SAINT AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

The City of God

De Civitate Dei

SABBATISMUS

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

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THE TWENTY-TWO BOOKS OF SAINT AURELIUS AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO, TO MARCELLINUS ON THE CITY OF GOD AGAINST THE PAGANS.

BOOK FIRST.

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

PREFACE.

Of the design and argument of the undertaken work.

The most glorious city of God, whether in this course of time, when living by faith (Hab. 2:4) it sojourns as a stranger among the impious, or in that stability of the eternal seat, which it now awaits through patience (Rom. 8:25), until justice be turned into judgment (Ps. 94:15), hereafter to be obtained through excellence by the final victory and perfect peace, I have undertaken to defend in this work, instituted at your request and owed by my promise, against those who prefer their own gods to its Founder, my dearest son Marcellinus. A great and arduous work: but God is our helper (Ps. 62:8). For I know what powers

are needed to persuade the proud how great is the virtue of humility, by which it comes to pass that a height, not usurped by human pride, but given by divine grace, transcends all earthly summits that totter with temporal instability. For the King and Founder of this city, concerning which we have resolved to speak, has revealed in the Scripture to His people the sentence of the divine law, in which it is said: God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble (James 4:6; and 1 Pet. 5:5). This indeed, which belongs to God, the inflated spirit of a proud soul also affects, and loves to have it said to itself in praises: To spare the subject and to battle down the proud (Virgil, Aeneid, Book 6, line 853). Wherefore, also concerning the earthly city, which, when it seeks to dominate, even though the nations serve it, is itself dominated by that very lust of dominating, I must not pass over in silence whatever the plan of this undertaken work requires and the opportunity is given to say.

CHAPTER I.

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

For from this city arise the enemies against whom the City of God must be defended: many of whom, however, having corrected the error of their impiety, become sufficiently suitable citizens therein; but many are inflamed against it with such fires of hatred, and are so ungrateful for the manifest benefits of its Redeemer, that today

they would not move their tongues against it, unless, fleeing from the hostile sword, they had found in its sacred places that life of which they are proud. Are not those very Romans hostile to the name of Christ, whom the barbarians spared for Christ's sake? The places of the martyrs and the basilicas of the Apostles are witnesses to this, which in that devastation of the City received those who fled to them, whether their own or strangers. Thus far the bloodstained enemy raged; there the fury of the slayer found its limit: thither the victims were led by merciful foes, who had spared them even outside those places, lest they should fall in with those who did not have similar mercy. Yet even those who elsewhere were fierce and raged in hostile fashion, as soon as they came to those places where what was elsewhere permitted by the law of war was forbidden, all their cruelty in striking was restrained, and their desire for making captives was broken. Thus many escaped, who now disparage Christian times and impute to Christ the evils which that city suffered; but the good things which were done to them, that they might live, out of honor for Christ, they do not impute to our Christ, but to their own fate: whereas they ought rather, if they had any right sense, to attribute those things which they suffered as harsh and hard from the enemy to that divine providence which is wont to amend and wear down the corrupt morals of men by wars; and likewise to exercise the just and laudable life of mortals by such afflictions, and having proved it, either to

transfer it to better things or to detain it still on this earth for other uses: but that which was done for them, whether anywhere else because of the name of Christ, or in the places most dedicated and spacious for the name of Christ, and chosen for a wider mercy for the capacity of the multitude, the truculent barbarians spared them contrary to the custom of wars, this they should attribute to Christian times; for this they should give thanks to God, for this they should truly run to His name, that they may escape the pains of eternal fire; which name many of them falsely usurped, that they might escape the pains of present destruction. For among those whom you see petulantly and insolently insulting the servants of Christ, there are very many who would not have escaped that ruin and slaughter, unless they had feigned themselves to be servants of Christ. And now with ungrateful pride and most impious madness they resist His name with a perverse heart, so that they may be punished with everlasting darkness, to which name they fled with a guileful mouth, that they might enjoy temporal light.

CHAPTER II.

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

So many wars have been waged and recorded, either before the founding of Rome, or from its rise and empire: let them read and produce some

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

CHAPTER III.

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

Behold what kind of gods the Romans rejoiced to have commended themselves to for the protection of the City. O most miserable error! And they are angry with us when we say such things of their gods, yet they are not angry with their own authors, whom they paid to learn from; and they even held those teachers most worthy of both a public salary and honors. Surely in Virgil, whom for this reason children read, so that forsooth a great poet and the most illustrious and best of all, being drunk in by tender minds, might not easily be abolished by oblivion; according to that saying of Horace: "The jar will long preserve the odor with which it was once steeped when new" (Epist. Book 1, Ep. 2, lines 69, 70); in this Virgil, then, Juno is introduced as hostile to the Trojans, saying to Aeolus, the king of the winds, to incite him against them: "A race hostile to me sails the Tyrrhenian sea, carrying Ilium into Italy, and their conquered household gods" (Aeneid, Book 1, lines 67, 68). Was it thus to these conquered household gods that prudent men ought to have commended Rome, lest it should be conquered? But these things Juno said as an angry woman, not knowing what she spoke. What of Aeneas himself, so often called "pious"? does he not thus relate: "Panthus, son of Othrys, priest of the citadel and of Apollo, himself drags along the sacred objects, and the conquered gods, and his little grandson, and distracted runs to the threshold"? (Aeneid, Book 2, lines 319-321.) Does he not show that the gods themselves, whom he does not hesitate to call "conquered," were

commended to him rather than he to them, when it is said to him: "Troy commends to you its sacred objects and its household gods"? (Ibid. line 293.) If, therefore, Virgil calls such gods both conquered, and, so that even being conquered they might in any way escape, commended to a man; what madness is it to think that Rome was wisely committed to these protectors, and that unless it had lost them, it could not have been devastated? Nay, rather, to worship conquered gods as presidents and defenders, what else is it than to hold not good divinities (numina), but bad omens (omina)? For how much more wisely is it believed, not that Rome would not have come to that slaughter unless they had first perished; but rather that they would have long ago perished unless Rome had preserved them as much as she could? For who, when he attends to it, does not see with how much vanity it is presumed that one cannot be conquered under conquered defenders, and that it perished because it lost its guardian gods; when the very fact of having wished to have guardians who were to perish could be the sole cause of perishing? Therefore, when those things were written and sung concerning the conquered gods, it was not that it pleased the poets to lie, but truth compelled thinking men to confess. But these matters are to be treated more opportunely in another place, diligently and copiously: now let me briefly explain, as I can, what I had begun to say concerning ungrateful men: who blasphemously impute to Christ those evils which they

deservedly suffer for the perversity of their own morals; but that they are spared, even being such as they are, for Christ's sake, they do not deign to notice, and they exercise those tongues against His name with the madness of sacrilegious insolence, with which tongues they falsely usurped that very name that they might live; or which tongues they pressed through fear in places sacred to Him, so that being safe and protected there, where for His sake they were uninjured by the enemy, they might break out from thence in hostile curses against Him.

CHAPTER IV.

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

Troy itself, as I said, the mother of the Roman people, was not able to protect its citizens in the sacred places of its gods from the fire and sword of the Greeks, who themselves worshipped the same gods: nay, even "in the asylum of Juno, chosen guards, Phoenix and dire Ulysses, kept watch over the spoil; hither from all sides Troy's treasure, snatched from the burning shrines, the tables of the gods, bowls of solid gold, and captive raiment are heaped up: boys and fearful mothers in a long line stand around." (Virgil, Aeneid, Book 2, lines 761-767.) A place was chosen, forsooth, sacred to so great a goddess, not where it was not permitted to lead out captives, but where it was permitted to shut in captives. Compare now

that asylum, not of any common god of the herd or from the crowd of the plebs, but of the sister and wife of Jupiter himself and the queen of all the gods, with the memorials of our Apostles. To the former, when the temples were burned and the gods snatched away, the spoils were carried, not to be restored to the conquered, but to be divided by the victors; but to the latter, even what was found elsewhere to belong to those places was reported with honor and most religious observance. There liberty was lost, here preserved; there captivity was shut in, here prohibited; there victims were oppressed by dominating foes as their possessions, here they were led by merciful ones to be set free: finally, the avarice and pride of the frivolous Greeks had chosen that temple of Juno for themselves; the mercy and humility of even the cruel barbarians have chosen these basilicas of Christ. Unless, perchance, the Greeks in that victory of theirs spared the temples of the common gods, and did not dare to strike or make captive the miserable and conquered Trojans who fled thither; but Virgil, after the manner of poets, lied in these things. Nay, rather, he described the custom of enemies overturning cities.

CHAPTER V.

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

Which custom also Caesar (as Sallust writes, a historian of noble truth) does not fail to commemorate in his opinion, which he delivered in

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

CHAPTER VI.

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

Why then should our discourse run through many nations, which have waged wars among themselves and nowhere spared the conquered in the seats of their gods? Let us see the Romans themselves: them, I say, let us recall and look back upon, concerning whose chief praise it was said: "To spare the subject and to battle down the proud"; and that "they preferred rather to forgive than to avenge a received injury" (Sallust, Bellum Catilinae, chap. 9); when they overturned so many and so great cities, stormed and captured that they might dominate far and wide, let us read what temples they were wont to except, so

that whoever had fled to them should be set free. Or did they do it, and the writers of the same deeds were silent about these things? Would it be so indeed, that they who sought out what they might especially praise, would pass over these most illustrious signs of piety according to themselves? The excellent Marcus Marcellus of the Roman name, who took Syracuse, a most ornate city, is reported to have wept for it before its ruin, and to have shed his own tears for it before its blood. He also took care for chastity, even to be preserved in an enemy. For before the victor had commanded the town to be invaded, he established by edict that no one should violate a free person. Yet the city was overturned after the manner of wars, and nowhere is it read that it was commanded by so chaste and merciful a general that whoever fled to this or that temple should depart unhurt. Which certainly would by no means be passed over, when neither his weeping, nor that he had edicted that chastity should not be violated, could be kept silent. Fabius, the overturner of the city of Tarentum, is praised for having abstained from the plundering of images. For when a scribe had suggested to him what he should command to be done with the statues of the gods, which had been captured in great numbers, he seasoned his continence even with a jest. For he asked what kind they were: and when it was reported to him that they were not only many and large, but also armed, he said, "Let us leave the angry gods to the Tarentines." Since, therefore, the writers of Roman deeds could not

keep silent neither the weeping of the former, nor the laughter of the latter, nor the chaste mercy of the one, nor the witty continence of the other; when would it be passed over, if they had spared any men in honor of any of their gods in such a way that they prohibited slaughter or captivity to be made in any temple?

