damnatione venialia concremantem ignem transitoriae tribulationis inveniant, non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est. Potest quippe ad istam tribulationem pertinere etiam ipsa mors carnis, quae de peccati primi perpetratoe concepta est, ut secundum cujusque aedificium tempus quod eam sequitur ab unoquoque sentiat. Persecutiones quoque quibus martyres coronati sunt, et quas patiuntur quicumque Christiani, probant utraque aedificia velut ignis, et alia consumunt cum ipsis aedificatoribus, si Christum in eis non inveniunt fundamentum; alia sine ipsis, si inveniunt, quia, licet cum damno, salvi erunt ipsi: alia vero non consumunt, quia talia reperiunt quae maneant in aeternum. Erit etiam in fine saeculi tribulatio tempore Antichristi, qualis nunquam antea fuit. Quam multa erunt tunc aedificia, sive aurea, sive fenea super optimum fundamentum, quod est Christus Jesus, ut ignis ille probet utraque, et de aliis gaudium, de aliis inferat damnum; neutros tamen perdat in quibus haec inveniet, propter stabile fundamentum. Quicumque autem, non dico uxorem, cujus etiam commixtione carnis ad carnalem utitur voluptatem, sed ipsa quae ab hujusmodi delectationibus aliena sunt nomina pietatis, humano more carnaliter diligendo Christo anteponebat, non eum habet in fundamento, et ideo non per ignem salvus erit, sed salvus non erit, quia esse cum Salvatore non poterit, qui de hac re apertissime loquens ait, Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me dignus: et qui amat filium aut filiam super me, non est me dignus (Matth. X, 37). Verum qui has necessitudines sic amat carnaliter, ut tamen eas Christo Domino non praeponat, malitque ipsis carere quam Christo, si ad hunc fuerit articulum tentationis adductus, per ignem salvus erit: quia ex earum amissione tantum necesse est urat dolor, quantum haeserat amor. Porro qui patrem, matrem, filios, filias secundum Christum dilexerit, ut ad ejus regnum obtinendum eique cohaerendum illis consulat, vel hoc in eis diligit, quod membra sunt Christi, absit ut ista dilectio reperiatur in lignis, feno et stipula consumenda, sed prorsus aedificio aureo, argenteo, gemmeo deputabitur. Quomodo autem potest eos plus amare quam Christum quos amat utique propter Christum.

CAPUT XXVII.---Contra eorum persuasionem qui putant sibi non obfutura peccata, in quibus, cum eleemosynas facerent, perstiterunt. 1. Restat eis respondere, qui dicunt aeterno igne illos tantummodo arsuos, qui pro peccatis suis facere dignas eleemosynas negligunt, propter illud quod ait apostolus Jacobus: Judicium autem sine misericordia illi qui non fecit misericordiam (Jacobi II, 13).

but others indeed feel it who carried with them such buildings, whether there only, or both here and there, or therefore here that they might not there, find the burning fire of transitory tribulation consuming secular things, although venial from damnation, I do not refute it, because perhaps it is true. For even the death of the flesh itself, which was conceived from the perpetration of the first sin, can pertain to that tribulation, so that according to each one's building the time which follows it may be felt by each one. The persecutions also by which the martyrs were crowned, and which whatever Christians suffer, prove both buildings as fire, and consume some with the builders themselves if they do not find Christ as a foundation in them; others without themselves if they do find Him, because, although with loss, they themselves shall be saved: but others they do not consume, because they find such things as remain forever. There will also be at the end of the world tribulation in the time of Antichrist, such as never was before. How many buildings will there be then, whether golden or made of hay, upon the best foundation, which is Christ Jesus, so that that fire may prove both, and from some bring in joy, from others loss; yet lose neither of those in whom it shall find these things, on account of the stable foundation. But whoever, I do not say his wife, of whom even by the commixtion of the flesh he makes use for carnal pleasure, but those very names of piety which are alien from delights of this sort, by loving carnally in a human manner, prefers to Christ, has Him not in the foundation, and therefore shall not be saved through fire, but shall not be saved, because he will not be able to be with the Savior, who speaking most clearly of this matter says: "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter above me, is not worthy of me" (Matt. X, 37). But he who loves these relationships thus carnally, so that however he does not place them before Christ the Lord, and would rather be without them than without Christ, if he should be brought to this point of temptation, shall be saved through fire: because from their loss it is necessary that grief should burn as much as love had cleaved. Furthermore, he who shall have loved father, mother, sons, daughters according to Christ, so that he may consult for them for obtaining His kingdom and adhering to Him, or should love this in them, that they are members of Christ, far be it that that love should be found among the wood, hay, and stubble to be consumed, but it shall be utterly deputed to the golden, silver, and gemmed building. For how can he love those more than Christ whom he loves surely on account of Christ?

CHAPTER XXVII.--Against the persuasion of those who think that sins in which they persisted while giving alms will not harm them. 1. It remains to answer those who say that only those will burn in eternal fire who neglect to do worthy alms for their sins, because of that which the apostle James says: "For judgment is without mercy to him who has not shown mercy" (James II, 13).

Qui ergo fecit, inquit, quamvis non correxerit perditos mores, sed nefarie ac nequiter inter ipsas suas eleemosynas vixerit, cum misericordia illi futurum est iudicium, ut aut non damnetur omnino, aut post aliquod tempus a damnatione novissima liberetur. Nec ob aliud existimant Christum de solo dilectu atque neglectu eleemosynarum discretionem inter dexteros et sinistros esse facturum, quorum alios in regnum, alios in supplicium mittat aeternum. Ut autem quotidiana sibi opinentur, quae facere omnino non cessant, qualiacumque et quantacumque sint, per eleemosynas dimitti posse peccata, orationem quam docuit ipse Dominus, et suffragatricem sibi adhibere conantur, et testem. Sicut enim nullus est, inquit, dies, quo a Christianis haec oratio non dicatur: ita nullum est quotidianum quaecumque peccatum, quod per illam non dimittatur, cum dicimus, Dimitte nobis debita nostra; si quod sequitur facere curemus, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris (Matth. VI, 12). Non enim ait Dominus, inquit, Si dimiseritis peccata hominibus, dimittet vobis Pater vester quotidiana parva peccata vestra; sed, dimittet vobis, inquit, peccata vestra (Ibid., 14). Qualiacumque ergo vel quantacumque sint, etiamsi quotidie perpetrentur, nec ab eis vita discedant in melius commutata, per eleemosynam veniae non negatae remittit sibi posse praesumunt.

2. Sed bene, quod isti dignas pro peccatis commonent eleemosynas esse faciendas: quoniam si dicerent qualescumque eleemosynas pro peccatis et quotidianis et magnis et quantacumque scelerum consuetudine misericordiam posse impetrare divinam, ut ea quotidiana remissio sequeretur, viderent rem se dicere absurdam atque ridiculam. Sic enim cogentur fateri fieri posse, ut opulentissimus homo decem nummulis diurnis in eleemosynas impensis, homicidia, et adulteria, et nefaria quaeque facta redimeret. Quod si absurdissimum et insanissimum est dicere: profecto si quaeratur, quae dignae sint pro peccatis eleemosynae, de quibus etiam Christi praecursor ille dicebat, Facite ergo fructus dignos poenitentiae (Matth. III, 8); procul dubio non invenientur eas facere, qui vitam suam usque ad mortem quotidianorum criminum perpetratione confodiunt. Primum, quia in auferendis rebus alienis longe plura diripiunt, ex quibus perexigua pauperibus largiendo, Christum se ad hoc pascere existimant, ut licentiam malefactorum ab illo se emisse, vel quotidie potius emere credentes, securi damnabilia tanta committant. Qui si pro uno scelere omnia sua distribuerent indigentibus membris Christi, nisi desisterent a talibus factis, habendo charitatem, quae non agit perperam (I Cor. XIII, 4), aliquid eis prodesse non posset. Qui ergo dignas pro suis peccatis eleemosynas facit, prius eas facere incipiat a se ipso.

Therefore, they say, he who has shown it, although he has not corrected his abandoned morals, but has lived nefariously and wickedly among his very alms, judgment will be for him with mercy, so that either he should not be condemned at all, or after some time be delivered from the last damnation. Nor for any other reason do they think that Christ will make the discretion between those on the right and those on the left from the choice and neglect of alms alone, of whom He sends some into the kingdom, others into eternal punishment. But that they may imagine that for themselves daily sins, which they do not cease to do at all, whatever and however great they may be, can be forgiven through alms, they attempt to employ the prayer which the Lord Himself taught both as a helper and as a witness. For just as there is no day, they say, on which this prayer is not said by Christians: so there is no daily sin of any kind which is not forgiven through it, when we say, "Forgive us our debts"; if we take care to do what follows, "as we also forgive our debtors" (Matt. VI, 12). For the Lord did not say, they say: "If you forgive men their sins, your Father will forgive you your daily small sins"; but, "He will forgive you," He said, "your sins" (Ibid., 14). Whatever or however great they may be, therefore, even if they are perpetrated daily, and their life should not depart from them changed for the better, they presume that they can be forgiven through the alms of a pardon not denied.

2. But it is well that these remind us that worthy alms should be made for sins: since if they said that any alms whatever could obtain divine mercy for both daily and great sins and for any greatness of the custom of crimes, so that that daily remission should follow, they would see that they were saying an absurd and ridiculous thing. For thus they would be forced to confess that it could happen that a most wealthy man, by spending ten small coins daily in alms, could redeem homicides, and adulteries, and whatever nefarious deeds. But if it is most absurd and most insane to say this: surely if it is asked, what alms are worthy for sins, of which even that precursor of Christ said: "Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of penance" (Matt. III, 8); without doubt those will not be found to do them, who pierce through their life until death with the perpetration of daily crimes. First, because in taking away other people's things they plunder far more, by bestowing very little of which to the poor, they think they feed Christ for this purpose, that believing they have bought, or rather daily buy, license for evil deeds from Him, they may commit so great damnable things securely. Who if for one crime they distributed all their things to the indigent members of Christ, unless they desisted from such deeds, by having charity, which does not act perversely (I Cor. XIII, 4), it could not profit them anything. He therefore who does worthy alms for his sins, let him first begin to do them from himself.

Indignum est enim, ut in se non faciat qui facit in proximum, cum audiat dicentem Dominum, Diliges proximum tuum tanquam te ipsum (Matth. XXII, 39). Itemque audiat, Miserere tuae animae placens Deo (Eccli. XXX, 24). Hanc eleemosynam, id est, ut Deo placeat, non faciens animae suae, quomodo dignas pro peccatis suis eleemosynas facere dicendus est? Ad hoc enim et illud scriptum est: Qui sibi malignus est, cui bonus erit (Id. XIV, 5)? Orationes quippe adjuvant eleemosynae. Et utique intuendum est quod legimus: Fili, peccasti, ne adjicias iterum, et de praeteritis deprecare, ut tibi dimittantur (Id. XXI, 1). Propter hoc ergo eleemosynae faciendae sunt, ut cum de praeteritis peccatis deprecamur, exaudiamur, non ut in eis perseverantes, licentiam malefaciendi nos per eleemosynas comparare credamus.

3. Ideo autem Dominus et dextris eleemosynas ab eis factas, et sinistris non factas se imputaturum esse praedixit, ut hinc ostenderet quantum valeant eleemosynae ad priora delenda, non ad perpetua impune committenda peccata. Tales autem eleemosynas non dicendi sunt facere qui vitam nolunt a consuetudine scelerum in melius commutare. Quia et in hoc quod ait, Quando uni ex minimis meis non fecistis, mihi non fecistis (Matth. XXV, 45); ostendit eos non facere etiam quando se facere existimant. Si enim Christiano esurienti panem tanquam Christiano darent, profecto sibi panem justitiae, quod ipse Christus est, non negarent: quoniam Deus, non cui detur, sed quo animo detur, attendit. Qui ergo Christum diligit in Christiano, hoc animo ei porrigit eleemosynam quo accedit ad Christum, non quo vult recedere impunitus a Christo. Tanto enim magis quisque deserit Christum, quanto magis diligit quod improbat Christus. Nam quid cuiquam prodest, quod baptizatur, si non justificatur? Nonne qui dixit, Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non intrabit in regnum Dei (Joan. III, 5); ipse etiam dixit, Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra super Scribarum et Phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum coelorum (Matth. V, 20)? Cur illud timendo multi currunt baptizari, et hoc non timendo non multi curant justificari? Sicut ergo non dicit fratri suo, Fatue, qui cum hoc dicit, non ipsi fraternitati, sed peccato ejus infensus est; alioquin reus erit gehennae ignis (Ibid., 22): ita e contrario, qui porrigit eleemosynam Christiano, non Christiano porrigit, qui non in eo diligit Christum; non autem diligit Christum, qui justificari recusat in Christo. Et quemadmodum si quis praeoccupatus fuerit hoc delicto, ut fratri suo dicat, Fatue, id est, non ejus peccatum volens auferre convicietur injuste; parum est illi ad hoc redimendum eleemosynas facere, nisi etiam quod ibi sequitur remedium reconciliationis adjungat.

For it is unworthy that he should not do it in himself who does it to his neighbor, since he hears the Lord saying: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Matt. XXII, 39). And likewise let him hear: "Have mercy on thy soul, pleasing God" (Ecclus. XXX, 24). Not doing this alms to his soul, that is, that he may please God, how is he to be said to do worthy alms for his sins? For for this purpose also that was written: "He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good?" (Ibid. XIV, 5). For alms help prayers. And surely we must look into what we read: "Son, hast thou sinned? do so no more: but for thy former sins pray that they may be forgiven thee" (Ibid. XXI, 1). For this purpose therefore alms are to be made, that when we pray for former sins, we may be heard, not that persevering in them, we should believe we buy for ourselves through alms license for evil doing.

3. Therefore moreover the Lord foretold that He would impute to those on the right the alms made by them, and to those on the left those not made, that from this He might show how much alms avail for blotting out former sins, not for committing perpetual sins with impunity. But such alms are not to be said to be made by those who do not wish to change their life from the custom of crimes for the better. Because also in this that He says: "When you did it not to one of these least of mine, you did it not to me" (Matt. XXV, 45); He shows that they do not do them even when they think they do them. For if they gave bread to a hungry Christian as to a Christian, surely they would not deny to themselves the bread of justice, which is Christ Himself: since God attends, not to whom it is given, but with what mind it is given. He therefore who loves Christ in a Christian, extends alms to him with that mind with which he approaches Christ, not with that with which he wishes to depart from Christ unpunished. For so much the more does each one desert Christ, as he more loves what Christ disapproves. For what does it profit anyone to be baptized, if he is not justified? Did not He who said: "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of God" (John III, 5); also Himself say: "Unless your justice shall exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. V, 20)? Why by fearing that do many run to be baptized, and by not fearing this do not many care to be justified? As therefore he does not say "Thou fool" to his brother, who when he says this is not hostile to the brotherhood itself, but to his sin; otherwise he will be guilty of hell fire (Ibid., 22): so on the contrary, he who extends alms to a Christian, does not extend it to a Christian, who does not love Christ in him; but he does not love Christ, who refuses to be justified in Christ. And just as if anyone should be overtaken in this fault, so as to say "Thou fool" to his brother, that is, not wishing to take away his sin should revile him unjustly; it is little for him to do alms for redeeming this, unless he also adds the remedy of reconciliation which follows there.

Ibi enim sequitur: Si ergo offers munus tuum ad altare, et ibi recordatus fueris, quia frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te, relinque ibi munus tuum ad altare, et vade, prius reconciliare fratri tuo, et tunc veniens offeres munus tuum (Ibid., 23, 24). Ita parum est eleemosynas quantaslibet facere pro quocumque scelere, et in consuetudine scelerum permanere.

4. Oratio vero quotidiana, quam docuit ipse Dominus, unde et Dominica nominatur, delet quidem quotidiana peccata, cum quotidie dicitur, Dimitte nobis debita nostra; atque id quod sequitur non solum dicitur, sed etiam fit, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris (Id. VI, 12): sed quia fiunt peccata, ideo dicitur; non ut ideo fiant, quia dicitur. Per hanc enim nobis voluit Salvator ostendere, quantumlibet juste in hujus vitae caligine atque infirmitate vivamus, non nobis deesse peccata pro quibus dimittendis debeamus orare, et eis qui in nos peccant, ut et nobis ignoscatur, ignoscere. Non itaque propterea Dominus ait, Si dimiseritis peccata hominibus, dimittet vobis et Pater vester peccata vestra (Ibid., 14), ut de hac oratione confisi, securi quotidiana scelera faceremus, vel potentia qua non timeremus hominum leges, vel astutia qua ipsos homines falleremus: sed ut per illam disceremus, non putare nos esse sine peccatis, etiamsi a criminibus essemus immunes: sicut etiam Legis veteris sacerdotes hoc ipsum Deus de sacrificiis admonuit, quae jussit eos primum pro suis, deinde pro populi offerre peccatis (Levit. XVI, 6; Hebr. VII, 27). Nam et ipsa verba tanti Magistri et Domini nostri vigilanter intuenda sunt. Non enim ait, Si dimiseritis peccata hominibus, et Pater vester dimittet vobis qualiacumque peccata: sed ait, peccata vestra. Quotidianam quippe orationem docebat, et justificatis utique discipulis loquebatur. Quid est ergo, peccata vestra, nisi peccata sine quibus nec vos eritis, qui justificati et sanctificati estis? Ubi ergo illi, qui per hanc orationem occasionem perpetratorum quotidie scelerum quaerunt, dicunt Dominum significasse etiam magna peccata, quoniam non dixit, Dimittet vobis parva, sed peccata vestra: ibi nos considerantes qualibus loquebatur, et audientes dictum, peccata vestra, nihil aliud debemus existimare quam parva, quoniam talium jam non erant magna. Verumtamen nec ipsa magna, a quibus omnino mutatis in melius moribus recedendum est, dimittuntur orantibus, nisi fiat quod ibi dicitur, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Si enim minima peccata, sine quibus non est etiam vita justorum, aliter non remittuntur: quanto magis multis et magnis criminibus involuti, etiamsi ea perpetrare jam desinant, nullam indulgentiam consequuntur, si ad remittendum aliis quod in eos quisque peccaverit, inexorabiles fuerint, cum dicat Dominus, Si autem non dimiseritis hominibus, neque Pater vester dimittet vobis (Matth. VI, 15)? Ad hoc enim valet quod etiam Jacobus apostolus ait, iudicium futurum sine misericordia illi qui non fecit misericordiam (Jacobi II, 13).

For there it follows: "If therefore thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there thou remember that thy brother hath anything against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then coming thou shalt offer thy gift" (Ibid., 23, 24). Thus it is little to do any alms whatever for any crime, and to remain in the custom of crimes.

4. But the daily prayer, which the Lord Himself taught, whence also it is called the Lord's Prayer, deletes indeed daily sins, when it is said daily: "Forgive us our debts"; and that which follows is not only said, but also done: "as we also forgive our debtors" (Ibid. VI, 12): but because sins are done, therefore it is said; not so that they should therefore be done, because it is said. For through this the Savior wished to show us that, however justly we may live in the darkness and infirmity of this life, we are not without sins for the forgiveness of which we ought to pray, and to those who sin against us, that we also may be forgiven, to forgive. Not therefore did the Lord say: "If you forgive men their sins, your Father will also forgive you your sins" (Ibid., 14), that relying on this prayer, we might commit daily crimes securely, either by power by which we might not fear the laws of men, or by craft by which we might deceive those very men: but that through it we might learn not to think we are without sins, even if we were immune from crimes: as also concerning sacrifices God admonished the priests of the old Law of this very thing, whom He commanded to offer first for their own, then for the people's sins (Levit. XVI, 6; Heb. VII, 27). For even the very words of so great a Master and our Lord are to be watched vigilantly. For He did not say: "If you forgive men their sins, your Father will also forgive you whatever sins"; but He said: "your sins." For He was teaching a daily prayer, and was speaking surely to justified disciples. What therefore is "your sins," except those sins without which not even you will be, who are justified and sanctified? Wherefore those who seek through this prayer an occasion for perpetrating daily crimes, say that the Lord signified also great sins, since He did not say: "He will forgive you small ones," but "your sins": there we, considering to what kind of men He was speaking, and hearing the word "your sins," ought to think of nothing else than small ones, since of such men there were no longer great ones. Nevertheless not even those great sins, from which one must depart with morals changed entirely for the better, are forgiven to those praying, unless that is done which is said there: "as we also forgive our debtors." For if the least sins, without which not even the life of the just is, are not otherwise remitted: how much more those involved in many and great crimes, even if they should now cease to perpetrate them, attain no indulgence, if they should be inexorable to remitting to others what each one has sinned against them, when the Lord says: "But if you will not forgive men, neither will your Father forgive you" (Matt. VI, 15)? For to this refers what even the apostle James says, that judgment shall be without mercy to him who has not shown mercy (James II, 13).

Venire quippe debet in mentem etiam servus ille, cui debitori dominus ejus relaxavit decem millia talentorum; quae postea jussit ut redderet, quia ipse non misertus est conservi sui, qui ei debebat centum denarios (Matth. XVIII, 23 sqq.). In his ergo qui filii sunt promissionis et vasa misericordiae, valet quod ait idem apostolus, consequenter adjungens, Superexsultat autem misericordia judicio (Jacobi II, 13). Quoniam et illi justii qui tanta sanctitate vixerunt, ut alios quoque recipiant in tabernacula aeterna, quibus amici facti sunt de mammona iniquitatis (Luc. XVI, 9), ut tales essent, misericordia liberati sunt ab eo qui justificat impium, imputans mercedem secundum gratiam, non secundum debitum. In eorum quippe numero est Apostolus, qui dicit: Misericordiam consecutus sum, ut fidelis essem (I Cor. VII, 25).

5. Illi autem qui recipiuntur a talibus in tabernacula aeterna, fatendum est quod non sint his moribus praediti, ut eis liberandis sine suffragio sanctorum sua possit vita sufficere, ac per hoc multo amplius in eis superexsultat misericordia judicio. Nec tamen ideo putandus est quisquam sceleratissimus nequaquam vita vel bona vel tolerabiliore mutatus, recipi in tabernacula aeterna, quoniam obsecutus est sanctis de mammona iniquitatis, id est, de pecunia, vel divitiis, quae male fuerant acquisitae; aut etiamsi bene, non tamen veris, sed quas iniquitas putat esse divitias, quoniam nescit quae sint verae divitiae, quibus illi abundant, qui et alios recipiunt in aeterna tabernacula. Est itaque quidam vitae modus, nec tam malae, ut his qui eam vivunt, nihil prosit ad capessendum regnum coelorum largitas eleemosynarum, quibus etiam justorum sustentatur inopia, et fiunt amici qui in tabernacula aeterna suscipiant; nec tam bonae, ut ad tantam beatitudinem adipiscendam eis ipsa sufficiat, nisi eorum meritis quos amicos fecerint, misericordiam consequantur. (Mirari autem soleo etiam apud Virgilium istam Domini reperiri sententiam, ubi ait: Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis, ut et ipsi recipiant vos in tabernacula aeterna (Luc. XVI, 9). Cujus est et illa simillima, Qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophetae, mercedem prophetae accipiet, et qui recipit justum in nomine justii, mercedem justii accipiet (Matth. X, 41). Nam cum Elysios campos poeta ille describeret, ubi putant habitare animas beatorum, non solum ibi posuit eos, qui propriis meritis ad illas sedes pervenire potuerunt, sed adjecit, atque ait, Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo; (Aeneid. lib. 6, vers. 664.) id est, qui promeruerunt alios, eosque sui memores promerendo fecerunt. Prorsus tanquam eis dicerent, quod frequentatur ore Christiano, cum se cuique sanctorum humilis quisque commendat, et dicit, Memor mei esto: atque ut id esse possit, promerendo efficit.)

For that servant also ought to come to mind, to whom as a debtor his lord relaxed ten thousand talents; which he afterwards commanded that he should return, because he himself did not pity his fellow-servant, who owed him a hundred pence (Matt. XVIII, 23 sqq.). In those therefore who are children of the promise and vessels of mercy, that which the same apostle says holds good, adding consequently: "But mercy triumphs over judgment" (James II, 13). Since also those just men who lived with such sanctity that they receive others also into eternal tabernacles, to whom they were made friends from the mammon of iniquity (Luke XVI, 9), that they should be such, were delivered by mercy by Him who justifies the ungodly, imputing the reward according to grace, not according to debt. For in their number is the Apostle, who says: "I have obtained mercy, that I might be faithful" (I Cor. VII, 25).

5. But those who are received by such into eternal tabernacles, it must be confessed that they are not endowed with such morals that their own life could suffice for their deliverance without the suffrage of the saints, and through this mercy triumphs far more over judgment in them. Nor yet for that reason is any most wicked man to be thought, having in no way changed his life for either a good or a more tolerable one, to be received into eternal tabernacles, because he has complied with the saints from the mammon of iniquity, that is, from money or riches which had been badly acquired; or even if well, not yet true riches, but those which iniquity thinks to be riches, since it knows not what are true riches, with which those abound who also receive others into eternal tabernacles. There is therefore a certain mode of life, not so bad that to those who live it the bounty of alms, by which even the want of the just is sustained and friends are made who may receive them into eternal tabernacles, should profit nothing for attaining the kingdom of heaven; nor so good that for obtaining so great beatitude it should suffice by itself, unless by the merits of those whom they have made friends they obtain mercy. (But I am accustomed to wonder that even in Virgil that sentence of the Lord is found, where He says: "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of iniquity, that they also may receive you into eternal tabernacles" (Luke XVI, 9). Whose also is that very similar one: "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a just man in the name of a just man, shall receive a just man's reward" (Matt. X, 41). For when that poet described the Elysian fields, where they think the souls of the blessed dwell, he not only placed there those who by their own merits were able to reach those seats, but he added, and said: "And those who made others mindful of them by deserving"; (Aeneid lib. 6, v. 664.) that is, who merited others, and by deserving made them mindful of themselves. Just as if they said to them, what is frequented by the Christian mouth, when each humble person commends himself to each of the saints, and says: "Be mindful of me": and that this may be possible, he effects it by deserving.)

Sed quis iste sit modus, et quae sint ipsa peccata, quae ita impediunt perventionem ad regnum Dei, ut tamen sanctorum amicorum meritis impetrent indulgentiam, difficillimum est invenire, periculosissimum definire. Ego certe usque ad hoc tempus cum inde satagerem, ad eorum indaginem pervenire non potui. Et fortassis propterea latent, ne studium proficiendi ad omnia peccata cavenda pigrescat. Quoniam si scirentur quae vel qualia sint delicta, pro quibus etiam permanentibus nec profectu vitae melioris absumptis intercessio sit inquirenda et speranda justorum, eis secura se obvolveret humana segnities, nec evolvi talibus implicamentis ullius virtutis expeditione curaret, sed tantummodo quaereret aliorum meritis liberari, quos amicos sibi de mammona iniquitatis eleemosynarum largitione fecisset. Nunc vero dum venialis iniquitatis, etiamsi perseveret, ignoratur modus, profecto et studium in meliora proficiendi orationi instando vigilantius adhibetur, et faciendi de mammona iniquitatis sanctos amicos cura non spernitur.

6. Verum ista liberatio quae fit sive suis quibusque orationibus, sive intercedentibus sanctis, id agit ut in ignem quisque non mittatur aeternum: non ut cum fuerit missus, post quantumcumque tempus inde eruatur. Nam et illi qui putant sic intelligendum esse, quod scriptum est, afferre terram bonam uberem fructum, aliam tricenum, aliam sexagenum, aliam centenum (Matth. XIII, 8): ut sancti pro suorum diversitate meritorum, alii tricenos homines liberent, alii sexagenos, alii centenos: hoc in die iudicii futurum suspicari solent, non post iudicium. Qua opinione quidam cum videret homines impunitatem sibi perversissime pollicentes, eo quod omnes isto modo ad liberationem pertinere posse videantur, elegantissime respondisse perhibetur, bene potius esse vivendum, ut inter eos quisque reperiatur, qui pro aliis intercessuri sunt liberandis; ne tam pauci sint, ut cito ad numerum suum vel tricenum, vel sexagenum, vel centenum unoquoque eorum perveniente, multi remaneant qui erui jam de poenis illorum intercessione non possint, et in eis inveniatur quisquis sibi spem fructus alieni temeritate vanissima pollicetur. Haec me respondisse illis suffecerit, qui sacrarum Litterarum, quas communes habemus, auctoritatem non spernunt, sed eas male intelligendo, non quod illae loquuntur, sed hoc potius putant futurum esse quod ipsi volunt. Hac itaque responsione reddita, librum, sicut promisimus, terminamus.

But what this mode is, and what are those very sins which so hinder the arrival at the kingdom of God, that nevertheless they may impetrate indulgence by the merits of holy friends, it is most difficult to find, most dangerous to define. I certainly until this time, when I was busy with it, have not been able to reach their investigation. And perhaps for this reason they are hidden, lest the study of progressing to avoiding all sins should become slothful. Since if it were known which or what kind of offenses they are for which, even if they remain and are not consumed by the progress of a better life, the intercession of the just is to be sought and hoped for, human sloth would securely wrap itself in them, nor care to be unfolded from such entanglements by the expedition of any virtue, but would only seek to be delivered by the merits of others, whom it had made friends for itself from the mammon of iniquity by the bounty of alms. But now, while the mode of venial iniquity, even if it persists, is ignored, surely both the study of progressing to better things by insisting on prayer is more vigilantly employed, and the care of making holy friends from the mammon of iniquity is not despised.

6. But that liberation which is made either by each one's own prayers, or by the intercession of the saints, effects this, that each one is not cast into eternal fire: not that when he has been cast in, he is after some time rescued from there. For even those who think that it is to be thus understood which is written, that the good ground brings forth abundant fruit, some thirtyfold, some sixtyfold, some a hundredfold (Matt. XIII, 8): so that the saints, according to the diversity of their merits, should deliver some thirty men, others sixty, others a hundred: this they are accustomed to suspect will happen on the day of judgment, not after judgment. In which opinion, when a certain person saw men promising themselves impunity most perversely, because all seemed to be able to pertain to liberation in this manner, he is reported to have responded most elegantly, that it is rather to be lived well, so that each one may be found among those who are to intercede for others to be delivered; lest they should be so few that, each one of them soon reaching his number of thirty, or sixty, or a hundred, many should remain who could no longer be rescued from those punishments by their intercession, and among them be found whoever promises himself the hope of another's fruit by a most vain temerity. This should suffice for me to have responded to those who do not despise the authority of the sacred Scriptures which we have in common, but by misunderstanding them, think that that which they themselves wish will happen, rather than what those Scriptures speak. This response having been rendered, therefore, we terminate the book, as we promised.

LIBER VI

GESIMUS SECUNDUS.

De fine debito civitatis Dei, hoc est de aeterna felicitate sanctorum. Adstruitur fides resurrectionis corporum, et explicatur qualis futura sit. Tum dicto quid acturi sint in corporibus immortalibus atque spiritualibus sanctis, opus terminatur.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

De conditione Angelorum et hominum.

1. Sicut in proximo libro superiore promisimus, iste hujus totius operis ultimus disputationem de civitatis Dei aeterna beatitudine continebit. Quae non propter aetatis per multa saecula longitudinem, tamen quandocumque finiendam, aeternitatis nomen accepit; sed quemadmodum scriptum est in Evangelio, Regni ejus non erit finis (Luc. I, 33). Nec ita ut aliis moriendo decedentibus, aliis succedentibus oriendo; species in ea perpetuitatis appareat, sicut in arbore quae perenni fronde vestitur, eadem videtur virilitas permanere, dum labentibus et cadentibus foliis, subinde alia quae nascuntur, faciem conservant opacitatis: sed omnes in ea cives immortales erunt, adipiscentibus et hominibus, quod nunquam sancti Angeli perdiderunt. Faciet hoc Deus omnipotentissimus ejus conditor. Promisit enim, nec mentiri potest; et quibus fidem hinc quoque faceret, multa sua, et non promissa, et promissa jam fecit.

2. Ipse est enim, qui in principio condidit mundum, plenum bonis omnibus visibilibus atque intelligibilibus rebus, in quo nihil melius instituit quam spiritus, quibus intelligentiam dedit, et suae contemplationis habiles capacesque sui praestitit, atque una societate devinxit, quam sanctam et supernam dicimus civitatem, in qua res qua sustententur beatique sint, Deus ipse illis est, tanquam vita victusque communis. Qui liberum arbitrium eidem intellectuali naturae tribuit tale, ut si vellet, desereret Deum, beatitudinem scilicet suam, continuo miseria secutura.

BOOK TWENTY

SECOND.

Of the due end of the City of God, that is, of the eternal happiness of the saints. The faith of the resurrection of bodies is built up, and it is explained what sort it shall be. Then, having said what the saints shall do in immortal and spiritual bodies, the work is terminated.

CHAPTER I.

Of the condition of Angels and of men.

1. As we promised in the next preceding book, this last of this whole work will contain the disputation concerning the eternal beatitude of the City of God. Which has received the name of eternity not on account of a length of age through many centuries, yet to be finished sometime; but as it is written in the Gospel, "Of His kingdom there shall be no end" (Luke I, 33). Nor so that, some departing by dying and others succeeding by being born, a species of perpetuity should appear in it, as in a tree which is clothed with perennial foliage, the same vigor seems to remain, while, the leaves slipping and falling, others which are born from time to time preserve the appearance of thickness; but all the citizens in it shall be immortal, with men also attaining what the holy angels never lost. God the most omnipotent, its founder, will do this. For He promised, and He cannot lie; and to whom He would also make faith from this, He has already done many of His things, both not promised and promised.

2. For He is the one who in the beginning founded the world, full of all good visible and intelligible things, in which He instituted nothing better than spirits, to whom He gave intelligence, and rendered them fit for His contemplation and capable of Himself, and bound them in one society, which we call the holy and celestial city, in which the thing by which they are sustained and are blessed is God Himself to them, as a common life and nourishment. Who gave to the same intellectual nature such free will that, if it wished, it might desert God, namely its own beatitude, with misery immediately about to follow.

Qui cum praesciret angelos quosdam per elationem, qua ipsi sibi ad beatam vitam sufficere vellent, tanti boni desertores futuros, non eis ademit hanc potestatem, potentius et melius esse iudicans etiam de malis bene facere, quam mala esse non sinere. Quae omnino nulla essent, nisi natura mutabilis, quamvis bona, et a summo Deo atque incommutabili bono, qui bona omnia condidit, instituta, peccando ea sibi ipsi fecisset. Quo etiam peccato suo teste convincitur, bonam conditam se esse naturam. Nisi enim magnum et ipsa, licet non aequale Conditori, bonum esset, profecto desertio Dei tanquam luminis sui malum ejus esse non posset. Nam sicut caecitas oculi vitium est, et idem ipsum indicat ad lumen videndum oculum esse creatum, ac per hoc etiam ipso vitio suo excellentius ostenditur caeteris membris membrum capax luminis (non enim alia causa esset vitium ejus carere lumine): ita natura quae fruebatur Deo, optimam se institutam docet etiam ipso vitio, quo ideo misera est, quia non fruitur Deo; qui casum angelorum voluntarium justissima poena sempiternae infelicitatis obstrinxit, atque in eo summo bono permanentibus caeteris, ut de sua sine fine permansione certi essent, tanquam ipsius praemium permansionis dedit. Qui fecit hominem ipsum etiam rectum cum eodem libero arbitrio, terrenum quidem animal, sed coelo dignum, si suo cohaereret auctori: miseria similiter, si eum desereret, secutura, qualis naturae hujusmodi conveniret. Quem similiter cum praevaricatione legis Dei per Dei desertionem peccaturum esse praesciret, nec illi ademit liberi arbitrii potestatem, simul praevidens, quid boni de malo ejus esset ipse factururus, qui de mortali progenie merito justaeque damnata tantum populum gratia sua colligit, ut inde suppleat, et instauret partem quae lapsa est angelorum; ac sic illa dilecta et superna civitas non fraudetur suorum numero civium, quin etiam fortassis et uberius laetetur.

CAPUT II.

De aeterna Dei et incommutabili voluntate.

Who, since He foreknew that certain angels through pride, by which they would wish to suffice for themselves for a blessed life, would be deserters of so great a good, did not take away from them this power, judging it to be more powerful and better even to do well from evils, than not to permit evils to be. Which would be absolutely nothing, unless a mutable nature, although good, and instituted by the highest God and the incommutable good, who founded all good things, had made them for itself by sinning. By which sin also it is convinced by its own testimony that it was founded a good nature. For unless it also were a great good, although not equal to the Creator, surely the desertion of God as of its own light could not be its evil. For as the blindness of the eye is a vice, and the same indicates that the eye was created for seeing light, and by this even by its own vice a member capable of light is shown more excellent than the other members (for there would be no other cause for its vice to be lacking light): so the nature which enjoyed God teaches that it was instituted best even by the very vice by which it is therefore miserable, because it does not enjoy God; who bound the voluntary fall of the angels with the most just penalty of sempiternal unhappiness, and to the others remaining in that highest good, that they might be certain of their own remaining without end, He gave as it were a reward of their remaining. Who made man himself also upright with the same free will, an earthly animal indeed, but worthy of heaven if he should cohere to his author: misery similarly, if he should desert him, about to follow, such as would befit a nature of this kind. Whom similarly, when He foreknew that he would sin by the transgression of the law of God through the desertion of God, He neither took away from him the power of free will, simultaneously foreseeing what good He Himself would do from his evil, who from a mortal progeny deservedly and justly condemned collects by His grace so great a people, that from there He may supply and restore the part which fell of the angels; and so that beloved and celestial city should not be defrauded of the number of its citizens, but even perhaps should rejoice in a more abundant one.