CHAPTER VII.

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

Whatever devastation, slaughter, plundering, burning, and affliction was committed in that most recent Roman calamity, was done by the custom of wars. But that which was done in a new way, that in such an unusual aspect of things barbarian ferocity appeared so mild that very spacious basilicas were chosen and designated to be filled with the people who were to be spared, where no one was to be struck, from whence no one was to be snatched, whither many were led by merciful foes to be set free, from whence none were to be led away into captivity even by cruel foes; whoever does not see that this is to be attributed to the name of Christ and to Christian times is blind; whoever sees it and does not praise it is ungrateful; whoever resists one who praises it is insane. Far be it from any prudent person to impute this to the ferocity of the barbarians. He terrified, He bridled, He wonderfully tempered

their most truculent and savage minds, who long ago predicted by the prophet: "I will visit their iniquities with a rod, and their sins with scourges; but my mercy I will not disperse from them" (Psalm 89:32, 33).

CHAPTER VIII.

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

1. Some one will say: Why then did that divine mercy reach even to the impious and ungrateful? Why do we think, except because He provided it who daily "makes His sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and rains upon the just and the unjust"? (Matt. 5:45). For although some of them, considering these things, correct themselves from their impiety by repenting; yet others, as the Apostle says, "despising the riches of the goodness and long-suffering of God, according to the hardness of their heart and impenitent heart treasure up for themselves wrath in the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works" (Rom. 2:4, 5, 6): nevertheless the patience of God invites the evil to repentance, just as the scourge of God instructs the good in patience. And likewise the mercy of God embraces the good to be cherished, just as the severity of God seizes the evil to be punished. For it pleased divine providence to prepare for the future good things for the just, which the unjust shall not enjoy; and evil things for the impious, with which the good shall

not be tormented. But He willed these temporal good and evil things to be common to both: so that neither the good things might be too eagerly sought, which the evil also are seen to have; nor the evil things be basely avoided, with which even the good are for the most part afflicted.

2. But it matters very much what is the use of those things which are prosperous, or of those which are called adverse. For the good man is neither puffed up by temporal good things, nor broken by evil things; but the evil man is punished by this kind of unhappiness for this reason, because he is corrupted by happiness. Yet God often shows His operation even in distributing these things more evidently. For if now every sin were to be punished with manifest penalty, it would be thought that nothing was reserved for the final judgment: on the other hand, if the Divinity now punished no sin openly, it would be believed that there was no divine providence. Similarly in prosperous things, if God did not grant them to some who ask with most evident bounty, we should say that these things did not pertain to Him: and likewise if He gave them to all who ask, we should think that He was not to be served except for the sake of such rewards; nor would such service make us pious, but rather covetous and avaricious. These things being so, whatever good and evil men have suffered together, they themselves are not therefore not distinct, because that which they both suffered is not distinct. For the dissimilarity of the sufferers remains even in the similarity of the sufferings; and although under

the same torment, virtue and vice are not the same. For as under one fire gold glows and dross smokes; and under the same threshing-floor the straws are crushed and the grains are cleansed; nor is the oil-dregs confounded with the oil, because it is expressed by the same weight of the press: so one and the same force rushing in proves, purifies, and melts the good; it damns, devastates, and exterminates the evil. Wherefore in the same affliction the evil detest and blaspheme God; but the good pray and praise Him. So much does it matter, not what things, but what sort of person each one suffers. For by the same motion stirred up, the mud exhales horribly, and the ointment smells sweetly.

CHAPTER IX.

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

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

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

2. For if for this reason anyone spares those acting poorly from being rebuked and corrected, because he seeks a more opportune time, or fears

for those very same persons, lest they should be made worse by this, or lest they should hinder others who are weak from being instructed in a good and pious life, and should oppress and turn them away from the faith; it does not seem to be an occasion of cupidity, but a counsel of charity. That is culpable, that those who live differently and abhor the deeds of the evil, yet spare the sins of others, which they ought to unteach or rebuke, while they avoid their offenses, lest they should harm themselves in those things which the good and innocent lawfully use, but more covetously than was fitting for those who are pilgrims in this world and bear before them the hope of a heavenly country. For not only the weaker, leading a conjugal life, having children or seeking to have them, possessing houses and families (whom the Apostle addresses in the Churches, teaching and admonishing how they ought to live both wives with husbands, and husbands with wives, and children with parents, and parents with children, and servants with masters, and masters with servants [Colossians 3:18-22]), freely acquire and painfully lose many temporal things, many earthly things, on account of which they do not dare to offend men whose most contaminated and most criminal life displeases them: but even those who hold a higher grade of life, and are not entangled in conjugal bonds, and use little food and covering, for the most part consulting their own reputation and safety, while they fear the snares and attacks of the evil, abstain from their reprehension. And although

they do not fear them so much as to yield to any of their terrors and improprieties for perpetrating similar things; yet those very things which they do not perpetrate with them, they for the most part do not wish to rebuke, when perhaps they might be able to correct some by rebuking; lest, if they should not be able, their own safety and reputation should come into danger and destruction: not by that consideration by which they see their reputation and safety to be necessary for the utility of men to be instructed; but rather by that infirmity by which a flattering tongue and the human day (1 Cor. 4:3) delights, and the judgment of the common people and the torment or destruction of the flesh is dreaded; that is, on account of certain bonds of cupidity, not on account of the duties of charity.

3. Therefore it does not seem to me that this is a small cause why the good are scourged together with the evil, when it pleases God to punish lost morals even with the affliction of temporal penalties. For they are scourged together, not because they together lead an evil life, but because they together love the temporal life; not indeed equally, but yet together: which the good ought to despise, so that those rebuked and corrected might attain the eternal; to attain which, if they did not wish to be associates, they should be borne and loved as enemies: because, as long as they live, it is always uncertain whether they are about to change their will for the better. In which matter they have by no means an equal, but a far graver cause, to whom it is said by the prophet,

"He indeed shall die in his sin, but his blood I will require from the hand of the watchman" (Ezekiel 33:6). For for this purpose watchmen, that is, those set over the peoples, were constituted in the Churches, that they should not spare sins by rebuking. Nor yet is he entirely foreign to a fault of this kind, who, although he is not set over, yet in those to whom he is joined by the necessity of this life, knows many things to be admonished or argued, and neglects it, avoiding their offenses on account of those things which he use in this life not unduly, but is delighted with more than he ought. Then the good have another cause why they should be afflicted with temporal evils, such as Job had: that his human soul itself might be proved and known, with what virtue of piety it loves God for naught.

CHAPTER X.

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

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

[CHAPTER X.] They lost all things which they had. Did they lose faith? did they lose piety? did they lose the goods of the inner man, who is rich before God (1 Peter 3:4)? These are the riches of

Christians, with which the Apostle said he was wealthy: "But godliness with sufficiency is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, but neither can we carry anything out: but having food and covering, with these let us be content. For those who wish to become rich fall into temptation and a snare, and many foolish and harmful desires, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For avarice is the root of all evils: which some desiring, have wandered from the faith, and have pierced themselves through with many sorrows" (1 Tim. 6:6-10).

2. To those, therefore, for whom earthly riches perished in that devastation, if they held them in such a way as they had heard from that man who was poor outside but rich inside; that is, if they used the world as though not using it (1 Cor. 7:31): they were able to say, as he who was severely tempted and by no means overcome: "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, naked shall I return to the earth. The Lord gave, the Lord has taken away; as it pleased the Lord, so it was done: blessed be the name of the Lord" (Job 1:21): so that a good servant might have as great resources the very will of his Lord, being enriched in mind as a follower, nor be saddened by those things being left while living, which he was soon to leave while dying. But those weaker ones, who although they did not prefer these earthly goods to Christ, yet adhered to them with some small cupidity; they felt by losing them how much they sinned by loving them. For they grieved just so much as they had pierced

themselves through with sorrows; as I recalled above that the Apostle said. For it was fitting that to them should be added even the discipline of experiences, by whom the discipline of words had been for so long neglected. For when the Apostle said, "Those who wish to become rich fall into temptation," and so forth; surely he rebuked the cupidity in riches, not the resource: who commanded elsewhere, saying, "Command the rich of this world, not to be proudly wise, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches; but in the living God, who provides for us all things abundantly for enjoyment; let them do well, let them be rich in good works, let them easily give, communicate, treasure up for themselves a good foundation for the future, that they may apprehend true life" (1 Tim. 6:17-19). Those who were doing these things with their riches, have consoled light losses with great gains; and have rejoiced more from those things which, by easily giving, they more safely preserved, than they were saddened from those things which, by timidly retaining, they more easily lost. For that could perish on earth, which it was loathsome to transfer from there. For those who received the counsel of their Lord, saying, "Do not store up for yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and rust destroy, and where thieves dig through and steal; but treasure up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where no thief approaches, nor moth corrupts: for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also" (Matt. 6:19-21); in the time of tribulation they proved how rightly they were wise, by not contemning

the most true Teacher and the most faithful and invincible guardian of their treasure. For if many rejoiced that they had their riches there, where it happened that the enemy did not approach; how much more certainly and securely could they rejoice who, by the admonition of their God, had migrated thither, where no one could approach at all? Whence our Paulinus, bishop of Nola, from being most opulent and rich, becoming most poor by will and most abundantly holy, when the Barbarians devastated Nola itself, since he was held by them, prayed thus in his heart, as we later learned from him: "Lord, let me not be tormented for gold and silver; for where all my things are, You know." For there he had all his things, where He had shown him to store and treasure them up, who also had foretold that these evils were about to come to the world. And through this, those who had obeyed their Lord admonishing where and how they ought to treasure up, did not lose even those earthly riches when the Barbarians rushed in: but those who repented not having obeyed, learned what was to be done concerning such things, if not by preceding wisdom, certainly by following experience.

3. But indeed some good men, even Christians, were tortured, that they might betray their goods to the enemies. But they were able neither to betray nor to lose that good by which they themselves were good. But if they preferred to be tortured rather than to betray the mammon of iniquity, they were not good. But they were to be admonished, who suffered so great things

for gold, how great things were to be sustained for Christ: that they might rather learn to love Him who would enrich those having suffered for Him with eternal happiness; not gold and silver, for which it was most miserable to suffer, whether it were hidden by lying or betrayed by telling the truth. For during the torments no one lost Christ by confessing Him: no one saved gold except by denying it. Wherefore perhaps the torments were more useful which taught that an incorruptible good was to be loved, than those goods which tortured their masters with the love of themselves without any useful fruit. But some even not having what they might betray, while they are not believed, were tortured. And these perhaps desired to have, nor were they poor by a holy will: to whom it was to be demonstrated that not the resources, but those very cupidities are worthy of such torments. But if by a proposal of a better life they did not have hidden gold and silver, I know not indeed whether it happened to any of such, that while he is believed to have, he was tortured: nevertheless even if it happened, surely he who among those torments was confessing holy poverty, was confessing Christ. Wherefore even if he did not merit to be believed by the enemies, yet a confessor of holy poverty could not be tortured without a heavenly reward.

4. [XI.] Many, they say, even Christians, a long famine has devastated. This also the good faithful turned into their own uses by piously tolerating it. For those whom famine killed, it snatched from the evils of this life, as a disease of the body:

but those whom it did not kill, it taught to live more sparingly, it taught to fast more lengthily.

CHAPTER XI.

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

But indeed many Christians were also killed, many consumed by a foul variety of many deaths. If this is to be borne with difficulty, it is certainly common to all who have been procreated into this life. This I know, that no one has died who was not at some time about to die. But the end of life makes the same of a life as long as of one as short. For one thing is not better, and another worse; or one greater, and another shorter, which is already equally not at all. But what does it matter by what kind of death this life is finished, when he for whom it is finished is not compelled to die again? But when to each one of mortals under the daily accidents of this life innumerable deaths in a certain way threaten, as long as it is uncertain which of them is about to come; I ask whether it is better to suffer one by dying, or to fear all by living. Nor am I ignorant how much more sluggishly it is chosen to live long under the fear of so many deaths, than by dying once to dread none thereafter. But it is one thing which the sense of the flesh weakly fearful avoids, another which the reason of the mind diligently scrutinized convinces. Death is not to be thought evil, which a good life has preceded: for nothing makes death evil except what follows death. Therefore it is not much to be cared for by those

who are necessarily about to die, what happens that they should die; but by dying whither they are compelled to go. Since therefore Christians know that the death of the religious poor man among the tongues of licking dogs was far better than that of the impious rich man in purple and fine linen (Luke 16:19-31); those horrendous kinds of deaths, what did they harm the dead who lived well?

CHAPTER XII.

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

1. But indeed in so great a slaughter of carcasses they could not even be buried. Nor does pious faith dread that too much, holding what was foretold, that the devouring beasts would not harm the bodies about to rise, of whom not a hair of the head shall perish (Luke 21:18). By no means would Truth say, "Do not fear those who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul" (Matt. 10:28); if anything were to harm the future life, whatever the enemies should have wished to do with the bodies of the slain. Unless perhaps someone is so absurd as to contend that those who kill the body ought not to be feared before death, lest they kill the body, and ought to be feared after death, lest they should not permit the slain body to be buried. False therefore is what Christ says, "Those who kill the body, and afterwards have nothing that they may do" (Luke 12:4); if they have so many things which they

may do with the carcasses. Let it be far that what Truth said should be false. For it was said that they do something when they kill, because there is sense in the body by killing; but afterwards to have nothing which they may do, because there is no sense in the slain body. Therefore many bodies of Christians the earth has not covered: but no one has separated any of them from heaven and earth, which He fills entirely by the presence of Himself, who knows whence He may resuscitate what He created. It is said indeed in the Psalm, "They have placed the dead bodies of Your servants as food for the birds of heaven, the flesh of Your saints for the beasts of the earth: they have poured out their blood like water round about Jerusalem, and there was no one who might bury" (Psalm 79:2, 3): but more for exaggerating the cruelty of those who did these things, not for the unhappiness of those who suffered these things. For although these things seem hard and dire in the sight of men; "but precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints" (Psalm 116:15). Accordingly all those things, that is, the care of the funeral, the condition of the burial, the pomp of the obsequies, are rather solaces of the living than subsidies of the dead. If a precious burial profits the impious anything, a vile one or none will harm the pious. A crowd of servants exhibited distinguished obsequies in the sight of men to that purple-clad rich man: but far more distinguished in the sight of the Lord the ministry of Angels provided to that ulcerous poor man,

who did not carry him out into a marble tomb, but raised him up into the bosom of Abraham.

2. Those laugh at these things against whom we have undertaken to defend the city of God. Nevertheless even their philosophers contemned the care of burial: and often entire armies, while they were dying for their earthly country, cared not where they might afterwards lie, or for which beasts they might become food: and it was permitted to the poets to say plausibly concerning this matter: "He is covered by heaven, who has no urn." How much less ought they to insult Christians concerning unburied bodies, to whom the reformation of the flesh itself and of all members, not only from the earth, but also from the most secret bosom of the other elements, into which the collapsed carcasses have receded, is promised to be rendered and reintegrated in a point of time (1 Cor. 15:52)?

CHAPTER XIII.

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

Nevertheless, the bodies of the defunct are not therefore to be contemned and cast away, and especially of the just and faithful, which the Holy Spirit has used as organs and vessels for all good works. For if a paternal garment and ring, and if anything of this kind, is so much the dearer to posterity as the affection toward parents is greater; by no means are the bodies themselves to be spurned, which certainly we wear much more familiarly and conjunctly than any garments. For

these do not pertain to ornament or help which is applied from without, but to the very nature of man. Whence also the funerals of the ancient just were cared for with dutiful piety, and obsequies celebrated, and burial provided (Gen. 25:9; 35:29; 50:2-13, etc.): and they themselves while they were living, commanded their sons concerning burying or even transferring their bodies (Id. 47:29, 30; 50:24): and Tobias is commended for having merited before God by burying the dead, the angel being witness (Tobit 2:9; 12:12). The Lord Himself also, about to rise on the third day, preaches the good work of the religious woman, and commands it to be preached, that she poured precious ointment over His members, and did this for His burial (Matt. 26:10-13). And those are laudably commemorated in the Gospel who cared for His body received from the cross to be diligently and honorably covered and buried (John 19:38-42). But these authorities do not admonish this, that any sense is in the carcasses; but they signify that the bodies also of the dead pertain to the providence of God, to whom such duties of piety also are pleasing, for the sake of establishing faith in the resurrection. Where also it is wholesomely learned how great the remuneration can be for alms which we exhibit to the living and feeling, if this too is not lost with God, which is paid to the lifeless members of men as a duty and diligence. There are indeed also other things which the holy Patriarchs wished to be understood as said by a prophetic spirit concerning their bodies either being stored or transferred:

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

CHAPTER XIV.

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

But many, they say, Christians were even led captive. This indeed is most miserable, if they could be led anywhere where they did not find their God. There are in the holy Scriptures great solaces even of this calamity. The three youths were in captivity, Daniel was, other prophets were: nor was God lacking as a consoler. So therefore He did not desert His faithful under the domination of a nation, although barbarian, yet

human, who did not desert the prophet even in the bowels of a beast (Jonah 2). These things also those with whom we deal prefer to deride rather than to believe: who yet in their own literature believe that Arion of Methymna, a most noble citharist, when he had been cast down from a ship, was received on the back of a dolphin and carried to the lands. But that of ours concerning the prophet Jonah is more incredible. Plainly more incredible, because more wonderful; and more wonderful, because more powerful.

CHAPTER XV.

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

1. Those, however, have also a most noble example of captivity even voluntarily to be tolerated for the cause of religion among their distinguished men. Marcus Attilius Regulus, a general of the Roman people, was a captive among the Carthaginians. Who, since they preferred that their own be returned to them by the Romans, rather than to hold their captives, for the sake of impetrating this sent also this Regulus especially with their legates to Rome, first bound by an oath, that if he should have by no means performed what they wished, he was about to return to Carthage. He went, and in the senate persuaded the contrary, since he did not think it useful to the Roman republic to exchange captives. Nor after this persuasion was he compelled

by his own to return to the enemies; but what he had sworn, that he fulfilled voluntarily. But they killed him with excogitated and horrendous torments. For having shut him up in a narrow wooden enclosure, where he was compelled to stand, and fixed with most sharp nails on every side, so that he might incline himself toward no part of it without most atrocious penalties, they also destroyed him by wakefulness. Worthily certainly they praise a virtue greater than so great an unhappiness. And he had sworn by the gods, by whose prohibited worship they think these calamities are inflicted on the human race. If those, therefore, were worshipped for this purpose, that they might render this life prosperous, if they either willed or permitted these penalties to be imposed on him who swore truly, what could they have done more heavily enraged against a perjurer? But why should I not rather conclude my reasoning to both? Surely he so worshipped the gods, that on account of the faith of his oath he would neither remain in his country, nor go anywhere from there, but did by no means doubt to return to his most bitter enemies. If he thought this useful for this life, whose so horrendous exit he merited, without doubt he was deceived. For he taught by his own example that the gods profit their worshippers nothing for this temporal happiness: since indeed he, devoted to their worship, and being conquered and led away captive, and because he did not wish to do otherwise than as he had sworn by them, was extinguished having been tortured with a

new and previously unheard-of and too-horrible kind of punishment. But if the worship of the gods returns happiness as a reward after this life, why do they calumniate Christian times, saying that that calamity happened to the City for this reason, because it ceased to worship its gods, since even worshipping them most diligently one could become as unhappy as that Regulus was? Unless perhaps someone struggles with such dementia of wonderful blindness against the most clear truth, as to dare to contend that a whole city worshipping the gods cannot be unhappy, but one man can; because, forsooth, the power of their gods is more fit to preserve many rather than individuals; since a multitude consists of individuals.