CHAPTER II.

Of the eternal and incommutable will of God.

1. Multa enim fiunt quidem a malis contra voluntatem Dei: sed tantae est ille sapientiae tantaeque virtutis, ut in eos exitus sive fines, quos bonos et justos ipse praescivit, tendant omnia, quae voluntati ejus videntur adversa. Ac per hoc cum Deus mutare dicitur voluntatem, ut quibus lenis erat, verbi gratia, reddatur iratus, illi potius quam ipse mutantur, et eum quodammodo mutatum in his quae patiuntur inveniunt: sicut mutatur sol oculis sauciatis, et asper quodammodo ex miti, et ex delectabili molestus efficitur, cum ipse apud se ipsum maneat idem qui fuit. Dicitur etiam voluntas Dei, quam facit in cordibus obedientium mandatis ejus, de qua dicit Apostolus, Deus est enim, qui operatur in vobis et velle (Philipp. II, 13). Sicut justitia Dei, non solum qua ipse justus est dicitur, sed illa etiam quam in homine, qui ab illo justificatur, facit: sic et lex ejus vocatur, quae potius est hominum, sed ab ipso data. Nam utique homines erant, quibus ait Jesus, In lege vestra scriptum est (Joan. VIII, 17): cum alio loco legamus, Lex Dei ejus in corde ipsius. (Psal. XXXVI, 31). Secundum hanc voluntatem, quam Deus operatur in hominibus, etiam velle dicitur, quod ipse non vult, sed suos id volentes facit: sicut dicitur cognovisse, quod ut cognosceretur fecit, a quibus ignorabatur. Neque enim dicente Apostolo, Nunc autem cognoscentes Deum, imo cogniti a Deo (Galat. IV, 9), fas est ut credamus, quod eos tunc cognoverit Deus praecognitos ante constitutionem mundi (I Petr. I, 20): sed tunc cognovisse dictus est, quod tunc ut cognosceretur effecit. De his locutionum modis jam et in superioribus libris memini disputatum. Secundum hanc ergo voluntatem, qua Deum velle dicimus quod alios efficit velle, a quibus futura nesciuntur, multa vult, nec facit.

2. [II.] Multa enim volunt fieri sancti ejus ab illo inspirata sancta voluntate, nec fiunt; sicut orant pro quibusdam pie sancteque, et quod orant non facit, cum ipse in eis hanc orandi voluntatem sancto Spiritu suo fecerit. Ac per hoc, quando secundum Deum volunt et orant sancti, ut quisque sit salvus, possumus illo modo locutionis dicere, Vult Deus et non facit; ut ipsum dicamus velle, qui ut velint isti facit. Secundum illam vero voluntatem suam, quae cum ejus praescientia sempiterna est, profecto in coelo et in terra omnia quaecumque voluit, non solum praeterita vel praesentia, sed etiam futura jam fecit (Psal. CXIII, 3 bis). Verum antequam veniat tempus, quo voluit ut fieret, quod ante tempora universa praescivit atque disposuit, dicimus, Fiet quando Deus voluerit.

1. For many things are indeed done by the wicked against the will of God: but He is of such great wisdom and such great power, that all things which seem adverse to His will tend toward those outcomes or ends which He Himself foreknew to be good and just. And by this, when God is said to change His will, so that, for example, He is rendered angry toward those to whom He was gentle, they rather than He Himself are changed, and they find Him in some way changed in those things which they suffer: just as the sun is changed to wounded eyes, and is rendered in some way harsh from being mild, and troublesome from being delightful, while he remains the same in himself as he was. It is also called the will of God which He works in the hearts of those obedient to His commands, concerning which the Apostle says, "For it is God who works in you even to will" (Philipp. II, 13). Just as the justice of God is said not only of that by which He Himself is just, but also that which He works in the man who is justified by Him: so also His law is called that which is rather of men, but given by Him. For surely they were men to whom Jesus said, "In your law it is written" (John VIII, 17): since in another place we read, "The law of his God is in his heart." (Psal. XXXVI, 31). According to this will, which God works in men, He is also said to will what He Himself does not will, but makes His own people willing it: just as He is said to have known what He made to be known by those by whom it was ignored. For when the Apostle says, "But now knowing God, or rather being known by God" (Galat. IV, 9), it is not right that we believe that God then knew them who were foreknown before the constitution of the world (I Pet. I, 20): but He was said to have known then, because He then effected that it should be known. Concerning these modes of speaking I remember that it was already disputed in the preceding books. According to this will, therefore, by which we say that God wills what He effects that others should will, by whom future things are not known, He wills many things and does not do them.

2. For His saints wish many things to be done by Him, inspired by that holy will, and they are not done; as they pray for certain persons piously and holily, and what they pray for He does not do, although He Himself has worked in them this will of praying by His Holy Spirit. And by this, when the saints will and pray according to God that each one may be saved, we can say by that mode of speaking, "God wills and does not do"; so that we say He Himself wills, who effects that these should will. But according to that will of His which is sempiternal with His foreknowledge, surely in heaven and on earth He has already done all things whatsoever He willed, not only past or present, but also future (Psal. CXIII, 3b). But before the time comes in which He willed that it should be done, which before all times He foreknew and disposed, we say, "It will be done when God shall have willed."

Si autem non solum tempus quo futurum est, verum etiam utrum futurum sit ignoramus, dicimus, Fiet, si Deus voluerit: non quia Deus novam voluntatem, quam non habuit, tunc habebit; sed quia id quod ex aeternitate in ejus immutabili praeparatum est voluntate, tunc erit:

CAPUT III.

De promissione aeternae beatitudinis sanctorum et perpetuis suppliciis impiorum.

Quapropter, ut caetera tam multa praeteream, sicut nunc in Christo videmus impleri quod promisit Abrahae, dicens, In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes (Gen. XXII, 18): ita quod eidem semini ejus promisit, implebitur, ubi ait per prophetam, Resurgent qui erant in monumentis: et quod ait, Erit coelum novum et terra nova, et non erunt memores priorum, nec ascendent in cor ipsorum; sed laetitiam et exultationem invenient in ea. Ecce ego faciam Jerusalem exultationem et populum meum laetitiam; et exultabo in Jerusalem, et laetabor in populo meo; et ultra non audietur in ea vox fletus (Isai. XXVI, 19, sec. LXX; LXV, 17-19, sec. LXX). Et per alium prophetam, quod praenuntiavit dicens eidem prophetae, In tempore illo salvabitur populus tuus omnis qui inventus fuerit scriptus in libro: et multi dormientium in terrae pulvere (sive, ut quidam interpretati sunt, aggere) exsurgent; hi in vitam aeternam, et hi in opprobrium et confusionem aeternam (Dan. XII, 1 et 2). Et alio loco per eundem prophetam: Accipient regnum sancti Altissimi, et obtinebunt illud usque in saeculum, et usque in saeculum saeculorum (Id. VII, 18). Et paulo post, Regnum, inquit, ejus regnum sempiternum (Ibid., 27). Et alia quae ad hoc pertinentia in libro vicesimo posui (cap. 21 sqq.), sive quae non posui, et tamen in eisdem Litteris scripta sunt: venient et haec, sicut et ista venerunt, quae increduli non putabant esse ventura. Idem quippe Deus utraque promisit, utraque ventura esse praedixit, quem perhorrescunt numina Paganorum, teste etiam Porphyrio, nobilissimo philosopho Paganorum.

CAPUT IV.

Contra sapientes mundi, qui putant terrena hominum corpora ad coeleste habitaculum non posse transferri.

If, however, we are ignorant not only of the time in which it is to be, but even whether it is to be, we say, "It will be done if God shall have willed": not because God will then have a new will which He did not have, but because that which was prepared from eternity in His incommutable will shall then be.

CHAPTER III.

Of the promise of the eternal beatitude of the saints and the perpetual punishments of the impious.

Wherefore, to pass over so many other things, as we now see fulfilled in Christ what He promised to Abraham, saying, "In your seed shall all nations be blessed" (Gen. XXII, 18): so that which He promised to the same seed of his shall be fulfilled, where He says through the prophet, "They shall rise who were in the monuments"; and what He says, "There shall be 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 (Isai. XXVI, 19, according to LXX; LXV, 17-19, according to LXX). And through another prophet, what He foretold saying to the same prophet, "In that time all your people shall be saved who shall be found written in the book: and many of those sleeping in the dust of the earth (or, as some have interpreted, the mound) shall arise; these to eternal life, and those to eternal reproach and confusion" (Dan. XII, 1 and 2). And in another place through the same prophet: "The saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom, and they shall obtain it even unto the age, and even unto the age of ages" (Id. VII, 18). And a little after, "His kingdom," he says, "is a sempiternal kingdom" (Ibid., 27). And other things pertaining to this which I have placed in the twentieth book (cap. 21 sqq.), or which I have not placed, and yet are written in the same Scriptures: these also will come, just as those have come, which the incredulous did not think would come. For the same God promised both, foretold that both would come, whom the divinities of the Pagans dread, even by the testimony of Porphyry, the most noble philosopher of the Pagans.

CHAPTER IV.

Against the wise of the world, who think that the earthly bodies of men cannot be transferred to a celestial habitation.

Sed videlicet homines docti atque sapientes contra vim tantae auctoritatis, quae omnia genera hominum, sicut tanto ante praedixit, in hoc credendum sperandumque convertit, acute sibi argumentari videntur adversus corporum resurrectionem, et dicere quod in tertio de Republica libro a Cicerone commemoratum est. Nam cum Herculem et Romulum ex hominibus deos esse factos asseveraret: Quorum non corpora, inquit, sunt in coelum elata; neque enim natura pateretur, ut id quod essent e terra, nisi in terra maneret. Haec est magna ratio sapientium, quorum Dominus novit cogitationes, quoniam vanae sunt (Psal. XCIII, 11). Si enim animae tantummodo essemus, id est, sine ullo corpore spiritus, et in coelo habitantes terrena animalia nesciremus, nobisque futurum esse diceretur, ut terrenis corporibus animandis quodam vinculo mirabili necteremur; nonne multo fortius argumentaremur id credere recusantes, et diceremus naturam non pati, ut res incorporea ligamento corporeo vinciretur? Et tamen plena est terra vegetantibus animis haec membra terrena, miro sibi modo connexa et implicita. Cur ergo eodem volente Deo, qui fecit hoc animal, non poterit terrenum corpus in coeleste corpus attolli, si animus omni, ac per hoc etiam coelesti corpore praestabilior, terreno corpori potuit illigari? An terrena particula tam exigua potuit aliquid coelesti corpore melius apud se tenere, ut sensum haberet et vitam, et eam sentientem atque viventem dedignabitur coelum suscipere, aut susceptam non poterit sustinere, cum de re sentiat et vivat ista meliore, quam est corpus omne coeleste? Sed ideo nunc non fit, quia nondum est tempus quo id fieri voluit, qui hoc quod videndo jam viluit, multo mirabilius quam illud quod ab istis non creditur, fecit. Cur enim non vehementius admiramur incorporeos animos coelesti corpore potiores, terrenis illigari corporibus, quam corpora, licet terrena, sedibus quamvis coelestibus tamen, corporeis sublimari, nisi quia hoc videre consuevimus, et hoc sumus, illud vero nondum sumus, nec aliquando adhuc vidimus? Nam profecto sobria ratione consulta mirabilioris esse divini operis reperitur, incorporalibus corporalia quodammodo attexere, quam licet diversa, quia illa coelestia, ista terrestria, tamen corpora et corpora copulare.

CAPUT V.

De resurrectione carnis, quam quidam mundo credente non credunt.

But clearly learned and wise men, against the force of so great an authority, which has converted all kinds of men to believing and hoping in this, as it foretold so long before, seem to themselves to argue acutely against the resurrection of bodies, and to say what was commemorated by Cicero in the third book of *De Republica*. For when he asserted that Hercules and Romulus were made gods from men: "Whose bodies," he says, "were not borne up into heaven; for nature would not suffer that what was from the earth should remain anywhere but on the earth." This is the great reasoning of the wise, "whose thoughts the Lord knows, that they are vain" (Psal. XCIII, 11). For if we were only souls, that is, spirits without any body, and dwelling in heaven we did not know earthly animals, and it were said to us that it would happen that we should be bound by a certain wonderful bond for the animating of earthly bodies; would we not argue much more strongly, refusing to believe it, and say that nature does not suffer that an incorporeal thing be bound by a corporeal ligament? And yet the earth is full of souls animating these earthly members, connected and intertwined with themselves in a wonderful way. Why therefore, by the same God willing it, who made this animal, will an earthly body not be able to be raised into a celestial body, if the soul, more excellent than every body, and by this even than a celestial body, was able to be bound to an earthly body? Or was a so small earthly particle able to hold something better than a celestial body within itself, so that it should have sense and life, and will heaven disdain to receive it when sensing and living, or being received will it not be able to sustain it, since it senses and lives from a thing better than is every celestial body? But therefore it does not happen now, because it is not yet the time in which He willed it to be done, who made this which by seeing has now become cheap, much more wonderful than that which is not believed by them. For why do we not more vehemently admire that incorporeal souls, more powerful than a celestial body, are bound to earthly bodies, than that bodies, although earthly, are sublimated to seats, although celestial yet corporeal, except because we are accustomed to see this, and we are this, while that indeed we are not yet, nor have we ever yet seen it? For surely, sober reason being consulted, it is found to be of a more wonderful divine work to weave corporeal things in some way to incorporeal ones, than to couple bodies and bodies, although diverse, because those are celestial and these terrestrial.

CHAPTER V.

Of the resurrection of the flesh, which some do not believe while the world believes it.

Sed hoc incredibile fuerit aliquando: ecce jam credidit mundus sublatum terrenum Christi corpus in coelum; resurrectionem carnis et ascensionem in supernas sedes, paucissimis remanentibus atque stupentibus, vel doctis, vel indoctis, jam crediderunt et docti et indocti. Si rem credibilem crediderunt, videant quam sint stolidi, qui non credunt: si autem res incredibilis credita est, etiam hoc utique incredibile est, sic creditum esse, quod incredibile est. Haec igitur duo incredibilia, resurrectionem scilicet nostri corporis in aeternum, et rem tam incredibilem mundum esse crediturum, idem Deus, antequam vel unum horum fieret, ambo futura esse praedixit (Matth. XXVI, 13). Unum duorum incredibilium jam factum videmus, ut quod erat incredibile, crederet mundus: cur id quod reliquum est desperatur, ut etiam hoc veniat, quod incredibile credidit mundus, sicut jam venit, quod similiter incredibile fuit, ut rem tam incredibilem crederet mundus, quandoquidem hoc utrumque incredibile, quorum videmus unum, alterum credimus, in eisdem Litteris praedictum sit, per quas credidit mundus? Et ipse modus quo mundus credidit, si consideretur, incredibilior invenitur. Ineruditos liberalibus disciplinis, et omnino, quantum ad istorum doctrinas attinet, impolitos, non peritos grammatica, non armatos dialectica, non rhetorica inflatos, piscatores Christus cum retibus fidei ad mare hujus saeculi paucissimos misit, atque ita et ex omni genere tam multos pisces, et tanto mirabiliores, quanto rariores etiam ipsos philosophos cepit. Duobus illis incredibilibus, si placet, imo quia placere debet, addamus hoc tertium. Jam ergo tria sunt incredibilia, quae tamen facta sunt. Incredibile est Christum resurrexisse in carne, et in coelum ascendisse cum carne: incredibile est mundum rem tam incredibilem credidisse: incredibile est homines ignobiles, infimos, paucissimos, imperitos rem tam incredibilem, tam efficaciter mundo, et in illo etiam doctis persuadere potuisse. Horum trium incredibilium primum nolunt isti, cum quibus agimus, credere; secundum coguntur et cernere; quod non inveniunt unde sit factum, si non credunt tertium. Resurrectio certe Christi, et in coelum cum carne in qua resurrexit ascensio, toto jam mundo praedicatur et creditur: si credibilis non est, unde toto terrarum orbe jam credita est? Si multi nobiles, sublimes, docti eam se vidisse dixerunt, et quod viderunt, diffamare curarunt, eis mundum credidisse non mirum est; sed istos adhuc credere nolle perdurum est: si autem, ut verum est, paucis, obscuris, minimis, indoctis eam se vidisse dicentibus et scribentibus credidit mundus: cur pauci obstinatissimi, qui remanserunt, ipsi mundo jam credenti adhuc usque non credunt?

But let this have been incredible sometime: behold, now the world has believed that the earthly body of Christ was taken up into heaven; the resurrection of the flesh and the ascension into the supernal seats, very few remaining and being amazed, whether learned or unlearned, both learned and unlearned have now believed. If they have believed a credible thing, let them see how stolid are they who do not believe: but if an incredible thing was believed, even this indeed is incredible, that it was so believed which is incredible. These two incredibles, therefore, namely the resurrection of our body into eternity, and that the world would believe a thing so incredible, the same God, before either one of these was done, foretold that both would be (Matt. XXVI, 13). One of the two incredibles we now see done, that the world should believe what was incredible: why is that which remains despaired of, that even this should come, which the world believed incredible, just as that has already come, which was similarly incredible, that the world should believe a thing so incredible, since both of these incredibles, one of which we see and the other we believe, were foretold in the same Scriptures through which the world believed? And the very mode in which the world believed, if it be considered, is found more incredible. Christ sent very few fishermen, unlearned in the liberal disciplines, and altogether unpolished as far as pertains to the doctrines of those men, not skilled in grammar, not armed with dialectic, not puffed up with rhetoric, with the nets of faith to the sea of this world, and thus He caught so many fish of every kind, and even those philosophers themselves, so much more wonderful as they are rarer. To those two incredibles, if it pleases, or rather because it ought to please, let us add this third. Now therefore there are three incredibles, which nevertheless have been done. It is incredible that Christ rose in the flesh, and ascended into heaven with the flesh: it is incredible that the world believed a thing so incredible: it is incredible that men ignoble, lowest, very few, unlearned, were able to persuade the world so effectively of a thing so incredible, and in it even the learned. The first of these three incredibles those with whom we deal do not wish to believe; the second they are compelled even to behold; which they do not find from where it was done, if they do not believe the third. Certainly the resurrection of Christ, and the ascension into heaven with the flesh in which He rose, is already preached and believed in the whole world: if it is not credible, from where is it already believed in the whole world? If many noble, sublime, learned men said they had seen it, and took care to spread what they saw, it is not a wonder that the world believed them; but it is very hard that these men still refuse to believe: but if, as is true, the world believed a few obscure, smallest, unlearned men saying and writing that they had seen it: why do a few most obstinate men, who have remained, still not believe the world already believing?

Qui propterea numero exiguo ignobilium, infimorum, imperitorum hominum credit, quia in tam contemptibilibus testibus multo mirabilius divinitas se ipsa persuasit. Eloquia namque persuadentium quae dicebant, mira fuerunt facta, non verba. Qui enim Christum in carne resurrexisse, et cum illa in coelum ascendisse non viderant, id se vidisse narrantibus, non loquentibus tantum, sed etiam mirifica facientibus signa credebant. Homines quippe, quos unius, vel ut multum, duarum linguarum fuisse noverant, repente linguis omnium gentium loquentes mirabiliter audiebant (Act. II). Claudum ab uberibus matris ad eorum verbum in Christi nomine post quadraginta annos incolumem constitisse; sudaria de corporibus eorum ablata sanandis profuisse languentibus; in via qua fuerant transituri positos in ordine innumerabiles morbis variis laborantes, ut ambulantium super eos umbra transiret, continuo salutem solere recipere; et alia multa stupenda in Christi nomine per eos facta, postremo etiam mortuos resurrexisse cernebant (ibid. III, IV). Quae si, ut leguntur, gesta esse concedunt, ecce tot incredibilia tribus illis incredibilibus addimus; et ut credatur unum incredibile, quod de carnis resurrectione atque in coelum ascensione dicitur, multorum incredibilium testimonia tanta congerimus, et nondum ad credendum horrenda duritia incredulos flectimus. Si vero per Apostolos Christi, ut eis crederetur, resurrectionem atque ascensionem praedicantibus Christi, etiam ista miracula facta esse non credunt; hoc nobis unum grande miraculum sufficit, quod eam terrarum orbis sine ullis miraculis credidit.

CAPUT VI.

Quod Roma conditorem suum Romulum diligendo deum fecerit; Ecclesia autem Christum Deum credendo dilexerit.

1. Reclamamus etiam hoc loco illud quod de Romuli credita divinitate Tullius admiratur. Verba ejus ut scripta sunt, inseram: Magis est, inquit, in Romulo admirandum, quod caeteri qui dii ex hominibus facti esse dicuntur, minus eruditis hominum saeculis fuerunt, ut fingendi proclivior esset ratio, cum imperiti facile ad credendum impellerentur. Romuli autem aetatem minus his sexcentis annis jam inveteratis litteris atque doctrinis, omnique illo antiquo ex inculta hominum vita errore sublato fuisse cernimus.

Who believed therefore on account of the small number of ignoble, lowest, unlearned men, because in such contemptible witnesses divinity persuaded much more wonderfully by itself. For the eloquences of those persuading what they said were wonderful deeds, not words. For those who had not seen that Christ rose in the flesh, and ascended with it into heaven, believed those narrating that they had seen it, not only speaking, but also doing wonderful signs. For they wonderfully heard men, whom they knew to have been of one, or at most two languages, suddenly speaking with the tongues of all nations (Acts II). They saw a lame man from his mother's breasts at their word in the name of Christ stand unhurt after forty years; napkins taken from their bodies profit the sick to be healed; innumerable persons laboring under various diseases placed in order in the way by which they were about to pass, so that the shadow of those walking might pass over them, were accustomed to receive health immediately; and many other stupendous things done through them in the name of Christ, finally they even saw the dead rise again (ibid. III, IV). Which if they concede were done as they are read, behold we add so many incredibles to those three incredibles; and so that one incredible may be believed, which is said concerning the resurrection of the flesh and the ascension into heaven, we heap up so many testimonies of many incredibles, and we do not yet bend the incredulous from their horrendous hardness to believing. If, however, through the Apostles of Christ preaching the resurrection and ascension of Christ so that it might be believed by them, they do not even believe those miracles to have been done; this one great miracle suffices for us, that the world believed it without any miracles.

CHAPTER VI.

That Rome by loving its founder Romulus made him a god; but the Church by believing Christ to be God loved Him.

1. Let us also recall in this place that which Cicero admires concerning the believed divinity of Romulus. I will insert his words as they are written: "It is more to be admired in Romulus," he says, "that the others who are said to have been made gods from men existed in less learned ages of men, so that there was a more prone reason for feigning, since the unlearned were easily impelled to believe." But we see that the age of Romulus was less than six hundred years ago, letters and doctrines being now long established, and all that ancient error from the uncultivated life of men having been removed."

Et paulo post de eodem Romulo ita loquitur, quod ad hunc pertinet sensum: Ex quo intelligi potest, inquit, permultis annis ante Homerum fuisse, quam Romulum, ut jam doctis hominibus ac temporibus ipsis eruditis ad fingendum vix quidquam esset loci. Antiquitas enim recepit fabulas, fictas etiam nonnunquam incondite: haec aetas autem jam exulta praesertim eludens omne quod fieri non potest respuit (De Republica, libro 2, cap. 10 hinc suppleto). Unus e numero doctissimorum hominum, idemque eloquentissimus omnium M. Tullius Cicero, propterea dicit divinitatem Romuli mirabiliter creditam, quod erudita jam tempora fuerunt, quae falsitatem non reciperent fabularum. Quis autem Romulum deum nisi Roma credidit, atque id parva et incipiens? Tum deinde posteris servare fuerat necesse quod acceperant a maioribus, ut cum ista superstitione in lacte quodammodo matris ebibita cresceret civitas, atque ad tam magnum perveniret imperium, ut ex ejus fastigio velut ex altiore quodam loco alias quoque gentes, quibus dominaretur, hac sua opinione perfunderet; ut non quidem crederent, sed tamen dicerent deum Romulum, ne civitatem, cui serviebant, de conditore ejus offenderent, aliter eum nominando quam Roma; quae id non amore quidem hujus erroris, sed tamen amoris errore crediderat. Christus autem quanquam sit coelestis et sempiternae conditor civitatis, non tamen eum, quoniam ab illo condita est, Deum credidit: sed ideo potius est condenda, quia credidit. Roma conditorem suum jam constructa et dedicata tanquam deum coluit in templo: haec autem Jerusalem conditorem suum Deum Christum, ut construi posset et dedicari, posuit in fidei fundamento. Illa illum amando esse deum credidit, ista istum Deum esse credendo amavit. Sicut ergo praecessit unde amaret illa, et de amato jam libenter etiam falsum bonum crederet; ita praecessit unde ista crederet, ut recta fide, non temere quod falsum, sed quod verum erat amaret. Exceptis enim tot et tantis miraculis, quae persuaserunt Deum esse Christum, prophetiae quoque divinae fide dignissimae praecesserunt, quae in illo, non sicut a patribus adhuc creduntur implendae, sed jam demonstrantur impletae. De Romulo autem quia condidit Romam, in eaque regnavit, auditur, legiturque quod factum est, non quod ante fuerat prophetatum; sed quod sit receptus in deos, creditum tenent litterae, non factum docent. Nullis quippe rerum mirabilium signis id ei vere provenisse monstratur. Lupa quippe illa nutrix, quod videtur quasi magnum exstitisse portentum, quale aut quantum est ad demonstrandum deum? Certe enim etsi non meretrix lupa fuit illa, sed bestia, cum commune fuerit ambobus, frater tamen ejus non habetur deus.

And a little after he speaks thus concerning the same Romulus, which pertains to this sense: "From which it can be understood," he says, "that Homer was many years before Romulus, so that now for learned men and the learned times themselves there was scarcely any room for feigning." For antiquity received fables, sometimes even feigned inordinately; but this age, being already cultivated, especially eluding everything which cannot be done, rejects it" (*De Republica*, book 2, cap. 10, supplemented from here). One from the number of the most learned men, and the same most eloquent of all, M. Tullius Cicero, says for this reason that the divinity of Romulus was wonderfully believed, because the times were already learned, which would not receive the falsehood of fables. But who believed Romulus to be a god except Rome, and that small and incipient? Then furthermore it was necessary for posterity to preserve what they had received from their ancestors, so that the city might grow with that superstition drunk in as it were with the mother's milk, and might arrive at so great an empire, that from its summit as from a certain higher place it might imbue other nations also, over which it ruled, with this opinion of its own; so that they indeed would not believe, but yet would say that Romulus was a god, lest they should offend the city which they served concerning its founder, by naming him otherwise than Rome did; which had believed it not indeed from love of this error, but yet by an error of love. But Christ, although He be the founder of the celestial and sempiternal city, yet she did not believe Him to be God because she was founded by Him: but she was rather to be founded because she believed. Rome worshipped its founder already constructed and dedicated as a god in a temple: but this Jerusalem placed its founder Christ as God in the foundation of faith, so that she could be constructed and dedicated. The former believed him to be a god by loving him, the latter loved Him by believing Him to be God. Just as therefore there preceded that from which the former might love, and from the thing loved now willingly believe even a false good; so there preceded that from which the latter might believe, so that by a right faith she might love not rashly what was false, but what was true. For except for so many and so great miracles, which persuaded that Christ is God, divine prophecies also most worthy of faith preceded, which in Him are shown not as still to be fulfilled by the fathers, but as already fulfilled. But concerning Romulus, because he founded Rome and reigned in it, it is heard or read what was done, not what had been prophesied before; but that he was received among the gods, letters hold as believed, they do not teach as done. For by no signs of wonderful things is it shown truly to have happened to him. For that she-wolf nurse, which seems to have existed as it were a great portent, what sort or how great is it for demonstrating a god? For surely even if that was not a harlot wolf, but a beast, since it was common to both, yet his brother is not held as a god.

Quis autem prohibitus est, aut Romulum, aut Herculem, aut alios tales homines deos dicere, et mori maluit, quam non dicere? Aut vero aliqua gentium coleret inter deos suos Romulum, nisi Romani nominis metus cogeret? Quis porro numeret, quam multi quantalibet saevitia crudelitatis occidi, quam Christum Deum negare maluerunt? Proinde metus quamlibet levis indignationis, quae ab animis Romanorum, si non fieret, posse putabatur existere, compellebat aliquas civitates positas sub jure Romano tanquam deum colere Romulum: a Christo autem Deo non solum colendo, verum etiam confitendo, tantam per orbem terrae martyrum multitudinem metus revocare non potuit, non levis offensionis animorum, sed immensarum variarumque poenarum, et ipsius mortis, quae plus caeteris formidatur. Neque tunc civitas Christi, quamvis adhuc peregrinaretur in terris, et haberet tamen magnorum agmina populorum, adversus impios persecutores suos pro temporali salute pugnavit; sed potius ut obtineret aeternam, non repugnavit. Ligabantur, includebantur, caedebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, et multiplicabantur. Non erat eis pro salute pugnare, nisi salutem pro Salvatore contemnere.

2. Scio in libro Ciceronis tertio, nisi fallor, de Republica, disputari, nullum bellum suscipi a civitate optima, nisi aut pro fide, aut pro salute. Quid autem dicat pro salute, vel intelligi quam salutem velit, alio loco demonstrans, Sed his poenis, inquit, quas etiam stultissimi sentiunt, egestate, exsilio, vinculis, verberibus, elabuntur saepe privati, oblata mortis celeritate. Civitatibus autem mors ipsa poena est, quae videtur a poena singulos vindicare. Debet enim constituta sic esse civitas, ut aeterna sit. Itaque nullus interitus est reipublicae naturalis, ut hominis, in quo mors non modo necessaria est, verum etiam optanda persaepe. Civitas autem cum tollitur, deletur, exstinguitur: simile est quodammodo (ut parva magnis conferamus) ac si omnis hic mundus intereat et concidat. Hoc ideo dixit Cicero, quia mundum non interiturum cum Platonis sentit. Constat ergo eum pro ea salute bellum voluisse suscipi a civitate, qua fit ut maneat hic civitas, sicut dicit, aeterna, quamvis morientibus et nascentibus singulis; sicut perennis est opacitas oleae vel lauri, atque huiusmodi caeterarum arborum, singulorum lapsu ortuque filiorum. Mors, quippe, ut dicit, non hominum singulorum sed universae poena est civitatis, quae a poena plerumque singulos vindicat.

But who was prohibited from saying that either Romulus, or Hercules, or other such men were gods, and preferred to die than not to say it? Or indeed would any of the nations worship Romulus among its gods, unless the fear of the Roman name compelled it? Who furthermore shall number how many preferred to be killed by whatever cruelty of savagery, than to deny Christ as God? Therefore the fear of however light an indignation, which was thought to be able to exist from the minds of the Romans if it were not done, compelled some cities placed under Roman law to worship Romulus as a god: but from worshipping, and even from confessing Christ as God, fear could not recall so great a multitude of martyrs throughout the orb of the earth, not of a light offense of minds, but of immense and various punishments, and of death itself, which is feared more than the others. Nor did the city of Christ then, although it still went on pilgrimage on the earth and yet had columns of great peoples, fight for temporal safety against its impious persecutors; but rather that it might obtain eternal safety, it did not resist. They were bound, they were shut up, they were beaten, they were tortured, they were burned, they were mangled, they were slaughtered, and they were multiplied. It was not for them to fight for safety, except to despise safety for the Savior.

2. I know that in the third book of Cicero, if I am not mistaken, *De Republica*, it is disputed that no war is undertaken by the best city except either for faith or for safety. But what he says for safety, or what safety he wishes to be understood, he demonstrates in another place, saying: "But from these punishments which even the most foolish feel—poverty, exile, chains, stripes—private individuals often escape by the offered speed of death. But for cities death itself is a punishment, which seems to vindicate individuals from punishment." For a city ought to be so constituted that it may be eternal. Therefore there is no natural destruction of a republic as there is of a man, in whom death is not only necessary, but even often to be desired. But a city, when it is removed, deleted, extinguished, is in some way similar (to compare small things with great) as if this whole world should perish and fall." Cicero said this for this reason, because he feels with the Platonists that the world will not perish. It is certain, therefore, that he wished war to be undertaken by a city for that safety by which it happens that the city remains here, as he says, eternal, although individuals die and are born; just as the thickness of the olive or the laurel is perennial, and of other trees of this kind, by the falling and rising of individual offspring. Death, indeed, as he says, is not the punishment of individual men but of the entire city, which for the most part vindicates individuals from punishment.

Unde merito quaeritur, utrum recte fecerint Saguntini, quando universam suam civitatem interire maluerunt, quam fidem frangere, qua cum ipsa Romana republica tenebantur: in quo suo facta laudantur ab hominibus terrenae reipublicae civibus. Sed quomodo huic disputationi possent obedire, non video, ubi dicitur nullum suscipiendum esse bellum, nisi aut pro fide, aut pro salute: nec dicitur, si in unum simul periculum ita duo ista concurrerint, ut teneri alterum sine alterius amissione non possit, quid sit potius eligendum. Profecto enim Saguntini si salutem eligerent, fides eis fuerat deserenda: si fides tenenda, amittenda utique salus, sicut et factum est. Salus autem civitatis Dei talis est, ut cum fide ac per fidem teneri, vel potius acquiri possit; fide autem perdita, ad eam quisque venire non possit. Quae cogitatio firmissimi ac patientissimi cordis, tot ac tantos martyres fecit, qualem ne unum quidem habuit, vel habere potuit, quando est deus creditus Romulus.

CAPUT VII.

Quod ut mundus in Christum crederet, virtutis fuerit divinae, non persuasionis humanae.

Sed valde ridiculum est, de Romuli falsa divinitate, cum de Christo loquimur, facere mentionem. Verumtamen cum sexcentis ferme annis ante Ciceronem Romulus fuerit, atque illa aetas jam fuisse doctrinis dicatur exulta, ut quod fieri non potest, omne respueret: quanto magis post sexcentos annos ipsius tempore Ciceronis, maximeque postea sub Augusto atque Tiberio, eruditioribus utique temporibus, resurrectionem carnis Christi atque in coelum ascensionem, tanquam id quod fieri non potest, mens humana ferre non posset, eludensque ab auribus cordibusque respueret, nisi eam fieri potuisse, atque factam esse divinitas ipsius veritatis, vel divinitatis veritas, et contestantia miraculorum signa monstrarent; ut terrentibus et contradicentibus tam multis tamque magnis persecutionibus, praecedens in Christo, deinde ad novum saeculum in caeteris secutura resurrectio atque immortalitas carnis et fidelissime crederetur, et praedicaretur intrepide, et per orbem terrae pullulatura fecundius cum martyrum sanguine sereretur. Legebantur enim praeconia praecedentia Prophetarum, concurrebant ostenta virtutum, et persuadebatur veritas nova consuetudini, non contraria rationi, donec orbis terrae qui persequabatur furore, sequeretur fide.

CAPUT VIII.

De miraculis quae ut mundus in Christum crederet facta sunt, et fieri mundo credente non desinunt.

Whence it is deservedly asked whether the Saguntines did rightly when they preferred their entire city to perish rather than to break the faith by which they were held with the Roman republic itself; in which deed of theirs they are praised by men, citizens of the earthly republic. But how they could obey this disputation, I do not see, where it is said that no war is to be undertaken except either for faith or for safety; nor is it said, if these two should so concur in one danger that one cannot be held without the loss of the other, what is rather to be chosen. For surely if the Saguntines should choose safety, faith was to be deserted by them; if faith was to be held, safety was by all means to be lost, as was indeed done. But the safety of the City of God is such that it can be held, or rather acquired, with faith and through faith; but faith being lost, no one can come to it. Which thought of a most firm and patient heart made so many and such great martyrs, such as it did not have even one, nor could it have, when Romulus was believed to be a god.

CHAPTER VII.

That the belief of the world in Christ was the result of divine power, not human persuasion.

But it is very ridiculous to make mention of the false divinity of Romulus when we are speaking of Christ. Nevertheless, since Romulus lived nearly six hundred years before Cicero, and that age is said to have been already refined by learning, so that it rejected everything that is impossible: how much more after six hundred years, in the time of Cicero himself, and especially afterwards under Augustus and Tiberius, in times certainly more learned, would the human mind have been unable to bear the resurrection of Christ's flesh and His ascension into heaven, as something that cannot be done, and would have rejected it with mocking from its ears and hearts, unless the divinity of the truth itself, or the truth of divinity, and the testifying signs of miracles showed that it could be done and had been done? So that, with so many and so great persecutions terrifying and contradicting, the resurrection and immortality of the flesh—preceding in Christ, and then to follow in the rest unto the new age—might be both most faithfully believed and fearlessly preached, and, to sprout more fruitfully, might be sown throughout the world with the blood of martyrs. For the preceding proclamations of the Prophets were read, the displays of virtues concurred, and the new truth was persuaded to custom, not contrary to reason, until the world which was persecuting with fury followed with faith.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the miracles which were done that the world might believe in Christ, and which do not cease to be done now that the world believes.

1. Cur, inquiunt, nunc illa miracula, quae praedicatis facta esse, non fiunt? Possem quidem dicere, necessaria fuisse priusquam crederet mundus, ad hoc ut crederet mundus. Quisquis adhuc prodigia ut credat inquit, magnum est ipse prodigium, qui mundo credente non credit. Verum hoc ideo dicunt, ut nec tunc illa miracula facta fuisse credantur. Unde ergo tanta fide Christus usquequaque cantatur in coelum cum carne sublatus? unde temporibus erudit, et omne quod fieri non potest respuentibus, sine ullis miraculis nimium mirabiliter incredibilia credidit mundus? An forte credibilia fuisse, et ideo credita esse dicturi sunt? Cur ergo ipsi non credunt? Brevis est igitur nostra complexio: Aut incredibilis rei, quae non videbatur, alia incredibilia, quae tamen fiebant et videbantur, fecerunt fidem; aut certe res ita credibilis, ut nullis quibus persuaderetur miraculis indigeret, istorum nimiam redarguit infidelitatem. Hoc ad refellendos vanissimos dixerim. Nam facta esse multa miracula, quae attestarentur illi uni grandi salubrique miraculo, quo Christus in coelum cum carne in qua resurrexit, ascendit, negare non possumus. In eisdem quippe veracissimis Libris cuncta conscripta sunt, et quae facta sunt, et propter quod credendum facta sunt. Haec, ut fidem facerent, innotuerunt; haec per fidem, quam fecerunt, multo clarius innotescunt. Leguntur quippe in populis, ut credantur; nec in populis tamen nisi credita legerentur. Nam etiam nunc fiunt miracula in ejus nomine, sive per sacramenta ejus, sive per orationes vel memorias sanctorum ejus; sed non eadem claritate illustrantur, ut tanta quanta illa gloria diffamentur. Canon quippe sacrarum Litterarum, quem definitum esse oportebat, illa facit ubique recitari, et memoriae cunctorum inhaerere populorum: haec autem ubicumque fiunt, ibi sciuntur vix a tota ipsa civitate vel quocumque commanentium loco. Nam plerumque etiam ibi paucissimi sciunt, ignorantibus caeteris, maxime si magna sit civitas; et quando alibi aliisque narrantur, non tanta ea commendat auctoritas, ut sine difficultate vel dubitatione credantur, quamvis Christianis fidelibus a fidelibus indicentur.

2. Miraculum quod Mediolani factum est, cum illic essemus, quando illuminatus est caecus, ad multorum notitiam potuit pervenire, quia et grandis est civitas, et ibi erat tunc Imperator, et immenso populo teste res gesta est, concurrente ad corpora martyrum Protasii et Gervasii: quae cum laterent, et penitus nescirentur, episcopo Ambrosio per somnium revelata reperta sunt; ubi caecus ille depulsis veteribus tenebris diem vidit.

1. Why, they say, do those miracles which you proclaim to have been done, not happen now? I might indeed say that they were necessary before the world believed, to the end that the world might believe. Whoever still seeks for portents that he may believe, is himself a great portent, who does not believe when the world believes. But they say this so that even then those miracles may not be believed to have been done. Whence, then, is Christ sung everywhere with so great faith as having been taken up into heaven with His flesh? Whence, in learned times, and times rejecting everything that cannot be done, did the world believe incredible things most wonderfully without any miracles? Or will they say perhaps that they were credible, and for that reason were believed? Why then do they themselves not believe? Our summary is therefore brief: Either incredible things which were not seen were made credible by other incredible things which nevertheless were done and seen; or certainly the matter was so credible that it needed no miracles by which it might be persuaded, and this refutes their excessive infidelity. I might say this to refute the most vain. For we cannot deny that many miracles were done to attest that one great and saving miracle by which Christ ascended into heaven with the flesh in which He rose again. Indeed, in those same most true Books all things are written down, both what things were done and for what reason they were to be believed. These things became known so that they might produce faith; these things become much more clearly known through the faith which they produced. They are read, indeed, among the peoples so that they may be believed; nor would they be read among the peoples unless they were believed. For even now miracles are done in His name, whether through His sacraments, or through the prayers or memorials of His saints; but they are not illustrated with the same clarity, so as to be published with as much glory as those others. For the canon of the sacred Scriptures, which it was necessary should be defined, causes those to be recited everywhere and to adhere to the memory of all peoples; but these, wherever they are done, are hardly known by the whole city itself or whatever place where those people live together. For for the most part even there very few know, while the rest are ignorant, especially if the city is large; and when they are told elsewhere and to others, their authority does not so commend them that they are believed without difficulty or doubt, although they are pointed out to faithful Christians by the faithful.

2. The miracle which was done at Milan when we were there, when the blind man was enlightened, was able to reach the knowledge of many, because the city is large and the Emperor was there then, and the matter was performed with an immense people as witness, running together to the bodies of the martyrs Protasius and Gervasius; which, when they were hidden and entirely unknown, were found, having been revealed in a dream to Bishop Ambrose; where that blind man, his old darkness being driven away, saw the day.

3. Apud Carthaginem autem quis novit, praeter admodum paucissimos, salutem, quae facta est Innocentio ex advocato vicariae praefecturae, ubi nos interfuimus, et oculis aspeximus nostris? Venientes enim de transmarinis, me et fratrem meum Alypium, nondum quidem clericos, sed jam Deo servientes, ut erat cum tota domo sua religiosissimus, ipse susceperat, et apud eum tunc habitabamus. Curabatur a medicis: fistulas, quas numerosas atque perplexas habuit in posteriore atque ima corporis parte, jam secuerant ei, et artis suae caetera medicamentis agebant. Passus autem fuerat in sectione illa et diuturnos et acerbos dolores. Sed unus inter multos sinus fefellerat medicos, atque ita latuerat, ut eum non tangerent, quem ferro aperire debuerant. Denique sanatis omnibus quae aperta curabant, iste remanserat solus, cui frustra impendebatur labor. Quas moras ille suspectas habens, multumque formidans ne iterum secaretur, quod ei praedixerat alius medicus domesticus ejus, quem non admiserant illi, ut saltem videret, cum primum sectus est, quomodo id facerent, iratusque illum domo abjecerat, vixque receperat, erupit, atque ait: Iterum me secturi estis? Ad illius, quem noluitis esse praesentem, verba venturus sum? Irridere illi medicum imperitum, metumque hominis bonis verbis promissionibusque lenire. Praeterierunt et alii dies plurimi, nihilque proficiebat omne quod fiebat. Medici tamen in sua pollicitatione persistebant, non se illum sinum ferro, sed medicamentis esse clausuros. Adhibuerunt et alium grandaevum jam medicum, satisque in illa arte laudatum (adhuc enim vivebat) Ammonium, qui loco inspecto, idem quod illi ex eorum diligentia peritiaque promisit. Cujus ille factus auctoritate securus, domestico suo medico, qui futuram praedixerat aliam sectionem faceta hilaritate, velut jam salvus, illusit. Quid plura? Tot dies postea inaniter consumpti transierunt, ut fessi atque confusi faterentur eum nisi ferro nullo modo posse sanari. Expavit, expalluit nimio timore turbatus: atque ubi se collegit, farique potuit, abire illos jussit, et ad se amplius non accedere, nec aliud occurrit fatigato lacrymis et illa jam necessitate constricto, nisi ut adhiberet Alexandrinum quemdam, qui tunc chirurgus mirabilis habebatur, ut ipse faceret quod ab illis fieri volebat iratus.

3. But at Carthage, who knows, except quite a very few, the health which was granted to Innocentius, formerly an advocate of the vicarious prefecture, where we were present and looked on with our own eyes? For when we came from across the sea, me and my brother Alypius, not yet indeed clerics, but already serving God, he himself had received us, since he was most religious with all his house, and we were then living at his home. He was being treated by physicians: fistulas, which he had numerous and intricate in the posterior and lowest part of his body, they had already cut for him, and were doing the rest by the medicines of their art. But he had suffered in that cutting both long-continued and sharp pains. But one sinus among many had deceived the physicians, and had so remained hidden that they did not touch it, which they ought to have opened with the steel. Finally, all those things which were opened being cured, this one had remained alone, upon which labor was spent in vain. Suspecting these delays, and greatly fearing lest he should be cut again, which another physician of his household had predicted to him, whom they had not admitted so that he might at least see how they were doing it when he was first cut, and having angrily cast him out of the house, and with difficulty received him back, he broke out and said: "Are you going to cut me again?" Am I coming to the words of him whom you would not have to be present?" They mocked the unskilled physician, and soothed the fear of the man with good words and promises. Other very many days also passed by, and everything that was done was of no profit. The physicians nevertheless persisted in their promise, that they would close that sinus not with the steel, but with medicines. They also brought in another physician, already aged and sufficiently praised in that art (for he was still living), Ammonius, who, having inspected the place, promised the same as they did from their diligence and skill. He, being made secure by this authority, mocked his household physician who had predicted another future cutting with witty cheerfulness, as if already sound. What more? So many days afterwards consumed in vain passed by, that, weary and confused, they confessed that he could by no means be cured except by the steel. He was struck with horror, he grew pale, troubled with excessive fear: and when he collected himself and was able to speak, he ordered them to depart and not to come to him anymore; nor did anything else occur to him, weary with tears and now constrained by that necessity, except that he should call in a certain Alexandrian, who was then considered a wonderful surgeon, that he himself might do what he was angry at being done by them.

Sed posteaquam venit ille, laboremque illorum in cicatricibus sicut artifex vidit, boni viri functus officio, persuasit homini ut illi potius qui in eo tantum laboraverant, quantum ipse inspiciens mirabatur, curationis suae fine fruerentur, adjiciens quod revera nisi sectus esset, salvus esse non posset; sed valde abhorre a suis moribus, ut hominibus quorum artificiosissimam operam, industriam, diligentiam admirans in cicatricibus ejus videret, propter exiguum quod remansit, palmam tanti laboris auferret. Redditi sunt animo ejus, et placuit ut eodem Alexandrino assistente ipsi sinum illum ferro, qui jam consensu omnium aliter insanabilis putabatur, aperirent. Quae res dilata est in consequentem diem. Sed cum abiissent illi, ex moerore nimio domini tantus est in domo illa exortus dolor, ut tanquam funeris planctus vix comprimeretur a nobis. Visitabant eum quotidie sancti viri, episcopus tunc Uzalensis, beatæ memoriæ Saturninus, et presbyter Gelosus, ac diaconi Carthaginensis Ecclesiae: in quibus erat, et ex quibus solus est nunc in rebus humanis, jam episcopus cum honore a nobis debito nominandus Aurelius, cum quo recordantes mirabilia opera Dei, de hac re saepe collocti sumus, eumque valde meminisse, quod commemoramus, invenimus. Qui cum eum, sicut solebant, vespere visitarent, rogavit eos miserabilibus lacrymis, ut mane dignarentur esse praesentes suo funeri potius quam dolori. Tantus enim eum metus ex prioribus invaserat poenis, ut se inter medicorum manus non dubitaret esse moriturum. Consolati sunt eum illi, et hortati ut in Deo fideret, ejusque voluntatem viriliter ferret. Inde ad orationem ingressi sumus: ubi nobis ex more genua figentibus, atque incumbentibus terrae, ille se ita projecit, tanquam fuisset aliquo graviter impellente prostratus, et coepit orare: quibus modis, quo affectu, quo motu animi, quo fluvio lacrymarum, quibus gemitibus atque singultibus succutientibus omnia membra ejus et pene intercludentibus spiritum, quis ullis explicet verbis? Utrum orarent alii, nec in haec eorum averteretur intentio, nesciebam. Ego tamen prorsus orare non poteram: hoc tantummodo breviter in corde meo dixi, Domine, quas tuorum preces exaudis, si has non exaudis? Nihil enim mihi videbatur addi jam posse, nisi ut exspiraret orando. Surreximus, et accepta ab Episcopo benedictione discessimus; rogante illo ut mane adessent, illis ut aequo animo esset hortantibus.

But after he came, and saw as an artist their labor in the scars, having performed the office of a good man, he persuaded the man that those rather who had labored so much in him as he himself inspecting wondered at, should enjoy the end of their cure; adding that in truth unless he were cut, he could not be sound; but that it was very abhorrent to his habits that he should take away the palm of so great labor from men whose most skillful work, industry, and diligence he saw and admired in his scars, on account of the small thing that remained. They were restored to his mind, and it was agreed that, the same Alexandrian assisting, they themselves should open with the steel that sinus which now by the consent of all was thought otherwise incurable. Which matter was put off to the following day. But when they had gone away, from the excessive sorrow of the master such great grief arose in that house that it was with difficulty restrained by us as the wailing of a funeral. Holy men visited him daily, the Bishop then of Uzala, Saturninus of blessed memory, and the priest Gelosus, and the deacons of the Church of Carthage: among whom was, and of whom alone he is now in human affairs, already a Bishop to be named with honor due from us, Aurelius; with whom, recording the wonderful works of God, we have often spoken together of this matter, and we have found that he remembers very well what we are commemorating. Who, when they visited him as they were accustomed in the evening, he asked them with pitiable tears that they would deign to be present in the morning at his funeral rather than at his grief. For such great fear from his former pains had invaded him that he did not doubt that he would die among the hands of the physicians. They consoled him and exhorted him that he should trust in God and manfully bear His will. Thence we entered into prayer: where, we fixing our knees according to custom and lying upon the earth, he threw himself down as if he had been prostrate by someone heavily pushing him, and began to pray: in what ways, with what affection, with what motion of mind, with what a river of tears, with what groans and sobs shaking all his members and almost shutting off his breath, who could explain in any words? Whether the others prayed, and their intention was not turned away unto these things, I did not know. I, however, was entirely unable to pray: I said only this briefly in my heart, "Lord, what prayers of Thine own dost Thou hear if Thou dost not hear these?" For it seemed to me that nothing could now be added unless that he should expire while praying. We rose up, and having received the blessing from the Bishop, we departed; he asking that they would be present in the morning, they exhorting that he should be of a calm mind.

Illuxit dies qui metuebatur, aderant servi Dei, sicut se adfuturos esse promiserant: ingressi sunt medici, parantur omnia quae hora illa poscebat, tremenda ferramenta proferuntur, attonitis suspensisque omnibus. Eis autem quorum erat major auctoritas, defectum animi ejus consolando erigentibus, ad manus secturi membra in lectulo componuntur, solvuntur nodi ligamentorum, nudatur locus, inspicit medicus, et secundum illum sinum armatus atque intentus inquirat. Scrutatur oculis, digitisque contrectat; tentat denique modis omnibus: invenit firmissimam cicatricem. Jam illa laetitia et laus atque gratiarum actio misericordiae et omnipotentis Deo, quae fusa est ore omnium lacrymantibus gaudiis, non est committenda meis verbis: cogitetur potius, quam dicatur.

3. In eadem Carthagine Innocentia, religiosissima femina, de primariis ipsius civitatis, in mamilla cancrum habebat: rem, sicut medici dicunt, nullis medicamentis sanabilem. Aut ergo praecidi solet, et a corpore separari membrum ubi nascitur; aut, ut aliquanto homo diutius vivat, tamen inde morte quamlibet tardius adfutura, secundum Hippocratis, ut ferunt, sententiam (Aphorism. sect. 6, aph. 38) omnis est omittenda curatio. Hoc illa a perito medico et suae domui familiarissimo acceperat, et ad solum Deum se orando converterat. Admonetur in somnis appropinquante Pascha, ut in parte feminarum observanti ad baptisterium, quaecumque illi baptizata primitus occurrisset, signaret ei locum signo Christi: fecit, et confestim sanitas consecuta est. Medicus sane qui ei dixerat, ut nihil curationis adhiberet, si paulo diutius vellet vivere, cum inspexisset eam postea, et sanissimam comperisset, quam prius habere illud malum tali inspectione cognoverat, quaesivit ab ea vehementer quid adhibuisset; cupiens, quantum intelligi datur, nosse medicamentum, quo Hippocratis definitio vinceretur. Cumque ab ea quid factum esset audisset, voce velut contemnentis et vultu, ita ut illa metueret ne aliquod contumeliosum verbum proferret in Christum, religiosa urbanitate respondisse fertur: Putabam, inquit, magnum aliquid te mihi fuisse dicturam. Atque illa jam exhorrescente, mox addidit: Quid grande fecit Christus sanare cancrum, qui quatriduanum mortuum suscitavit (Joan. XI)? Hoc ego cum audissem, et vehementer stomacharer, in illa civitate atque in illa persona, non utique obscura, factum tam ingens miraculum sic latere, hinc eam et admonendam et pene objurgandam putavi.

The day which was feared dawned; the servants of God were present as they had promised they would be; the physicians entered, all things are prepared which that hour demanded; the fearful iron tools are brought forth, all being astonished and in suspense. But while those who had the greater authority were raising his failing mind by consoling, the members to be cut are composed upon the bed for the hands; the knots of the bandages are loosed, the place is made bare, the physician looks in and, armed and intent, seeks for that sinus to be cut. He scrutinizes with his eyes and handles it with his fingers; finally, he tries it in all ways: he finds a most firm scar. Now that joy and praise and thanksgiving to the merciful and omnipotent God, which was poured from the mouth of all with weeping joys, is not to be committed to my words: let it rather be thought than spoken.

3. In the same Carthage, Innocentia, a most religious woman of the first rank of that city, had cancer in her breast: a thing, as physicians say, curable by no medicines. Either, therefore, the member where it is born is accustomed to be cut off and separated from the body; or, that a man may live somewhat longer, although death is to be there eventually, however slowly, according to the opinion of Hippocrates, as they report (Aphorism. sect. 6, aph. 38), all treatment is to be omitted. This she had received from a skillful physician and one very familiar to her house, and she had turned herself to God alone by praying. She is admonished in a dream, Easter approaching, that at the place for the women watching at the baptistery, whichever baptized woman should first meet her, she should mark for her the place with the sign of Christ: she did so, and immediately health followed. Certainly the physician who had told her that she should apply no treatment if she wished to live a little longer, when he had inspected her afterwards and found her most sound, whom he had previously known by such inspection to have that evil, he inquired of her vehemently what she had applied; desiring, as far as can be understood, to know the medicine by which the definition of Hippocrates was overcome. And when he had heard from her what was done, with a voice as if of one despising and with such a countenance that she feared lest he should utter some insulting word against Christ, he is reported to have replied with religious urbanity: "I thought," he said, "you were going to tell me something great." And she already dreading, he soon added: "What great thing did Christ do to cure a cancer, who raised a man four days dead (John XI)?" When I had heard this, and was vehemently annoyed that so great a miracle done in that city and in that person, by no means obscure, should be so hidden, hence I thought she was both to be admonished and almost to be rebuked.

Quae cum mihi respondisset non se inde tacuisse, quaesivi ab eis, quas forte tunc matronas amicissimas secum habebat, utrum hoc antea scissent. Responderunt se omnino nescisse. Ecce, inquam, quomodo non taces, ut nec istae audiant, quae tibi tanta familiaritate junguntur. Et quia breviter ab ea quaesiveram, feci ut illis audientibus multumque mirantibus et glorificantibus Deum, totum ex ordine, quemadmodum gestum fuerit, indicaret.

4. Medicum quemdam podagrum in eadem urbe, qui cum dedisset nomen ad Baptismum, et pridie quam baptizaretur, in somnis a pueris nigris cirratis, quos intellegebat daemones, baptizari eodem anno prohibitus fuisset, eisque non obtemperans, etiam conculcantibus pedes ejus in dolorem acerrimum, qualem nunquam expertus est, isset, magisque eos vincens lavacro regenerationis, ut voverat, ablui non distulisset, in Baptismate ipso non solum dolore, quo ultra solitum cruciabatur, verum etiam podagra caruisse, nec amplius, cum diu postea vixisset, pedes doluisse quis novit? Nos tamen novimus, et paucissimi fratres ad quos id potuit pervenire.

5. Ex mimo quidam Curubitanus, non solum a paralyti, verum etiam ab informi pondere genitalium, cum baptizaretur, salvus effectus est; et liberatus utraque molestia, tanquam mali nihil habuisset in corpore, de fonte regenerationis ascendit. Quis hoc praeter Curubim novit, et praeter rarissimos aliquos qui hoc ubicumque audire potuerunt? Nos autem cum hoc comperissemus, jubente sancto episcopo Aurelio, etiam ut veniret Carthaginem fecimus: quamvis a talibus prius audierimus, de quorum fide dubitare non possemus.

6. Vir tribunitius Hesperius apud nos est; habet in territorio Fussalensi fundum Zubedi appellatum: ubi cum afflictione animalium et servorum suorum domum suam spirituum malignorum vim noxiam perpeti comperisset, rogavit nostros, me absente, presbyteros, ut aliquis eorum illo pergeret, cujus orationibus cederent. Perrexit unus, obtulit ibi sacrificium corporis Christi, orans quantum potuit, ut cessaret illa vexatio: Deo protinus miserante cessavit. Acceperat autem ab amico suo terram sanctam de Jerosolymis allatam, ubi sepultus Christus die tertio resurrexit; eamque suspenderat in cubiculo suo, ne quid mali etiam ipse pateretur. At ubi domus ejus ab illa infestatione purgata est, quid de illa terra fieret, cogitabat; quam diutius in cubiculo suo reverentiae causa habere volebat. Forte accidit, ut ego et collega tunc meus episcopus Sinitensis ecclesiae Maximinus, in proximo essemus; ut veniremus rogavit, et venimus.

When she had replied to me that she had not been silent about it, I asked of them, what matrons she happened then to have with her as most intimate friends, whether they had known this before. They replied that they had entirely not known it. "Behold," I said, "how you are not silent, that not even these hear, who are joined to you with such familiarity." And because I had briefly asked her, I caused that, they hearing and much wondering and glorifying God, she should indicate the whole in order, just as it had been performed.

4. A certain physician with gout in the same city, who when he had given his name for Baptism, and the day before he was baptized, in a dream had been forbidden to be baptized in the same year by black curly-haired boys, whom he understood to be demons, and not obeying them, even though they trampled upon his feet into most sharp pain, such as he never experienced, he had gone, and rather overcoming them, had not delayed to be washed by the laver of regeneration as he had vowed, in the Baptism itself he was free not only from the pain by which he was tortured beyond the usual, but even from the gout, nor when he lived for a long time afterwards did his feet ever ache again; who knows this? We nevertheless know it, and a very few brethren to whom it was able to reach.

5. A certain man from the mimes, of Curubis, was made sound not only from paralysis but also from an unformed weight of the genitals, when he was baptized; and being freed from both troubles, as if he had had nothing of evil in his body, he ascended from the font of regeneration. Who knows this besides Curubis, and besides some very rare ones who were able to hear this anywhere? But when we had discovered this, the holy Bishop Aurelius ordering, we even caused that he should come to Carthage; although we had first heard from such as we could not doubt their faith.

6. Hesperius, a man of tribunitian rank, is with us; he has in the territory of Fussala an estate called Zubedi: where, when he had found that his house was suffering the noxious violence of malignant spirits with the affliction of his animals and servants, he asked our priests, in my absence, that some one of them should go thither, at whose prayers they might yield. One went, and offered there the sacrifice of the body of Christ, praying as much as he could that that vexation might cease: God immediately having mercy, it ceased. But he had received from a friend of his holy earth brought from Jerusalem, where Christ being buried rose on the third day; and he had suspended it in his bedchamber, lest he himself also should suffer any evil. But when his house was purged from that infestation, he thought what should be done with that earth; which he did not wish to have in his bedchamber any longer for the sake of reverence. It happened by chance that I and my colleague then, Maximinus, Bishop of the church of Sinitum, were in the neighborhood; he asked that we should come, and we came.

Cumque nobis omnia retulisset, etiam hoc petivit, ut infoderetur alicubi, atque ibi orationum locus fieret, ubi etiam possent Christiani ad celebranda quae Dei sunt congregari. Non restitimus: factum est. Erat ibi juvenis paralyticus rusticanus: hoc audito petivit a parentibus suis, ut illum ad eum locum sanctum non cunctanter afferrent. Quo cum fuisset allatus, oravit, atque inde continuo pedibus suis salvus abscessit.

7. Victoriana dicitur villa, ab Hippone-Regio minus triginta millibus abest. Memoria martyrum ibi est Mediolanensium Protasii et Gervasii. Portatus est eo quidam adolescens, qui cum die medio tempore aetatis equum ablueret in fluminis gurgite, daemonem incurrit. Ibi cum jaceret vel morti proximus, vel simillimus mortuo, ad vespertinos illuc hymnos et orationes cum ancillis suis et quibusdam sanctimonialibus ex more domina possessionis intravit; atque hymnos cantare coeperunt. Qua voce ille quasi percussus, excussus est: et cum terribili fremitu altare apprehensum movere non audens sive non valens, tanquam eo fuerit alligatus, aut affixus, tenebat: et cum grandi ejulatu parci sibi rogans, confitebatur ubi adolescentem, et quando, et quomodo invaserit. Postremo se exiturum esse denuntians, membra ejus singula nominabat, quae se amputaturum exiens minabatur: atque inter haec verba discessit ab homine. Sed oculus ejus in maxillam fusus, tenui venula ab interiore quasi radice pendebat, totumque ejus medium, quod nigellum fuerat, albicaverat. Quo viso qui aderant (concurrerant autem etiam alii vocibus ejus acciti, et se omnes in orationem pro illo straverant), quamvis eum sana mente stare gauderent, rursus tamen propter oculum ejus contristati, medicum quaerendum esse dicebant. Ibi maritus sororis ejus, qui eum illo detulerat, Potens est, inquit Deus, sanctorum orationibus, qui fugavit daemonem, lumen reddere. Tunc, sicut potuit, oculum lapsum atque pendentem, loco suo revocatum ligavit orario: nec nisi post septem dies putavit esse solvendum. Quod cum fecisset, sanissimum invenit. Sanati sunt illic et alii, de quibus dicere longum est.

8. Hipponensem quamdam virginem scio, cum se oleo perunxisset, cui pro illa orans presbyter instillaverat lacrymas suas, mox a daemonio fuisse sanatam. Scio etiam episcopum semel pro adolescente, quem non vidit, orasse, illumque illico daemone caruisse.

And when he had related everything to us, he also asked this, that it should be buried somewhere, and that there should be a place of prayers there, where also Christians might be gathered for celebrating the things which are of God. We did not resist: it was done. There was there a paralytic young man, a countryman: this being heard, he asked from his parents that they should not delay to bring him to that holy place. When he had been brought thither, he prayed, and immediately departed thence sound on his own feet.

7. There is a villa called Victoriana, it is distant from Hippo-Regius less than thirty miles. There is a memorial of the Milanese martyrs Protasius and Gervasius there. A certain youth was carried thither, who when he was washing a horse at midday in the summer time in the depth of a river, met a demon. While he was lying there either very near to death or very like to one dead, the mistress of the possession entered thither with her handmaids and certain nuns according to custom for evening hymns and prayers; and they began to sing hymns. At which voice he was as if struck, shaken out: and with a terrible growl having seized the altar, not daring or not being able to move it, as if he were tied to it or fixed to it, he held on: and with a great wailing asking that he might be spared, he confessed where and when and how he invaded the youth. Finally, announcing that he was about to go out, he named his individual members, which he threatened he would cut off as he went out: and among these words he departed from the man. But his eye, poured out upon his cheek, was hanging by a thin vein as if from an inner root, and all the middle of it, which had been blackish, had become white. Which being seen, those who were present (for others also had run together, called by his voices, and they had all prostrated themselves in prayer for him), although they rejoiced that he stood with a sound mind, were nevertheless saddened again on account of his eye, and said that a physician should be sought. Then the husband of his sister, who had carried him thither, said: "God is powerful by the prayers of the saints to restore light, who put to flight the demon." Then, as he could, having recalled the eye fallen and hanging to its place, he bound it with a handkerchief: nor did he think that it should be loosed until after seven days. When he had done this, he found it most sound. Others also were healed there, concerning whom it is long to speak.

8. I know a certain virgin of Hippo, when she had anointed herself with oil, into which a priest praying for her had distilled his tears, that she was soon healed from a demon. I know also that a Bishop once prayed for a youth whom he did not see, and that he was immediately free from a demon.

9. Erat quidam senex Florentius Hipponensis noster, homo religiosus et pauper; sartoris se arte pascebat, casulam perdiderat, et unde sibi emeret non habebat: ad Viginti Martyres, quorum memoria apud nos est celeberrima, clara voce, ut vestiretur, oravit. Auduerunt eum adolescentes, qui forte aderant, irrisores; eumque discedentem exagitantes prosequabantur; quasi a Martyribus quinquagenos folles, unde vestimentum emeret, petivisset. At ille tacitus ambulans, ejectum grandem piscem palpitantem vidit in littore, eumque illis faventibus atque adjuvantibus apprehendit, et cuidam coquo Catoso nomine, bene christiano, ad coquinam conditariam, indicans quid gestum sit, trecentis follibus vendidit, lanam comparare inde disponens, ut uxor ejus quomodo posset, ei quo indueretur, efficeret. Sed coquus concidens piscem, anulum aureum in ventriculo ejus invenit, moxque miseratione flexus, et religione perterritus, homini eum reddidit, dicens, Ecce quomodo Viginti Martyres te vestierunt.

10. Ad Aquas-Tibilitanas episcopo afferente Praejecto reliquias martyris gloriosissimi Stephani, ad ejus memoriam veniebat magnae multitudinis concursus et occursus. Ibi caeca mulier, ut ad episcopum portantem duceretur, oravit: flores quos ferebat dedit; recepit, oculis admovit, protinus vidit. Stupentibus qui aderant, praeibat exsultans, viam carpens, et viae ducem ulterius non requirens.

11. Memorati memoriam martyris, quae posita est in castello Sinitensi, quod Hipponensi coloniae vicinum est, ejusdem loci Lucillus episcopus, populo praecedente atque sequente portabat. Fistula, cujus molestia jam diu laboraverat, et familiarissimi sui medici, qui eam secaret, opperiebatur manus, illius piae sarcinae vectatione repente sanata est: nam deinceps eam in suo corpore non invenit.

12. Eucharius est presbyter ex Hispania, Calamae habitat, veteri morbo calculi laborabat; per memoriam supradicti martyris, quam Possidius illo advexit episcopus, salvus factus est. Idem ipse postea morbo alio praevalescente, mortuus sic jacebat, ut ei jam pollices ligarentur: opitulatione memorati martyris, cum de memoria ejus reportata fuisset et super jacentis corpus missa ipsius presbyteri tunica, suscitatus est.

9. There was a certain old man, Florentius of Hippo, our fellow-townsmen, a religious and poor man; he supported himself by the trade of a tailor, he had lost his coat (casula), and had not the means whence he might buy one for himself: at the Twenty Martyrs, whose memorial with us is most celebrated, he prayed with a clear voice that he might be clothed. Some youths who happened to be present, mockers, heard him; and they followed him as he went away, teasing him as if he had asked from the Martyrs fifty folles whence he might buy a garment. But he, walking in silence, saw a large fish gasping, cast up on the shore, and he caught it with their favor and help, and showing what was done to a certain cook, Catosus by name, a good Christian, at the cookshop, he sold it for three hundred folles, intending to buy wool thence, that his wife might make for him something to be clothed with, however she could. But the cook, cutting up the fish, found a gold ring in its belly, and soon moved with pity and struck with religious fear, he returned it to the man, saying: "Behold how the Twenty Martyrs have clothed you."

10. At Aquae Tibilitanae, the Bishop Projectus bringing the relics of the most glorious martyr Stephen, a great concourse and meeting of a multitude came to his memorial. There a blind woman prayed that she might be led to the Bishop as he carried them: she gave the flowers which she was carrying; she received them back, applied them to her eyes, and immediately saw. While those who were present were astounded, she went before them exulting, making her way, and no longer requiring a leader for the way.

11. Bishop Lucillus of the same place was carrying the memorial of the said martyr, which is placed in the castle of Sinitum, which is near the colony of Hippo, the people preceding and following. A fistula, with the trouble of which he had already labored for a long time, and was awaiting the hand of his most intimate physician who should cut it, was suddenly healed by the carrying of that pious burden: for afterwards he did not find it in his body.

12. Eucharius is a priest from Spain, he lives at Calama, he was laboring with an old disease of the stone; through the memorial of the aforesaid martyr, which Bishop Possidius brought thither, he was made sound. The same man afterwards, another disease prevailing, lay dead, so that his thumbs were already being tied: by the help of the said martyr, when the tunic of the same priest had been brought back from his memorial and cast upon the body of him lying there, he was raised up.

13. Fuit ibi vir in ordine suo primarius, nomine Martialis, aevo jam gravis, et multum a religione abhorrens christiana. Habebat sane fidelem filiam, et generum eodem anno baptizatum. Qui cum eum aegrotantem multis et magnis lacrymis rogarent, ut christianus fieret, prorsus abnuit, eosque a se turbida indignatione submovit. Visum est genero ejus, ut iret ad memoriam sancti Stephani, et illic pro eo quantum posset oraret, ut Deus illi daret mentem bonam, qua credere non differret in Christum. Fecit hoc ingenti gemitu et fletu, et sinceriter ardente pietatis affectu: deinde abscedens, aliquid de altari florum, quod occurrit, tulit; eique, cum jam nox esset, ad caput posuit: tum dormitum est. Et ecce ante diluculum clamat, ut ad episcopum curreretur, qui mecum forte tunc erat apud Hipponem. Cum ergo audisset eum absentem, venire presbyteros postulavit. Venerunt, credere se dixit, admirantibus atque gaudentibus omnibus, baptizatus est. Hoc, quamdiu vixit, in ore habebat: Christe, accipe spiritum meum: cum haec verba beatissimi Stephani, quando lapidatus est a Judaeis, ultima fuisse nesciaret; quae huic quoque ultima fuerunt: nam non multo post etiam ipse defunctus est.

14. Sanati sunt illic per eundem martyrem etiam podagri duo, unus civis, peregrinus unus; sed civis omni modo: peregrinus autem per revelationem quid adhiberet quando doleret, audivit; et cum hoc fecerit, dolor continuo conquiescit.

15. Audurus nomen est fundi, ubi ecclesia est, et in ea memoria Stephani martyris. Puerum quemdam parvulum, cum in area luderet, exorbitantes boves qui vehiculum trahebant, rota obtriverunt, et confestim palpitavit expirans. Hunc mater arreptum ad eandem memoriam posuit; et non solum revixit, verum etiam illaesus apparuit.

16. Sanctimonialis quaedam in vicina possessione, quae Caspaliana dicitur, cum aegritudine laboraret, ac desperaretur, ad eandem memoriam tunica ejus allata est: quae antequam revocaretur, illa defuncta est. Hac tamen tunica operuerunt cadaver ejus parentes, et recepto spiritu salva facta est.

17. Apud Hipponem Bassus quidam Syrus ad memoriam ejusdem martyris orabat pro aegrotante et periclitante filia, eoque secum vestem ejus attulerat: cum ecce pueri de domo cucurrerunt, qui ei mortuam nuntiarent. Sed cum, orante illo, ab amicis ejus exciperentur, prohibuerunt eos illi dicere, ne per publicum plangeret. Qui cum domum redisset jam suorum ejulatibus personantem, et vestem filiae quam ferebat, super eam projecisset, reddita est vitae.

13. There was a man there, first in his order, Martialis by name, already heavy with age, and greatly abhorring the Christian religion. He had indeed a faithful daughter and a son-in-law baptized in the same year. Who, when they asked him with many and great tears as he was sick that he might become a Christian, he entirely refused, and removed them from him with turbid indignation. It seemed to his son-in-law that he should go to the memorial of Saint Stephen, and pray there for him as much as he could, that God would give him a good mind, by which he might not delay to believe in Christ. He did this with great groaning and weeping, and with a sincerely burning affection of piety: then departing, he took something of the flowers from the altar which occurred to him; and when it was already night, he placed it at his head: then they slept. And behold, before dawn he cries out that someone should run to the Bishop, who happened then to be with me at Hippo. When therefore he heard that he was absent, he asked that priests should come. They came; he said that he believed, all wondering and rejoicing, and he was baptized. He had this in his mouth as long as he lived: "Christ, receive my spirit"; although he did not know that these words were the last of the most blessed Stephen, when he was stoned by the Jews; which were also the last for him: for not much later he also died.

14. Two gouty men were also healed there through the same martyr, one a citizen, one a stranger; but the citizen entirely: but the stranger heard through a revelation what he should apply when he was in pain; and when he did this, the pain immediately rested.

15. Audurus is the name of an estate, where there is a church, and in it the memorial of Stephen the martyr. A certain little boy, when he was playing in the courtyard, the oxen which were drawing a wagon getting out of their track, the wheel crushed him, and immediately he gasped, expiring. His mother, having snatched him up, placed him at the same memorial; and he not only revived, but even appeared uninjured.

16. A certain nun in a neighboring possession, which is called Caspaliana, when she was laboring with sickness and was despaired of, her tunic was brought to the same memorial: which before it was brought back, she died. Nevertheless, her parents covered her corpse with this tunic, and she was made sound, her spirit being received back.

17. At Hippo, a certain Syrian named Bassus was praying at the memorial of the same martyr for his sick and endangered daughter, and he had brought her garment thither with him: when behold, boys ran from the house to announce to him that she was dead. But when, as he was praying, they were received by his friends, they forbade them to tell him, lest he should wail through the public street. When he had returned home, already sounding with the wailings of his family, and had cast upon her the garment of his daughter which he was carrying, she was restored to life.

18. Rursus ibidem apud nos Irenaei, cujusdam collectarii filius, aegritudine extinctus est. Cumque corpus jaceret exanime, atque a lugentibus et lamentantibus exsequiae pararentur, amicorum ejus quidam inter aliorum consolantium verba suggessit, ut ejusdem martyris oleo corpus perungeretur. Factum est, et revixit.

19. Itemque apud nos vir tribunitius Eleusinus super memoriam Martyris, quae in suburbano ejus est, aegritudine exanimatum posuit infantulum filium: et post orationem, quam cum multis lacrymis ibi fudit, viventem levavit.