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

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

CHAPTER XVI.

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

They think they object a great crime to the Christians, when, exaggerating their captivity, they add also the violations committed, not only upon others' marriages and virgins about to marry, but even upon certain nuns. Here indeed not faith, not piety, not that virtue itself which is called chastity, but rather our disputation is con-

strained within certain narrows between shame and reason. Nor do we care here so much to return an answer to strangers, as to provide consolation to our own. Let it therefore be first laid down and established, that the virtue by which one lives rightly commands the members of the body from the seat of the mind, and that the body becomes holy by the use of a holy will: which remaining unshaken and stable, whatever another may have done of the body or in the body, which cannot be avoided without one's own sin, is beyond the fault of the sufferer. But because not only what pertains to pain, but also what pertains to lust, can be perpetrated in another's body; whatever of such kind shall have been done, even if it does not shake out the chastity retained with a most constant mind, yet it incites shame; lest it be believed to have been done with the will of the mind also, which perhaps could not be done without some pleasure of the flesh.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of voluntary death for fear of punishment or disgrace.

And by this, who of human affection would not wish to be forgiven those women who killed themselves lest they should suffer anything of this kind? and as for those who would not kill themselves, lest they should avoid another's crime by their own misdeed, whoever shall charge this to them as a crime will not himself be free from the crime of foolishness. For certainly, if it is not permitted by private authority to kill

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

CHAPTER XVIII.

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

1. But indeed, it is feared lest even another's lust should pollute. It will not pollute, if it be another's; but if it pollute, it will not be another's. But since chastity is a virtue of the mind, and has

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

2. For the body is not holy because its members are entire, or because they are handled by no touch; since they can suffer violence when wounded by various accidents, and physicians sometimes, aiding health, do such things there as the sight abhors. A midwife, as if exploring

the integrity of a certain virgin with her hand, whether by ill-will, or ignorance, or accident, destroyed it while inspecting: I do not suppose anyone so foolishly wise as to think that anything of the sanctity of her body also has perished for her, although the integrity of that member is now lost. Wherefore, while the purpose of the mind remains, through which the body also deserved to be sanctified, the violence of another's lust does not take away sanctity even from the body itself, which the perseverance of its own continence preserves. Or indeed, if some woman, corrupted in mind and having violated the purpose she had vowed to God, should go to be defiled to her deceiver; do we call her still going holy even in body, that sanctity of the mind by which the body was sanctified being lost and destroyed? Far be this error: and from this let us rather be admonished, that the sanctity of the body is not lost, the sanctity of the mind remaining, even when the body is oppressed, just as the sanctity of the body is lost when the sanctity of the mind is violated, even when the body is untouched. Wherefore, a woman violently oppressed without any consent of hers, and crushed by another's sin, has nothing to punish in herself by spontaneous death: how much less before this happens; lest a certain homicide be admitted, while the disgrace itself, although another's, still hangs uncertain?

CHAPTER XIX.

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

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

2. But what is this, that she is more severely punished who did not admit adultery? For he

was driven from his country with his father; she was slaughtered with the supreme punishment. If that is not unchastity by which she is unwillingly oppressed; this is not justice by which a chaste woman is punished. I appeal to you, Roman laws and judges. Surely after crimes are perpetrated you have not wished any wicked man to be killed uncondemned with impunity. If therefore anyone had brought this crime before your judgment, and it were proved to you that not only an uncondemned woman, but even a chaste and innocent one had been killed; would you not punish him who had done it with congruent severity? This did that Lucretia do; that, that so lauded Lucretia moreover slew the innocent, chaste Lucretia who had suffered violence. Pronounce the sentence. But if for this reason you cannot, because there is no one present whom you can punish; why do you praise with such great preaching the murderess of an innocent and chaste woman? Whom certainly before the infernal judges, even such as are chanted in the songs of your poets, you defend by no reason, being established, forsooth, among those, "who by their own hand brought death upon themselves, though guiltless, and hating the light, cast away their souls. To whom, desiring to return to the upper world, the fates stand in the way, and the unnavigable marsh with its dismal water binds them." (Virgil, Aeneid, Book 6, lines 434-439.) Or perhaps she is not there for this reason, because she killed herself not guiltless, but conscious of evil in herself? For what if (which she alone could

know) although the youth rushed in violently, she also consented, enticed by her own lust, and punishing this in herself so grieved that she thought it should be expiated by death? Although not even so ought she to have killed herself, if she could have performed fruitful repentance before the false gods. Nevertheless, if perchance it is so, and that is false which says that there were two, and one committed adultery, but rather both committed adultery, one by manifest invasion, the other by latent consent: she did not kill herself guiltless, and therefore it can be said by her learned defenders that she is not among those in the lower world "who by their own hand brought death upon themselves, though guiltless." But thus this cause is so constrained on both sides, that if the homicide is extenuated, the adultery is confirmed; if the adultery is purged, the homicide is heaped up: nor is any exit found at all, where it is said, If adulterated, why praised? if chaste, why killed?

3. Nevertheless, for us, in this so noble example of this woman, for the purpose of refuting those who, being estranged from all thought of holiness, insult Christian women oppressed in captivity, it is sufficient what was said in her illustrious praises: "Two were there, and one committed adultery." For such a Lucretia was rather believed by them, as could not stain herself with any adulterous consent. That she therefore killed herself, since she suffered an adulterer, although not herself adulterated, is not the charity of chastity, but the infirmity of shame. For

she was ashamed of the foulness of another committed upon her, even if not with her; and the Roman woman, too greedy for praise, feared exceedingly lest it should be thought that what she suffered violently while she lived, she would have suffered willingly if she continued to live. Wherefore she thought that that punishment should be applied before the eyes of men as a witness of her mind, to whom she could not demonstrate her conscience. For she blushed to be believed a partner in the deed if she bore patiently what another had foully done in her. Not so did the Christian women act, who live having suffered similar things. Yet they did not avenge the crime of another upon themselves, lest they should add their own to the wickedness of others, if, because enemies had committed violations in them by lusting, they themselves should commit homicides in themselves by blushing. For they have within the glory of chastity, the testimony of conscience: they have it, moreover, before the eyes of their God, and they require no more, where they have no more that they can do rightly; lest they should deviate from the authority of the divine law, while they evilly avoid the offense of human suspicion.

CHAPTER XX.

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

For not in vain can it be found nowhere divinely commanded or permitted to us in the holy

canonical Books, that for the sake of either attaining immortality itself, or of lacking or avoiding any evil, we should bring death upon ourselves. For we must understand that we are prohibited where the Law says, "Thou shalt not kill": especially because it did not add, "thy neighbor": as when it forbade false witness, it said, "Thou shalt not speak false witness against thy neighbor" (Exod. 20:13, 16). Nor yet, if anyone should speak false witness against himself, would he think himself estranged from this crime. Since the lover received the rule of loving his neighbor from himself; since indeed it is written, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Matth. 22:39). Furthermore, if he is no less guilty of false witness who confesses false things about himself than if he did this against his neighbor; although in that precept by which false witness is prohibited, it is prohibited against a neighbor, and it might seem to those not rightly understanding that it is not prohibited that anyone should stand as a false witness against himself: how much more is it to be understood that it is not lawful for a man to kill himself, since in that which is written, "Thou shalt not kill," with nothing then added, no one, not even he to whom it is commanded, is understood to be excepted? Whence some attempt to extend this precept even to beasts and cattle, so that from this it is not lawful to kill even any of them. Why not therefore also herbs, and whatever is nourished and fixed by its roots in the ground? For even this kind of things, although it does not feel, is said to live; and through this

it can also die; and likewise also, when force is applied, be killed. Whence also the Apostle, when he spoke of seeds of this sort, says, "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die" (1 Cor. 15:36). And in the Psalm it is written, "He killed their vines with hail" (Psal. 77:47). Do we therefore for this reason, when we hear, "Thou shalt not kill," deem it a nefas to pluck a twig, and most insanely acquiesce in the error of the Manichaeans? These ravings therefore being removed, when we read, "Thou shalt not kill," if for this reason we do not accept this as having been said of shrubs, because they have no sense; nor of irrational animals, whether flying, swimming, walking, or creeping, because they are associated with us by no reason, which it has not been given them to have in common with us; whence by the most just ordination of the Creator both their life and death are subjected to our uses: it remains that we understand of man what is said, "Thou shalt not kill": neither another, therefore, nor thyself. For he who kills himself kills nothing else than a man.

CHAPTER XXI.

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

The same divine authority itself, however, has made certain exceptions, so that it is lawful for a man to be killed. But these being excepted, whom God commands to be killed, whether by a law given, or by a command expressed to a person

for the time: he, however, does not kill who owes ministry to the one commanding, just as a sword is a help to the one using it: and therefore they by no means acted against this precept, by which it was said, "Thou shalt not kill," who have waged wars by God's authority, or bearing the person of public power according to His laws, that is, the command of most just reason, have punished wicked men with death. And Abraham not only was not blamed for the crime of cruelty, but was even praised by the name of piety, because he wished to kill his son, by no means wickedly, but obediently (Gen. 22). And it is deservedly questioned whether it is to be held as by the command of God, that Jephthah killed his daughter, who met her father, when he had vowed that he would immolate to God that which should first meet him returning as victor from battle (Judges 11). Nor is Samson otherwise excused, because he oppressed himself with his enemies by the ruin of the house, except because the Spirit had secretly commanded this, who worked miracles through him (Ibid. 16:30). These therefore being excepted, whom either a just law generally, or God Himself, the very fountain of justice, specially commands to be killed; whoever kills a man, whether himself or any other, is bound by the crime of homicide.

CHAPTER XXII.

That voluntary death can never pertain to greatness of mind.

1. And whoever have perpetrated this in themselves, are perhaps to be wondered at for great-

ness of mind, but are not to be praised for sanity of wisdom. Although if you consult reason more diligently, not even that greatness of mind itself is rightly named, where anyone, not being able to tolerate either any hardships or the sins of others, has killed himself. For rather is that mind detected as infirm, which cannot bear either the hard servitude of its own body, or the foolish opinion of the common people; and that mind is deservedly to be called greater, which can rather bear a calamitous life than flee from it; and to despise human judgment, and especially that of the common people, which is mostly involved in the darkness of error, before the light and purity of conscience. Wherefore if it is to be thought that it is done with a great mind when a man brings death upon himself, that Cleombrotus is rather found in this greatness of mind; whom they say, having read Plato's book where he disputed concerning the immortality of the soul, cast himself headlong from a wall, and so migrated from this life to that which he believed to be better. For nothing of calamity or of crime, whether true or false, urged him, which not being able to bear, he should take himself away; but for the seizing of death, and for the breaking of the sweet bonds of this life, greatness of mind alone was present. That this was done greatly rather than well, Plato himself whom he had read could be a witness to him: who surely would have done it chiefly and especially, or even commanded it, had he not judged by that mind by which he saw the immor-

tality of the soul, that it was by no means to be done, but even to be prohibited.

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

CHAPTER XXIII.

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

But yet even they, besides Lucretia, concerning whom we have said above enough of what seemed fit, do not easily find anyone from whose authority they may prescribe, except that Cato

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

or, that we may say something more mildly, was he ashamed?

CHAPTER XXIV.

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

They do not wish, however, those against whom we act, that we should prefer to Cato the holy man Job, who preferred to suffer such horrendous evils in his own flesh rather than to lack all torments by death brought upon himself, or other hits from our Letters most high with the greatest authority and most worthy of faith, who preferred to bear captivity and the domination of enemies rather than to bring death upon themselves: but from their own letters, let us prefer Marcus Regulus to that same Marcus Cato. For Cato had never conquered Caesar, to whom when vanquished he disdained to be subjected, and lest he should be subjected, he chose to be killed by himself: but Regulus had already conquered the Carthaginians, and as a Roman commander for the Roman empire had reported a victory not to be grieved over from citizens, but to be praised from enemies; yet being afterwards conquered by them, he preferred to bear them by serving, than to take himself away from them by dying. Accordingly he preserved both patience under the domination of the Carthaginians, and constancy in the love of the Romans, neither taking away his vanquished body from the enemies, nor his unvanquished mind from the citizens. Nor did

he act from the love of this life because he was unwilling to kill himself. This he proved when, because of a promise and an oath, he returned without any hesitation to those same enemies whom he had offended more severely by words in the senate than by arms in war. So great a despiser of this life, therefore, when he preferred to end it through whatever punishments by the raging enemies rather than to kill himself; he judged it without doubt to be a great crime if a man should kill himself. Among all their laudable men and those illustrious with the insignias of virtues, they do not bring forward a better Roman; whom neither felicity corrupted, for in so great a victory he remained most poor; nor infelicity broke, for to such destructions he returned intrepid. Furthermore, if the bravest and most illustrious men, defenders of an earthly country, and worshippers of gods, false though they were, yet not deceitful, but even most truthful swearers, who could strike vanquished enemies by the custom and right of war, being conquered by enemies were unwilling to strike themselves; and when they feared death not at all, yet they preferred to bear victors as masters than to bring it upon themselves: how much more will Christians, worshipping the true God and sighing for the heavenly country, refrain from this deed, if the divine disposition should subject them for a time to enemies, whether to be proved or to be amended; whom the Most High does not desert in that humility, who for them came so humbly; especially those whom the rights of no military

power or of such military service constrain to strike the conquered enemy himself?

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

CHAPTER XXV.

That sin ought not to be avoided through sin.

But indeed it is to be feared and guarded against, lest the body subjected to hostile lust should entice the mind by most alluring pleasure to consent to sin. Accordingly, they say, not now on account of another's, but on account of his own sin, before anyone commits this, he ought to kill himself. In no way indeed will that mind do this, so as to consent to the lust of its own flesh excited by another's lust, which is subject to God rather and His wisdom than to the concupiscence of the body. Nevertheless, if it is a detestable deed and a damnable crime even to kill oneself, as manifest truth proclaims; who would be so foolish as to say: Let us sin now, lest we should perhaps sin afterwards; let us perpetrate homicide now, lest we should perhaps afterwards fall into adultery? If iniquity so dominates that not innocence but rather sins are chosen, is not adultery uncertain for the future better than homicide certain for the present? Is it not better to commit a disgrace which may be healed by repenting, than such a deed where no place for salutary

repentance is left? These things I have said on account of those men or women who, for the sake of avoiding not another's but their own sin, lest they should perhaps consent to their own lust even excited under another's lust, think that violence should be brought upon themselves, by which they may die. For the rest, far be it from the Christian mind which trusts in its God, and with hope placed in Him relies on His aid; far be it, I say, that such a mind should yield to the pleasures of any flesh for the consent to foulness. But if that concupiscential disobedience, which still dwells in moribund members, is moved as if by its own law beyond the law of our will; how much more is it without fault in the body of one not consenting, if it is without fault in the body of one sleeping?

CHAPTER XXVI.

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

But certain holy women, they say, in the time of persecution, that they might avoid the pursuers of their chastity, cast themselves into a river that would carry them away and kill them; and in that way they died, and their martyrdoms are frequented with the most celebrated veneration in the Catholic Church. Concerning these I dare to judge nothing rashly. For whether divine authority persuaded the Church by some testimonies worthy of faith, so that it might thus honor their

memory, I know not: and it can be that it is so. For what if they did this, not humanly deceived, but divinely commanded; not erring, but obedient? as of Samson it is not lawful for us to believe otherwise. But when God commands, and intimates that He commands without any ambiguities; who would call obedience into crime? who would accuse the service of piety? But not for that reason does anyone do it without wickedness, whoever shall have decreed to immolate a son to God, because Abraham also did this laudably. For even a soldier when, obedient to the power under which he is lawfully constituted, he kills a man, by no law of his city is he guilty of homicide; nay, unless he do it, he is guilty of a deserted and despised command. But if he had done it of his own accord and authority, he would have fallen into the crime of shed human blood. Therefore, whence he is punished if he do it unbidden, thence he will be punished unless he do it bidden. But if it is so when an emperor commands, how much more when the Creator commands? He therefore who hears that it is not lawful to kill himself, let him do it if He has commanded whose commands it is not lawful to despise: only let him see whether the divine command wavers with no uncertainty. We address the conscience through the ear, we do not usurp the judgment of hidden things. "No one knows what is done in a man, except the spirit of man, which is in him" (1 Cor. 2:11). This we say, this we assert, this we by all means approve, that no one ought to bring spontaneous death upon himself, as if by fleeing temporal mo-

lestations, lest he fall into perpetual ones: no one on account of the sins of others, lest he himself should begin to have this most grave sin of his own, whom another's did not pollute: no one on account of his own past sins, on account of which there is rather need of this life, so that they may be healed by repenting: no one as if by the desire of a better life, which is hoped for after death; because a better life after death does not receive those guilty of their own death.

CHAPTER XXVII.

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

One cause remains, of which I had begun to speak, by which it is thought useful that anyone should kill himself, namely, lest he should rush into sin, either by alluring pleasure or by raging pain. Which cause if we should wish to admit, it will arrive progressed so far, that men are rather to be exhorted to kill themselves then, when being washed in the bath of holy regeneration, they have received the remission of all sins. For then is the time of guarding against all future sins, when all past ones are blotted out. But if it is rightly done by spontaneous death, why is it not then especially done? Why does anyone spare himself when baptized? Why does he insert his liberated head again into so many perils of this life, when it is of the easiest power to avoid all things by death brought upon himself, and it is written, "He that loveth danger shall fall into it"

(Ecclus. 3:27)? Why therefore are so many and so great dangers loved, or certainly, even if they are not loved, undertaken, while he remains in this life from which it is lawful to depart? Or does so insipid a perversity overturn the heart, and avert it from the consideration of the truth, that if anyone ought to kill himself lest by the dominion of one captor he should fall into sin, he should think that he must live so as to endure the world itself full of temptations through all hours, and such as are dreaded under one master, and innumerable others without which this life is not led? What cause is there therefore why we should consume time in those exhortations by which, in addressing the baptized, we study to kindle them either to virginal integrity, or to widowed continence, or to the very faith of the conjugal bed; when we have better compendiums and those remote from all dangers of sinning, so that, whomsoever we could persuade after the most recent remission of sins that death is to be seized and brought upon themselves, we might send them to the Lord more sound and more pure? Furthermore, if anyone thinks that this is to be approached and persuaded, I do not say he is foolish, but insane: with what face at length does he say to a man, Kill thyself, lest to thy small sins thou shouldst add a graver one while thou livest under a master unchaste with barbarian manners, who cannot say but most wickedly: Kill thyself, all thy sins being absolved, lest thou shouldst again commit such or even worse things; while thou livest in a world alluring with so many impure pleasures, furious

with so many unspeakable cruelties, hostile with so many errors and terrors? Because it is a nefas to say this, it is surely a nefas to kill oneself. For if there could be any just cause of doing this spontaneously, without doubt there would not be one more just than this. But because not even this one is just, therefore there is none.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