20. Quid faciam? Urget hujus operis implendi promissio, ut non hic possim omnia commemorare quae scio: et procul dubio plerique nostrorum, cum haec legent, dolebunt me tam multa praetermisisse, quae utique mecum sciunt. Quos jam nunc, ut ignoscant, rogo; et cogitent quam prolixus laboris sit facere, quod me hic non facere suscepti operis necessitas cogit. Si enim miracula sanitatum, ut alia taceam, ea tantummodo velim scribere, quae per hunc martyrem, id est, gloriosissimum Stephanum, facta sunt in colonia Calamensi, et in nostra, plurimi conficiendi sunt libri: nec tamen omnia colligi poterunt, sed tantum de quibus libelli dati sunt, qui recitarentur in populis. Id namque fieri voluimus, cum videremus antiquis similia divinarum signa virtutum etiam nostris temporibus frequentari; et ea non debere multorum notitiae deperire. Nondum est autem biennium, ex quo apud Hipponem Regium coepit esse ista memoria, et multis, quod nobis certissimum est, non datis libellis, de iis quae mirabiliter facta sunt, illi ipsi qui dati sunt ad septuaginta ferme numerum pervenerant, quando ista conscripsi. Calamae vero, ubi et ipsa memoria prius esse coepit, et crebrius dantur, incomparabili multitudine superant.

21. Uzali etiam, quae colonia Uticae vicina est, multa praeclara per eundem Martyrem facta cognovimus: cujus ibi memoria longe prius quam apud nos, ab episcopo Evodio constituta est. Sed libellorum dandorum ibi consuetudo non est, vel potius non fuit: nam fortasse nunc esse jam coepit. Cum enim nuper illic essemus, Petroniam, clarissimam feminam, quae ibi mirabiliter ex magno atque diuturno, in quo medicorum adjutoria cuncta defecerant, languore sanata est, hortati sumus volente supradicto loci episcopo, ut libellum daret, qui recitaretur in populo; et obedientissime paruit.

18. Again in the same place with us, the son of Irenaeus, a certain collector, was extinguished by sickness. And when the body was lying lifeless, and the funeral rites were being prepared by those mourning and lamenting, a certain one of his friends suggested among the words of the others consoling, that the body should be anointed with the oil of the same martyr. It was done, and he revived.

19. And likewise with us, a man of tribunitian rank, Eleusinus, placed his infant son, who had expired from sickness, upon the memorial of the Martyr, which is in his suburban estate: and after the prayer, which he poured out there with many tears, he took him up living.

20. What shall I do? The promise of completing this work urges me, so that I cannot commemorate all things here which I know: and without doubt very many of ours, when they read these things, will grieve that I have passed over so many things which they certainly know with me. Whom I now ask to forgive me; and to consider what a prolix labor it is to do what the necessity of the undertaken work here compels me not to do. For if I should wish to write the miracles of healings, to say nothing of others, only those which were done through this martyr, that is, the most glorious Stephen, in the colony of Calama and in ours, very many books are to be completed: nor yet can all things be collected, but only those concerning which little books (*libelli*) have been given, which were to be recited among the peoples. For we wished that to be done, when we saw that signs of divine virtues similar to the ancient ones were frequent even in our times; and that they ought not to perish from the knowledge of many. But it is not yet two years since that memorial began to be at Hippo Regius, and many (as is most certain to us) little books not being given concerning those things which were wonderfully done, those very ones which were given had reached nearly seventy in number when I wrote these things. But at Calama, where the memorial itself also began to be sooner, and they are given more frequently, they surpass in incomparable multitude.

21. At Uzali also, a colony near Utica, we have known many illustrious things done through the same Martyr: whose memorial was established there by Bishop Evodius long before it was here. But the custom of giving little books (*libelli*) is not there, or rather was not: for perhaps now it has already begun to be. For when we were there lately, we exhorted Petronia, a most illustrious woman, who was wonderfully healed there of a great and long-standing illness in which all the aids of physicians had failed, with the consent of the aforementioned bishop of the place, to give a little book which might be read to the people; and she most obediently complied.

In quo posuit etiam, quod hic reticere non possum, quamvis ad ea quae hoc opus urgent, festinare compellar. A quodam Judaeo dixit sibi fuisse persuasum, ut annulum capillatio cingulo insereret, quod sub omni veste ad nuda corporis cingeretur: qui annulus haberet sub gemma lapidem in renibus inventum bovis. Hoc alligata quasi remedio ad sancti Martyris limina veniebat. Sed profecta a Carthagine, cum in confinio fluminis Bagradae in sua possessione mansisset, surgens ut iter perageret, ante pedes suos illum jacentem annulum vidit, et capillatiam zonam qua fuerat alligatus, mirata tentavit. Quam cum omnino suis nodis firmissimis, sicut fuerat, comperisset adstrictam, crepuisse atque exsiluisse annulum suspicata est: qui etiam ipse cum integerrimus fuisset inventus, futurae salutis quodammodo pignus de tanto miraculo se accepisse praesumpsit, atque illud vinculum solvens, simul cum eodem annulo, projecit in flumen. Non credunt hoc, qui etiam Dominum Jesum per integra virginalia matris enixum, et ad discipulos ostiis clausis ingressum fuisse non credunt: sed hoc certe quaerant, et, si verum invenerint, illa credant. Clarissima femina est, nobiliter nata, nobiliter nupta, Carthagini habitat: ampla civitas, ampla persona rem quaerentes latere non sinit. Martyr certe ipse, quo impetrante illa sanata est, in Filium permanentis virginis credidit, in eum qui ostiis clausis ad discipulos ingressus est, credidit: postremo, propter quod omnia ista dicuntur a nobis, in eum qui ascendit in coelum cum carne, in qua resurrexerat, credidit; et ideo per eum tanta fiunt, quia pro ista fide animam posuit. Fiunt ergo etiam nunc multa miracula, eodem Deo faciente per quos vult, et quemadmodum vult, qui et illa quae legimus fecit: sed ista nec similiter innotescunt, neque, ut non excidant animo, quasi glarea memoriae, crebra lectione tunduntur. Nam et ubi diligentia est, quae nunc apud nos esse coepit, ut libelli eorum qui beneficia percipiunt, recitentur in populo, semel hoc audiunt qui adsunt, pluresque non adsunt, ut nec illi qui adfuerunt, post aliquot dies, quod audierunt, mente retineant, et vix quisquam reperiat illorum, qui ei quem non adfuisse cognoverit, indicet quod audivit.

22. Unum est apud nos factum, non majus quam illa quae dixi, sed tam clarum atque illustre miraculum, ut nullum arbitrer esse Hipponensium, qui hoc non vel viderit, vel didicerit, nullum qui oblivisci ulla ratione potuerit.

In which she also set down what I cannot keep silent here, although I am compelled to hasten to those things which urge this work. She said she had been persuaded by a certain Jew to insert a ring into a hair belt, which was to be girded under all her clothing against the naked body: which ring had under its gem a stone found in the kidneys of an ox. Bound with this as if with a remedy, she was coming to the thresholds of the holy Martyr. But having set out from Carthage, when she had stayed at her own possession on the border of the river Bagrada, rising to complete her journey, she saw that ring lying before her feet, and wondering, she felt the hair belt with which she had been bound. When she found it completely tightened with its very firm knots, just as it had been, she suspected that the ring had cracked and leaped out: which, when it was also found entirely whole, she presumed that she had received a certain pledge of future health from so great a miracle, and loosening that bond, she threw it together with the same ring into the river. They do not believe this, who also do not believe that the Lord Jesus was brought forth through the entire virginity of his mother, and entered to the disciples when the doors were closed: but let them certainly seek this, and if they find it true, let them believe those things. She is a most illustrious woman, nobly born, nobly married, living at Carthage: a large city and a prominent person do not allow the matter to be hidden from those seeking it. Certainly the Martyr himself, by whose intercession she was healed, believed in the Son of the permanent virgin, believed in Him who entered to the disciples when the doors were closed: finally, on account of which all these things are said by us, he believed in Him who ascended into heaven with the flesh in which He had risen; and therefore such great things are done through him, because he laid down his life for that faith. Therefore many miracles are done even now, the same God doing them through whom He wills, and as He wills, who also did those which we read: but these are not made known similarly, nor, so that they may not fall out of the mind, are they beaten into the memory by frequent reading like gravel. For even where there is diligence, which has now begun to be with us, so that the little books of those who receive benefits are read to the people, those who are present hear this once, and many more are not present, so that not even those who were present retain in mind what they heard after a few days, and scarcely any one of them is found who indicates to one whom he knows was not present what he heard.

22. One thing was done among us, not greater than those which I have said, but so clear and illustrious a miracle, that I think there is no one of the people of Hippo who has not either seen it or learned of it, no one who could by any means forget it.

Decem quidam fratres (quorum septem sunt mares, tres feminae) de Caesarea Cappadociae suorum civium non ignobiles, maledicto matris recenti, patris eorum obitu destitutae, quae injuriam sibi ab eis factam acerbissime tulit, tali poena sunt divinitus coerciti, ut horribiliter quaterentur omnes tremore membrorum: in qua foedissima specie oculos suorum civium non ferentes, quaquaversum cuique ire visum est, toto pene vagabantur orbe Romano. Ex his etiam ad nos venerunt duo, frater et soror, Paulus et Palladia, multis aliis locis miseria diffamante jam cogniti. Venerunt autem ante Pascha ferme dies quindecim, ecclesiam quotidie, et in ea memoriam gloriosissimi Stephani frequentabant, orantes ut jam sibi placaretur Deus, et salutem pristinam redderet. Et illic, et quacumque ibant, convertebant in se civitatis aspectum. Nonnulli qui eos alibi viderant, causamque tremoris eorum noverant, aliis, ut cuique poterant, indicabant. Venit et Pascha, atque ipso die dominico mane, cum jam frequens populus praesens esset, et loci sancti cancellos, ubi martyrium erat, idem juvenis orans teneret, repente prostratus est, et dormienti simillimus jacuit: non tamen tremens, sicut etiam per somnum solebat. Stupentibus qui aderant, atque aliis paventibus, aliis dolentibus, cum eum quidam vellent erigere, nonnulli prohibuerunt, et potius exitum exspectandum esse dixerunt. Et ecce surrexit, et non tremebat, quoniam sanatus erat, et stabat incolumis, intuens intuentes. Quis ergo se tenuit a laudibus Dei? Clamantium gratulantiumque vocibus ecclesia usquequaque completa est. Inde ad me curritur, ubi sedebam jam processurus: irruit alter quisque post alterum, omnis posterior quasi novum, quod alius prior dixerat, nuntiantes: meque gaudente et apud me gratias Deo agente, ingreditur etiam ipse cum pluribus, inclinatur ad genua mea, erigitur ad osculum meum. Procedimus ad populum, plena erat ecclesia, personabat vocibus gaudiorum, Deo gratias! Deo laudes! nemine tacente, hinc atque inde clamantium. Salutavi populum, et rursus eadem ferventiore voce clamabant. Facto tandem silentio, Scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta solemnia. Ubi autem ventum est ad mei sermonis locum, dixi pauca pro tempore et pro illius jucunditate laetitiae. Magis enim eos in opere divino quamdam Dei eloquentiam, non audire, sed considerare permisi. Nobiscum homo prandit, et diligenter nobis omnem suae ac maternae fraternaeque calamitatis indicavit historiam. Sequenti itaque die, post sermonem redditum, narrationis ejus libellum in crastinum populo recitandum promisi (Serm. 321).

Ten certain brothers (of whom seven are males, three females) from Caesarea in Cappadocia, not ignoble among their citizens, were divinely coerced with such punishment by a recent curse of their mother, who, left destitute by the death of their father, bore most bitterly the injury done to her by them, that they were all horribly shaken by a tremor of their limbs: in which most foul appearance, not bearing the eyes of their fellow citizens, they wandered almost through the whole Roman world, wherever it seemed good to each to go. From these also two came to us, a brother and a sister, Paul and Palladia, already known in many other places by their widespread misery. But they came about fifteen days before Easter; they frequently attended the church, and in it the memorial of the most glorious Stephen, praying that God might now be appeased toward them, and restore their former health. And there, and wherever they went, they turned the gaze of the city upon themselves. Some who had seen them elsewhere, and knew the cause of their tremor, indicated it to others as they could. Easter also came, and on the Sunday morning itself, when a frequent crowd was already present, and that same young man, while praying, held the railings of the holy place where the martyr's shrine was, suddenly he was prostrate, and lay most like one sleeping: yet not trembling, as he was accustomed to do even during sleep. Those who were present being astonished, and some fearing, others grieving, when some wished to raise him, several forbade it, and said that the outcome should rather be waited for. And behold, he rose up, and was not trembling, since he was healed, and he stood unharmed, gazing at those gazing at him. Who then held himself from the praises of God? The church was everywhere filled with the voices of those crying out and congratulating. Then people run to me, where I was sitting already about to proceed: one after another rushes in, each later one announcing as new what another prior one had said: and while I was rejoicing and giving thanks to God within myself, he himself also enters with many, bows to my knees, and is raised to my kiss. We proceed to the people; the church was full, sounding with voices of joys, "Thanks be to God!" Praises to God!" with no one silent, crying out from here and there. I greeted the people, and again they cried out the same with a more fervent voice. Silence being at last made, the solemn readings of the divine Scriptures were read. But when it came to the place for my sermon, I said a few things according to the time and for the pleasantness of that joy. For I allowed them rather to consider, not to hear, a certain eloquence of God in the divine work. The man dined with us, and diligently indicated to us the whole history of his own and his mother's and his brothers' calamity. Therefore on the following day, after the sermon was delivered, I promised the people that a little book of his narration would be read on the morrow (Serm. 321).

Quod cum ex dominico Paschae die tertio fieret in gradibus exedrae, in qua de superiore loquebar loco, feci stare ambos fratres, cum eorum legeretur libellus (Serm. 322). Intuebatur populus universus sexus utriusque, unum stantem sine deformi motu, alteram membris omnibus contremmentem. Et qui ipsum non viderant, quid in eo divinae misericordiae factum esset, in ejus sorore cernebant. Videbant enim quid in eo gratulandum, quid pro illa esset orandum. Inter haec recitato eorum libello, de conspectu populi abire eos praecepi; et de tota ipsa causa aliquanto diligentius coeperam disputare, cum ecce, me disputante, voces aliae de memoria Martyris novae gratulationis audiuntur. Conversi sunt eo qui me audiebant, coeperuntque concurrere. Illa enim ubi de gradibus descendit, in quibus steterat, ad sanctum Martyrem orare perrexerat. Quae mox ut cancellos attigit, collapsa similiter velut in somnum, sana surrexit. Dum ergo requireremus quid factum fuerit, unde iste strepitus laetus exstiterit, ingressi sunt cum illa in basilicam, ubi eramus, adducentes eam sanam de Martyris loco. Tum vero tantus ab utroque sexu admirationis clamor exortus est, ut vox continuata cum lacrymis non videretur posse finiri (Vid. Serm. 323). Perducta est ad eum locum, ubi paulo ante steterat tremens. Exsultabant eam similem fratri, cui doluerant remansisse dissimilem: et nondum fusas preces suas pro illa, jam tamen praeviam voluntatem tam cito exauditam esse cernebant. Exsultabant in Dei laudem voce sine verbis, tanto sonitu, quantum aures nostrae ferre vix possent. Quid erat in cordibus exsultantium, nisi fides Christi, pro qua Stephani sanguis effusus est?

CAPUT IX.

Quod universa miracula, quae per martyres in Christi nomine fiunt, ei fidei testimonium ferant, qua in Christum martyres crediderunt.

Cui, nisi huic fidei attestantur ista miracula, in qua praedicatur Christus resurrexisse in carne, et in coelum ascendisse cum carne? Quia et ipsi martyres hujus fidei martyres, id est, hujus fidei testes fuerunt, huic fidei testimonium perhibentes mundum inimicissimum et crudelissimum pertulerunt; eumque, non repugnando, sed moriendo vicerunt. Pro ista fide mortui sunt, qui haec a Domino impetrare possunt, propter cujus nomen occisi sunt. Pro hac fide praecessit eorum mira patientia, ut in his miraculis tanta ista potentia sequeretur.

When this was done on the third day from the Sunday of Easter at the steps of the exedra, in which I was speaking from a higher place, I made both siblings stand while their little book was read (Serm. 322). The whole people of both sexes gazed, one standing without deformed motion, the other trembling in all her limbs. And those who had not seen him, what had been done in him by divine mercy, they perceived in his sister. For they saw what was to be congratulated in him, and what was to be prayed for her. Meanwhile, their little book having been read, I commanded them to depart from the sight of the people; and I had begun to dispute somewhat more diligently about that whole cause, when behold, as I was disputing, other voices of new congratulation are heard from the memorial of the Martyr. Those who were hearing me turned thither, and began to run together. For she, when she descended from the steps where she had stood, had gone to pray at the holy Martyr. Who, as soon as she touched the railings, having collapsed similarly as if into sleep, rose up healed. While therefore we were inquiring what had been done, whence that joyful noise had arisen, they entered with her into the basilica where we were, bringing her healed from the Martyr's place. Then indeed so great a cry of admiration arose from both sexes, that the voice continued with tears did not seem able to be ended (See Serm. 323). She was led to that place where a little before she had stood trembling. They exulted that she was like her brother, to whom they had grieved she had remained unlike: and they perceived that their prayers not yet poured out for her, yet already their previous will, had been so quickly heard. They exulted in the praise of God with a voice without words, with so great a sound as our ears could scarcely bear. What was in the hearts of those exulting, except the faith of Christ, for which the blood of Stephen was shed?

CHAPTER IX.

That all the miracles which are done through the martyrs in the name of Christ, bear witness to that faith in which the martyrs believed in Christ.

To what, if not to this faith, do those miracles attest, in which it is preached that Christ rose again in the flesh and ascended into heaven with the flesh? Because the martyrs themselves were martyrs of this faith, that is, witnesses of this faith, bearing witness to this faith they endured a most inimical and cruel world; and they conquered it, not by resisting, but by dying. For that faith they died, who can obtain these things from the Lord, for whose name they were slain. For this faith their wonderful patience preceded, so that in these miracles such great power might follow.

Nam si carnis in aeternum resurrectio vel non praevenit in Christo, vel non ventura est, sicut praeannuntiatur a Christo, vel sicut praeannuntiata est a Prophetis, a quibus praeannuntiatus est Christus; cur et mortui tanta possunt, qui pro ea fide, qua haec resurrectio praedicatur, occisi sunt? Sive enim Deus ipse per se ipsum miro modo, quo res temporales operatur aeternus, sive per suos ministros ista faciat; et eadem ipsa quae per ministros facit, sive quaedam faciat etiam per Martyrum spiritus, sicut per homines adhuc in corpore constitutos; sive omnia ista per Angelos, quibus invisibiliter, immutabiliter, et incorporaliter imperat, operetur; ut quae per Martyres fieri dicuntur, eis orantibus tantum et impetrantibus, non etiam operantibus fiant; sive alia istis, alia illis modis, qui nullo modo comprehendere a mortalibus possunt: ei tamen attestantur haec fidei, in qua carnis in aeternum resurrectio praedicatur.

CAPUT X.

Quanto dignius honorentur martyres, qui ideo multa mira obtinent, ut Deus verus colatur, quam daemones, qui ob hoc quaedam faciunt, ut ipsi dii esse credantur

Hic forte dicturi sunt, etiam deos suos aliqua mira fecisse. Bene, si jam incipiunt deos suos nostris mortuis hominibus comparare. An dicent etiam se habere deos ex hominibus mortuis, sicut Herculem, sicut Romulum, sicut alios multos, quos in deorum numerum receptos opinantur? Sed nobis martyres non sunt dii: quia unum eundemque Deum et nostrum scimus et martyrum. Nec tamen miraculis, quae per Memorias nostrorum martyrum fiunt, ullo modo comparanda sunt miracula, quae facta per templa perhibentur illorum. Verum si qua similia videntur, sicut a Moyse magi Pharaonis (Exod. VIII), sic eorum dii victi sunt a martyribus nostris. Fecerunt autem illa daemones eo fastu impurae superbiae, quo eorum dii esse voluerunt: faciunt autem ista martyres, vel potius Deus aut orantibus aut cooperantibus eis, ut fides illa proficiat, qua eos, non deos esse nostros, sed unum Deum habere nobiscum credamus. Denique illi talibus diis suis et templa aedificaverunt, et statuerunt aras, et sacerdotes instituerunt, et sacrificia fecerunt: nos autem martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, sed Memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus, fabricamus; nec ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus sacrificemus martyribus, sed uni Deo et martyrum et nostro: ad quod sacrificium, sicut homines Dei, qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt, suo loco et ordine nominantur; non tamen a sacerdote, qui sacrificat, invocantur.

For if the resurrection of the flesh for eternity either did not precede in Christ, or is not to come, as it is foretold by Christ, or as it was foretold by the Prophets, by whom Christ was foretold; why can even the dead do such great things, who were slain for that faith by which this resurrection is preached? For whether God Himself does these things through Himself in a wonderful way, by which the Eternal works temporal things, or whether He does them through His ministers; and those same things which He does through ministers, whether He does some also through the spirits of the Martyrs, as through men still constituted in the body; or whether He works all these things through Angels, whom He commands invisibly, immutably, and incorporeally; so that what are said to be done through the Martyrs are done by their praying only and obtaining them, not also by their working them; or in some ways by these, in other ways by those, which can in no way be comprehended by mortals: nevertheless they attest to this faith, in which the resurrection of the flesh for eternity is preached.

CHAPTER X.

How much more worthily the martyrs are honored, who obtain many wonders for the purpose that the true God may be worshipped, than the demons, who do certain things for this purpose, that they themselves may be believed to be gods.

Here they will perhaps say that their gods also have done some wonders. Very well, if they now begin to compare their gods to our dead men. Or will they also say that they have gods from dead men, as Hercules, as Romulus, as many others, whom they think have been received into the number of the gods? But to us the martyrs are not gods: because we know one and the same God both of ourselves and of the martyrs. Nor yet are the miracles which are done through the Memorials of our martyrs by any means to be compared to the miracles which are said to have been done through their temples. But if any seem similar, as the magicians of Pharaoh were overcome by Moses (Exod. VIII), so their gods have been conquered by our martyrs. But the demons did those things with that pride of impure arrogance by which they wished to be their gods: but the martyrs do these things, or rather God either at their prayers or by their cooperation, so that that faith may profit by which we believe them not to be our gods, but to have one God with us. Finally, they built temples to such gods of theirs, and established altars, and instituted priests, and made sacrifices: but we build to our martyrs not temples as to gods, but Memorials as to dead men, whose spirits live with God; nor do we there erect altars on which we sacrifice to the martyrs, but to the one God both of the martyrs and of ourselves: at which sacrifice, as men of God who conquered the world in the confession of Him, they are named in their place and order; yet they are not invoked by the priest who sacrifices.

Deo quippe, non ipsis sacrificat, quamvis in Memoria sacrificet eorum: quia Dei sacerdos est, non illorum. Ipsum vero sacrificium corpus est Christi, quod non offertur ipsis, quia hoc sunt et ipsi. Quibus igitur potius credendum est miracula facientibus? eisne qui se ipsos volunt haberi deos ab his quibus ea faciunt; an eis qui, ut in Deum credatur, quod et Christus est, faciunt quidquid mirabile faciunt? eisne qui sacra sua etiam crimina sua esse voluerunt; an eis qui nec laudes suas volunt esse sacra sua, sed totum quod veraciter laudantur, ad ejus gloriam proficere in quo laudantur? In Domino quippe laudantur animae eorum (Psal. XXXIII, 3). Credamus ergo eis et vera dicentibus, et mira facientibus. Dicendo enim vera, passi sunt, ut possent facere mira. In eis veris est praecipuum, quod Christus resurrexit a mortuis, et immortalitatem resurrectionis in sua carne primus ostendit, quam nobis adfuturam, vel in principio novi saeculi, vel in hujus fine promisit.

CAPUT XI.

Contra Platonicos, qui de naturalibus elementorum ponderibus argumentantur terrenum corpus in coelo esse non posse.

1. Contra quod magnum Dei donum ratiocinatores isti, quorum cagitationes novit Dominus quoniam vanae sunt (Psal. XCIII, 11), de ponderibus elementorum argumentantur: quoniam scilicet magistro Platone didicerunt, mundi duo corpora maxima atque postrema duobus mediis, aere scilicet et aqua, esse copulata atque conjuncta. Ac per hoc, inquirunt, quoniam terra abhinc sursum versus est prima, secunda aqua super terram, tertius aer super aquam, quartum super aera coelum; non potest esse terrenum corpus in coelo. Momentis enim propriis, ut ordinem suum teneant, singula elementa librantur. Ecce qualibus argumentis omnipotentiae Dei humana contradicit infirmitas, quam possidet vanitas. Quid ergo faciunt in aere terrena tot corpora, cum a terra sit aer tertius? Nisi forte, qui per plumarum et pennarum levitatem donavit avium terrenis corporibus ut portentur in aere, immortalibus factis corporibus hominum non poterit donare virtutem, qua etiam in summo coelo valeant habitare. Animalia quoque ipsa terrena, quae volare non possunt, in quibus et homines sunt, sicut sub aqua pisces, quae sunt aquarum animalia, ita sub terra vivere debuerunt. Cur ergo non saltem de secundo, id est, de aquis, sed de elemento tertio terrenum animal carpit hanc vitam? quare cum pertineat ad terram, in secundo, quod super terram est, elemento vivere si cogatur, continuo suffocatur, et ut vivat, vivit in tertio? an errat hic ordo elementorum, vel potius non in natura rerum, sed in istorum argumentationibus deficit?

For he sacrifices to God, not to them, although he sacrifices in their Memorial: because he is the priest of God, not of theirs. But the sacrifice itself is the body of Christ, which is not offered to them, because they themselves are also this. To whom therefore is more belief to be given when they work miracles? To those who wish themselves to be held as gods by those for whom they do them; or to those who, so that there may be belief in God, which Christ also is, do whatever wonderful thing they do? To those who wished their sacred rites also to be their crimes; or to those who wish not even their praises to be their sacred rites, but that all for which they are truly praised should profit to the glory of Him in whom they are praised? For in the Lord their souls are praised (Psal. XXXIII, 3). Let us therefore believe them both when they say true things and when they work wonders. For by saying true things, they suffered that they might be able to work wonders. Among those true things the chief is that Christ rose from the dead, and first showed the immortality of the resurrection in His own flesh, which He promised would be present to us, either at the beginning of the new age or at the end of this one.

CHAPTER XI.

Against the Platonists, who argue from the natural weights of the elements that a terrestrial body cannot be in heaven.

1. Against which great gift of God these reasoners, whose thoughts the Lord knows because they are vain (Psal. XCIII, 11), argue from the weights of the elements: because, forsooth, they have learned from their master Plato that the two greatest and extreme bodies of the world are coupled and joined together by two middle ones, namely, air and water. And therefore, they say, since from here upward earth is first, second water above the earth, third air above water, fourth heaven above the air; a terrestrial body cannot be in heaven. For the individual elements are balanced by their own weights, that they may hold their order. Behold with what arguments human infirmity, which vanity possesses, contradicts the omnipotence of God. What therefore do so many terrestrial bodies do in the air, since air is third from the earth? Unless perhaps He who through the lightness of feathers and quills granted to the terrestrial bodies of birds that they be carried in the air, will not be able to grant to the bodies of men made immortal the power by which they may be able to dwell even in the highest heaven. Terrestrial animals also themselves, which cannot fly, among which are men also, just as fishes are under water, which are animals of the waters, so they ought to have lived under the earth. Why therefore does a terrestrial animal take this life not even from the second element, that is, from the waters, but from the third? Why, since it belongs to the earth, if it be forced to live in the second element, which is above the earth, is it immediately suffocated, and that it may live, it lives in the third? Does this order of the elements err, or rather does it fail not in the nature of things, but in their arguments?

Omitto dicere, quod jam in tertio decimo libro dixi (cap. 18), quam multa gravia terrena sint corpora, sicut plumbum, et formam tamen ab artifice accipiant, qua natate valeant super aquam: et ut accipiat qualitatem corpus humanum, qua ferri in coelum, et esse possit in coelo, omnipotenti Artifici contradicitur?

2. Jam vero contra illud quod dixi superius, etiam istum considerantes atque tractantes elementorum ordinem, quo confidunt, non inveniunt omnino quod dicant. Sic est enim hinc sursum versus terra prima, aqua secunda, tertius aer, quartum coelum, ut super omnia sit animae natura. Nam et Aristoteles quintum corpus eam dixit esse, et Plato nullum. Si quintum esset, certe superius esset caeteris: cum vero nullum est, multo magis superat omnia. In terreno ergo quid facit corpore? in hac mole quid agit subtilior omnibus? in hoc pondere quid agit levior omnibus? in hac tarditate quid agit celerior omnibus? Itane per hujus tam excellentis naturae meritum non poterit effici, ut corpus ejus levetur in coelum, et cum valeat nunc natura corporum terrenorum deprimere animas deorsum, aliquando et animae levare sursum terrena corpora non valebunt?

3. Jam si ad eorum miracula veniamus, quae facta a diis suis opponunt Martyribus nostris, nonne etiam ipsa pro nobis facere, et nobis reperientur omnino proficere? Nam inter magna miracula deorum suorum, profecto magnum illud est, quod Varro commemorat, Vestalem virginem, cum periclitaretur falsa suspitione de stupro, cribrum implere aqua de Tiberi, et ad suos iudices nulla ejus parte stillante portasse. Quis aquae pondus supra cribrum tenuit? quis tot cavernis patentibus nihil inde in terram cadere permisit? Responsuri sunt, Aliquis deus, aut aliquis daemon. Si deus, numquid major est Deo qui fecit hunc mundum? Si daemon, numquid potentior est Angelo, qui Deo servit, a quo factus est mundus? Si ergo deus minor, vel angelus, vel daemon potuit pondus humidi elementi sic suspendere, ut aquarum videatur mutata fuisse natura: itane Deus omnipotens, qui omnia ipse creavit elementa, terreno corpori grave pondus auferre non poterit, ut in eodem elemento habitet vivificatum corpus, in quo voluerit vivificans spiritus?

4. Deinde cum aera medium ponant inter ignem desuper et aquam subter, quid est quod eum inter aquam et aquam, et inter aquam et terram saepe invenimus? Quid enim volunt esse aquosas nubes, inter quas et maria aer medius reperitur? Quonam, quaeso, elementorum pondere atque ordine efficitur, ut torrentes violentissimi atque undosissimi, antequam sub aere in terris currant, super aera in nubibus pendeant? Cur denique aer est medius inter summa coeli, et nuda terrarum, quaquaversum orbis extenditur, si locus ejus inter coelum et aquas, sicut aquarum inter ipsum et terras est constitutus?

I omit to say, what I have already said in the thirteenth book (chap. 18), how many heavy bodies are terrestrial, as lead, and yet receive a form from an artisan by which they may be able to float upon water: and so that the human body may receive a quality by which it may be carried into heaven and be able to be in heaven, is the omnipotent Artisan contradicted?

2. But now against that which I said above, even they, considering and treating this order of elements in which they trust, find nothing at all to say. For so it is from here upward: first earth, second water, third air, fourth heaven, so that the nature of the soul is above all. For Aristotle also said it is a fifth body, and Plato none. If it were a fifth, it would certainly be superior to the others: but since it is none, much more does it surpass all. In a terrestrial body, therefore, what does it do? in this mass what does it act, being finer than all? in this weight what does it act, being lighter than all? in this slowness what does it act, being swifter than all? Can it not thus be effected through the merit of this so excellent nature that its body be raised into heaven, and since the nature of terrestrial bodies can now press souls downward, will souls not eventually be able to raise terrestrial bodies upward?

3. Now if we come to their miracles which, being done by their gods, they oppose to our Martyrs, will they not also be found to work for us and to profit us entirely? For among the great miracles of their gods, that is indeed a great one which Varro commemorates, that a Vestal virgin, when she was in danger from a false suspicion of unchastity, filled a sieve with water from the Tiber and carried it to her judges without any part of it dripping. Who held the weight of the water above the sieve? who, with so many open holes, permitted nothing to fall thence to the ground? They will answer, Some god or some demon. If a god, is he greater than the God who made this world? If a demon, is he more powerful than an Angel who serves God, by whom the world was made? If therefore a lesser god, or an angel, or a demon could so suspend the weight of a liquid element that the nature of the waters seemed to have been changed: could not thus God almighty, who Himself created all the elements, take away the heavy weight from a terrestrial body, so that the vivified body might dwell in the same element in which the vivifying spirit willed?

4. Then, since they place air as the middle between fire above and water below, how is it that we often find it between water and water, and between water and earth? For what do they mean by watery clouds, between which and the seas air is found in the middle? By what weight and order of elements, I ask, is it effected that most violent and wavy torrents, before they run on the earth under the air, hang in the clouds above the air? Why, finally, is air in the middle between the summits of heaven and the naked lands, wherever the world extends, if its place is established between heaven and the waters, just as that of the waters is between itself and the lands?

5. Postremo si ita est elementorum ordo dispositus, ut secundum Platonem duobus mediis, id est aere et aqua, duo extrema, id est ignis et terra, jungantur, coelique obtineat ille summi locum, haec autem imi, velut fundaminis mundi, et ideo in coelo esse non potest terra; cur est ipse ignis in terra? Secundum hanc quippe rationem ita ista duo elementa in locis propriis, imo ac summo, terra et ignis esse debuerunt, ut quemadmodum nolunt in summo esse posse quod imi est, ita nec in imo posset esse quod summi est. Sicut ergo nullam putant vel esse vel futuram esse terrae particulam in coelo, ita nullam particulam videre debuimus ignis in terra. Nunc vero non solum in terris, verum etiam sub terris ita est, ut eum eructent vertices montium; praeter quod in usibus hominum et esse ignem in terra, et eum nasci videmus ex terra: quandoquidem et de lignis et de lapidibus nascitur, quae sunt corpora sine dubitatione terrena. Sed ille, inquit, ignis est tranquillus, purus, innoxius, sempiternus: iste autem turbidus, fumeus, corruptibilis atque corruptor. Nec tamen corrumpit montes, in quibus jugiter aestuat, cavernasque terrarum. Verum esto, sit illi iste dissimilis, ut terrenis habitationibus congruat: cur ergo nolunt ut credamus naturam corporum terrenorum aliquando incorruptibilem factam coelo convenientem futuram, sicut nunc ignis corruptibilis his convenit terris? Nihil igitur afferunt ex ponderibus atque ordine elementorum, unde omnipotenti Deo, quominus faciat corpora nostra talia, ut etiam in coelo possint habitare, praescribant.

CAPUT XII.

Contra calumnias infidelium, quibus Christianos de credita carnis resurrectione irrident.

1. Sed scrupulosissime quaerere, et fidem qua credimus resurrecturam carnem, ita quaerendo, assolent irridere, Utrum fetus abortivi resurgant? Et quoniam Dominus ait, Amen dico vobis, capillus capitis vestri non peribit (Luc. XXI, 18): utrum statura et robur aequalia futura sint omnibus, an diversae corporum quantitates? Si enim aequalitas corporum erit, unde habebunt quod hic non habuerunt in mole corporis illi abortivi, si resurgent et ipsi? Aut si non resurgent, quia nec nati sunt, sed effusi, eandem quaestionem de parvulis versant, unde illis mensura corporis, quam nunc defuisse videmus, accedat, cum in hac aetate moriuntur. Neque enim dicturi sumus, eos non resurrecturos, qui non solum generationis, verum etiam regenerationis capaces sunt. Deinde interrogant, quem modum ipsa aequalitas habitura sit.

5. Finally, if the order of the elements is so disposed that, according to Plato, the two extremes, that is, fire and earth, are joined by the two middle ones, that is, air and water, and that one obtains the place of the highest heaven, but this the place of the lowest, as it were the foundation of the world, and therefore earth cannot be in heaven; why is fire itself on the earth? For according to this reasoning, those two elements ought to have been in their proper places, the lowest and the highest, earth and fire, so that just as they do not wish that which is of the lowest to be able to be in the highest, so also that which is of the highest could not be in the lowest. Therefore, just as they think that no particle of earth either is or will be in heaven, so we ought to have seen no particle of fire on the earth. But now it is so not only on the lands, but even under the lands, so that the summits of mountains belch it forth; besides which, in the uses of men, we see both that fire is on the earth and that it is born from the earth: since indeed it is born both from woods and from stones, which are without doubt terrestrial bodies. But that fire, they say, is tranquil, pure, harmless, everlasting: but this one is turbid, smoky, corruptible, and a corruptor. Yet it does not corrupt the mountains in which it continually boils, and the caverns of the lands. But let it be, let this one be unlike that one, so that it may be suitable for terrestrial habitations: why therefore do they not wish us to believe that the nature of terrestrial bodies, having eventually been made incorruptible, will be suitable for heaven, just as now corruptible fire is suitable for these lands? They therefore bring forward nothing from the weights and order of the elements by which they may prescribe to God almighty from making our bodies such that they may also be able to dwell in heaven.

CHAPTER XII.

Against the calumnies of the infidels, with which they deride the Christians concerning the believed resurrection of the flesh.

1. But they are accustomed to inquire most scrupulously, and in so inquiring to deride the faith by which we believe that the flesh will rise again: Whether aborted fetuses rise again? And since the Lord says, "Amen I say to you, a hair of your head shall not perish" (Luke XXI, 18): whether stature and strength will be equal to all, or whether there will be diverse quantities of bodies? For if there will be equality of bodies, whence will those aborted ones have what they did not have here in the mass of the body, if they also rise again? Or if they do not rise again, because they were not born but cast out, they turn the same question concerning infants, whence the measure of body which we now see to have been lacking comes to them when they die at this age. For we are not about to say that those will not rise again who are capable not only of generation but even of regeneration. Then they ask what mode that same equality will have.