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

1. Therefore, O faithful of Christ, let not your life be a weariness to you, if your chastity was a mockery to the enemies. You have a great and true consolation, if you retain a faithful conscience, that you did not consent to the sins of those who were permitted to sin against you. [XXVIII.] But if perchance you ask why they were permitted, the providence of the Creator and Ruler of the world is indeed deep, and "His judgments are inscrutable, and His ways unsearchable" (Rom. 11:33). Nevertheless, interrogate your souls faithfully, lest perchance you extolled yourselves more loftily concerning this good of integrity and continence or chastity, and being delighted with human praises, envied some even in this. I do not accuse what I know not, nor do I hear what your hearts respond to you when interrogated. Yet if they should respond that it is so, do not wonder that you have lost this whence you were eager to please men; that that has remained to you which cannot be shown to men. If you did

not consent to the sinners, divine aid was added so that divine grace might not be lost; human reproach followed so that human glory might not be loved. Be consoled in both, O ye of little mind; in the one proved, in the other chastised; in the one justified, in the other amended. But those whose hearts when interrogated respond that they never were proud concerning the good of virginity or widowhood or conjugal chastity, but by consenting to the humble (Rom. 12:16) exulted with trembling over the gift of God, nor envied anyone an equal excellence of holiness and chastity; but human praise being postponed, which is wont to be rendered so much the greater as the good is rarer which requires praise, wished rather that their number should be larger than that they themselves should be more eminent in paucity: neither let those who are such, if the barbarian lust has also compressed some of them, complain that this was permitted; nor let them therefore believe that God neglects those things, because He permits what no one commits with impunity. For some things, as weights of evil cupidities, both by the hidden present divine judgment are relaxed, and are reserved for the manifest last one. But perhaps those who are well conscious to themselves that they did not extol a heart inflated from this good of chastity, and yet have suffered hostile violence in the flesh, had something of latent infirmity which could be extolled into the pride of haughtiness, if they had escaped that humility in that vastation. As therefore some were snatched away by death,

lest malice should change their understanding (Wisd. 4:11); so something was snatched from these by force, lest prosperity should change their modesty. To both therefore, those who were already proud concerning their flesh because it had suffered the foul contact of no one, or who perhaps could have been proud if they had not also been handled by the violence of enemies; chastity was not taken away, but humility persuaded: the tumor immanent in those was succored, the one imminent in these was met.

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

CHAPTER XXIX.

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

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

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

CHAPTER XXX.

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

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

But that Scipio, your pontifex maximus, that man best by the judgment of the whole senate, fearing that calamity for you, did not wish Carthage, then the rival of the Roman empire, to be destroyed, and contradicted Cato, who was decreeing that it should be destroyed, fearing security as an enemy for weak minds; and seeing that terror was necessary as a suitable tutor for pupil citizens. Nor did his opinion deceive him: by the thing itself it was proved how true a thing he spoke. For Carthage being deleted, the great terror of the Roman republic being

clearly driven away and extinguished, so great evils arising from prosperous things immediately followed, that concord being corrupted and broken, first by savage and bloody seditions, then soon by a connection of evil causes, such slaughters were brought forth even in civil wars, such blood was poured out, such immanity boiled with such cupidity of proscriptions and rapines, that those Romans who with a more integral life feared evils from enemies, their integrity of life being lost, suffered more cruel things from their fellow-citizens: and that very lust of dominating, which among other vices of the human race was more pure in the whole Roman people, after it conquered in a few more powerful ones, also oppressed the rest, worn out and fatigued, with the yoke of servitude.

CHAPTER XXXI.

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

For when would that [lust] rest in the proudest minds, until by continued honors it should reach to kingly power? Furthermore, the faculty of continuing honors would not be, unless ambition should prevail. But ambition would by no means prevail, unless in a people corrupted by avarice and luxury. But an avaricious and luxurious people was made by prosperous things, which that Nasica most providentially thought were to be avoided, when he did not wish the greatest, strongest, and most opulent city of

the enemies to be taken away; so that by fear lust might be pressed, and lust being pressed might not luxuriate, and luxury being cohibited avarice might not spread: which vices being shut out, virtue useful to the city might flourish and increase, and a congruous liberty remain to that virtue.

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

to lay hold of celestial or supercelestial things, might change human affection by humble piety, and deliver from the dominion of proud demons.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Concerning the institution of scenic games.

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

For neither did that pestilence of bodies for this reason rest, because into a warlike people accustomed before to circensian games alone, the delicate insanity of scenic games subentered: but the astuteness of unspeakable spirits, foreseeing that that pestilence would already cease by its due end, took care to immit on this occasion another far more grave, in which it greatly re-

joices, not in bodies but in morals; which blinded the minds of the miserable with such darkness, fouled them with such deformity, that even now (which will perhaps be incredible if it is heard by our posterity), the Roman city being devastated, those whom this pestilence possessed, and who fleeing from thence were able to reach Carthage, daily raged in the theaters striving for the actors.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

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

O mindless minds! what is this so great, not error, but madness, that while the oriental peoples (as we have heard) were bewailing your destruction, and the greatest cities in the most remote lands were observing public mourning and grief, you were seeking theaters, entering, filling them, and doing things much more insane than they had been before? That Scipio feared for you this stain of minds and this plague, this overthrow of probity and honesty, when he prohibited theaters to be constructed, when he saw that in prosperous things you could easily be corrupted and overthrown, when he did not wish you to be secure from hostile terror. For neither did he judge the republic to be happy with walls standing, but morals falling. But in you that which impious demons seduced prevailed more than that which provident men precantioned. Hence it is that the evils which you do, you do not wish to be imputed to yourselves; but the

evils which you suffer, you impute to the Christian times. For in your security you do not seek a pacified republic, but unpunished luxury, you who, depraved by prosperous things, could not be corrected by adverse ones. That Scipio wished you to be terrified by the enemy, lest you should flow into luxury; you, not even crushed by the enemy, repressed luxury: you have lost the utility of calamity, and have been made most miserable, and have remained most wicked.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

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

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

CHAPTER XXXV.

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

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

CHAPTER XXXVI.

On what subjects we must treat in the following discussion.

But there are still certain things I must say against those who attribute the calamities of the Roman republic to our religion, by which they are prohibited from sacrificing to their gods. For we must call to mind what and how great evils that city, or the provinces belonging to its empire, endured before their sacrifices were prohibited: all of which they would undoubtedly attribute to us, if our religion were already either clear to them, or if it thus prohibited them from their sacrilegious rites. Then it must be shown what were their morals, and for what reason the true God, in whose power are all kingdoms, deigned to help in increasing their empire; and how much those whom they think to be gods did not help them, but rather how much they harmed them by deceiving and tricking them. Finally, it will be said against those who, having been refuted and convicted by the most manifest proofs, attempt to assert that the gods are to be worshipped not for the utility of the present life, but for that which is to come after death. Which question, if I mistake not, will be much more laborious, and worthy of a more sublime discussion; so that we may also dispute in it against the philosophers, not just any, but those who are distinguished among them by the most excellent glory, and who feel many things with us, namely, concerning the immortality of the soul, and that the true God created the world, and concerning His

providence, by which He rules the universe which He created. But since even they must be refuted in those things in which they feel against us, we ought not to be lacking in this duty: so that, having refuted the impious contradictions according to the strength which God shall impart, we may assert the city of God, and true piety, and the worship of God, in which alone eternal beatitude is truly promised. Let this, therefore, be the limit of this volume, so that we may take up the following matters arranged from another beginning.

BOOK SECOND.

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

CHAPTER I.

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

If the weak sense of human custom did not dare to resist the reason of clear truth, but submitted its own languor to wholesome doctrine as to a medicine, until it was healed by divine aid through the faith of piety, there would not be need of much speech to convince any error of vain opinion for those who think rightly and explain their thoughts in sufficient words. But now, since that is a greater and more foul disease of unwise minds, by which they defend their irrational movements as if they were reason and truth itself—even after a full account of reason has been given, as much as man owes to man—

whether by excessive blindness, by which they do not see even the obvious, or by most obstinate perversity, by which they do not bear even those things which are seen; it becomes necessary to speak more copiously of things which are mostly clear, as if we were offering them to be looked at by those who do not see, but in a way to be touched by those who are groping and blinking. And yet, what limit will there be to debating, and what measure of speaking, if we think we must always respond to those who respond? For those who either cannot understand what is said, or are so hardened by adversity of mind that, even if they understand, they do not obey, respond —as it is written—and speak iniquity (Psalm 93:4), and are indefatigably vain. If we should wish to refute their contrary sayings as often as they have determined with a stubborn brow not to care what they say, provided that they in any way contradict our discussions, you see how infinite, and burdensome, and fruitless it would be. Wherefore, neither would I wish you yourself, my son Marcellinus, nor others, whom this labor of ours serves usefully and liberally in the charity of Christ, to be such judges of my writings as to always desire a response when they have heard something contradicted in what is read; lest they become like those silly women whom the Apostle mentions, always learning, and never coming to the knowledge of the truth (2 Tim. 3:7).

CHAPTER II.

Of those things which were dispatched in the first volume.

In the previous book, therefore, when I had begun to speak of the city of God—whence this whole work, with His help, was taken in hand—it occurred to me that I must respond first to those who attribute these wars, by which this world is worn away, and especially the recent devastation of the city of Rome by the Barbarians, to the Christian religion, by which they are prohibited from serving demons with nefarious sacrifices: whereas they ought rather to attribute this to Christ, that for the sake of His name, contrary to the established custom and manner of wars, the Barbarians provided religious and very spacious places for them to flee to; and in many cases they so honored the service dedicated to Christ, not only true but even feigned through fear, that they judged what would have been permitted to be done to them by the law of war to be illicit for themselves. Thence the question arose, why these divine benefits reached even the impious and ungrateful; and why, likewise, those hard things which were done hostily afflicted the pious along with the impious. Which question, diffused through many things (for in all daily events, whether the gifts of God or the calamities of men, both of which often happen mixedly and indiscriminately to those living well and badly, it is accustomed to move many), I lingered somewhat to dissolve for the necessity of the undertaken work; especially to console the holy and piously chaste women, in whom something was perpetrated by the enemy which brought the pain of shame, even if it did not take away the

firmness of chastity; lest they be ashamed of a life for which there is no reason to repent of wickedness. Then I said a few things against those who, with most impudent insolence, harass the Christians afflicted by those adverse things, and especially the shame of the humiliated women, although chaste and holy, since they are most wicked and irreverent, degenerate far from those very Romans whose many illustrious deeds are praised and celebrated by the memory of literature—nay, rather, vehemently opposed to their glory. For they had made Rome, produced by the labors of the ancients and increased by them, more foul while standing than while falling: since in its ruin stones and wood fell, but in their life all the fortifications and ornaments, not of walls, but of morals, fell; when their hearts burned with more deadly lusts than the roofs of that city burned with fires. With which things said, I finished the first book. Next, therefore, I have determined to say what evils that city endured from its origin, whether within itself or in the provinces already subject to it: all of which they would attribute to the Christian religion, if already then the doctrine of the Gospel were sounding forth with most free testimony against their false and deceptive gods.

CHAPTER III.

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

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

CHAPTER IV.

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

First, why did their gods not care that their very morals might not be the worst? For the true God deservedly neglected those by whom He was not worshipped; but why did those gods, of whose worship being prohibited the most ungrateful men complain, not help their worshippers with any laws for living well? Certainly it was fitting that as these cared for their rites, so they should care for their deeds. But it is responded that each one is evil by his own will. Who would deny this? Nevertheless, it pertained to the consulting gods not to hide the precepts of a good life from their worshipping peoples, but to provide them by clear preaching; also to meet and argue through prophets with those who were sinning; to openly threaten punishments for those doing evil, and to promise rewards to those living rightly. What such thing ever resounded with a prompt and eminent voice in the temples of those gods? We also used to come sometimes as youths to the spectacles and mockeries of sacrileges; we watched the possessed, we heard the symphonists; we were delighted by the most foul games which were exhibited to the gods and goddesses, to the Celestial Virgin, and to Berecynthia the mother of all: before whose litter on the solemn day of her washing, such things were repeatedly sung through the public by the most wicked actors, as I would not say the mother of the gods, but the mother of any kind of senators or

any honest men—nay, indeed, such as it would not befit even the mother of those actors themselves to hear. For human shame has something toward parents that not even wickedness itself can take away. Therefore, the actors themselves would be ashamed to perform at home for the sake of rehearsing before their own mothers that foulness of obscene words and deeds which they performed in public before the mother of the gods, while a most frequent multitude of both sexes watched and listened. Which if it could be present, surrounded by enticed curiosity, at least it ought to have departed confused by offended chastity. What are sacrileges, if those are sacred? or what is pollution, if that is washing? And these were called Fercula (dishes), as if a banquet were being celebrated in which, as if by their own feasts, the unclean demons were being fed. For who does not sense what kind of spirits are delighted by such obscenities, unless he is either ignorant whether there are altogether any unclean spirits deceiving under the name of gods, or leads such a life in which he rather desires them as propitious than the true God, and fears them as angry?

CHAPTER V.

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

By no means would I wish to have as a judge in this matter those who strive to be delighted by the vices of most flagitious custom rather than

to struggle against them, but that very Scipio Nasica himself, who was elected as the best man by the senate, by whose hands the image of that same demon was received and carried into the City. He would tell us whether he would wish his mother to have deserved so excellently of the republic that divine honors should be decreed to her: just as it is certain that both the Greeks and the Romans and other nations have decreed to certain mortals, whose benefits toward them they had highly valued, and had believed that they were made immortal and received into the number of the gods. Surely he would desire such great happiness for his mother, if it were possible. Furthermore, if we then asked him whether he would wish those foul things to be celebrated among her divine honors, would he not cry out that he would rather his mother should lie dead without any sense, than live as a goddess for this, that she might willingly hear those things? Far be it from a senator of the Roman people, endowed with such a mind that he prohibited a theater from being built in a city of brave men, to wish his mother to be worshipped in such a way that the goddess might be propitiated with such rites as the matron would be offended by in words. Nor would he in any way believe that the shame of a praiseworthy woman is so changed into its contrary by divinity, that her worshippers should invoke her with such honors as would make her relatives, and husband, and children blush for her if they were hurled as insults at anyone while she lived among men, unless she closed

her ears and withdrew herself. Accordingly, such a mother of the gods, such as any man, even the worst, would be ashamed to have as a mother, being about to occupy Roman minds, sought out the best man—not one whom she might make such by admonishing and helping, but one whom she might deceive by tricking—similar to her of whom it is written, "But the woman hunts for the precious souls of men" (Prov. 6:26): so that that mind of great character, sublimated by this as if by divine testimony, and truly thinking himself the best, might not seek true piety and religion, without which every talent, however praiseworthy, vanishes and falls away through pride. How then, except insidiously, would that goddess seek the best man, when she seeks such things in her rites as best men abhor to have applied at their banquets?

CHAPTER VI.

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

Hence it is that they did not care about the life and morals of the cities and peoples by whom those divinities were worshipped, so that they permitted them to be filled with such horrendous and detestable evils—not in the field and the vines, not in the house and money, nor finally in the very body which is subject to the mind, but in the mind itself, in the very soul which is the ruler of the flesh—and to become the worst, without any terrible prohibition of their

own. Or if they did prohibit it, let this rather be shown, let this be proven. Nor let them boast to us of I know not what whispers breathed into the ears of a very few and handed down as if by a secret religion, by which probity of life and chastity might be learned: but let there be shown or called to mind places consecrated at some time for such small assemblies; not where games were performed with the obscene voices and movements of actors, nor where the Fugalia were celebrated with every license of foulness poured out (and truly Fugalia, but of shame and honesty); but where the peoples might hear what the gods commanded concerning the restraining of avarice, the breaking of ambition, the refraining of luxury; where the miserable might learn what Persius rebuked to be learned, saying: "Learn, O miserable ones, and know the causes of things, what we are, or for what life we are born; what order is given, or where the turn of the goal is soft, and whence; what measure of money, what it is right to wish for, what utility the harsh coin has; how much it is becoming to bestow on the country and dear relatives; what God has commanded you to be, and in what part of human affairs you are placed." (Satire 3, v. 66-72.) Let it be said in what places these precepts of the teaching gods were accustomed to be recited, and frequently heard by the peoples who worshipped them, just as we show that churches have been instituted for this purpose, wherever the Christian religion is spread.

CHAPTER VII.

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

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

of demons, the effeminate to be consecrated, the insane to be cut, and whatever else either cruel, or foul, or foully cruel, or cruelly foul is accustomed to be celebrated in the rites of such gods? How much more sufficient it would be, for the sake of instructing youth in justice, for the laws of the gods to be publicly recited, than for the laws and institutes of the ancestors to be praised in vain? For all the worshippers of such gods, as soon as lust has impelled them, "tinctured with fervent poison," as Persius says (Satire 3, v. 37), look more at what Jupiter did than what Plato taught or Cato judged. Hence in Terence, a flagitious youth looks at a certain table painted on a wall, where this picture was: how they say Jupiter once sent a golden shower into the lap of Danae: and from this so great authority he takes patronage for his own foulness, when in it he boasts that he imitates a god.

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

CHAPTER VIII.

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

But indeed those things are not handed down by the rites of the gods, but by the fables of the poets. I do not wish to say that those mystic things are more foul than these theatrical ones:

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

CHAPTER IX.

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

But what the ancient Romans thought on this matter, Cicero testifies in the books which he wrote On the Republic, where Scipio, disputing, says: "Never could comedies, unless the custom of life allowed it, have approved their own foulnesses in the theaters." And indeed the more ancient Greeks preserved a certain consistency of their own vicious opinion, among whom it was even permitted by law, that comedy might say what it wished, about whom it wished, by name. And so, as Africanus speaks in the same books, "Whom did she not touch? or rather whom did she not vex? whom did she spare? Granted, she wounded wicked, popular men, seditious in the republic, Cleon, Cleophon, Hyperbolus. Let us allow it," he says, "although it is better for citizens of that kind to be marked by a censor than by a poet: but that Pericles, when he had already presided over his own city with the greatest authority for very many years at home and in war, should be violated by verses; and that they should be acted on the stage, was no more becoming than if our Plautus," he says, "or Naevius had wished to speak evil of Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, or Caecilius of Marcus Cato." Then a little after: "Our Twelve Tables, on the contrary," he says, "since they had sanctioned very few things by a capital penalty, thought that in these this also should be sanctioned, if anyone should have sung against another, or should have composed

a song, which brought infamy or disgrace to another. Excellently. For we ought to have our life proposed to the judgments of magistrates and to lawful discussions, not to the wits of poets; nor to hear a reproach, except on the condition that it be allowed to answer, and to defend by judgment." These things I thought should be excerpted word for word from Cicero's fourth book On the Republic, some things, for the sake of easier understanding, having been either omitted or slightly changed. For they pertain much to the matter which I am striving to explain, if I can. He then says other things, and so concludes this passage, as to show that it displeased the ancient Romans that any living man should be either praised or vituperated on the stage. But, as I said, the Greeks, although more immodestly, yet more consistently willed this to be permitted, since they saw that reproaches were acceptable and pleasing to their gods, not only of men, but even of the gods themselves in scenic fables; whether those things were feigned by poets, or whether their true foulnesses were commemorated and acted in theaters, and would that they seemed worthy to their worshippers of laughter alone, and not also of imitation. For it was too proud to spare the fame of the princes of the city and of the citizens, where the deities did not wish their own fame to be spared.