Si enim tam magni et tam longi erunt omnibus, quam fuerunt quicumque hic fuerunt maximi atque longissimi, non solum de parvulis, sed de plurimis quaerunt, unde illis accessurum sit, quod hic defuit, si hoc quisque recipiet, quod hic habuit. Si autem, quod ait Apostolus, occursuros nos omnes in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi (Ephes. IV, 13); et illud alterum, Quos praedestinavit conformes imaginis Filii sui (Rom. VIII, 29), sic intelligendum est, ut statura et modus Christi corporis omnium qui in regno ejus erunt, humanorum corporum sit futurus: Multis erit, inquiunt, de magnitudine et longitudine corporis detrahendum: et ubi jam erit, Capillus capitis vestri non peribit, si de ipsa corporis quantitate tam multum peribit? Quamvis et de ipsis capillis possit inquiri, utrum redeat quidquid tondentibus decedit. Quod si rediturum est, quis non exhorreat illam deformitatem? Nam hoc et de unguibus videtur necessario secuturum, ut redeat tam multum quod corporis curatura desecuit. Et ubi erit decus? quod certe majus, quam in ista esse corruptione potuit, in illa jam immortalitate esse debbit. Si autem non redibit, ergo peribit: quomodo ergo, inquiunt, capillus capitis non peribit? De macie quoque vel pinguedine similiter disputant. Nam si aequales omnes erunt; non utique alii macri, alii pingues erunt. Accedet ergo aliis aliquid, aliis minuetur. Ac per hoc, non quod erat recipiendum, sed alicubi addendum est, quod non fuit; et alicubi perdendum, quod fuit.

2. De ipsis etiam corruptionibus et dilapsionibus corporum mortuorum, cum aliud vertatur in pulverem, in auras aliud exhaletur; sint quos bestiae, sint quos ignis absumat; naufragio vel quibuscumque aquis ita quidam pereant, ut eorum carnes in humorem putredo dissolvat; non mediocriter permoventur, atque omnia ista recolligi in carnem et reintegrari posse non credunt. Consectantur etiam quasque foeditates et vitia, sive accedant, sive nascantur: ubi et monstrosos partus cum horrore atque irrisione commemorant, et requirunt quaenam cujusque deformitatis resurrectio sit futura. Si enim nihil tale redire in corpus hominis dixerimus, responsionem nostram de locis vulnerum, cum quibus Dominum Christum resurrexisse praedicamus, se confuturos esse praesumunt. Sed inter haec omnia quaestio difficillima illa proponitur, in cujus carnem reditura sit caro, qua corpus alterius, vescentis humana viscera fame compellente, nutritur. In carnem quippe conversa est ejus, qui talibus vixit alimentis; et ea quae macies ostenderat detrimenta, supplevit.

For if all will be as large and as tall as whoever were largest and tallest here, they ask not only about infants but about very many, whence that which was lacking here will come to them, if each one will receive what he had here. But if that which the Apostle says, "that we all meet in the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ" (Ephes. IV, 13); and that other, "Whom He predestinated to be conformed to the image of His Son" (Rom. VIII, 29), is to be understood so that the stature and mode of the body of Christ will be that of all the human bodies who will be in His kingdom: then, they say, for many there must be a subtraction from the magnitude and length of the body: and where will it then be that "a hair of your head shall not perish," if so much will perish from the quantity of the body itself? Although it can also be inquired concerning the hairs themselves, whether whatever has fallen to the shears returns. Which if it is to return, who would not dread that deformity? For this also seems necessarily to follow concerning the nails, that so much as the care of the body has cut off should return. And where will be the beauty? which certainly ought to be greater in that immortality than it could be in this corruption. But if it will not return, therefore it will perish: how then, they say, will a hair of the head not perish? Concerning leanness also or fatness they similarly dispute. For if all will be equal, certainly some will not be lean and others fat. Therefore something will be added to some, and diminished from others. And by this, not what was to be received, but in some places that which was not is to be added; and in some places that which was is to be lost.

2. Concerning the very corruptions and dissolutions of dead bodies, when one thing is turned into dust, another is exhaled into the air; there are those whom beasts, those whom fire consumes; some perish in shipwreck or any waters in such a way that putrefaction dissolves their flesh into liquid; they are not moderately moved, and they do not believe that all these things can be recollected into flesh and reintegrated. They also pursue any foulnesses and defects, whether they come upon one or are born with one: where they also commemorate monstrous births with horror and derision, and inquire what kind of resurrection there will be for each deformity. For if we say that nothing of that kind returns into the body of man, they presume they will confute our response concerning the places of the wounds with which we preach the Lord Christ rose again. But among all these that most difficult question is proposed, into whose flesh that flesh should return by which the body of another, eating human entrails when compelled by hunger, is nourished. For it has been converted into the flesh of him who lived on such nourishments; and it supplied those detriments which leanness had shown.

Utrum ergo illi redeat homini cujus caro prius fuit, an illi potius cujus postea facta est, ad hoc percontantur, ut fidem resurrectionis illudant: ac sic animae humanae, aut alternantes, sicut Plato, veras infelicitates falsasque promittant beatitudines; aut post multas itidem per diverse corpora revolutiones, aliquando tamen eam, sicut Porphyrius, finire miseras, et ad eas nunquam redire fateantur; non tamen corpus habendo immortale, sed corpus omne fugiendo.

CAPUT XIII.

An abortivi non pertineant ad resurrectionem, si pertinent ad numerum mortuorum.

Ad haec ergo quae ab eorum parte contraria, me dirigente, mihi videntur opposita, misericordia Dei meis nisibus opem ferente, respondeam. Abortivos fetus, qui, cum jam vixissent in utero, ibi sunt mortui, resurrecturos ut affirmare, ita negare non audeo: quamvis non videam quomodo ad eos non pertineat resurrectio mortuorum, si non eximuntur de numero mortuorum. Aut enim non omnes mortui resurgunt, et erunt aliquae humanae animae sine corporibus in aeternum, quae corpora humana, quamvis intra viscera materna, gestarunt: aut si omnes animae humanae recipient resurgentia sua corpora, quae habuerunt ubicumque viventia, et morientia reliquerunt, non invenio quemadmodum dicam ad resurrectionem non pertinere mortuorum, quoscumque mortuos etiam in uteris matrum. Sed utrumlibet de his quisque sentiat, quod de jam natis infantibus dixerimus, hoc etiam de illis intelligendum est, si resurgent.

CAPUT XIV.

An infantes in ea sint resurrecturi habitudine corporis, quam habituri erant aetatis accessu.

Quid ergo de infantibus dicturi sumus, nisi quia non in ea resurrecturi sunt corporis exiguitate, qua mortui; sed quod eis tardius accessurum erat tempore, hoc sunt illo Dei opere miro atque celerrimo recepturi? In sententia quippe Domini, ubi ait, Capillus capitis vestri non peribit (Luc. XXI, 18), dictum est non defuturum esse quod fuit, non autem negatum est adfuturum esse quod defuit. Defuit autem infanti mortuo perfecta quantitas sui corporis: perfecto quippe infanti deest utique perfectio magnitudinis corporalis; quae cum accesserit, jam statura longior esse non possit.

Whether therefore it should return to that man whose flesh it was before, or rather to him whose it was made afterwards, they inquire for this purpose, that they may illude the faith of the resurrection: and thus they either promise to human souls true unhappiness and false beatitudes alternating, like Plato; or after many revolutions likewise through diverse bodies, they at last confess that it finishes its miseries, like Porphyry, and never returns to them; yet not by having an immortal body, but by fleeing all body.

CHAPTER XIII.

Whether aborted fetuses do not belong to the resurrection, if they belong to the number of the dead.

To these things, therefore, which from their contrary part seem opposed to me as I direct my course, let me respond, the mercy of God bringing aid to my efforts. Aborted fetuses, which, when they had already lived in the womb, died there, I do not dare either to affirm or to deny that they will rise again: although I do not see how the resurrection of the dead does not belong to them, if they are not exempted from the number of the dead. For either not all the dead will rise again, and there will be some human souls without bodies for eternity, which carried human bodies, although within the maternal entrails: or if all human souls will receive their rising bodies, which they had wherever they were living and left when dying, I do not find how I should say that any who died even in the wombs of their mothers do not belong to the resurrection of the dead. But whichever of these each one thinks, what we say concerning infants already born is to be understood also concerning those, if they rise again.

CHAPTER XIV.

Whether infants are to rise again in that habit of body which they were to have by the access of age.

What therefore are we to say of infants, except that they are not to rise again in that smallness of body in which they died; but that what was to come to them later in time, they are to receive by that wonderful and most swift work of God? For in the sentence of the Lord, where He says, "A hair of your head shall not perish" (Luke XXI, 18), it was said that what was will not be lacking, but it was not denied that what was lacking will be present. But the perfect quantity of his body was lacking to the dead infant: for to the perfect infant the perfection of corporal magnitude is certainly lacking; which when it has come, his stature can then be no longer.

Hunc perfectionis modum sic habent omnes, ut cum illo concipiantur atque nascantur; sed habent in ratione, non in mole: sicut ipsa jam membra omnia sunt latenter in semine, cum etiam natis nonnulla adhuc desint, sicut dentes, ac si quid ejusmodi. In qua ratione uniuscujusque materiae indita corporali, jam quodammodo, ut ita dicam, liciatum esse videtur, quod nondum est, imo quod latet, sed accessu temporis erit, vel potius apparebit. In hac ergo infans jam brevis aut longus est, qui brevis longusve futurus est. Secundum hanc rationem profecto in resurrectione corporis detrimenta corporis non timemus: quia, etsi aequalitas futura esset omnium, ita ut omnes usque ad giganteas magnitudines pervenirent, ne illi qui maximi fuerunt, minus haberent aliquid in statura, quod eis contra sententiam Christi periret, qui dixit, nec capillum capitis esse peritum; Creatori utique qui creavit cuncta de nihilo, quomodo desse posset, unde adderet quod addendum esse mirus artifex nosset?

CAPUT XV.

An ad Dominici corporis modum omnium mortuorum resurrectura sint corpora.

Sed utique Christus in ea mensura corporis, in qua est mortuus, resurrexit, nec fas est dicere, cum resurrectionis omnium tempus venerit, accessuram corpori ejus eam magnitudinem, quam non habuit, quando in ea discipulis, in qua illis erat notus, apparuit, ut longissimis fieri possit aequalis. Si autem dixerimus ad Dominici corporis modum etiam quorumque majora corpora redigenda, peribit de multorum corporibus plurimum, cum ipse nec capillum peritum esse promiserit. Restat ergo, ut suam recipiat quisque mensuram, quam vel habuit in juventute, etiamsi senex est mortuus; vel fuerat habiturus, si est ante defunctus. Atque illud quod commemoravit Apostolus de mensura aetatis plenitudinis Christi (Ephes. IV, 13), aut propter aliud intelligamus dictum esse, id est, ut illi capiti in populis Christianis accedente omnium perfectione membrorum aetatis ejus mensura compleatur; aut, si hoc de resurrectione corporum dictum est, sic accipiamus dictum, ut nec ultra, nec infra juvenilem formam resurgant corpora mortuorum; sed in ejus aetate et robore, usque ad quam Christum hic pervenisse cognovimus. Circa triginta quippe annos definierunt esse etiam saeculi hujus doctissimi homines juventutem: quae cum fuerit spatio proprio terminata, inde jam hominem in detrimenta vergere gravioris ac senilis aetatis. Et ideo non esse dictum, In mensuram corporis; vel, In mensuram staturae: sed, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi.

All have this mode of perfection in such a way that they are conceived and born with it; but they have it in reason, not in mass: just as all the limbs themselves are already latently in the seed, since even to those born some are still lacking, as teeth and suchlike. In which reason of each material implanted in the body, already in a certain way, so to speak, that which is not yet, or rather what is hidden, seems to be woven, but by the access of time it will be, or rather will appear. In this therefore an infant is already short or tall, who is to be short or tall. According to this reason, indeed, in the resurrection of the body we do not fear the detriments of the body: because, even if there were to be equality of all, so that all should reach even to gigantic magnitudes, lest those who were largest should have anything less in stature, which would perish to them against the sentence of Christ, who said that not even a hair of the head was to perish; how could there be lacking to the Creator, who created all things from nothing, that from which He might add what the wonderful Artisan knew was to be added?

CHAPTER XV.

Whether the bodies of all the dead are to rise again according to the mode of the Lord's body.

But certainly Christ rose again in that measure of body in which He died, nor is it right to say that when the time of the resurrection of all comes, that magnitude will come to His body which it did not have when He appeared to the disciples in that in which He was known to them, so that He might be made equal to the tallest. But if we should say that even the larger bodies of any are to be reduced to the mode of the Lord's body, very much will perish from the bodies of many, since He Himself promised that not even a hair would perish. It remains, therefore, that each one receive his own measure, which he either had in youth, even if he died an old man; or was to have had, if he died before. And that which the Apostle commemorated concerning the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ (Ephes. IV, 13), let us understand it to have been said either for another reason, that is, so that the measure of His age may be completed by the access of the perfection of all the members to that head in the Christian peoples; or, if this was said concerning the resurrection of bodies, let us so accept it as said, that the bodies of the dead may rise again neither beyond nor below the youthful form, but in that age and strength to which we have known Christ reached here. For about thirty years even the most learned men of this age have defined to be youth: which when it has been terminated by its own space, from then on the man verges into the detriments of a heavier and elderly age. And therefore it was not said, "Into the measure of the body," or "Into the measure of the stature," but "into the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ."

CAPUT XVI.

Qualis intelligenda sit sanctorum conformatio ad imaginem Filii Dei.

Illud etiam quod ait, praedestinos conformes imaginis Filii Dei (Rom. VIII, 29), potest et secundum interiorem hominem intelligi. Unde nobis alio loco dicit, Nolite conformari huic saeculo, sed reformamini in novitate mentis vestrae (Ibid. XII, 2). Ubi ergo reformamur, ne conformemur huic saeculo, ibi conformamur Dei Filio. Potest et sic accipi, ut, quemadmodum ille nobis mortalitate, ita nos illi efficiamur immortalitate conformes: quod quidem et ad ipsam resurrectionem corporum pertinet. Si autem etiam in his verbis, qua forma resurrectura sint corpora sumus admoniti; sicut illa mensura, ita et ista conformatio, non quantitatis intelligenda est, sed aetatis. Resurgent itaque omnes tam magni corpore, quam vel erant, vel futuri erant in juvenili aetate, quamvis nihil oberit, etiamsi erit infantilis vel senilis corporis forma, ubi nec mentis, nec ipsius corporis ulla remanebit infirmitas. Unde etiam si quis in eo corporis modo, in quo defunctus est, resurrecturum unquemque contendit, non est cum illo laboriosa contradictione pugnandum.

CAPUT XVII.

An in suo sexu resuscitanda atque mansura sint corpora feminarum.

Nonnulli propter hoc quod dictum est, Donec occurramus omnes in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi (Ephes. IV, 13); et, conformes imaginis Filii Dei; nec in sexu femineo resurrecturas feminas credunt, sed in virili omnes aiunt. quoniam Deus solum virum fecit ex limo, feminam ex viro. Sed mihi melius sapere videntur, qui utrumque sexum resurrecturum esse non dubitant. Non enim libido ibi erit, quae confusionis est causa. Nam priusquam peccassent, nudi erant, et non confundebantur vir et femina. Corporibus ergo illis vitia detrahentur, natura servabitur. Non est autem vitium sexus femineus: sed natura: quae tunc quidem et a concubitu et a partu immunis erit: erunt tamen membra feminea, non accommodata usui veteri, sed decori novo, quo non alliciatur aspicientis concupiscentia, quae nulla erit, sed Dei laudetur sapientia atque clementia, qui et quod non erat fecit, et liberavit a corruptione quod fecit. Ut enim in exordio generis humani de latere viri dormientis costa detracta femina fieret, Christum et Ecclesiam tali facto jam tunc prophetari oportebat.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of what sort the conformation of the saints to the image of the Son of God is to be understood.

That also which he says, "predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son" (Rom. VIII, 29), can also be understood according to the interior man. Whence he says to us in another place, "Be not conformed to this world, but be reformed in the newness of your mind" (Ibid. XII, 2). Where therefore we are reformed, lest we be conformed to this world, there we are conformed to the Son of God. It can also be so accepted that, just as He was made conformable to us in mortality, so we may be made conformable to Him in immortality: which indeed pertains even to the resurrection of bodies itself. But if even in these words we are admonished as to what form the bodies are to rise again; just as that measure, so also this conformation, is to be understood not of quantity, but of age. Therefore all will rise again as large in body as they either were, or were to be in youthful age, although it will be no hindrance even if there be the form of an infantile or senile body, where no infirmity either of mind or of the body itself will remain. Whence even if anyone contends that each one is to rise again in that mode of body in which he died, one must not fight with him in laborious contradiction.

CHAPTER XVII.

Whether the bodies of women are to be raised again and remain in their own sex.

Some, on account of what was said, "Until we all meet into a perfect man, into the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ" (Ephes. IV, 13); and, "conformed to the image of the Son of God"; believe that women will not rise again in the female sex, but they say all will rise in the male. Because God made only the man from the mud, and the woman from the man. But those seem to me to be better informed who do not doubt that both sexes will rise again. For there will be no lust there, which is the cause of confusion. For before they had sinned, they were naked, and the man and the woman were not confounded. Therefore from those bodies vices will be taken away, nature will be preserved. But the female sex is not a vice, but nature: which then indeed will be immune both from intercourse and from childbirth: yet there will be female members, not accommodated to the old use, but to a new beauty, by which the concupiscence of the beholder may not be enticed, which will be none, but the wisdom and clemency of God may be praised, who both made what was not, and delivered from corruption what He made. For as in the beginning of the human race the woman was made from the side of the sleeping man by a rib being taken away, it was necessary that Christ and the Church should be prophesied even then by such a deed.

Sopor quippe ille viri (Gen. II, 21), mors erat Christi, cujus exanimis in cruce pendentis latus lancea perforatum est, atque inde sanguis et aqua profluxit (Joan. XIX, 34): quae sacramenta esse novimus, quibus aedificatur Ecclesia. Nam hoc etiam verbo Scriptura usa est, ubi non legitur, Formavit, aut Finxit; sed, Aedificavit eam in mulierem (Gen. II, 22): unde et Apostolus aedificationem dicit corporis Christi (Ephes. IV, 12), quod est Ecclesia. Creatura est ergo Dei femina, sicut vir: sed ut de viro fieret, unitas commendata; ut autem illo modo fieret, Christus, ut dictum est, et Ecclesia figurata est. Qui ergo utrumque sexum instituit, utrumque restituet. Denique et ipse Jesus interrogatus a Sadducaeis, qui negabant resurrectionem, cujus septem fratrum erit uxor, quam singuli habuerunt, dum quisque eorum vellet defuncti semen, sicut Lex praeceperat, excitare: Erratis, inquit, nescientes Scripturas, neque virtutem Dei (Matth. XXII, 29). Et cum locus esset, ut diceret, De qua enim me interrogatis, vir erit etiam ipsa, non mulier; non hoc dixit: sed dixit, In resurrectione enim neque nubent, neque uxores ducent, sed sunt sicut Angeli Dei in coelo (Ibid. 30). Aequales utique Angelis immortalitate ac felicitate, non carne: sicut nec resurrectione, qua non indiguerunt Angeli; quoniam nec mori potuerunt. Nuptias ergo Dominus futuras negavit esse in resurrectione, non feminas: et ibi negavit, ubi talis quaestio vertebatur, ut eam negato sexu muliebri celeriore facilitate dissolveret, si eum ibi praenosceret non futurum: imo etiam futurum esse firmavit dicendo, Non nubent, quod ad feminas pertinet; neque uxores ducent, quod ad viros, Erunt ergo, quae vel nubere hic solent, vel ducere uxores: sed ibi hoc non facient.

CAPUT XVIII.

De viro perfecto, id est Christo, et corpore ejus, id est Ecclesia, quae est ipsius plenitudo.

Proinde quod ait Apostolus, occursuros nos omnes in virum perfectum, totius ipsius circumstantiam lectionis considerare debemus, quae ita se habet: Qui descendit, inquit, ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes coelos, ut adimpleret omnia. Et ipse dedit quosdam quidem Apostolos, quosdam autem Prophetas, quosdam vero Evangelistas, quosdam autem pastores et doctores, ad consummationem sanctorum, in opus ministerii, in aedificationem corporis Christi, donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei, et agnitionem Filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi:

For that sleep of the man (Gen. II, 21) was the death of Christ, whose side, as He hung lifeless on the cross, was pierced by a spear, and thence blood and water flowed out (John XIX, 34): which we know to be sacraments by which the Church is built. For the Scripture used this very word, where it is not read, 'He formed,' or 'He fashioned,' but, 'He built her into a woman' (Gen. II, 22): whence also the Apostle says the building up of the body of Christ (Ephes. IV, 12), which is the Church. Therefore the woman is a creature of God, just as the man: but that she might be made from the man, unity was commended; but that she might be made in that way, Christ, as has been said, and the Church were figured. He therefore who instituted both sexes will restore both. Finally, Jesus Himself, being asked by the Sadducees, who denied the resurrection, whose wife of the seven brothers she shall be, whom each had, while each of them wished to raise up seed for the deceased, as the Law had commanded: 'You err,' He said, 'not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God' (Matth. XXII, 29). And since there was an opportunity for Him to say: 'Concerning whom you ask me, she herself also will be a man, not a woman'; He did not say this: but He said, 'For in the resurrection they shall neither marry, nor be given in marriage, but are as the Angels of God in heaven' (Ibid. 30). Equal certainly to the Angels in immortality and happiness, not in flesh: just as not in resurrection, which the Angels did not need; since they could not even die. Therefore the Lord denied that there would be marriages in the resurrection, not women: and He denied it there where such a question was being turned, so that He might dissolve it with quicker facility by denying the female sex, if He foreknew it would not be there: nay, He even firmed that it would be there by saying, 'They shall not marry,' which pertains to women; 'nor be given in marriage,' which pertains to men. Therefore there will be those who are either accustomed to marry here, or to take wives: but there they will not do this.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the perfect man, that is Christ, and His body, that is the Church, which is His fullness.

Therefore, as to what the Apostle says, that we shall all meet into a perfect man, we ought to consider the circumstance of the whole passage of the reading, which holds itself thus: "He who descended," he says, "is the same also who ascended above all the heavens, that He might fill all things. And He gave some indeed Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the consummation of the saints, into the work of the ministry, into the building up of the body of Christ, until we all meet into the unity of faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, into a perfect man, into the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ:

ut ultra non simus parvuli, jactati et circumlati omni vento doctrinae, in illusionem hominum, in astutia ad machinationem erroris: veritatem autem facientes in charitate augeamur in illo per omnia, qui est caput Christus; ex quo totum corpus connexum, et compactum per omnem tactum subministrationis, secundum operationem in mensuram uniuscujusque partis, incrementum corporis facit in aedificationem sui, in charitate (Ephes. IV, 10-16). Ecce qui est vir perfectus, caput et corpus, quod constat omnibus membris, quae suo tempore complebuntur. Quotidie tamen eidem corpori accedunt, dum aedificatur Ecclesia, cui dicitur, Vos autem estis corpus Christi, et membra (I Cor. XII, 27). Et alibi, Pro corpore, inquit, ejus, quod est Ecclesia (Coloss. I, 24). Itemque alibi, Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus (I Cor. X, 17) De cujus corporis aedificatione et hic dictum est, Ad consummationem sanctorum, in opus ministerii, in aedificationem corporis Christi. ac deinde subjectum unde nunc agimus, Donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei, et agnitionem Filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi, et caetera; donec eadem mensura in corpore intelligenda esset, ostenderet, dicens: Augeamur in illo per omnia, qui est caput Christus; ex quo totum corpus connexum, et compactum per omnem tactum subministrationis, secundum operationem in mensuram uniuscujusque partis. Sicut est ergo mensura uniuscujusque partis; ita totius corporis, quod omnibus suis partibus constat, est utique mensura plenitudinis, de qua dictum est: In mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi. Quam plenitudinem etiam illo commemoravit loco, ubi ait de Christo: Et ipsum dedit caput super omnia Ecclesiae, quae est corpus ejus, plenitudo ejus, qui omnia in omnibus impletur (Ephes. I, 22 et 23). Verum si hoc ad resurrectionis formam, in qua erit unusquisque, referendum esset; quid nos impediret nominato viro intelligere et feminam, ut virum pro homine positum acciperemus? Sicut in eo quod dictum est, Beatus vir qui timet Dominum (Psal. CXI, 1): utique ibi sunt et feminae, quae timent Dominum.

CAPUT XIX.--Quod omnia corporis vitia, quae in hac vita humano contraria sunt decori, in resurrectione non sint futura, ubi manente naturali substantia, in unam pulchritudinem et qualitas concurret et quantitas.

1. Quid jam respondeam de capillis atque unguibus? Semel quippe intellecto ita nihil perituum esse de corpore, ut deforme nihil sit in corpore, simul intelligitur ea quae deforme factura fuerant enormitatem, massae ipsi accessura esse, non locis in quibus membrorum forma turpetur.

that we may no longer be children, tossed and carried about by every wind of doctrine, in the illusion of men, in craftiness for the machination of error: but doing the truth in charity, let us grow in Him through all things, who is the head Christ; from whom the whole body connected, and compacted through every touch of subministration, according to the operation into the measure of each part, makes the increase of the body into the building up of itself, in charity" (Ephes. IV, 10-16). Behold who is the perfect man, head and body, which consists of all members, which in their own time will be completed. Yet daily they are added to the same body, while the Church is being built, to which it is said, 'Now you are the body of Christ, and members' (I Cor. XII, 27). And elsewhere, 'For His body,' he says, 'which is the Church' (Coloss. I, 24). And likewise elsewhere, 'One bread, one body are we many' (I Cor. X, 17). Concerning the building up of which body it was also said here, 'For the consummation of the saints, into the work of ministry, into the building up of the body of Christ.' and then the subject of which we are now treating was added, 'Until we all meet into the unity of faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, into a perfect man, into the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ,' and the rest; until the same measure should be understood in the body, he showed, saying: 'Let us grow in Him through all things, who is the head Christ; from whom the whole body connected, and compacted through every touch of subministration, according to the operation into the measure of each part.' As therefore there is a measure of each part; so of the whole body, which consists of all its parts, there is certainly a measure of fullness, concerning which it was said: 'Into the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ.' Which fullness he also commemorated in that place, where he says of Christ: 'And He gave Him head over all things for the Church, which is His body, the fullness of Him, who is filled all in all' (Ephes. I, 22 and 23). But if this were to be referred to the form of the resurrection, in which each one will be; what would prevent us from understanding even woman when man is named, so that we might accept man placed for human? Just as in that which was said, 'Blessed is the man who fears the Lord' (Psal. CXI, 1): certainly there are also women there who fear the Lord.

CHAPTER XIX.---That all the vices of the body, which in this life are contrary to human beauty, will not be in the resurrection, where the natural substance remains, and both quality and quantity will concur in one beauty.

1. What shall I now answer concerning the hair and the nails? For once it is understood that nothing of the body will so perish that there be nothing deformed in the body, it is simultaneously understood that those things which were about to make a deformed enormity will be added to the mass itself, not to the places in which the form of the members might be made base.

Velut si de limo vas fieret, quod rursus in eumdum limum redactum totum de toto iterum fieret, non esset necesse ut illa pars limi, quae in ansa fuerat, ad ansam rediret, aut quae fundum fecerat, ipsa rursus faceret fundum; dum tamen totum reverteretur in totum, id est, totus ille limus in totum vas nulla sui perdita parte remearet. Quapropter si capilli toties tondi unguesve desecti ad loca sua deformiter redeunt, non redibunt: nec tamen cuique resurgenti peribunt, quia in eandem carnem, ut quemcumque ibi locum corporis teneant, servata partium congruentia, materiae mutabilitate vertentur. Quamvis quod ait Dominus, Capillus capitis vestri non peribit (Luc. XXI, 18), non de longitudine, sed de numero capillorum dictum multo aptius possit intelligi. Unde et alibi dicit, Capilli capitis vestri numerati sunt omnes (Luc. XII, 7). Neque hoc ideo dixerim, quod aliquid existimem corpori cuiquam perituum, quod naturaliter inerat; sed quod deforme natum fuerat (non utique ob aliud, nisi ut hinc quoque ostenderetur, quam sit poenalis conditio ista mortalium), sic esse rediturum, ut servata integritate substantiae, deformitas pereat. Si enim statuam potest artifex homo, quam propter aliquam causam deformem fecerat, conflare, et pulcherrimam reddere, ita ut nihil inde substantiae, sed sola deformitas pereat, ac si quid in illa figura priore indecenter exstabat, nec parilitate partium congruebat, non de toto, unde fecerat, amputare atque separare, sed ita conspergere universo atque miscere, ut nec foeditatem faciat, nec minuat quantitatem; quid de omnipotente Artifice sentiendum est? Ergone non poterit quasque deformitates humanorum corporum, non modo usitatas, verum etiam raras atque monstrosas, quae huic miserae vitae congruunt, abhorrent autem ab illa futura felicitate sanctorum, sic auferre ac perdere, ut quascumque earum faciunt, etsi naturalia, tamen indecora excrementa substantiae corporalis, nulla ejus diminutione tollantur?

2. Ac per hoc non est macris pinguibusve metuendum, ne ibi etiam tales sint, quales, si possent, nec hic esse voluissent. Omnis enim corporis pulchritudo est partium congruentia cum quadam coloris suavitate. Ubi autem non est partium congruentia, aut ideo quid offendit, quia pravum est, aut ideo quia parum, aut ideo quia nimium. Proinde nulla erit deformitas, quam facit incongruentia partium, ubi et quae prava sunt corrigentur; et quod minus est quam decet, unde Creator novit, inde supplebitur; et quod plus est quam decet, materiae servata integritate, detrahetur.

As if from mud a vessel were made, which being again reduced into the same mud, the whole were made again from the whole, it would not be necessary that that part of the mud which had been in the handle should return to the handle, or that which had made the bottom should itself again make the bottom; provided that the whole returned into the whole, that is, all that mud returned into the whole vessel with no part of itself lost. Wherefore if the hair so often cut or the nails shorn return deformingly to their own places, they will not return: and yet they will not perish for any one rising again, because they will be turned into the same flesh, so that they may hold whatever place of the body there, the congruence of parts being preserved, by the mutability of the matter. Although what the Lord says, "A hair of your head shall not perish" (Luke XXI, 18), can much more aptly be understood to be said not of the length, but of the number of the hairs. Whence also He says elsewhere, "All the hairs of your head are numbered" (Luke XII, 7). Nor would I say this for this reason, that I think anything will perish for any body which was naturally in it; but that what had been born deformed (certainly for no other reason than that from here also it might be shown how penal this condition of mortals is), is so to return that, the integrity of the substance being preserved, the deformity may perish. For if a man who is an artificer can melt down a statue which he had made deformed for some cause, and restore it most beautiful, so that nothing of the substance, but only the deformity perishes, and if anything in that prior figure stood out indecently, nor agreed with the parity of the parts, he does not cut off and separate it from the whole whence he had made it, but so sprinkles and mixes it with the whole, that it neither makes foulness, nor diminishes the quantity; what is to be thought of the omnipotent Artificer? Shall He therefore not be able so to take away and lose any deformities of human bodies, not only usual ones, but even rare and monstrous ones, which agree with this miserable life, but are abhorrent from that future happiness of the saints, so that whatever they make of them, even if natural, yet unseemly excrements of the corporal substance, they may be taken away with no diminution of it?

2. And through this it is not to be feared by the thin or the fat, lest they be there such as they would not have wished to be even here, if they could. For all beauty of the body is a congruence of parts with a certain sweetness of color. But where there is not congruence of parts, either something offends because it is warped, or because it is too little, or because it is too much. Therefore there will be no deformity which the incongruence of parts makes, where even those things which are warped will be corrected; and what is less than is becoming, from whence the Creator knows, thence will be supplied; and what is more than is becoming, the integrity of the matter being preserved, will be taken away.

Coloris porro suavitas quanta erit, ubi iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris sui (Matth. XIII, 43)? Quae claritas in Christi corpore, cum resurrexit, ab oculis discipulorum potius abscondita fuisse, quam defuisse credenda est. Non enim eam ferret humanus atque infirmus aspectus, quando ille a suis ita deberet attendi, ut posset agnosci. Quo pertinuit etiam, ut contrectantibus ostenderet suorum vulnerum cicatrices; ut etiam cibum potumque sumeret, non alimentorum indigentia, sed ea qua et hoc poterat potestate. Cum autem aliquid non videtur, quamvis adsit, a quibus alia, quae pariter adsunt, videntur, sicut illam claritatem dicimus adfuisse non visam, a quibus alia videbantur, ἀσπασία graece dicitur: quod nostri interpretes latine dicere non valentes, in libro Geneseos caecitatem interpretati sunt. Hanc enim passi sunt Sodomitae, quando quaerebant ostium iusti viri, nec poterant invenire (Gen. XIX, 11). Quae si caecitas fuisset, qua fit ut nihil possit videri, non ostium quo ingrederentur, sed duces itineris a quibus inde abducerentur, inquirerent.

3. [XX.] Nescio quo autem modo sic afficimur amore martyrum beatorum, ut velimus in illo regno in eorum corporibus videre vulnerum cicatrices, quae pro Christi nomine pertulerunt: et fortasse videbimus. Non enim deformitas in eis, sed dignitas erit, et quaedam, quamvis in corpore, non corporis, sed virtutis pulchritudo fulgebit. Nec ideo tamen si aliqua martyribus amputata et ablata sunt membra, sine ipsis membris erunt in resurrectione mortuorum, quibus dictum est, Capillus capitis vestri non peribit. Sed si hoc decebit in illo novo saeculo, ut indicia gloriosorum vulnerum in illa immortalis carne cernantur, ubi membra, ut praeciderentur, percussa vel secta sunt, ibi cicatrices, sed tamen eisdem membris redditae, non perditae, apparebunt. Quamvis itaque omnia quae acciderunt corpori vitia, tunc non erunt; non sunt tamen deputanda vel appellanda vitia virtutis indicia.

CAPUT XX.

Quod in resurrectione mortuorum natura corporum quibuslibet modis dissipatorum in integrum undecumque revocanda sit.

1. Absit autem ut ad resuscitanda corpora vitaeque reddenda non possit omnipotentia Creatoris omnia revocare, quae vel bestiae, vel ignis absumpsit, vel in pulverem cineremve collapsum, vel in humorem solutum, vel in auras est exhalatum. Absit ut sinus ullus secretumque naturae ita recipiat aliquid subtractum sensibus nostris, ut omnium Creatoris aut lateat cognitionem, aut effugiat potestatem.

Furthermore, how great will be the sweetness of color, where 'the just shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father' (Matth. XIII, 43)? Which brightness in Christ's body, when He rose again, is to be believed to have been hidden from the eyes of the disciples, rather than to have been lacking. For human and weak sight would not bear it, when He ought to be so attended to by His own, that He might be recognized. To which also it pertained that He showed the scars of His wounds to those touching Him; that He even took food and drink, not from indigence of nourishment, but by that power by which He could also do this. But when something is not seen, although it be present, by those by whom other things, which are equally present, are seen, just as we say that brightness was present not seen, by those by whom other things were seen, it is called *aorasia* in Greek: which our interpreters not being able to say in Latin, have interpreted as 'blindness' in the book of Genesis. For this the Sodomites suffered, when they sought the door of the just man, and could not find it (Gen. XIX, 11). Which if it had been blindness, by which it happens that nothing can be seen, they would have inquired not for the door by which they might enter, but for leaders of the journey by whom they might be led away from there.

3. [XX.] But I know not in what way we are so affected by the love of the blessed martyrs, that we wish to see in that kingdom in their bodies the scars of the wounds which they bore for the name of Christ: and perhaps we shall see. For there will not be deformity in them, but dignity, and a certain beauty of virtue will shine, although in the body, yet not of the body. Nor yet, if any members were amputated and taken away from the martyrs, will they be without those same members in the resurrection of the dead, to whom it was said, 'A hair of your head shall not perish.' But if it shall be becoming in that new age that the indications of glorious wounds be discerned in that immortal flesh, where members were struck or cut so that they might be cut off, there scars will appear, but yet with the same members restored, not lost. Therefore, although all vices which happened to the body then will not be; yet indications of virtue are not to be deputed or called vices.

CHAPTER XX.

That in the resurrection of the dead the nature of bodies dissipated in whatever modes is to be recalled into the whole from everywhere.

1. Far be it, however, that for the bodies to be raised and restored to life the omnipotence of the Creator cannot recall all things, which either beasts or fire have consumed, or which have collapsed into dust or ashes, or have been dissolved into humor, or have been exhaled into the air. Far be it that any bosom and secret of nature should so receive anything withdrawn from our senses, that it either lies hidden from the knowledge of the Creator of all, or escapes His power.

Deum certe volens, sicut poterat, definire Cicero tantus auctor ipsorum, Mens quaedam, inquit, est soluta et libera, secreta ab omni concretionem mortali, omnia sentiens et movens, ipsaque praedita motu sempiterno (Tuscul. lib. 1, cap. 27). Hoc autem reperit in doctrinis magnorum philosophorum. Ut igitur secundum ipsos loquar, quomodo aliquid vel latet omnia sentientem, vel irrevocabiliter fugit omnia moventem?

2. Unde jam etiam quaestio illa solvenda est, quae difficilior videtur caeteris: ubi quaeritur, cum caro mortui hominis etiam alterius fit viventis caro, cui potius eorum in resurrectione reddatur. Si enim quispiam confectus fame atque compulsus vescatur cadaveribus hominum, quod malum aliquoties accidisse, et vetus testatur historia, et nostrorum temporum infelicia experimenta docuerunt; num quisquam veridica ratione contendet, totum digestum fuisse per imos meatus, nihil inde in ejus carnem mutatum atque conversum, cum ipsa macies quae fuit et non est, satis indicet quae illis escis detrimenta suppleta sint? Jam itaque aliqua paulo ante praemisi, quae ad istum quoque nodum solvendum valere debebunt. Quidquid enim carniū exhaustit fames, utique in auras est exhalatum: unde diximus omnipotentem Deum posse revocare quod fugit. Reddetur ergo caro illa homini, in quo esse caro humana primitus coepit. Ab illo quippe altero tanquam mutuo sumpta deputanda est: quae sicut aes alienum, ei redhibenda est, unde sumpta est. Sua vero illi, quem fames exinanierat, ab eo qui potest etiam exhalata revocare, reddetur. Quamvis etsi omnibus perisset modis, nec ulla ejus materies in ullis naturae latebris remansisset, unde vellet, eam repararet Omnipotens. Sed propter sententiam Veritatis, qua dictum est, Capillus capitis vestri non peribit; absurdum est ut putemus, cum capillus hominis perire non possit, tantas carnes fame depastas atque consumptas perire potuisse.

3. Quibus omnibus pro nostro modulo consideratis atque tractatis, haec summa conficitur, ut in resurrectione carnis in aeternum eas mensuras habeat corporum magnitudo, quas habebat perficiendae sive perfectae cujusque indita corpori ratio juventutis, in membrorum quoque omnium modulis congruo decore servato. Quod decus ut servetur, si aliquid demptum fuerit indecenti alicui granditati in parte aliqua constitutae, quod per totum spargatur, ut neque id pereat, et congruentia partium ubique teneatur, non est absurdum, ut aliquid inde etiam staturae corporis addi posse credamus; cum omnibus partibus, ut decorem custodiant, id distribuitur, quod si enormiter in una esset, utique non deceret.

Cicero, so great an author of theirs, wishing to define God as best he could, says: 'He is a certain mind, loose and free, separate from all mortal concretion, sensing and moving all things, and Himself endowed with perpetual motion' (Tuscul. lib. 1, cap. 27). But this he found in the doctrines of the great philosophers. Therefore, that I may speak according to them, how does anything either lie hidden from Him who senses all things, or irrevocably flee from Him who moves all things?

2. Whence now also that question is to be solved, which seems more difficult than the rest: where it is asked, when the flesh of a dead man becomes also the flesh of another living man, to which of them rather it should be restored in the resurrection. For if anyone worn out by hunger and compelled should feed on the corpses of men, which evil that it has sometimes happened both ancient history testifies and the unhappy experiments of our own times have taught; will anyone contend with truthful reason that the whole was digested through the lowest passages, and nothing from it was changed and converted into his flesh, when the very thinness which was and is not, sufficiently indicates what detriments were supplied by those foods? Already therefore I have premised some things a little before, which ought to be valid for solving this knot also. For whatever flesh hunger has exhausted, certainly has been exhaled into the air: whence we said that the omnipotent God can recall what has fled. Therefore that flesh will be restored to the man in whom it first began to be human flesh. For from that other it is to be deputed as if taken on loan: which, like a debt (*aes alienum*), is to be returned to him from whom it was taken. But his own will be restored to him whom hunger had emptied, by Him who can also recall what has been exhaled. Although even if it had perished in all modes, nor any matter of it had remained in any recesses of nature, the Omnipotent would repair it from whence He willed. But on account of the sentence of Truth, by which it was said, 'A hair of your head shall not perish,' it is absurd that we should think that, since a hair of a man cannot perish, so much flesh consumed and devoured by hunger could have perished.

3. All which things having been considered and treated according to our small measure, this sum is made up: that in the resurrection of the flesh the magnitude of bodies should have those measures for eternity which the ratio of youth, either to be perfected or already perfected, had implanted in each body, the congruent beauty also being preserved in the modules of all the members. To preserve which beauty, if anything shall have been taken away from any indecent largeness established in some part, that it may be scattered through the whole, so that it neither perishes, and the congruence of the parts is everywhere held, it is not absurd that we believe something can be added even to the stature of the body; since that is distributed to all the parts so that they may guard their beauty, which if it were enormously in one, would certainly not be becoming.

Aut si contenditur in ea quemque statura corporis resurrecturum esse, in qua defunctus est, non pugnaciter resistendum est; tantum absit omnis deformitas, omnis infirmitas, omnis tarditas, omnisque corruptio, et si quid aliud illud non decet regnum, in quo resurrectionis et promissionis filii aequales erunt Angelis Dei, si non corpore, non aetate, certe felicitate.

CAPUT XXI.

De novitate corporis spiritualis, in quam sanctorum caro mutabitur.

Restituetur ergo et quidquid de corporibus vivis, vel post mortem de cadaveribus periit, et simul cum eo quod in sepulcris remansit, in spiritualis corporis novitatem ex animalis corporis vetustate mutatum resurget, incorruptione atque immortalitate vestitum. Sed etsi vel casu aliquo gravi vel inimicorum immanitate totum penitus conteratur in pulverem, atque in auras vel in aquas dispersum quantum fieri potest, nusquam esse sinatur omnino, nullo modo subtrahi poterit omnipotentiae Creatoris, sed capillus in eo capitis non peribit. Erit ergo spiritui subdita caro spiritualis, sed tamen caro, non spiritus: sicut carni subditus fuit spiritus ipse carnalis, sed tamen spiritus, non caro. Cujus rei habemus experimentum in nostrae poenae deformitate. Non enim secundum carnem, sed utique secundum spiritum carnales erant, quibus ait Apostolus: Non potui vobis loqui quasi spiritualibus, sed quasi carnalibus (I Cor. III, 1). Et homo spiritualis sic in hac vita dicitur, ut tamen corpore adhuc carnalis sit, et videat aliam legem in membris suis repugnantem legi mentis suae (Rom. VII, 23): erit autem etiam corpore spiritualis, cum eadem caro sic resurrexerit, ut fiat quod scriptum est, Seminatur corpus animale, resurget corpus spirituale (I Cor. XV, 42). Quae sit autem, et quam magna spiritualis corporis gratia, quoniam nondum venit in experimentum, vereor ne temerarium sit omne quod de illa profertur eloquium. Verumtamen quia spei nostrae gaudium propter Dei laudem non est tacendum, et de intimis ardentis sancti amoris medullis dictum est, Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae (Psal. XXV, 8): de donis ejus quae in hac aerumnosissima vita bonis malisque largitur, ipso adjuvante, conjiciamus, ut possumus, quantum sit illud, quod nondum experti, utique digne eloqui non valemus. Omitto enim quando fecit hominem rectum; omitto vitam illam duorum conjugum in paradisi fecunditate felicem, quoniam tam brevis fuit, ut ad nascentium sensum nec ipsa pervenerit: in hac quam novimus, in qua adhuc sumus, cujus tentationes, imo quam totam tentationem, quamdiu in ea sumus, quantumlibet proficiamus, perpeti non desinimus, quae sint indicia circa genus humanum bonitatis Dei, quis poterit explicare?

Or if it is contended that each one will rise again in that stature of body in which he died, one must not resist pugnaciously; provided that all deformity, all infirmity, all slowness, and all corruption be absent, and if there be anything else that does not become that kingdom, in which the children of the resurrection and of the promise will be equal to the Angels of God, if not in body, not in age, certainly in happiness.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the newness of the spiritual body, into which the flesh of the saints will be changed.

Therefore, whatever perished from living bodies, or from corpses after death, will be restored, and simultaneously with that which remained in the tombs, it will rise again, changed from the oldness of the animal body into the newness of a spiritual body, clothed with incorruption and immortality. But even if by some grave chance or by the cruelty of enemies it be entirely ground into dust, and dispersed into the air or into the waters as much as can be, so that it is allowed to be nowhere at all, in no way can it be withdrawn from the omnipotence of the Creator, but a hair of the head in it shall not perish. Therefore the spiritual flesh will be subject to the spirit, but yet flesh, not spirit: just as the carnal spirit itself was subject to the flesh, but yet spirit, not flesh. Of which thing we have experience in the deformity of our punishment. For not according to the flesh, but certainly according to the spirit were they carnal, to whom the Apostle says: 'I could not speak to you as to spiritual, but as to carnal' (I Cor. III, 1). And a man is called spiritual in this life so that yet in body he is still carnal, and sees another law in his members fighting against the law of his mind (Rom. VII, 23): but he will be spiritual even in body, when the same flesh shall have so risen again, that that which is written may be done, 'An animal body is sown, a spiritual body will rise again' (I Cor. XV, 42). But what the grace of the spiritual body is, and how great, since it has not yet come into experience, I fear lest all speech which is brought forth concerning it be rash. Nevertheless, because the joy of our hope is not to be kept silent on account of the praise of God, and from the inmost marrows of burning holy love it was said, 'Lord, I have loved the beauty of Your house' (Psal. XXV, 8): from His gifts which He bestows on the good and the bad in this most laborious life, let us conjecture, by Him helping, as we can, how great that is, which not yet having experienced, we certainly are not able to speak of worthily. For I omit when He made man upright; I omit that life of the two spouses happy in the fecundity of paradise, since it was so brief, that it did not even reach to the sense of those being born: in this which we know, in which we still are, whose temptations, nay which whole temptation, as long as we are in it, however much we may profit, we do not cease to endure, what are the indications around the human race of the goodness of God, who will be able to explain?

CAPUT XXII.

De miseriis ac malis, quibus humanum genus merito primae praevaricationis obnoxium est, et a quibus nemo nisi per Christi gratiam liberatur.

1. Nam quod ad primam originem pertinet, omnem mortalium progeniem fuisse damnatam, haec ipsa vita, si vita dicenda est, tot et tantis malis plena testatur. Quid enim aliud indicat horrenda quaedam profunditas ignorantiae, ex qua omnis error existit, qui omnes filios Adam tenebroso quodam sinu suscipit, ut homo ab illo liberari sine labore, dolore, timore non possit? Quid amor ipse tot rerum vanarum atque noxiarum, et ex hoc mordaces curae, perturbationes, moerores, formidines, insana gaudia, discordiae, lites, bella, insidiae, iracundiae, inimicitiae, fallacia, adulatio, fraus, furtum, rapina, perfidia, superbia, ambitio, invidentia, homicidia, parricidia, crudelitas, saevitia, nequitia, luxuria, petulantia, impudentia, impudicitia, fornicationes, adulteria, incesta, et contra naturam utriusque sexus tot stupra atque immunditiae, quas turpe est etiam dicere, sacrilegia, haereses, blasphemiae, perjuria, oppressiones innocentium, calumniae, circumventiones, praevaricationes, falsa testimonia, iniqua iudicia, violentiae, latrocinia, et quidquid talium malorum in mentem non venit, et tamen de vita ista hominum non recedit? Verum haec hominum sunt malorum, ab illa tamen erroris et perversi amoris radice venientia, cum qua omnis filius Adam nascitur. Nam quis ignorat cum quanta ignorantia veritatis, quae jam in infantibus manifesta est; et cum quanta abundantia vanae cupiditatis, quae in pueris incipit apparere, homo veniat in hanc vitam, ita ut si dimittatur vivere ut velit, et facere quidquid velit, in haec facinora et flagitia quae commemoravi, et quae commemorare non potui, vel cuncta vel multa perveniat?

2. Sed divina gubernatione non omni modo deserente damnatos, et Deo non continente in ira sua miserationes suas (Psal. LXXVI, 10), in ipsis sensibus generis humani prohibitio et eruditio contra istas, cum quibus nascimur, tenebras vigilant, et contra hos impetus opponuntur, plenae tamen etiam ipsae laborum et dolorum. Quid enim sibi volunt multimodae formidines, quae cohibendis parvulorum vanitatibus adhibentur? quid paedagogi, quid magistri, quid ferulae, quid lora, quid virgae, quid disciplina illa qua Scriptura sancta dicit dilecti filii latera esse tundenda, ne crescat indomitus, domarique jam durus aut vix possit, aut fortasse nec possit (Eccli. XXX, 12)? Quid agitur his poenis omnibus, nisi ut debelletur imperitia, et prava cupiditas infrenetur, cum quibus malis in hoc saeculum venimus? Quid est enim, quod cum labore meminimus, sine labore obliviscimur; cum labore discimus, sine labore nescimus; cum labore strenui, sine labore inertes sumus?

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the miseries and evils to which the human race is justly subject by the merit of the first transgression, and from which no one is delivered except through the grace of Christ.

1. For as pertains to the first origin, that the whole progeny of mortals was condemned, this very life, if it is to be called life, full of so many and so great evils, testifies. For what else does a certain horrendous depth of ignorance indicate, from which all error exists, which receives all the children of Adam into a certain dark bosom, so that man cannot be delivered from it without labor, pain, and fear? What the love itself of so many vain and noxious things, and from this biting cares, perturbations, sorrows, fears, insane joys, discords, strifes, wars, snares, wraths, enmities, fallacy, adulation, fraud, theft, rapine, perfidy, pride, ambition, envy, homicides, parricides, cruelty, savagery, wickedness, luxury, petulance, impudence, impudicity, fornications, adulteries, incests, and against the nature of both sexes so many defilements and impurities, which it is base even to say, sacrileges, heresies, blasphemies, perjuries, oppressions of the innocent, calumnies, circumventions, prevarications, false testimonies, iniquitous judgments, violences, robberies, and whatever of such evils does not come to mind, and yet does not recede from this life of men? Truly these are of evil men, yet coming from that root of error and perverse love with which every son of Adam is born. For who is ignorant with how great ignorance of truth, which is already manifest in infants; and with how great abundance of vain cupidity, which begins to appear in boys, man comes into this life, so that if he were allowed to live as he willed, and to do whatever he willed, he would arrive at all or many of these crimes and shames which I have commemorated, and which I have not been able to commemorate?

2. But with the divine government not in every way deserting the condemned, and God not containing His mercies in His wrath (Psal. LXXVI, 10), in the very senses of the human race prohibition and erudition watch against those darknesses with which we are born, and are opposed against these impulses, yet they themselves full of labors and pains. For what do the manifold fears mean, which are applied for restraining the vanities of little ones? What pedagogues, what teachers, what ferules, what thongs, what rods, what that discipline by which the Holy Scripture says the sides of a beloved son are to be beaten, lest he grow up untamed, and being already hardened can either scarcely be tamed, or perhaps not at all (Eccli. XXX, 12)? What is done by all these punishments, except that ignorance may be overcome, and perverse cupidity may be bridled, with which evils we have come into this world? For what is it, that with labor we remember, without labor we forget; with labor we learn, without labor we are ignorant; with labor we are strenuous, without labor we are inert?

Nonne hinc apparet in quid velut pondere suo proclivis et prona sit vitiosa natura, et quanta ope, ut hinc liberetur, indigeat? Desidia, segnities, pigritia, negligentia, vitia sunt utique quibus labor fugitur, cum labor ipse, etiam qui est utilis, poena sit.

3. Sed praeter pueriles poenas, sine quibus disci non potest quod maiores volunt, qui vix aliquid utiliter volunt, quot et quantis poenis genus agitetur humanum, quae non ad malitiam nequitiamque iniquorum, sed ad conditionem pertinent miseriamque communem, quis ullo sermone digerit, quis ulla cogitatione comprehendit? Quantus est metus, quanta calamity ab orbitatibus atque luctu, a damnis et damnationibus, a deceptionibus et mendaciis hominum, a suspicionibus falsis, ab omnibus violentis facinoribus et sceleribus alienis? quandoquidem ab eis et depraeditio, et captivitas, et vincula, et carceres, et exsilia, et cruciatus, et amputatio membrorum, et privatio sensuum, et oppressio corporis ad obscenam libidinem opprimentis explendam, et alia multa horrenda saepe contingunt. Quid ab innumeris casibus qui forinsecus corpori formidantur, aestibus et frigorigibus, tempestatibus, imbribus, alluvionibus, coruscatione, tonitru, grandine, fulmine, motibus hiatibusque terrarum, oppressionibus ruinarum, ab offensione et pavore vel etiam malitia jumentorum, a tot venenis fruticum, aquarum, aurarum, bestiarum, a ferarum vel tantummodo molestis vel etiam mortiferis morsibus, a rabie quae contingit ex rabido cane, ut etiam blanda et amica suo domino bestia nonnunquam vehementius et amarius quam leones draconesque metuatur, faciatque hominem, quem forte attaminaverit, contagione pestifera ita rabiosum, ut a parentibus, conjuge, filiis, pejus omni bestia formidetur? Quae mala patiuntur navigantes? quae, terrena itinera gradientes? Quis ambulat ubicumque non inopinatis subjacens casibus? De foro quidam rediens domum sanis pedibus suis, cecidit, pedem fregit, et ex illo vulnere finivit hanc vitam. Quid videtur sedente securius? De sella in qua sedebat Heli sacerdos, et mortuus est (I Reg. IV, 18). Agricolae, imo vero omnes homines quot et quantos a coelo et terra, vel a perniciosis animalibus casus metuunt agrorum fructibus? Solent tamen de frumentis tandem collectis et reconditis esse securi. Sed quibusdam, quod novimus, proventum optimum frumentorum fluvius improvisus, fugientibus hominibus, de horreis ejecit atque abstulit.

Does it not appear from here into what, as if by its own weight, a vicious nature is declivitous and prone, and how much help it needs to be delivered from here? Sloth, sluggishness, laziness, negligence, are certainly vices by which labor is fled, since labor itself, even that which is useful, is a punishment.

3. But besides the childish punishments, without which that which the elders will cannot be learned, who themselves scarcely will anything usefully, with how many and how great punishments is the human race agitated, which pertain not to the malice and wickedness of the iniquitous, but to the common condition and misery, who can digest in any speech, who can comprehend in any thought? How great is the fear, how great the calamity from bereavements and grief, from losses and condemnations, from deceptions and lies of men, from false suspicions, from all violent crimes and the deeds of others? since from them both depredation, and captivity, and bonds, and prisons, and exiles, and tortures, and amputation of members, and privation of senses, and oppression of the body for fulfilling the lust of the oppressor, and many other horrendous things often happen. What from the innumerable accidents which are feared from without for the body, heats and colds, tempests, showers, floods, lightning, thunder, hail, thunderbolts, motions and openings of the earth, oppressions of ruins, from the offense and fear or even the malice of beasts of burden, from so many poisons of shrubs, waters, airs, beasts, from the bites of wild animals whether merely troublesome or even deadly, from the rabies which happens from a rabid dog, so that even a mild and friendly beast to its own master is sometimes feared more vehemently and bitterly than lions and dragons, and makes the man, whom it has perchance tainted, so rabid by the pestiferous contagion, that he is feared by parents, spouse, children, worse than every beast? What evils do those who sail suffer? what those who walk on earthly journeys? Who walks anywhere not subject to unexpected accidents? A certain man returning home from the forum with his own healthy feet, fell, broke his foot, and from that wound finished this life. What seems more secure than one sitting? From the seat in which he was sitting Heli the priest fell, and died (I Sam. IV, 18). Farmers, nay indeed all men, how many and how great accidents from heaven and earth, or from pernicious animals, do they fear for the fruits of the fields? Yet they are accustomed to be secure concerning the grains at length collected and stored. But for some, as we know, an unforeseen river cast out and took away the best yield of grains from the barns, while the men were fleeing.

Contra milleformes daemonum incursus, quis innocentia sua fudit? quandoquidem ne quis fideret, etiam parvulos baptizatos, quibus certe nihil est innocentius, aliquando sic vexant, ut in eis maxime Deo sinente, ista monstretur hujus vitae flenda calamitas, et alterius desideranda felicitas. Jam vero de ipso corpore tot existunt morborum mala, ut nec libris medicorum cuncta comprehensa sint. In quorum pluribus ac pene omnibus etiam ipsa adjumenta et medicamenta tormenta sunt, ut homines a poenarum exitio poenali eruantur auxilio. Nonne ad hoc perduxit sitientes homines ardor immanis, ut urinam quoque humanam vel etiam suam biberent? nonne ad hoc fames, ut a carnibus hominum abstinere se non possent, nec inventos homines mortuos, sed propter hoc a se occisos, nec quoslibet alienos, verum etiam filios matres incredibili crudelitate, quam rabida esuries faciebat, absumerent? Ipse postremo somnus, qui proprie quietis nomen accepit, quis verbis explicet saepe somniorum visis quam sit inquietus; et quam magnis, licet falsarum rerum, terroribus, quas ita exhibet, et quodammodo exprimit, ut a veris eas discernere nequeamus, animam miseram sensusque perturbet? Qua falsitate visorum etiam vigilantes in quibusdam morbis et venenis miserabilius agitantur : quamvis multimoda varietate fallaciae homines etiam sanos maligni daemones nonnunquam decipiant talibus visis, ut, etiamsi eos per haec ad sua traducere non potuerint, sensus tamen eorum solo appetitu qualitercumque persuadendae falsitatis illudant.

CAPUT XXIII.---De his quae, praeter illa mala quae bonis malisque communia sunt, ad justorum laborem specialiter pertinent. Praeter haec autem mala hujus vitae bonis malisque communia, habent in ea justi etiam proprios quosdam labores suos, quibus adversus vitia militant, et in talium praeliorum tentationibus periculisque versantur. Aliquando enim concitatus, aliquando remissius, non tamen desinit caro concupiscere adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus carnem, ut non ea quae volumus faciamus (Galat. V, 17), omnem malam concupiscentiam consumendo; sed eam nobis, quantum divinitus adjuti possumus, non ei consentiendo subdamus, vigiliis continuis excubantes, ne opinio veri similis fallat, ne decipiat sermo versutus, ne se tenebrae alicujus erroris offundant, ne quod bonum est malum, aut quod malum est bonum esse credatur, ne ab his quae agenda sunt metus revocet, ne in ea quae agenda non sunt cupido praecipitet, ne super iracundiam sol occidat (Ephes. IV, 26),

Against the thousandfold incursions of demons, who trusts in his own innocence? since lest anyone should trust, they sometimes so vex even baptized little ones, in whom certainly nothing is more innocent, that in them especially, with God permitting, this deplorable calamity of this life may be shown, and the desirable happiness of another. Now indeed from the body itself so many evils of diseases exist, that not even in the books of physicians are all comprehended. In more and almost all of which even the aids and medicaments themselves are torments, so that men may be rescued from the destruction of punishments by a penal help. Did not an immense heat lead thirsty men to this, that they drank also human urine or even their own? did not hunger to this, that they could not abstain themselves from the flesh of men, nor did they consume men found dead, but for this killed by themselves, nor just any strangers, but even mothers consumed their sons with incredible cruelty, which a rabid hunger made? Finally, sleep itself, which properly took the name of repose, who can explain in words how unquiet it often is by the visions of dreams; and with how great terrors, though of false things, which it so exhibits, and in a certain way expresses, that we are unable to discern them from true ones, it disturbs the miserable soul and the senses? By which falsity of visions even those waking in certain diseases and poisons are more miserably agitated: although by a manifold variety of fallacy the malignant demons sometimes deceive even healthy men with such visions, so that, even if they have not been able to translate them to their own things through these, yet they may mock their senses by the mere appetite of persuading a falsity in whatever way.

CHAPTER XXIII.---Of those things which, besides those evils which are common to the good and the evil, specially pertain to the labor of the just. Besides these evils of this life common to the good and the evil, the just also have in it certain proper labors of their own, by which they militate against vices, and are engaged in the temptations and dangers of such battles. For sometimes more excitedly, sometimes more remissly, yet the flesh does not cease to lust against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, so that we do not do the things that we would (Gal. 5:17), by consuming all evil concupiscence; but let us subject it to ourselves, as much as we can being divinely helped, by not consenting to it, keeping watch in continuous vigils, lest a probable opinion deceive, lest a crafty speech beguile, lest the darkness of any error pour itself over us, lest what is good be believed to be evil, or what is evil to be good, lest fear recall us from those things which are to be done, lest desire precipitate us into those things which are not to be done, lest the sun go down upon our wrath (Eph. 4:26),

ne inimicitiae provocent ad retributionem mali pro malo, ne absorbeat in honesta vel immoderata tristitia, ne impertiendorum beneficiorum ingerat mens ingrata torporem, ne maledicis rumoribus bona conscientia fatigetur, ne temeraria de alio suspicio nos nostra decipiat, ne aliena de nobis falsa nos frangat, ne regnet peccatum in nostro mortali corpore ad obediendum desideriis ejus, ne membra nostra exhibeantur iniquitatis arma peccato (Rom. VI, 12, 13), ne oculus sequatur concupiscentiam, ne vindicandi cupiditas vineat, ne in eo quod male delectat, vel visio vel cogitatio remoretur, ne improbum aut indecens verbum libenter audiatur, ne fiat quod non licet, etiamsi libet, ne in hoc bello laborum periculorumque plenissimo vel de viribus nostris speretur facienda victory, vel viribus nostris facta tribuatur, sed ejus gratiae, de quo ait Apostolus: Gratias autem Deo, qui dat nobis victoriam per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum (I Cor. XV, 57). Qui et alio loco, In his, inquit, omnibus supervincimus per eum qui dilexit nos (Rom. VIII, 37). Sciamus tamen quantalibet virtute praeliandi vitiis repugnemus, vel etiam vitia superemus et subjugemus, quamdiu sumus in hoc corpore, nobis deesse non posse unde dicamus Deo, Dimitte nobis debita nostra (Matth. VI, 12). In illo autem regno ubi semper cum corporibus immortalibus erimus, nec praelia nobis erunt ulla, nec debita; quae nusquam et nunquam essent, si natura nostra, sicut recta creata est, permaneret. Ac per hoc etiam noster iste conflictus, in quo periclitamur, et de quo nos victoria novissima cupimus liberari, ad vitae hujus mala pertinet, quam tot tantorumque testimonio malorum probamus esse damnatam.

CAPUT XXIV.

De bonis quibus etiam hanc vitam damnationi obnoxiam Creator implevit.

1. Jam nunc considerandum est, hanc ipsam miseriam generis humani, in qua laudatur justitia punientis, qualibus et quam multis impleverit bonis ejusdem bonitas, cuncta quae creavit administrantis. Primum benedictionem illam quam protulerat ante peccatum, dicens, Crescite, et multiplicamini, et replete terram (Gen. I, 28), nec post peccatum voluit inhibere, mansitque in stirpe damnata donata fecunditas; nec illam vim mirabilem seminum, imo etiam mirabiliorem qua efficiuntur et semina, inditam corporibus humanis et quodammodo intextam, peccati vitium potuit auferre, quo nobis impacta est etiam necessitas mortis: sed utrumque simul currit isto quasi fluvio atque torrente generis humani; malum quod a parente trahitur, et bonum quod a creante tribuitur.

lest enmities provoke to the retribution of evil for evil, lest an unseemly or immoderate sadness absorb us, lest an ungrateful mind bring on a torpor in imparting benefits, lest a good conscience be fatigued by slanderous rumors, lest a rash suspicion of another deceive us, lest a false one of others concerning us break us, lest sin reign in our mortal body for obeying its desires, lest our members be yielded as instruments of iniquity to sin (Rom. 6:12, 13), lest the eye follow concupiscence, lest the desire of avenging overcome us, lest in that which delighteth evilly, either vision or thought remain, lest a wicked or indecent word be willingly heard, lest that be done which is not lawful, even if it be pleasing, lest in this war most full of labors and dangers either victory be hoped for from our own strengths, or being achieved be attributed to our own strengths, but to His grace, of whom the Apostle says: "But thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. 15:57). Who also in another place says, "In all these things we more than conquer through him that loved us" (Rom. 8:37). Let us know, however, that with whatever great virtue of battling we resist vices, or even overcome and subjugate vices, as long as we are in this body, it cannot be lacking to us whence we may say to God, "Forgive us our debts" (Matt. 6:12). But in that kingdom where we shall be forever with immortal bodies, there will be neither any battles for us, nor debts; which would be nowhere and never, if our nature, as it was created upright, had remained. And by this also this conflict of ours, in which we are endangered, and from which we desire to be delivered by the final victory, pertains to the evils of this life, which we prove by the testimony of so many and so great evils to be condemned.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the goods with which the Creator has filled even this life subject to condemnation.

1. Now indeed it must be considered, this very misery of the human race, in which the justice of the punisher is praised, with what sort of and how many goods His goodness, who administers all things which He created, has filled it. First, that blessing which He had uttered before sin, saying, "Increase, and multiply, and fill the earth" (Gen. 1:28), He would not inhibit even after sin, and the gifted fecundity remained in the condemned stock; nor could the fault of sin, by which also the necessity of death was impacted upon us, take away that wonderful force of seeds, nay indeed more wonderful by which even seeds are made, engrafted in human bodies and in a certain way inwoven: but both run together in this as it were river and torrent of the human race; the evil which is drawn from the parent, and the good which is attributed from the Creator.

In originali malo duo sunt, peccatum atque supplicium: in originali bono alia duo, propagatio et conformatio. Sed quantum ad praesentem pertinet intentionem nostram, de malis, quorum unum de nostra venit audacia, id est peccatum, alterum de iudicio Dei, id est supplicium, jam satis diximus. Nunc de bonis Dei, quae ipsi quoque vitatae damnataeque naturae contulit, sive usque nunc confert, dicere institui. Neque enim damnando aut totum abstulit quod dederat, alioquin nec esset omnino; aut eam removet a sua potestate, etiam eum diabolo poenaliter subdidit, cum nec ipsum diabolum a suo alienaverit imperio; quandoquidem ut ipsius quoque diaboli natura subsistat, ille facit qui summe est, et facit esse quidquid aliquo modo est.

2. Duorum igitur illorum, quae diximus bona etiam in naturam peccato vitiatam supplicioque damnatam de bonitatis ejus quodam veluti fonte manare, propagatio-nem in primis mundi operibus benedictione largitus est, a quibus operibus die septimo requievit. Conformatio vero in illo ejus est opere, quo usque nunc operatur (Joan. VI, 17). Efficacem quippe potentiam suam si rebus subtrahat, nec progredi poterunt et suis dimensis motibus peragere tempora, nec prorsus in eo quod creatae sunt aliquatenus permanebunt. Sic ergo creavit hominem Deus, ut illi adderet fertilitatem quamdam, qua homines alios propagaret, congenerans eis ipsam etiam propagandi possibilitatem, non necessitatem, quibus tamen voluit hominibus abstulit eam Deus, et steriles fuerunt: non tamen generi humano abstulit semel datam primis duobus conjugibus benedictionem generandi. Haec ergo propagatio quamvis peccato ablata non fuerit, non tamen etiam ipsa talis est, qualis fuisset, si nemo peccasset. Ex quo enim homo in honore positus, posteaquam deliquit, comparatus est pecoribus (Psal. XLVIII, 13.), similiter generat: non in eo tamen penitus extincta est quaedam velut scintilla rationis, in qua factus est ad imaginem Dei. Huic autem propagationi si conformatio non adhiberetur, nec ipsa in sui generis formas modosque procederet. Si enim non concubuissent homines, et nihilo minus Deus vellet implere terras hominibus; quomodo creavit unum sine commixtione maris et feminae, sic posset omnes: concumbentes vero nisi illo creante generantes esse non possunt.

In original evil there are two things, sin and punishment: in original good another two, propagation and conformation. But as much as pertains to our present intention, concerning the evils, of which one comes from our audacity, that is sin, the other from the judgment of God, that is punishment, we have already said enough. Now I have instituted to speak concerning the goods of God, which He has conferred, or even until now confers, upon the same vitiated and condemned nature. For neither by condemning did He take away the whole of what He had given, otherwise it would not be at all; nor did He remove it from His power, even though He penally subjected it to the devil, since He did not alienate even the devil himself from His empire; since indeed that the nature of the devil himself may subsist, He makes who is supremely, and makes to be whatever in any way is.

2. Of those two things, therefore, which we said that goods even in a nature vitiated by sin and condemned by punishment flow as if from a certain fountain of His goodness, He bestowed propagation in the first works of the world by a blessing, from which works He rested on the seventh day. But conformation is in that work of His, by which He works until now (John 5:17). For if He should withdraw His efficacious power from things, they will neither be able to proceed and through their measured motions finish their times, nor will they remain at all in that in which they were created to any extent. So therefore God created man, that He might add to him a certain fertility, by which he might propagate other men, congenerating in them even the very possibility of propagating, not a necessity, from which men nevertheless God took it away when He willed, and they were sterile: yet He did not take away from the human race the blessing of generating once given to the first two spouses. This propagation, therefore, although it was not taken away by sin, yet even itself is not such as it would have been if no one had sinned. For since man being placed in honor, after he transgressed, was compared to the beasts (Ps. 49:13), he generates in like manner: yet there is not in him entirely extinguished a certain as it were spark of reason, in which he was made to the image of God. But to this propagation if conformation were not applied, it would not proceed into the forms and modes of its own kind. For if men had not copulated, and nevertheless God willed to fill the lands with men; as He created one without the commixture of male and female, so He could all: but those copulating cannot be generating unless He is creating.

Sicut ergo ait Apostolus de institutione spirituali, qua homo ad pietatem justitiamque formatur, Neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat; sed qui incrementum dat Deus (I Cor. III, 7), ita etiam hic dici potest, Nec qui concumbit, nec qui seminat, est aliquid; sed qui format Deus. Nec mater quae conceptum portat, et partum nutrit, est aliquid; sed qui incrementum dat Deus. Ipse namque operatione, qua nunc usque operatur, facit ut numeros suos explicent semina, et a quibusdam latentibus atque invisibilibus involucris in formas visibiles hujus quod aspicimus decoris evolvant. Ipse incorpoream corporeamque naturam, illam praepositam, istam subjectam, miris modis copulans et connectens, animantem facit. Quod opus ejus tam magnum et mirabile est, ut non solum in homine, quod est animal rationale, et ex hoc cunctis terrenis animantibus excellentius atque praestantius, sed in qualibet minutissima muscula bene consideranti stuporem mentis ingerat, laudemque pariat Creatoris.

3. Ipse itaque animae humanae mentem dedit, ubi ratio et intelligentia in infante sopita est quodammodo, quasi nulla sit, excitanda scilicet atque exserenda aetatis accessu, qua sit scientiae capax atque doctrinae, et habilis perceptioni veritatis et amoris boni: qua capacitate hauriat sapientiam virtutibusque sit praedita, quibus prudenter, fortiter, temperanter, et juste, adversus errores et caetera ingenerata vitia dimicet, eaque nullius rei desiderio nisi boni illius summi atque immutabilis vincat. Quod etsi non faciat, ipsa talium bonorum capacitas in natura rationali divinitus instituta quantum sit boni, quam mirabile opus Omnipotentis, quis competenter effatur, aut cogitat? Praeter enim artes bene vivendi et ad immortalem perveniendi felicitatem, quae virtutes vocantur, et sola Dei gratia, quae in Christo est, filiis promissionis regni-que donantur, nonne humano ingenio tot tantaeque artes sunt inventae et exercitae, partim necessariae, partim voluptariae, ut tam excellens vis mentis atque rationis in his etiam rebus quas superfluas, imo et periculosas perniciosasque appetit, quantum bonum habeat in natura, unde ista potuit vel invenire, vel discere, vel exercere, testetur? Vestimentorum et aedificiorum ad opera quam mirabilia, quam stupenda, industria humana pervenerit; quo in agricultura, quo in navigatione profecerit; quae in fabricatione quorumque vasorum, vel etiam statuarum et picturarum varietate excogitaverit et impleverit; quae in theatris mirabilia spectantibus, audientibus incredibilia facienda et exhibenda molita sit; in capiendis, occidendis, domandis irrationalibus animantibus quae et quanta repererit:

Just as therefore the Apostle says concerning the spiritual institution, by which man is formed to piety and justice, "Neither he that planteth is anything, nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase" (1 Cor. 3:7), so also here it can be said, Neither he who copulates, nor he who sows, is anything; but God who forms. Nor is the mother who carries the conception, and nourishes the offspring, anything; but God who giveth the increase. For He Himself by the operation, by which He works even until now, makes that seeds unfold their numbers, and from certain latent and invisible involvements evolve into the visible forms of this beauty which we behold. He Himself, joining and connecting in wonderful ways the incorporeal and corporeal nature, that one set over, this one subjected, makes a living being. Which work of His is so great and wonderful, that not only in man, who is a rational animal, and from this more excellent and outstanding than all earthly living beings, but in any most minute little fly it may bring a stupor of mind to one well considering, and bring forth praise of the Creator.

3. He therefore gave to the human soul a mind, where reason and intelligence is as it were asleep in an infant, as if it were nothing, to be excited, namely, and put forth by the access of age, whereby it may be capable of knowledge and learning, and fit for the perception of truth and the love of the good: by which capacity it may draw wisdom and be endowed with virtues, with which it may prudently, strongly, temperately, and justly, fight against errors and other ingenerated vices, and overcome them by the desire of nothing except that highest and immutable good. Which even if it does not do, how great a good this very capacity of such goods in a rational nature divinely instituted is, how wonderful a work of the Omnipotent, who can competently speak or think? For besides the arts of living well and of arriving at immortal happiness, which are called virtues, and are given only by the grace of God, which is in Christ, to the children of the promise and of the kingdom, have not so many and so great arts been invented and exercised by human genius, partly necessary, partly for pleasure, so that the power of the mind and reason, so excellent in these things also which it appetites as superfluous, nay even as dangerous and pernicious, may testify how great a good it has in its nature, whence it was able either to find out, or to learn, or to exercise these things? To what wonderful, what stupendous works human industry has arrived in the works of vestments and buildings; how much it has profited in agriculture, how much in navigation; what things it has excogitated and fulfilled in the fabrication of whatever vessels, or even in the variety of statues and pictures; what wonderful things for spectators, incredible things for hearers, it has labored to do and exhibit in theaters; what and how great things it has found in capturing, killing, and taming irrational animals:

adversus ipsos homines tot genera venenorum, tot armorum, tot machinamentorum, et pro salute mortali tuenda atque reparanda quot medicamenta atque adjumenta comprehenderit: pro voluptate faucium quot condimenta et gulae irritamenta reperit: ad indicandas et suadendas cogitationes, quam multitudinem varietatemque signorum, ubi praecipuum locum verba et litterae tenent; ad delectandos animos, quos elocutionis ornatus, quam diversorum carminum copiam; ad mulcendas aures, quot organa musica, quos cantilenae modos excogitaverit: quantam peritiam dimensionum atque numerorum, meatusque et ordines siderum quanta sagacitate comprehenderit: quam multa rerum mundanarum cognitione se impleverit, quis possit eloqui, maxime si velimus non acervatim cuncta congerere, sed in singulis immorari? In ipsis postremo erroribus et falsitatibus defendendis, quam magna claruerint ingenia philosophorum atque haereticorum, quis aestimare sufficiat? Loquimur enim nunc de natura mentis humanae, qua ista vita mortalis ornatur, non de fide atque itinere veritatis, qua illa immortalis acquiritur. Hujus tantae naturae conditor cum sit utique Deus verus et summus, ipso cuncta quae fecit administrante et summam potestatem summamque habente justitiam, nunquam profecto in has miseras decidisset, atque ex his, praeter eos solos qui liberabuntur, in aeternas esset itura, nisi nimis grande peccatum in homine primo, de quo caeteri exorti sunt, praecessisset.

4. Jam vero in ipso corpore, quamvis nobis sit cum belluis mortalitate commune, multisque earum reperiatur infirmius, quanta Dei bonitas, quanta providentia tanti Creatoris apparet? Nonne ita sunt in eo loca sensuum et caetera membra disposita, speciesque ipsa ac figura et statura totius corporis ita modificata, ut ad ministerium animae rationalis se indicet factum? Non enim ut animalia rationis expertia prona esse videmus in terram, ita creatus est homo: sed erecta in coelum corporis forma admonet eum quae sursum sunt sapere. Porro mira mobilitas, quae linguae ac manibus attributa est, ad loquendum et scribendum apta atque conveniens, et ad opera artium plurimarum officiorumque complenda, nonne satis ostendit, quali animae ut serviret tale sit corpus adjunctum? Quanquam et detractis necessitatibus operandi, ita omnium partium congruentia numerosa sit, et pulchra sibi parilitate respondeat, ut nescias utrum in eo condendo major sit utilitatis habita ratio, quam decoris. Certe enim nihil creatum videmus in corpore utilitatis causa, quod non habeat etiam decoris locum. Plus autem nobis id appareret, si numeros mensurarum, quibus inter se cuncta connexa sunt et coaptata, nossemus: quos forsitan data opera in his quae foris eminent, humana posset vestigare solertia; quae vero tecta sunt, atque a nostris remota conspectibus, sicuti est tanta perplexitas venarum atque nervorum et viscerum, secreta vitalium, invenire nullus potest.

against men themselves how many kinds of poisons, how many of arms, how many of engines, and for protecting and repairing mortal health how many medicaments and aids it has comprehended: for the pleasure of the throat how many condiments and irritations of gluttony it has found: for indicating and persuading thoughts, what a multitude and variety of signs, where words and letters hold the principal place; for delighting minds, what ornaments of elocution, what a copiousness of diverse poems; for soothing the ears, how many musical organs, what modes of song it has excogitated: how great a skill of dimensions and numbers, and with how great sagacity it has comprehended the courses and orders of the stars: with how much knowledge of mundane things it has filled itself, who could speak, especially if we should wish not to heap all together in a mass, but to dwell on each? Finally, in defending errors and falsities themselves, how great geniuses of philosophers and heretics have shone forth, who may suffice to estimate? For we speak now of the nature of the human mind, by which this mortal life is adorned, not of the faith and the way of truth, by which that immortal one is acquired. Since indeed the founder of this so great a nature is the true and highest God, with Himself administering all things which He made, and having the highest power and the highest justice, it would never surely have fallen into these miseries, and would not be about to go from these into eternal ones, except those alone who shall be delivered, unless a too great sin in the first man, from whom the rest have sprung, had preceded.

4. Now indeed in the body itself, although it be common to us with the beasts in mortality, and be found weaker than many of them, how great the goodness of God, how great the providence of so great a Creator appears! Are not the places of the senses and the other members so disposed in it, and the very species and figure and stature of the whole body so modified, that it indicates itself to have been made for the ministry of the rational soul? For man was not created as we see the animals void of reason prone to the earth: but the erect form of the body towards heaven admonishes him to mind the things that are above. Furthermore, the wonderful mobility, which is attributed to the tongue and hands, apt and convenient for speaking and writing, and for fulfilling the works of very many arts and offices, does it not sufficiently show for what kind of soul such a body was joined as a servant? Although even the necessities of working being removed, the congruence of all parts is so numerous, and responds to itself with beautiful parity, that you know not whether in founding it a greater account was held of utility than of decorum. For certainly we see nothing created in the body for the sake of utility, which has not also a place of decorum. But this would appear more to us, if we knew the numbers of the measures, by which all things are connected and coapted among themselves: which perhaps in those things which stand out without, human skill could track by given effort; but those things which are covered, and removed from our sights, as is such a perplexity of veins and nerves and viscera, the secrets of the vitals, no one can find.

Quia etsi medicorum diligentia nonnulla crudelis, quos anatomicos appellant, laniavit corpora mortuorum, sive etiam inter manus secantis perscrutantisque morientium, atque in carnibus humanis satis inhumane abdita cuncta rimata est, ut quid, et quomodo, quibus locis curandum esset addiceret; numeros tamen de quibus loquor, quibus coaptatio, quae ἀρμογία graece dicitur, tanquam cujusdam organi, extrinsecus atque intrinsecus totius corporis constat, quid dicam, nemo valuit invenire, quos nemo ausus est quaerere? Qui si noti esse potuissent, in interioribus quoque visceribus, quae nullum ostendant decus, ita delectaret pulchritudo rationis, ut omni formae apparenti quae oculis placet, ipsius mentis, quae oculis utitur, praeferretur arbitrio. Sunt vero quaedam ita posita in corpore, ut tantummodo decorem habeant, non et usum: sicut habet pectus virile mamillas, sicut facies barbam, quam non esse munimento, sed virili ornamento, indicant purae facies feminarum, quas utique infirmiores muniri tutius conveniret. Si ergo nullum membrum est, in his quidem conspicuis (unde ambigit nemo), quod ita sit alicui operi accommodatum, ut non etiam sit decorum; sunt autem nonnulla, quorum solum decus, et nullus est usus: puto facile intelligi in conditione corporis dignitatem necessitati fuisse praelatam. Transitura est quippe necessitas, tempusque venturum quando sola invicem pulchritudine sine ulla libidine perfruamur: quod maxime ad laudem referendum est Conditoris, cui dicitur in Psalmo, Confessionem et decorem induisti (Psal. CIII, 1).

5. Jam caetera pulchritudo et utilitas creaturae, quae homini, licet in istos labores miseriasque projecto atque damnato, spectanda atque sumenda divina largitate concessa est, quo sermone terminari potest? in coeli et terrae et maris multimoda et varia pulchritudine, in ipsius lucis tanta copia tamque mirabili specie, in sole ac luna et sideribus, in opacitatibus nemorum, in coloribus et odoribus florum, in diversitate ac multitudine volucrum garrularum atque pictarum, in multiformi specie tot tantorumque animantium, quorum illa plus habent admirationis, quae molis minimum (plus enim formicularum et apicularum opera stupemus, quam immensa corpora balaenarum); in ipsius quoque maris tam grandi spectaculo, cum sese diversis coloribus induit velut vestibus, et aliquando viride, atque hoc multis modis, aliquando purpureum, aliquando caeruleum est. Quam porro delectabiliter spectatur etiam quandocumque turbatur, et fit inde major suavitas, quia sic demulcet intuentem, ut non jactet et quatiat navigantem? Quid ciborum usquequaque copia contra famem? quid saporum diversitas contra fastidium, naturae diffusa divitiis, non coquorum arte ac labore quaesita? Quanta in tam multis rebus tuendae ac recuperandae salutis auxilia?

Because although the cruel diligence of physicians, whom they call anatomists, has mangled the bodies of the dead, or even between the hands of the one cutting and searching those of the dying, and has quite inhumanly searched into all hidden things in human flesh, that he might learn what, and how, in what places was to be cured; yet the numbers of which I speak, by which the coaptation, which is called harmonia in Greek, of the whole body as of a certain organ, consists from without and from within, what shall I say, no one has been able to find, which no one has dared to seek? Which if they could have been known, in the interior viscera also, which show no decorum, the beauty of reason would so delight, that it would be preferred by the judgment of the mind itself, which uses the eyes, to every apparent form which pleases the eyes. But there are indeed some things so placed in the body, that they have only decorum, and not use: as the male breast has nipples, as the face a beard, which the smooth faces of women indicate not to be for protection, but for manly ornament, whom surely it would more safely befit being weaker to be protected. If therefore no member is, among these conspicuous ones indeed (whence no one doubts), which is so accommodated to any work, that it is not also decorous; and there are some, of which there is only decorum, and no use: I think it easily understood that in the condition of the body dignity was preferred to necessity. For necessity is about to pass away, and a time is to come when we may enjoy each other's beauty alone without any lust: which is especially to be referred to the praise of the Creator, to whom it is said in the Psalm, "Thou hast put on confession and decorum" (Ps. 104:1).

5. Now the rest of the beauty and utility of the creature, which has been conceded by divine largess to man to be beheld and taken, although he be cast into these labors and miseries and condemned, in what speech can it be terminated? in the manifold and various beauty of the sky and earth and sea, in so great an abundance and so wonderful an appearance of the light itself, in the sun and moon and stars, in the opacities of groves, in the colors and odors of flowers, in the diversity and multitude of birds talkative and painted, in the multiform species of so many and so great living beings, of which those have more of admiration which have the least of mass (for we stupify more at the works of little ants and little bees, than at the immense bodies of whales); in so great a spectacle also of the sea itself, when it puts on itself various colors as it were garments, and sometimes is green, and this in many modes, sometimes purple, sometimes blue. How furthermore is it delectably beheld even whenever it is disturbed, and a greater sweetness is made thence, because it so soothes the one beholding, that it does not toss and shake the one sailing? What of the abundance of foods everywhere against hunger? what of the diversity of flavors against fastidiousness, diffused by the riches of nature, not sought by the art and labor of cooks? How many aids for protecting and recovering health in so many things?

Quam grata vicissitudo diei alternantis et noctis? Aurarum quam blanda temperies? In fruticibus et pecoribus indumentorum conficiendorum quanta materies? Omnia commemorare quis possit? Haec autem sola, quae a me velut in quemdam aggerem sunt coarctata, si vellem velut colligata involucra solvere atque discutere, quanta mihi mora esset in singulis, quibus plurima continentur? Et haec omnia miserorum sunt damnatorumque solatia, non praemia beatorum. Quae igitur illa sunt, si tot ac talia et tanta sunt ista? Quid dabit eis quos praedestinavit ad vitam, qui haec dedit etiam eis quos praedestinavit ad mortem? quae bona in illa beata vita faciet eos sumere, pro quibus in hac misera unigenitum Filium suum voluit usque ad mortem mala tanta perferre? Unde apostolus de ipsis in illud regnum praedestinatis loquens, Qui proprio, inquit, Filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum, quomodo non et cum illo omnia nobis donabit (Rom. VIII, 32). Cum haec promissio complebitur, quid erimus? quales erimus? Quae bona in illo regno accepturi sumus, quandoquidem Christo moriente pro nobis tale jam pignus accepimus? Qualis erit spiritus hominis, nullum omnino habens vitium, nec sub quo jaceat, nec cui cedat, nec contra quod saltem laudabiliter dimicet, pacatissima virtute perfectus? Rerum ibi omnium quanta, quam speciosa, quam certa scientia, sine errore aliquo vel labore, ubi Dei sapientia de ipso suo fonte potabitur, cum summa felicitate, sine ulla difficultate? Quale erit corpus, quod omni modo spiritui subditum, et eo sufficienter vivificatum, nullis alimoniis indigebit? Non enim animale, sed spirituale erit, habens quidem carnis, sed sine ulla carnali corruptione substantiam.

CAPUT XXV.---De pervicacia quorundam, qui resurrectionem carnis, quam, sicut praedictum est, totus mundus credit, impugnant. Verum de animi bonis, quibus post hanc vitam beatissimus perfruetur, non a nobis dissentiunt philosophi nobiles: de carnis resurrectione contendunt; hanc quantum possunt negant. Sed credentes multi, negantes paucissimos reliquerunt, et ad Christum, qui hoc quod istis videtur absurdum, in sua resurrectione monstravit, fideli corde conversi sunt, docti et indocti, sapientes mundi et insipientes. Hoc enim credidit mundus, quod praedixit Deus; qui etiam hoc praedixit, quod hanc rem mundus fuerat crediturus. Neque enim Petri maleficiis eam cum laude credentium tanto ante praenuntiare compulsus est. Ille est enim Deus, quem (sicut jam dixi aliquoties, nec commemorare me piget), confitente Porphyrio, atque id oraculis deorum suorum probare cupiente, ipsa numina perhorrescunt: quem sic laudavit, ut eum et Deum patrem et regem vocaret. Absit enim, ut sic intelligenda sint quae praedixit, quomodo volunt hi qui hoc cum mundo non crediderunt, quod mundum crediturum esse praedixit.

How grateful a vicissitude of alternating day and night? How mild a temperateness of the airs? In shrubs and cattle how great a material for finishing garments? Who could commemorate all things? These things alone, which have been coarcted by me as if into a certain heap, if I wished to loosen and discuss as if bound involvements, how great a delay would be for me in each, in which very many things are contained? And all these things are solaces of the miserable and condemned, not rewards of the blessed. What therefore are those, if these are so many and such and so great? What will He give to those whom He predestined to life, who gave these even to those whom He predestined to death? what goods will He make them take in that blessed life, for whom in this miserable one He willed His only-begotten Son to endure so great evils even unto death? Whence the Apostle speaking concerning those predestined in themselves into that kingdom, "He that spared not," he says, "his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" (Rom. 8:32). When this promise shall be fulfilled, what shall we be? what sort of beings shall we be? What goods are we about to receive in that kingdom, since we have already received such a pledge by Christ dying for us? What sort of will be the spirit of man, having no fault at all, neither under which it may lie, nor to which it may yield, nor against which it may at least laudably fight, perfected by a most peaceful virtue? How great, how beautiful, how certain a knowledge of all things there, without any error or labor, where the wisdom of God will be drunk from its own fountain, with the highest happiness, without any difficulty? What sort of will be the body, which in every mode subjected to the spirit, and sufficiently vivified by it, will indigit no nourishments? For it will not be animal, but spiritual, having indeed the substance of flesh, but without any carnal corruption.

CHAPTER XXV.---Of the obstinacy of certain ones, who impugn the resurrection of the flesh, which, as it was predicted, the whole world believes. But concerning the goods of the soul, which after this life it shall enjoy most blessedly, the noble philosophers do not dissent from us: they contend concerning the resurrection of the flesh; this they deny as much as they can. But the many believing have left very few denying, and have been converted with a faithful heart to Christ, who showed in His own resurrection this which seems absurd to these, both the learned and the unlearned, the wise of the world and the unwise. For the world has believed this, which God predicted; who also predicted this, that the world was about to believe this thing. For neither was He compelled to announce it so long before by the witchcrafts of Peter with the praise of the believing. For He is that God, whom (as I have already said several times, nor does it irk me to commemorate it), Porphyry confessing, and desiring to prove it by the oracles of his own gods, the very divinities dread: whom he so praised, that he called Him both God the Father and King. For far be it, that those things which He predicted are to be understood in such a way as these will who have not believed this with the world, which He predicted the world would believe.

Cur enim non potius ita, sicut crediturus tanto ante praedictus est mundus, non sicut paucissimi garriunt, qui hoc cum mundo, quod crediturus praedictus est, credere noluerunt? Si enim propterea dicunt alio modo esse credenda, ne, si dixerint vana esse conscripta, injuriam faciant illi Deo, cui tam magnum perhibent testimonium; tantam prorsus ei vel etiam graviolem faciunt injuriam, si aliter dicunt esse intelligenda, non sicut mundus ea credidit, quem crediturum ipse laudavit, ipse promisit, ipse complevit. Utrum enim non potest facere ut resurgat caro, et vivat in aeternum; an propterea credendum non est id eum esse facturum, quia malum est atque indignum Deo? Sed de omnipotentia ejus, qua tot et tanta facit incredibilia, jam multa diximus. Si volunt invenire quod omnipotentis non potest, habent prorsus: ego dicam, Mentiri non potest. Credamus ergo quod potest, non credendo quod non potest. Non itaque credentes quod mentiri possit, credant esse facturum quod se facturum esse promisit: et sic credant, sicut credidit mundus, quem crediturum esse praedixit, quem crediturum esse laudavit, quem crediturum esse promisit, quem credidisse jam ostendit. Hoc autem malum esse, unde demonstrant? Non erit illic ulla corruptio, quod est corporis malum. De ordine elementorum jam disputavimus, de aliis hominum conjecturis satis diximus: quanta sit futura in corpore incorruptibili facilitas motus, de praesentis bonae valetudinis temperamento, quae utique nullo modo illi comparanda est immortalitati, in libro tertio decimo satis, ut opinor, ostendimus. Legant superiora operis hujus, qui vel non legerunt, vel volunt recollere quod legerunt.

CAPUT XXVI.---Quomodo Porphyrii definitio, qua beatis animis putat corpus omne fugiendum, ipsius Platonis sententia destruat, qui dicit summum Deum diis promisisse, ut nunquam corporibus exuerentur.

Sed Porphyrius ait, inquiunt, ut beata sit anima, corpus omne esse fugiendum. Nihil ergo prodest quia incorruptibile diximus futurum corpus, si anima beata non erit, nisi corpus omne effugerit. Sed jam et hinc in libro memorato quantum oportuit disputavi (capp. 16, 17): verum hic unum inde tantum commemorabo.

For why not rather so, as the world was predicted so long before about to believe, not as a very few prate, who have been unwilling to believe this with the world, which was predicted about to believe? For if they say for this reason they are to be believed in another way, lest, if they should say vain things were written, they should do injury to that God, to whom they bear so great a testimony; they surely do to Him so great or even a heavier injury, if they say they are to be understood otherwise, not as the world believed them, which He Himself praised about to believe, He Himself promised, He Himself fulfilled. For is He not able to make that the flesh rise again, and live forever; or for this reason is it not to be believed that He is about to do it, because it is evil and unworthy of God? But concerning His omnipotence, by which He does so many and so great incredible things, we have already said many things. If they wish to find what the Omnipotent is not able to do, they have it indeed: I shall say, He is not able to lie. Let us believe therefore what He is able to do, by not believing what He is not able to do. Not therefore believing that He is able to lie, let them believe that He is about to do what He promised He would do: and so let them believe, as the world has believed, which He predicted would believe, which He praised would believe, which He promised would believe, which He has already shown to have believed. But that this is evil, whence do they demonstrate? There will not be there any corruption, which is the evil of the body. Concerning the order of the elements we have already disputed, concerning other conjectures of men we have said enough: how great the facility of motion is about to be in the incorruptible body, from the temperament of present good health, which surely is in no way to be compared to that immortality, we have sufficiently shown, as I think, in the thirteenth book. Let those read the previous parts of this work, who either have not read, or wish to recollect what they have read.

CHAPTER XXVI.---How Porphyry's definition, by which he thinks every body must be fled by blessed souls, is destroyed by the opinion of Plato himself, who says that the supreme God promised the gods that they should never be stripped of their bodies.

But Porphyry says, they say, that for the soul to be blessed, every body must be fled. It is of no advantage, therefore, that we have said the future body will be incorruptible, if the soul will not be blessed unless it has fled every body. But I have already disputed concerning this in the mentioned book as much as was necessary (chapters 16, 17); but here I will commemorate only one thing from there.

Emendet libros suos istorum omnium magister Plato, et dicat eorum deos, ut beati sint, sua corpora fugituros, id est, esse morituros, quos in coelestibus corporibus dixit inclusos; quibus tamen Deus, a quo facti sunt, quo possent esse securi, immortalitatem, id est, in eisdem corporibus aeternam permansionem, non eorum natura id habente, sed suo consilio praevalente, promisit. Ubi etiam evertit illud quod dicunt, quoniam est impossibile, ideo resurrectionem carnis non esse credendam. Apertissime quippe juxta eundem philosophum, ubi diis a se factis promisit Deus non factus immortalitatem, quod impossibile est, se diixit esse facturum. Sic enim eum locutum narrat Plato: Quoniam estis orti, inquit, immortales esse et indissolubiles non potestis: non tamen dissolvemini, neque vos ulla mortis fata periment, nec erunt valentiora, quam consilium meum, quod majus est vinculum ad perpetuitatem vestram, quam illa quibus estis colligati. Si, non solum absurdi, sed surdi non sunt qui haec audiunt, non utique dubitant diis factis, ab illo deo qui eos fecit, secundum Platonem, quod est impossibile fuisse promissum. Qui enim dicit, Vos quidem immortales esse non potestis, sed mea voluntate immortales eritis: quid aliud dicit, quam id quod fieri non potest, me faciente tamen eritis? Ille igitur carnem incorruptibilem, immortalem, spiritualem resuscitabit, qui juxta Platonem, id quod impossibile est, se facturum esse promisit. Quid adhuc, quod promisit Deus, quod Deo promittenti credidit mundus, qui etiam ipse promissus est crediturus, esse impossibile clamant? Quandoquidem nos Deum, qui etiam secundum Platonem facit impossibilia, id facturum esse clamamus. Non ergo, ut beatae sint animae, corpus est omne fugiendum, sed corpus incorruptibile recipiendum. Et in quo convenientius incorruptibili corpore laetabuntur, quam in quo corruptibili gemuerunt? Sic enim non in eis erit illa dira cupiditas, quam posuit ex Platone Virgilius, ubi ait: Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti. (Aeneid. lib. 6, vers. 751.) Sic, inquam, cupiditatem revertendi ad corpora non habebunt, cum corpora, in quae reverti cupiunt, secum habebunt; et sic habebunt, ut nunquam non habeant, nunquam ea prorsus vel ad exiguum quam libet tempus ulla morte deponant.

CAPUT XXVII.

De contrariis definitionibus Platonis atque Porphyrii, in quibus si uterque alteri cederet, a veritate neuter deviare.

Let Plato, the master of all these men, amend his own books, and say that their gods, that they may be blessed, will flee their own bodies—that is, that they are about to die—those whom he said were enclosed in celestial bodies; to whom nevertheless God, by whom they were made, that they might be secure, promised immortality—that is, an eternal remaining in the same bodies—not their nature having that, but His counsel prevailing. Where he also overturns that which they say, that because it is impossible, therefore the resurrection of the flesh is not to be believed. For most clearly, according to the same philosopher, where the God not made promised immortality to the gods made by Him, He said that He would do what is impossible. For Plato relates that He spoke thus: 'Since you have been born,' He says, 'you cannot be immortal and indissoluble: nevertheless you shall not be dissolved, nor shall any fates of death destroy you, nor shall they be more powerful than my counsel, which is a greater bond for your perpetuity than those by which you are bound together.' If those who hear these things are not only not absurd, but not deaf, they certainly do not doubt that what is impossible was promised to the made gods by that God who made them, according to Plato. For He who says, 'You indeed cannot be immortal, but by my will you shall be immortal,' what else does He say than that 'that which cannot be done, yet by my doing you shall be'? He, therefore, will raise the flesh incorruptible, immortal, spiritual, who, according to Plato, promised that He would do that which is impossible. Why do they still cry out that what God promised, what the world has believed on God's promise—which world was itself promised to believe—is impossible? Since indeed we cry out that God, who even according to Plato does impossible things, will do this. Therefore, it is not that every body must be fled for souls to be blessed, but an incorruptible body must be received. And in what incorruptible body will they more appropriately rejoice than in that which, being corruptible, they groaned? For so there will not be in them that dire desire which Virgil placed from Plato, where he says: 'And again they begin to wish to return into bodies.' (Aeneid, Book 6, verse 751.) So, I say, they will not have the desire of returning to bodies, when they shall have with them the bodies into which they desire to return; and they shall so have them that they may never not have them, never truly lay them down by any death for even the slightest time.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the contrary definitions of Plato and Porphyry, in which if each should yield to the other, neither would deviate from the truth.

Singula quaedam dixerunt Plato atque Porphyrius, quae si inter se communicare potuissent, facti essent fortasse Christiani. Plato dixit, sine corporibus animas in aeternum esse non posse. Ideo enim dixit, etiam sapientium animas post quamlibet longum tempus, tamen ad corpora redituras. Porphyrius autem dixit, animam purgatissimam, cum redierit ad Patrem, ad haec mala mundi nunquam esse redituram. Ac per hoc, quod verum vidit Plato, si dedisset Porphyrio, etiam justorum atque sapientium purgatissimas animas ad humana corpora redituras; rursus quod verum vidit Porphyrius, si dedisset Platoni, nunquam redituras ad miserias corruptibilis corporis animas sanctas: ut non singuli haec singula, sed ambo et singuli utrumque dicerent, puto quod viderent esse jam consequens, ut et redirent animae ad corpora, et talia reciperent corpora, in quibus beate atque immortaliter viverent. Quoniam secundum Platonem, etiam sanctae animae ad humana corpora redibunt; secundum Porphyrium, ad mala mundi hujus sanctae animae non redibunt. Dicat itaque cum Platone Porphyrius, Redibunt ad corpora: dicat Plato cum Porphyrio, Non redibunt ad mala: et ad ea corpora redire consentient, in quibus nulla patiantur mala. Haec itaque non erunt nisi illa quae promittit Deus, beatas animas in aeternum cum sua aeterna carne factururus. Hoc enim, quantum existimo, jam facile nobis concederent ambo, ut qui faterentur ad immortalia corpora redituras animas esse sanctorum, ad sua illas redire permetterent, in quibus mala hujus saeculi pertulerunt, in quibus Deum, ut his malis carerent, pie fideliterque coluerunt.

CAPUT XXVIII.

Quid ad veram resurrectionis fidem vel Plato, vel Labeo, vel etiam Varro conferre sibi potuerint, si opiniones eorum in unam sententiam convenissent.

Nonnulli nostri, propter quoddam praeclarissimum loquendi genus, et propter nonnulla quae veraciter sensit, amantes Platonem, dicunt eum aliquid simile nobis etiam de mortuorum resurrectione sensisse. Quod quidem sic tangit in libris de Republica Tullius, ut eum luisse potius, quam quod id verum esset, affirmet dicere voluisse. Inducit enim hominem revixisse, et narrasse quaedam quae Platonis disputationibus congruebant. Labeo etiam duos dicit uno die fuisse defunctos, et occurrisse invicem in quodam compito, deinde ad corpora sua jussos fuisse remeare, et constituisse inter se amicos se esse victuros, atque ita esse factum, donec postea morerentur. Sed isti auctores talem resurrectionem corporis factam fuisse narrarunt, quales fuerunt eorum quos resurrexisse novimus, et huic quidem redditos vitae, sed non eo modo ut non morerentur ulteriores. Mirabilius autem quiddam Marcus Varro ponit in libris, quod conscripsit de Gente populi Romani: cujus putavi verba ipsa esse ponenda.

Plato and Porphyry said certain individual things, which if they could have communicated between themselves, they might perhaps have become Christians. Plato said that souls cannot be without bodies in eternity. For this reason he said that even the souls of the wise, after however long a time, would nevertheless return to bodies. Porphyry, however, said that the most purified soul, when it has returned to the Father, will never return to these evils of the world. And through this, if Plato had given to Porphyry what he saw to be true, that even the most purified souls of the just and wise would return to human bodies; and again, if Porphyry had given to Plato what he saw to be true, that holy souls would never return to the miseries of a corruptible body: so that not each said these individual things, but both and each said both things, I think they would see that it already follows that souls should both return to bodies, and receive such bodies in which they might live blessedly and immortally. For according to Plato, even holy souls will return to human bodies; according to Porphyry, holy souls will not return to the evils of this world. Let Porphyry therefore say with Plato, 'They will return to bodies'; let Plato say with Porphyry, 'They will not return to evils': and they will agree to return to those bodies in which they suffer no evils. These therefore will be none other than those which God promises, who is about to make blessed souls eternal with their eternal flesh. For this, as much as I think, both would now easily grant us, that those who confessed that the souls of the saints would return to immortal bodies, would permit them to return to their own, in which they endured the evils of this world, in which they piously and faithfully worshipped God, that they might be free from these evils.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

What either Plato, or Labeo, or even Varro might have contributed to the true faith of the resurrection, if their opinions had met in one judgment.

Some of ours, on account of a certain most illustrious kind of speaking, and on account of some things which he felt truly, loving Plato, say that he also felt something similar to us concerning the resurrection of the dead. Which indeed Cicero touches upon in his books on the Republic in such a way as to affirm that he wished to speak as if playing rather than that it were true. For he introduces a man who lived again, and related certain things which were consistent with Platonic disputations. Labeo also says that two died on one day, and met each other at a certain crossroads, then were ordered to return to their own bodies, and established between themselves that they would live as friends, and so it was done, until they died afterwards. But these authors related that such a resurrection of the body took place as was that of those whom we know to have risen, and were indeed returned to this life, but not in such a way that they would not die further. But Marcus Varro places something more wonderful in the books which he composed concerning the Race of the Roman people: whose words themselves I thought should be placed.

Genethliaci quidam scripserunt, inquit, esse in renascendis hominibus quam appellant *παλιγγενεσίαν* Graeci: hac scripserunt confici in annis numero quadringentis quadraginta, ut idem corpus et eadem anima, quae fuerint conjuncta in homine aliquando, eadem rursus redeant in conjunctionem. Iste Varro quidem, sive illi Genethliaci nescio qui (non enim nomina eorum prodidit, quorum commemoravit sententiam), aliquid dixerunt, quod licet falsum sit (cum enim semel ad eadem corpora quae gesserunt, animae redierint, nunquam ea postea sunt relicturae); tamen multa illius impossibilitatis, qua contra nos isti garriunt, argumenta convellit, et destruit. Qui enim hoc sentiunt, sive senserunt, non eis visum est fieri non posse, ut dilapsa cadavera in auras, in pulverem, in cinerem, in humores, in corpora vescentium bestiarum, vel ipsorum quoque hominum, ad id rursus redeant, quod fuerunt. Quapropter Plato et Porphyrius, vel potius quicumque illos diligunt et adhuc vivunt, si nobis consentiunt etiam sanctas animas ad corpora redituras, sicut ait Plato, nec tamen ad mala ulla redituras, sicut ait Porphyrius; ut ex his fiat consequens quod fides praedicat christiana, talia corpora recepturas in quibus sine ullo malo in aeternum feliciter vivant; assumant etiam hoc de Varrone, ut ad eadem corpora redeant, in quibus antea fuerunt; et apud eos tota quaestio de carnis in aeternum resurrectione solvetur.

CAPUT XXIX.

De qualitate visionis, qua in futuro saeculo sancti Deum videbunt.

1. Nunc jam quid acturi sint in corporibus immortalibus atque spiritualibus sancti, non adhuc eorum carne carnaliter, sed spiritualiter jam vivente, quantum Dominus dignatur adjuvare, videamus. Illa quidem actio, vel potius quies atque otium quale futurum sit, si verum velim dicere, nescio. Non enim hoc unquam per sensus corporis vidi. Si autem mente, id est intelligentia, vidisse me dicam, quantum est, aut quid est nostra intelligentia ad illam excellentiam? Ibi est enim pax Dei, quae, sicut ait Apostolus, superat omnem intellectum (Philipp. IV, 7): quem nisi nostrum, aut fortasse etiam sanctorum Angelorum? non enim et Dei. Si ergo sancti in Dei pace victuri sunt, profecto in ea pace victuri sunt, quae superat omnem intellectum. Quoniam nostrum quidem superat, non est dubium: si autem superat et Angelorum, ut nec ipsos exceperisse videatur, qui ait, omnem intellectum; secundum hoc dictum esse debemus accipere, quia pacem Dei, qua ipse Deus pacatus est, sicut novit Deus, non eam nos sic possumus nosse, nec ulli Angeli.

'Certain Genethliacs wrote,' he says, 'that there is in men to be born again what the Greeks call palingenesia (rebirth): they wrote that this is completed in four hundred and forty years, so that the same body and the same soul, which were joined in a man at some time, should return again into conjunction.' This Varro indeed, or those Genethliacs I know not who (for he did not produce the names of those whose opinion he commemorated), said something, which although it is false (for when once souls have returned to the same bodies which they bore, they are never afterwards to leave them); yet it tears away and destroys many arguments of that impossibility with which those men chatter against us. For to those who feel this, or have felt it, it did not seem impossible that corpses slipped away into the airs, into dust, into ashes, into humors, into the bodies of feeding beasts, or of men themselves also, should return again to that which they were. Wherefore if Plato and Porphyry, or rather whoever love them and still live, agree with us that even holy souls will return to bodies, as Plato says, and yet will return to no evils, as Porphyry says; so that from these things follows what the Christian faith preaches, that they will receive such bodies in which they may live happily in eternity without any evil; let them also assume this from Varro, that they return to the same bodies in which they were before; and among them the whole question of the resurrection of the flesh in eternity will be solved.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Concerning the quality of the vision, by which in the future world the saints will see God.

1. Now already what the saints are about to do in immortal and spiritual bodies, their flesh no longer living carnally, but already spiritually, let us see, as far as the Lord deigns to help. And that action, or rather what kind of rest and leisure it is about to be, if I wish to tell the truth, I do not know. For I have never seen this through the senses of the body. But if I should say that I have seen it by the mind, that is by intelligence, how great is it, or what is our intelligence compared to that excellence? For there is the 'peace of God, which,' as the Apostle says, 'surpasses all understanding' (Phil. IV, 7): whose understanding but ours, or perhaps even that of the holy Angels? for surely not God's. If therefore the saints are about to live in the peace of God, surely they are about to live in that peace which surpasses all understanding. Since it surpasses ours, there is no doubt: but if it surpasses also that of the Angels, so that it may not seem to have excepted even them, he who said, 'all understanding'; according to this we ought to accept it as spoken, because the peace of God, by which God Himself is pacified, as God knows it, so we cannot know it, nor any Angels.

Superat itaque omnem intellectum, non dubium quod praeter suum. Sed quia et nos pro modo nostro pacis ejus participes facti summam in nobis atque inter nos et cum ipso pacem, quantum nostrum summum est, obtinebimus: isto modo pro suo modo sciunt eam sancti Angeli, homines autem nunc longe infra, quantumlibet provectu mentis excellant. Considerandum est enim quantus vir dicebat, Ex parte scimus, et ex parte prophetamus, donec veniat quod perfectum est (I Cor. XIII, 9, 10); et, Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem (Ibid. 12). Sic jam vident sancti Angeli, qui etiam nostri Angeli dicti sunt, quia eruti de potestate tenebrarum, et accepto Spiritus pignore translati ad regnum Christi, ad eos Angelos jam coepimus pertinere, cum quibus nobis erit sancta atque dulcissima, de qua jam tot libros scripsimus, Dei civitas ipsa communis. Sic sunt ergo Angeli nostri, qui sunt Angeli Dei, quemadmodum Christus Dei, Christus est noster. Dei sunt, quia Deum non reliquerunt: nostri sunt, quia suos cives nos habere coeperunt. Dixit autem Dominus Jesus, Videte ne contemnatis unum de pusillis istis. Dico enim vobis, quia Angeli eorum in coelis semper vident faciem Patris mei, qui in coelis est (Matth. XVIII, 10). Sicut ergo illi vident, ita et nos visuri sumus: sed nondum ita videmus. Propter quod ait Apostolus, quod paulo ante dixi, Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem. Praemium itaque fidei nobis visio ista servatur, de qua et Joannes apostolus loquens, Cum apparuerit, inquit, similes ei erimus, quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est (I Joan. III, 2). Facies autem Dei manifestatio ejus intelligenda est, non aliquod tale membrum, quale nos habemus in corpore, atque isto nomine nuncupamus.

2. Quapropter cum ex me quaeritur, quid acturi sint sancti in illo corpore spirituali, non dico quod jam video, sed dico quod credo: secundum illud quod in Psalmo lego, Credidi, propter quod locutus sum (Psal. CXV, 10). Dico itaque, Visuri sunt Deum in ipso corpore: sed utrum per ipsum, sicut per corpus nunc videmus solem, lunam, stellas, mare, ac terram, et quae sunt in ea, non parva quaestio est. Durum est enim dicere quod sancti talia corpora tunc habebunt, ut non possint oculos claudere atque aperire cum volent. Durius autem, quod ibi Deum, quisquis oculos clauserit, non videbit.

It 'surpasses,' therefore, 'all understanding,' no doubt except His own. But because we also according to our measure having been made participants of His peace will obtain the highest peace in ourselves and among ourselves and with Him, as far as our highest is: in this way for their measure the holy Angels know it, but men now far below, however much they excel in the advancement of the mind. For it must be considered how great a man said, 'In part we know, and in part we prophesy, until that which is perfect comes' (I Cor. XIII, 9, 10); and, 'We see now through a mirror in an enigma, but then face to face' (Ibid. 12). So already the holy Angels see, who are also called our Angels, because having been rescued from the power of darkness, and having received the pledge of the Spirit, translated to the kingdom of Christ, we have already begun to pertain to those Angels, with whom we shall have that holy and most sweet common city of God itself, concerning which we have already written so many books. So they are our Angels, who are the Angels of God, just as the Christ of God is our Christ. They are God's, because they did not leave God: they are ours, because they have begun to have us as their fellow-citizens. Moreover the Lord Jesus said, 'See that you do not despise one of these little ones. For I say to you, that their Angels in heaven always see the face of my Father, who is in heaven' (Matt. XVIII, 10). As therefore they see, so also we are about to see: but not yet do we so see. For which reason the Apostle says, what I said a little before, 'We see now through a mirror in an enigma, but then face to face.' This vision, therefore, is reserved for us as the reward of faith, concerning which also the apostle John speaking says, 'When He shall have appeared, we shall be like Him, because we shall see Him just as He is' (I John III, 2). Moreover, the face of God is to be understood as His manifestation, not some such member as we have in the body, and call by this name.

2. Wherefore when it is asked of me, what the saints are about to do in that spiritual body, I do not say what I already see, but I say what I believe: according to that which I read in the Psalm, 'I have believed, for which reason I have spoken' (Ps. CXV, 10). I say, therefore, they are about to see God in the body itself: but whether through it, just as through the body we now see the sun, the moon, the stars, the sea, and the earth, and the things that are in it, is no small question. For it is hard to say that the saints will then have such bodies that they cannot close and open their eyes when they wish. But harder, that there whoever shall have closed his eyes shall not see God.

Si enim propheta Elisaeus puerum suum Giezi absens corpore vidit accipientem munera, quae dedit ei Naaman Syrus, quem propheta memoratus a leprae deformitate mundaverat, quod servus nequam domino suo non vidente, latenter se fecisse putaverat; quanto magis in illo corpore spirituali videbunt sancti omnia, non solum si oculos claudant, verum etiam unde sunt corpore absentes? Tunc enim erit perfectum illud, de quo loquens Apostolus, Ex parte, inquit, scimus, et ex parte prophetamus; cum autem venerit quod perfectum est, quod ex parte est evacuabitur. Deinde ut, quomodo posset, aliqua similitudine ostenderet, quantum ab illa quae futura est distet haec vita, non qualiumcumque hominum, verum etiam qui praecipua hic sanctitate sunt praediti: Cum essem, inquit, parvulus, quasi parvulus sapiebam, quasi parvulus loquebar, quasi parvulus cogitabam; cum autem factus sum vir, evacuavi ea quae parvuli erant. Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem. Nunc scio ex parte, tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum (I Cor. XIII, 11, 12). Si ergo in hac vita, ubi hominum mirabilium prophetia ita comparanda est illi vitae quasi parvuli ad juvenem, vidit tamen Elisaeus accipientem munera servum suum, ubi ipse non erat; itane cum venerit quod perfectum est, nec jam corpus corruptibile aggravabit animam, sed incorruptibile nihil impediet, illi sancti ad ea quae videnda sunt oculis corporeis, quibus Elisaeus absens ad servum suum videndum non indiguit, indigebunt? Nam secundum interpretes Septuaginta, ista sunt ad Giezi verba Prophetae: Nonne cor meum iit tecum, quando conversus est vir de curru suo in obviam tibi, et accepisti pecuniam (IV Reg. V, 26)? et caetera. Sicut autem ex Hebraeo interpretatus est presbyter Hieronymus, Nonne cor meum, inquit, in praesenti erat, quando reversus est homo de curru suo in occursum tui? Corde suo se dixit hoc vidisse Propheta, adjuto quidem mirabiliter, nullo dubitante, divinitus. Sed quanto amplius tunc omnes munere isto abundabunt, cum Deus erit omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 28)? Habebunt tamen etiam illi oculi corporei officium suum, et in loco suo erunt, uteturque illis spiritus per spirituale corpus. Neque enim et ille Propheta, quia non eis indiguit ut videret absentem, non eis usus est ad videnda praesentia; quae tamen spiritu videre posset, etiamsi illos clauderet, sicut vidit absentia, ubi cum eis ipse non erat. Absit ergo, ut dicamus illos sanctos in illa vita Deum clausis oculis non visuros, quem spiritu semper videbunt.

3. Sed utrum videbunt et per oculos corporis, cum eos apertos habebunt, inde quaestio est. Si enim tantum poterunt in corpore spirituali eo modo utique etiam ipsi oculi spirituales, quantum possunt isti quales nunc habemus; procul dubio per eos Deus videri non poterit. Longe itaque alterius erunt potentiae, si per eos videbitur incorporea illa natura, quae non continetur loco, sed ubique tota est.

For if the prophet Elisha, absent in body, saw his servant Gehazi receiving the gifts which Naaman the Syrian gave him, whom the mentioned prophet had cleansed from the deformity of leprosy, which the wicked servant thought he had done secretly while his master was not seeing; how much more in that spiritual body will the saints see all things, not only if they close their eyes, but even where they are absent in body? For then will that be perfect, of which the Apostle speaking says, 'In part we know, and in part we prophesy; but when that which is perfect has come, that which is in part shall be evacuated.' Then that, as far as he could, he might show by some similitude how much this life, not of any men but even of those who are endowed here with chief holiness, differs from that which is to come: 'When I was a child,' he says, 'I tasted as a child, I spoke as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I evacuated those things which were of a child.' We see now through a mirror in an enigma, but then face to face. Now I know in part, but then I shall know just as I am also known (I Cor. XIII, 11, 12). If therefore in this life, where the prophecy of wonderful men is thus to be compared to that life as of a child to a young man, Elisha nevertheless saw his servant receiving gifts, where he himself was not; so when that which is perfect has come, nor shall the corruptible body any longer weigh down the soul, but the incorruptible shall hinder nothing, will those saints need for those things which are to be seen with bodily eyes, which Elisha absent did not need for seeing his servant? For according to the Seventy interpreters, these are the words of the Prophet to Gehazi: 'Did not my heart go with thee, when the man turned from his chariot to meet thee, and thou receivedst money' (IV Kings V, 26)? and the rest. But as the presbyter Jerome interpreted from the Hebrew, 'Did not my heart,' he says, 'was present, when the man returned from his chariot into the meeting of thee?' The Prophet said that he saw this with his heart, helped indeed wonderfully, no one doubting, divinely. But how much more will all then abound in this gift, when 'God shall be all in all' (I Cor. XV, 28)? Nevertheless those bodily eyes will also have their office, and will be in their place, and the spirit will use them through the spiritual body. For neither did that Prophet, because he did not need them to see the absent, not use them to see present things; which nevertheless he could see by the spirit, even if he closed them, just as he saw absent things, where he himself was not with them. Far be it, therefore, that we should say those saints in that life will not see God with closed eyes, whom they will always see by the spirit.

3. But whether they will also see through the eyes of the body, when they shall have them open, is the question from there. For if they shall only be able in the spiritual body in that way surely as even the spiritual eyes themselves, as much as these can which we now have; without doubt through them God cannot be seen. Therefore they will be of a far other power, if through them that incorporeal nature shall be seen, which is not contained by place, but is whole everywhere.

Non enim quia dicimus Deum et in coelo esse, et in terra (ipse quippe ait per Prophetam, Coelum et terram ego impleo [Jerem. XXIII, 24]), aliam partem dicturi sumus eum in coelo habere, et in terra aliam: sed totus in coelo est, totus in terra; non alternis temporibus, sed utrumque simul, quod nulla natura corporalis potest. Vis itaque praepollentior oculorum erit illorum, non ut acrius videant, quam quidam perhibentur videre serpentes vel aquilae (quantalibet enim acrimonia cernendi eadem quoque animalia nihil aliud possunt videre quam corpora): sed ut videant et incorporalia. Et fortasse ista virtus magna cernendi fuerit data fuerit ad horam etiam in isto mortali corpore oculis sancti viri Job, quando ait ad Deum, In obauditu auris audiebam te prius, nunc autem oculus meus videt te; propterea despexi memetipsum, et distabui, et existimavi me terram et cinerem (Job XLII, 5 et 6, sec. LXX). Quamvis hic nihil prohibeat oculum cordis intelligi, de quibus oculis ait Apostolus: Illuminatos oculos habere cordis vestri (Ephes. I, 18). Ipsis autem videri Deum, cum videbitur, Christianus ambigit nemo, qui fideliter accipit, quod ait Deus ille magister: Beati mundi corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8). Sed utrum etiam corporalibus oculis ibi videatur, hoc in ista quaestione versamus.

4. Illud enim quod scriptum est, Et videbit omnis caro salutare Dei (Luc. III 6), sine ullius nodo difficultatis sic intelligi potest, ac si dictum fuerit, Et videbit omnis homo Christum Dei: qui utique in corpore visus est, et in corpore videbitur, quando vivos et mortuos iudicabit. Quod autem ipse sit salutare Dei, multa sunt et alia testimonia Scripturarum: sed evidentius venerandi illius senis Simeonis verba declarant, qui cum infantem Christum accepisset in manus suas, Nunc, inquit, dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum, in pace; quoniam viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum. (Id. II, 29, 30). Illud etiam quod ait supra memoratus Job, sicut in exemplaribus quae ex Hebraeo sunt invenitur, Et in carne mea videbo Deum (Job XIX, 26, sec. Vulgatam): resurrectionem quidem carnis sine dubio prophetavit; non tamen dixit, Per carnem meam. Quod quidem si dixisset, posset Deus Christus intelligi, qui per carnem in carne videbitur: nunc vero potest et sic accipi. In carne mea videbo Deum; ac si dixisset, In carne mea ero, cum videbo Deum. Et illud quod ait Apostolus, Facie ad faciem (I Cor. XIII, 12), non cogit ut Deum per hanc faciem corporalem, ubi sunt oculi corporales, nos visuros esse credamus, quem spiritu sine intermissione videbimus.

For not because we say that God is both in heaven and on earth (for He Himself says through the Prophet, 'I fill heaven and earth' [Jerem. XXIII, 24]), are we about to say that He has one part in heaven and another on earth: but He is whole in heaven, whole on earth; not at alternate times, but both at once, which no corporeal nature can be. Therefore the power of those eyes will be more prevailing, not that they may see more sharply than certain serpents or eagles are said to see (for however great sharpness of discerning, the same animals also can see nothing else than bodies): but that they may see even incorporeal things. And perhaps this great virtue of discerning was given for the hour even in this mortal body to the eyes of the holy man Job, when he says to God, 'In the hearing of the ear I heard thee before, but now my eye sees thee; therefore I have despised myself, and have wasted away, and have esteemed myself dust and ashes' (Job XLII, 5 and 6, sec. LXX). Although here nothing prohibits the eye of the heart from being understood, concerning which eyes the Apostle says: 'To have the eyes of your heart illuminated' (Ephes. I, 18). Moreover that God is seen by them, when He shall be seen, no Christian doubts, who faithfully accepts what that God the teacher says: 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God' (Matt. V, 8). But whether He may be seen also by corporeal eyes there, we discuss in this question.

4. For that which is written, 'And all flesh shall see the salvation of God' (Luke III, 6), can be understood without any knot of difficulty, as if it were said, And every man shall see the Christ of God: who surely was seen in the body, and will be seen in the body, when He shall judge the living and the dead. Moreover that He Himself is the salvation of God, there are many and other testimonies of the Scriptures: but more evidently the words of that venerable old man Simeon declare, who when he had received the infant Christ into his hands, says, 'Now, Lord, thou lettest thy servant depart, according to thy word, in peace; because my eyes have seen thy salvation.' (Id. II, 29, 30). That also which the above-mentioned Job says, just as it is found in the exemplars which are from the Hebrew, 'And in my flesh I shall see God' (Job XIX, 26, sec. Vulg.): he prophesied indeed the resurrection of the flesh without doubt; nevertheless he did not say, 'Through my flesh.' Which indeed if he had said, God Christ could be understood, who through the flesh in the flesh will be seen: but now it can also be so accepted. 'In my flesh I shall see God'; as if he had said, I shall be in my flesh when I shall see God. And that which the Apostle says, 'Face to face' (I Cor. XIII, 12), does not compel us to believe that we are about to see God through this corporeal face, where the corporeal eyes are, whom we shall see by the spirit without intermission.

Nisi enim esset etiam interioris hominis facies, non diceret idem apostolus, Nos autem revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes, in eandem imaginem transformamur de gloria in gloria, tanquam a Domini spiritu (II Cor. III, 18). Nec aliter intelligimus quod in Psalmo canitur, Accedite ad eum, et illuminamini, et facies vestrae non erubescunt (Psal. XXXIII, 6). Fide quippe acceditur ad Deum, quam cordis constat esse, non corporis. Sed quia spirituale corpus nescimus quantos habebit accessus (de re quippe inexperta loquimur); ubi aliqua, quae aliter intelligi nequeat, divinarum Scripturarum non occurrit et succurrit auctoritas, necesse est ut contingat in nobis quod legitur in libro Sapientiae: Cogitationes mortalium timidae, et incertae providentiae nostrae (Sap. IX, 14).

5. Ratiocinatio quippe illa philosophorum, qua disputant ita mentis aspectu intelligibilia videri, et sensu corporis sensibilia, id est, corporalia, ut nec intelligibilia per corpus, nec corporalia per se ipsam mens valeat intueri, si posset nobis esse certissima, profecto certum esset per oculos corporis etiam spiritualis nullo modo posse videri Deum. Sed istam ratiocinationem et vera ratio et prophetica irridet auctoritas. Quis enim ita sit aversus a vero, ut dicere audeat Deum corporalia ista nescire? Numquid ergo corpus habet, per cuius oculos ea possit addiscere? Deinde quod de propheta Elisaeo paulo ante diximus, nonne satis indicat etiam spiritu, non per corpus, corporalia posse cerni? Quando enim servus ille munera accepit, utique corporaliter gestum est; quod tamen Propheta non per corpus, sed per spiritum vidit. Sicut ergo constat videri corpora spiritu; quid si tanta erit potentia spiritualis corporis, ut corpore videatur et spiritus? Spiritus enim est Deus. Deinde vitam quidem suam, qua nunc vivit in corpore, et haec terrena membra vegetat facitque viventia, interiore sensu quisque, non per corporeos oculos, novit: aliorum vero vitas, cum sint invisibiles, per corpus videt. Nam unde viventia discernimus a non viventibus corpora, nisi corpora simul vitasque videamus, quas nisi per corpus videre non possumus? Vitas autem sine corporibus corporeis oculis non videmus.

For unless there were also a face of the interior man, the same apostle would not say, 'But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord' (II Cor. III, 18). Nor otherwise do we understand what is sung in the Psalm, 'Draw near to Him, and be illuminated, and your faces shall not be ashamed' (Ps. XXXIII, 6). For it is by faith that one draws near to God, which is established to be of the heart, not of the body. But because we do not know how many accesses the spiritual body will have (for we speak of an unexperienced thing); where some authority of the divine Scriptures does not occur and help, which cannot be understood otherwise, it is necessary that it happens in us what is read in the book of Wisdom: 'The thoughts of mortals are timid, and our provisions uncertain' (Wisd. IX, 14).

5. For that reasoning of the philosophers, by which they dispute that intelligible things are seen by the aspect of the mind, and sensible—that is, corporeal—things by the sense of the body, so that neither can intelligible things be seen through the body, nor corporeal things by the mind itself, if it could be most certain to us, surely it would be certain that God could in no way be seen through the eyes even of the spiritual body. But both true reason and prophetic authority laugh at that reasoning. For who could be so averse to the truth as to dare to say that God does not know these corporeal things? Has He therefore a body, through whose eyes He can learn them? Then what we said a little before concerning the prophet Elisha, does it not sufficiently indicate that even by the spirit, not through the body, corporeal things can be discerned? For when that servant received gifts, it was certainly done corporally; which nevertheless the Prophet saw not through the body, but through the spirit. Just as therefore it is established that bodies are seen by the spirit; what if the power of the spiritual body will be so great that even the spirit may be seen by the body? For God is a spirit. Then one's own life, by which one now lives in the body, and vegetates these earthly members and makes them living, each one knows by the interior sense, not through corporeal eyes: but one sees the lives of others, although they be invisible, through the body. For from where do we discern living bodies from non-living, unless we see bodies and lives together, which we cannot see except through the body? But we do not see lives without bodies with corporeal eyes.

6. Quamobrem fieri potest, valdeque credibile est, sic nos esse visuros mundana tunc corpora coeli novi et terrae novae, ut Deum ubique praesentem et universa etiam corporalia gubernantem, per corpora quae gestabimus, et quae conspiciemus quaquaversum oculos duxerimus, clarissima perspicuitate videamus: non sicut nunc invisibilia Dei, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur (Rom. I, 20) per speculum in aenigmate, et ex parte (I Cor. XIII, 12), ubi plus in nobis valet fides quam credimus, quam rerum corporalium species quam per oculos cernimus corporales. Sed sicut homines, inter quos viventes motusque vitales exserentes vivimus, mox ut aspicimus, non credimus vivere, sed videmus; cum eorum vitam sine corporibus videre nequeamus, quam tamen in eis per corpora remota omni ambiguitate conspiciamus: ita quacumque spiritualia illa lumina corporum nostrorum circumferemus, incorporeum Deum omnia regentem, etiam per corpora contuebimur. Aut ergo per illos oculos sic videbitur Deus, ut aliquid habeant in tanta excellence menti simile, quo et incorporea natura cernatur, quod ullis exemplis sive Scripturarum testimoniis divinarum vel difficile vel impossibile est ostendere: aut quod est ad intelligendum facilius, ita Deus nobis erit notus atque conspicuus, ut videatur spiritu a singulis nobis in singulis nobis, videatur ab altero in altero, videatur in se ipso, videatur in coelo novo et in terra nova, atque in omni quae tunc fuerit creatura; videatur et per corpora in omni corpore quocumque fuerint spiritualis corporis oculi acie perveniente directi. Patebunt etiam cogitationes nostrae invicem nobis. Tunc enim implebitur quod Apostolus cum dixisset, Nolite ante tempus iudicare quidquam; mox addidit, donec veniat Dominus, et illuminet abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestabit cogitationes cordis, et tunc laus erit unicuique a Deo (I Cor. IV, 5).

CAPUT XXX.

De aeterna felicitate civitatis Dei, sabbatoque perpetuo.

1. Quanta erit illa felicitas, ubi nullum erit malum, nullum latebit bonum, vacabitur Dei laudibus, qui erit omnia in omnibus! Nam quid aliud agatur, ubi neque ulla desidia cessabitur, neque ulla indigentia laborabitur, nescio. Admoneor etiam sancto Cantico, ubi lego, vel audio, Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine, in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te (Psal. LXXXIII, 5). Omnia membra et viscera incorruptibilis corporis, quae nunc videmus per usus necessitatis varios distributa, quoniam tunc non erit ipsa necessitas, sed plena, certa, segura, sempiterna felicitas, proficient in laudibus Dei.

6. For which reason it can be, and is greatly credible, that we are so about to see the mundane bodies of the new heaven and the new earth then, that we may see God everywhere present and also governing all corporeal things, through the bodies which we shall bear, and which we shall behold wherever we shall direct our eyes, with the clearest perspicuity: not as now the invisible things of God are beheld understood through those things which have been made (Rom. I, 20) through a mirror in an enigma, and in part (I Cor. XIII, 12), where faith by which we believe prevails more in us than the species of corporeal things which we discern through corporeal eyes. But just as men, among whom living and exerting vital motions we live, as soon as we look at them, we do not believe that they live, but we see; although we cannot see their life without bodies, which nevertheless we behold in them through bodies with all ambiguity removed: so wherever we shall carry about those spiritual lights of our bodies, we shall behold the incorporeal God ruling all things, even through bodies. Either therefore God will be so seen through those eyes that they have in such excellence something similar to the mind, by which even the incorporeal nature may be discerned, which by any examples or testimonies of the divine Scriptures is either difficult or impossible to show: or, what is easier to understand, God will be so known and conspicuous to us, that He may be seen by the spirit by each of us in each of us, seen by one in another, seen in Himself, seen in the new heaven and in the new earth, and in every creature which shall then be; seen also through bodies in every body wherever the eyes of the spiritual body shall have been directed by their piercing reach. Also our thoughts will be open to each other. For then will be fulfilled what the Apostle said when he had said, 'Judge nothing before the time'; soon he added, 'until the Lord comes, and will illuminate the hidden things of darkness, and will manifest the thoughts of the heart, and then shall every man have praise of God' (I Cor. IV, 5).

CHAPTER XXX.

Concerning the eternal happiness of the city of God, and the perpetual sabbath.

1. How great will be that happiness, where no evil will be, no good will be hidden, one will be vacant for the praises of God, who will be all in all! For what else may be done, where one will neither cease through any sloth, nor labor through any indigence, I know not. I am admonished also by the holy Song, where I read, or hear, 'Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, O Lord, for ever and ever they will praise thee' (Ps. LXXXIII, 5). All the members and viscera of the incorruptible body, which we now see distributed through various uses of necessity, since then there will not be that necessity, but full, certain, secure, everlasting happiness, will advance in the praises of God.

Omnes quippe illi, de quibus jam sum locutus, qui nunc latent, harmoniae corporalis numeri non latebunt, intrinsecus et extrinsecus per corporis cuncta dispositi; et cum caeteris rebus, quae ibi magnae atque mirabiles videbuntur, rationales mentes in tanti artificis laudem rationabilis pulchritudinis delectatione succendent. Qui motus illic talium corporum sint futuri temere definire non audeo, quod excogitare non valeo. Tamen et motus et status, sicut ipsa species, decens erit, quicumque erit, ubi quod non decebit, non erit. Certe u vole spiritus, ibi protinus erit corpus: nec volet aliquid spiritus, quod nec spiritum possit decere, nec corpus. Vera ibi gloria erit, ubi laudantis nec errore quisquam, nec adulatione laudabitur. Verus honor, qui nulli negabitur digno, nulli deferetur indigno: sed nec ad eum ambiet ullus indignus, ubi nullus permittetur esse nisi dignus. Vera pax, ubi nihil adversi, nec a se ipso, nec ab alio quisquam patietur. Praemium virtutis erit ipse qui virtutem dedit, eique se ipsum, quo melius et majus nihil possit esse, promisit. Quid est enim aliud quod per Prophetam dixit, Ero illorum Deus, et ipsi erunt mihi plebs (Levit. XXVI, 12); nisi, Ego ero unde satientur, ego ero quaecumque ab hominibus honeste desiderantur, et vita, et salus, et victus, et copia, et gloria, et honor, et pax, et omnia bona? Sic enim et illud recte intelligitur, quod ait Apostolus, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 28). Ipse finis erit desideriorum nostrorum, qui sine fine videbitur, sine fastidio amabitur, sine fatigatione laudabitur. Hoc munus, hic affectus, hic actus profecto erit omnibus, sicut ipsa vita aeterna, communis.

2. Caeterum qui futuri sint pro meritis praemiorum etiam gradus honorum atque gloriarum, quis est idoneus cogitare, quanto magis dicere? Quod tamen futuri sint, non est ambigendum. Atque id etiam beata civitas illa magnum in se bonum videbit, quod nulli superiori ullus inferior invidet, sicut nunc non invidet Archangelis Angeli caeteri: tamque nolet unusquisque quod non accepit, quamvis sit pacatissimo concordiae vinculo ei qui accepit obstrictus, quam nec in corpore vult oculus esse qui est digitus, cum membrum utrumque contineat totius carnis pacata compago. Sic itaque habebit donum alius alio minus, ut hoc quoque donum habeat, ne velit amplius.

For all those ratios of bodily harmony, concerning which I have already spoken, which now are hidden, disposed through all the parts of the body within and without, will not be hidden; and with the rest of the things, which there will seem great and wonderful, they will kindle rational minds into the praise of so great an artificer by the delight of rational beauty. What the motions of such bodies will be there I do not dare to define rashly, because I am not able to excogitate it. Nevertheless both the motion and the state, just as the species itself, will be decent, whatever it will be, where that which will not be decent will not be. Certainly where the spirit shall wish, there immediately will be the body: nor will the spirit wish anything which can be decent neither for the spirit nor for the body. True glory will be there, where no one will be praised by the error nor by the adulation of the praiser. True honor, which will be denied to no worthy person, will be deferred to no unworthy person: but neither will any unworthy person ambitiously seek it, where none will be permitted to be unless worthy. True peace, where no one will suffer anything adverse, neither from himself nor from another. The reward of virtue will be He who gave virtue, and promised Himself to it, than whom nothing can be better and greater. For what else is that which He said through the Prophet, 'I will be their God, and they shall be my people' (Lev. XXVI, 12); unless, I will be from where they may be satisfied, I will be whatever are honestly desired by men, both life, and health, and food, and abundance, and glory, and honor, and peace, and all good things? For so also that is rightly understood which the Apostle says, 'that God may be all in all' (I Cor. XV, 28). He Himself will be the end of our desires, who will be seen without end, loved without fastidiousness, praised without fatigue. This gift, this affection, this act surely will be common to all, just as eternal life itself.

2. Moreover what grades of honors and glories are about to be according to the merits of rewards, who is fit to think, how much more to say? That nevertheless they are about to be, is not to be doubted. And that blessed city also will see this as a great good in itself, that no inferior will envy any superior, just as now the other Angels do not envy the Archangels: and each one will as much not wish to be what he has not received, although he be bound by the most peaceful bond of concord to him who has received, as the eye in the body does not wish to be what the finger is, since the peaceful composition of the whole flesh contains both members. Thus therefore one will have a gift less than another, so that he may also have this gift, that he does not wish for more.

3. Nec ideo liberum arbitrium non habebunt, quia peccata eos delectare non poterunt. Magis quippe erit liberum, a delectatione peccandi usque ad delectationem non peccandi indeclinabilem liberatum. Nam primum liberum arbitrium, quod homini datum est, quando primum creatus est rectus, potuit non peccare, sed potuit et peccare: hoc autem novissimum eo potentius erit, quo peccare non poterit. Verum hoc quoque Dei munere, non suae possibilitate naturae. Aliud est enim, esse Deum; aliud, participem Dei. Deus natura peccare non potest; particeps vero Dei ab illo accipit, ut peccare non possit. Servandi autem gradus erant divini muneris, ut primum daretur liberum arbitrium, quo non peccare posset homo; novissimum, quo peccare non posset: atque illud ad comparandum meritum, hoc ad recipiendum praemium pertineret. Sed quia peccavit ista natura cum peccare potuit, largiore gratia liberatur, ut ad eam perducatur libertatem, in qua peccare non possit. Sicut enim prima immortalitas fuit, quam peccando Adam perdidit, posse non mori, novissima erit non posse mori: ita primum liberum arbitrium posse non peccare, novissimum non posse peccare. Sic enim erit inamissibilis voluntas pietatis et aequitatis, quomodo est felicitatis. Nam utique peccando nec pietatem nec felicitatem tenuimus, voluntatem vero felicitatis nec perdita felicitate perdidimus. Certe Deus ipse numquid, quoniam peccare non potest, ideo liberum arbitrium habere negandus est? Erit ergo illius civitatis et una in omnibus, et inseparabilis in singulis voluntas libera, ab omni malo liberata, et impleta omni bono, fruens indeficienter aeternorum jucunditate gaudiorum, oblita culparum, oblita poenarum; nec tamen ideo suae liberationis oblita, ut liberatori suo non sit grata.

4. Quantum ergo attinet ad scientiam rationalem, memor praeteritorum etiam malorum suorum; quantum autem ad experientis sensum, prorsus immemor. Nam et peritissimus medicus, sicut arte sciuntur, omnes fere morbos corporis novit: sicut autem corpore sentiuntur, plurimos nescit, quos ipse non passus est. Ut ergo scientiae malorum duae sunt; una, qua potentiam mentis non latent; altera, qua experientis sensibus inhaerent (aliter quippe sciuntur omnia vitia per sapientiae doctrinam, aliter per insipientis pessimam vitam): ita et obliviones malorum duae sunt.

3. Nor therefore will they not have free will, because sins will not be able to delight them. For it will be more truly free, liberated from the delight of sinning even to the indeclinable delight of not sinning. For the first free will, which was given to man when he was first created upright, could not sin, but it could also sin: but this last will be so much more powerful, as it will not be able to sin. But this also by God's gift, not by the possibility of its own nature. For it is one thing to be God; another, to be a participant of God. God by nature cannot sin; but the participant of God receives from Him that he cannot sin. Moreover, the grades of the divine gift were to be preserved, so that first should be given free will by which man could not sin; the last, by which he could not sin: and that should pertain to the acquiring of merit, this to the receiving of the reward. But because this nature sinned when it could sin, it is liberated by a more abundant grace, that it may be brought to that liberty in which it cannot sin. For just as the first immortality was, which Adam lost by sinning, 'to be able not to die,' the last will be 'not to be able to die': so the first free will 'to be able not to sin,' the last 'not to be able to sin.' For so the will of piety and equity will be unlosable, as is that of happiness. For surely by sinning we kept neither piety nor happiness, but the will of happiness we did not lose even with happiness lost. Certainly as for God Himself, is He to be denied to have free will because He cannot sin? Therefore there will be of that city both one free will in all, and inseparable in individuals, liberated from every evil, and filled with every good, enjoying indeficiently the pleasantness of eternal joys, forgetful of faults, forgetful of punishments; nor yet therefore forgetful of its own liberation, so as not to be grateful to its liberator.

4. As much therefore as pertains to rational knowledge, they will be mindful of even their past evils; but as much as pertains to the sense of the person experiencing them, altogether unmindful. For even a most skilled physician knows almost all diseases of the body as they are known by art: but as they are felt by the body, he is ignorant of most which he himself has not suffered. As therefore there are two knowledges of evils; one, by which they are not hidden from the power of the mind; the other, by which they adhere to the senses of the one experiencing (for all vices are known in one way through the doctrine of wisdom, in another way through the worst life of the foolish): so also there are two oblivions of evils.

Aliter ea namque obliviscitur eruditus et doctus, aliter expertus et passus: ille, si peritiam negligat; iste, si miseria careat. Secundum hanc oblivionem quam posteriore loco posui, non erunt memores sancti praeteritorum malorum: carebunt enim omnibus, ita ut penitus deleantur de sensibus eorum. Ea tamen potentia scientiae, quae magna in eis erit, non solum sua praeterita, sed etiam damnatorum eos sempiterna miseria non latebit. Alioquin si se fuisse miseros nescituri sunt, quomodo, sicut ait Psalmus, misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabunt (Psal. LXXXVIII, 2)? Quo cantico in gloriam gratiae Christi, cujus sanguine liberati sumus, nihil erit profecto illi jucundius civitati. Ibi perficietur, Vacate, et videte quoniam ego sum Deus (Psal. XLV, 11). Quod erit vere maximum sabbatum non habens vesperam, quod commendavit Dominus in primis operibus mundi, ubi legitur: Et requievit Deus die septimo ab omnibus operibus suis, quae fecit: et benedixit Deus diem septimum, et sanctificavit eum, quia in eo requievit ab omnibus operibus suis, quae inchoavit Deus facere (Gen. II, 2, 3). Dies enim septimus etiam nos ipsi erimus, quando ejus fuerimus benedictione et sanctificatione pleni atque refecti. Ibi vacantes videbimus quoniam ipse est Deus: quod nobis ipsi esse volumus, quando ab illo cecidimus, audientes a seductore, Eritis sicut dii (Id. III, 5,); et recedentes a vero Deo, quo faciente dii essemus ejus participatione, non desertione. Quid enim sine illo fecimus, nisi quod in ira ejus defecimus (Psal. LXXXIX, 9)? A quo refecti, et gratia majore perfecti, vacabimus in aeternum, videntes quia ipse est Deus, quo pleni erimus, quando ipse erit omnia in omnibus. Nam et ipsa bona opera nostra, quando ipsius potius intelliguntur esse quam nostra, tunc nobis ad hoc sabbatum adipiscendum imputantur. Quia si nobis ea tribuerimus, servilia erunt; cum de sabbato dicatur, Omne opus servile in eo non facietis (Deut. V, 14). Propter quod et per Ezechielem prophetam dicitur, Et sabbata mea dedi eis in signum inter me et inter eos, ut scirent quia ego Dominus qui sanctifico eos (Ezech. XX, 12). Hoc perfecte tunc sciemus, quando perfecte vacabimus, et perfecte videbimus quia ipse est Deus.

5. Ipse etiam numerus aetatum, veluti dierum, si secundum eos articulos temporis computetur, qui in Scripturis videntur expressi, iste sabbatismus evidentius apparebit, quoniam septimus invenitur: ut prima aetas tanquam dies primus sit ab Adam usque ad diluvium, secunda inde usque ad Abraham, non aequalitate temporum, sed numero generationum: denas quippe habere reperiuntur.

For in one way the learned and taught man forgets them, in another way the one who has experienced and suffered: the former, if he neglects his skill; the latter, if he lacks misery. According to this oblivion which I have placed in the latter place, the saints will not be mindful of past evils: for they will lack all, so that they may be entirely deleted from their senses. Nevertheless by that power of knowledge, which will be great in them, not only their own past, but even the sempiternal misery of the damned will not be hidden from them. Otherwise if they are to be ignorant that they were miserable, how, as the Psalm says, will they sing the mercies of the Lord forever (Ps. LXXXVIII, 2)? In which song in the glory of the grace of Christ, by whose blood we have been liberated, nothing surely will be more pleasant to that city. There will be perfected, 'Be vacant, and see that I am God' (Ps. XLV, 11). Which will truly be the greatest sabbath having no evening, which the Lord commended in the first works of the world, where it is read: 'And God rested on the seventh day from all His works, which He made: and God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because in it He rested from all His works, which God began to do' (Gen. II, 2, 3). For we ourselves shall be the seventh day, when we shall be full and refreshed by His blessing and sanctification. There being vacant we shall see that He Himself is God: which we ourselves wished to be to us, when we fell from Him, hearing from the seducer, 'You shall be as gods' (Id. III, 5); and receding from the true God, by whose making we should be gods by His participation, not by desertion. For what have we done without Him, unless that in His wrath we have failed (Ps. LXXXIX, 9)? Refreshed by whom, and perfected by greater grace, we shall be vacant in eternity, seeing that He Himself is God, with whom we shall be full, when He Himself shall be all in all. For even our good works themselves, when they are understood to be His rather than ours, then are they imputed to us for obtaining this sabbath. Because if we shall attribute them to ourselves, they will be servile; since of the sabbath it is said, 'Every servile work in it you shall not do' (Deut. V, 14). For which reason also through the prophet Ezekiel it is said, 'And I gave them my sabbaths for a sign between me and between them, that they might know that I am the Lord who sanctify them' (Ezek. XX, 12). This we shall know perfectly then, when we shall be perfectly vacant, and perfectly see that He Himself is God.

5. Even the number of ages, as if of days, if it be computed according to those articles of time which seem expressed in the Scriptures, this sabbatism will appear more evidently, since it is found to be the seventh: so that the first age may be as the first day from Adam until the flood, the second from there until Abraham, not by equality of times, but by the number of generations: for they are found to have ten each.

Hinc jam, sicut Matthaeus evangelista determinat, tres aetates usque ad Christi subsequuntur adventum, quae singulae denis et quaternis generationibus explicantur: ab Abraham usque ad David una, altera inde usque ad transmigrationem in Babyloniam, tertia inde usque ad Christi carnalem nativitatem. Fiunt itaque omnes quinque. Sexta nunc agitur, nullo generationum numero metienda, propter id quod dictum est, Non est vestrum scire tempora, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate (Act. I, 7). Post hanc tanquam in die septimo requiescet Deus, cum eundem septimum diem, quod nos erimus, in se ipso Deo faciet requiescere. De istis porro aetatibus singulis nunc diligenter longum est disputare. Haec tamen septima erit sabbatum nostrum, cujus finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut octavus aeternus, qui Christi resurrectione sacratus est, aeternam non solum spiritus, verum etiam corporis requiem praefigurans. Ibi vacabimus, et videbimus; videbimus, et amabimus; amabimus, et laudabimus. Ecce quod erit in fine sine fine. Nam quis alius noster est finis, nisi pervenire ad regnum, cujus nullus est finis?

6. Videor mihi debitum ingentis hujus operis, adjuvante Domino, reddidisse. Quibus parum, vel quibus nimium est, mihi ignoscant: quibus autem satis est, non mihi, sed Deo mecum gratias congratulantes agant. Amen.

From here already, as Matthew the evangelist determines, three ages follow until the advent of Christ, which are each unfolded in fourteen generations: from Abraham until David one, another from there until the transmigration into Babylonia, the third from there until the carnal birth of Christ. Thus they all become five. The sixth is now being enacted, to be measured by no number of generations, on account of that which was said, 'It is not for you to know the times, which the Father has put in His own power' (Acts I, 7). After this as if on the seventh day God will rest, when He will make that same seventh day, which we shall be, to rest in Himself as God. Furthermore, to dispute diligently concerning each of these ages now is a long matter. This seventh nevertheless will be our sabbath, whose end will not be the evening, but the Lord's day as if an eternal eighth, which was consecrated by the resurrection of Christ, prefiguring the eternal rest not only of the spirit, but also of the body. There we shall be vacant, and we shall see; we shall see, and we shall love; we shall love, and we shall praise. Behold what will be in the end without end. For what else is our end, unless to arrive at the kingdom of which there is no end?

6. I seem to myself to have rendered the debt of this huge work, with the Lord helping. To those to whom it is too little, or to those to whom it is too much, let them forgive me: to those moreover to whom it is enough, let them render thanks, congratulating not me, but God with me. Amen.