CHAPTER X.

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

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

ing to be thus assimilated to their gods, or fearing lest by seeking a more honest fame themselves, and by preferring themselves to them in this way, they might provoke them to anger.

CHAPTER XI.

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

To this consistency belongs the fact that they even thought scenic actors of those same fables worthy of no small honor of the city. Since, as is commemorated in that same book On the Republic, both Aeschines the Athenian, a most eloquent man, when as a youth he had acted tragedies, took up the republic; and the Athenians often sent Aristodemus, likewise a tragic actor, as an ambassador to Philip concerning the greatest matters of peace and war. For it was not thought consistent, since they saw those same arts and those same scenic games also accepted by their gods, to depute those through whom they were acted into the place and number of the infamous. [XI.] These things the Greeks did basely indeed, but certainly altogether congruently with their gods, who did not dare to withdraw the life of the citizens from being torn by the tongues of poets and actors, by whom they saw the life of the gods being plucked, the same gods willing and being pleased; and they thought that the men themselves, through whom those things were acted in theaters, which they had known were pleasing

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

CHAPTER XII.

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

But the Romans, as Scipio glories in that discussion On the Republic, did not wish to have their life and fame subject to the reproaches and injuries of poets, sanctioning that he who dared to compose such a song should even be punished by a capital penalty. Which indeed they established honorably enough towards themselves, but proudly and irreligiously towards their gods: whom since they knew were not only patiently, but even willingly torn by the reproaches and maledictions of poets, they thought themselves rather than those gods to be unworthy of injuries of this kind, and they protected themselves from them even by law, but they mixed those very things of theirs even into sacred solemnities. Is it so at last, Scipio, that you praise this license denied to Roman poets, that they should inflict reproach upon any of the Romans, when you see that they spared none of your gods? Thus did the reputation of your senate-house seem to you to be held of more value than that of the Capitol, or rather of one Rome than of the whole heaven; so that poets were prohibited even by law from exercising a maledict tongue against your citizens, and against your gods they securely hurled such great insults, with no senator, no censor, no prince, no pontiff prohibiting? It was unworthy, forsooth, that Plautus or Naevius should speak

evil to Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, or Caecilius to M. Cato; and was it worthy that your Terence should excite the wickedness of youths by the foulness of Jupiter Optimus Maximus?

CHAPTER XIII.

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

But perhaps he would answer me, if he were alive: How could we be unwilling that those things should be unpunished, which the gods themselves willed to be sacred, since they both introduced scenic games, where such things are celebrated, dictated, and acted, into Roman customs, and commanded them to be dedicated and exhibited to their honors? Why therefore from this were they not rather understood themselves not to be true gods, nor at all worthy to whom that republic should defer divine honors? For whom it would least become and least befit to be worshipped, if they sought games to be acted with reproaches of the Romans; how, I ask, were they thought to be worshipped, how were they not understood to be spirits to be detested, who by a desire of deceiving demanded that their own crimes be celebrated among their honors? And likewise the Romans, although they were now pressed by a noxious superstition, so that they worshipped those gods, whom they saw willed scenic foulnesses to be consecrated to themselves, yet mindful of their own dignity

and modesty, by no means honored the actors of such fables in the manner of the Greeks, but as the same Scipio speaks in Cicero, since they held the whole ludic art and the whole stage as a disgrace, they willed that that kind of men should not only lack the honor of the rest of the citizens, but even be removed from their tribe by the censor's mark. Truly excellent prudence, and to be numbered among Roman praises: but I would wish that it followed itself, that it imitated itself. For behold, rightly, whoever of the Roman citizens had chosen to be a scenic actor, not only was no place given to him for honor, but even he was by no means allowed to keep his own tribe by the mark of the censor. O mind of a city greedy of praise, and genuinely Roman! But let it be answered to me, by what consistent reason are scenic men repelled from all honor, and scenic games mixed with the honors of the gods? For a long time Roman virtue did not know those theatrical arts: which if they were sought for the delight of human pleasure, they would creep in by a vice of human morals. The gods petitioned that they be exhibited to themselves: how therefore is the scenic actor rejected, through whom a god is worshipped? and with what face is the actor of that theatrical foulness marked, if the exacter is adored? In this controversy the Greeks and Romans contend. The Greeks think they rightly honor scenic men, because they worship the gods who are the demanders of scenic games: but the Romans by no means allow either the plebeian tribe, how much less the senatorial

court, to be dishonored by scenic men. In this discussion a reasoning of this kind absolves the sum of the question. The Greeks propose: If such gods are to be worshipped, surely also such men are to be honored. The Romans assume: But in no way are such men to be honored. The Christians conclude: In no way therefore are such gods to be worshipped.

CHAPTER XIV.

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

1. Then we ask, why the poets themselves, the composers of such fables, who are prohibited by the law of the Twelve Tables from harming the fame of citizens, hurling such shameful insults against the gods, are not held as dishonest like the scenic actors. By what reason is it right, that the actors of poetic fictions and of ignominious gods should be infamed, while the authors are honored? Or perhaps the palm is rather to be given to the Greek Plato, who, when he was forming by reason what kind of city it ought to be, judged that poets should be expelled from the city as adversaries of the truth? He truly both bore the injuries of the gods with indignation, and did not wish the minds of the citizens to be colored and corrupted by fictions. Compare now the humanity of Plato expelling poets from the city to prevent citizens from being deceived, with the divinity of the gods seeking scenic games for

their own honor. He, that such things should not even be written, although he did not persuade by disputing, yet he urged it upon the levity and lasciviousness of the Greeks: they, that such things should even be acted, by commanding extorted it from the gravity and modesty of the Romans. Nor only did they wish these to be acted, but to be dedicated to themselves, to be consecrated to themselves, to be solemnly exhibited to themselves. To whom, at last, would the city more honestly decree divine honors? To Plato prohibiting these shameful and nefarious things; or to the demons rejoicing in this deception of men, whom he could not persuade of the truth?

2. Labeo thought that this Plato should be commemorated among the semi-gods, like Hercules, like Romulus: but he places semi-gods before heroes, yet he locates both among the deities. Nevertheless, I do not doubt that he whom he calls a semi-god is to be preferred not only to heroes, but even to the gods themselves. But the Roman laws approach the discussions of Plato, since he condemns all poetic fictions, and they take away from poets at least the license of malediction against men; he expels poets from the habitation of the city itself, they at least remove the actors of poetic fables from the society of the city, and, if they dared anything against the gods who are seekers of scenic games, perhaps they would remove them from every place. By no means therefore could the Romans receive or hope for laws for instituting good morals or correcting evil ones from their gods, whom

they surpass and convict by their own laws. For they demand scenic games for their honor, these repel scenic men from all honors: they command their own reproaches to be celebrated to them by poetic fictions, these deter the impudence of poets from the reproaches of men. But that semi-god Plato both resisted the lust of such gods, and showed what ought to be perfected from the disposition of the Romans; who by no means willed poets themselves, either lying according to their will, or proposing the worst deeds of the gods to be imitated by miserable men, to live in a well-instituted city. We indeed do not hold Plato either as a god or a semi-god; nor do we compare him to any holy angel of the most high God, nor to a veracious prophet, nor to any apostle, nor to any martyr of Christ, nor to any Christian man; the reason for which opinion of ours, God prospering us, will be explained in its place: but nevertheless we judge that he, since they themselves wish him to have been a semi-god, is to be preferred—if not to Romulus and Hercules (although no one of the historians or poets said or feigned that he killed his brother, or perpetrated any foulness), certainly at least to Priapus, or to some Cynocephalus, finally even to Febris, which deities the Romans partly received as foreign, partly consecrated as their own. How therefore would such gods prohibit such great evils of mind and morals, either imminent or inherent, from being extirpated by good precepts and laws, who even took care that foulnesses be sown and increased, desiring that such deeds of theirs, or

as if their own, become known to the peoples through theatrical celebrities, so that, as if by divine authority, human lust, very wicked of its own accord, might be kindled: Cicero exclaiming this in vain, who when he was dealing with poets, said: "To whom when the clamor and approval of the people has accessed, as if of some great and wise master, what darknesses do they bring on! what fears do they bring in! what cupidities do they inflame!"

CHAPTER XV.

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

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

honor even to Neptune and Pluto, the brothers of Jupiter, and to Saturn himself, their father, so that for a great thing they gave to him also this priesthood which they gave to Jupiter, and to Mars as if to his father, perhaps on account of himself.

CHAPTER XVI.

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

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

cities are standing—should not happen to their worshippers; on the contrary, as was discussed above, they took care in every way that they should increase.

CHAPTER XVII.

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

Or was it perhaps for this reason that laws were not established for the Roman people by the deities, because, as Sallust says, "justice and goodness prevailed among them not more by laws than by nature" (Sallust, *The Conspiracy of Catiline*, chap. 9)? From this justice and goodness, I believe, the Sabine women were snatched. For what is more just and better than that the daughters of others, led in by the deception of a spectacle, should not be received from their parents, but be carried off by force, as each man was able? For if the Sabines acted unjustly in refusing those who were requested, how much more unjust was it to seize those who were not given? But a war could have been waged more justly with that nation which had denied its daughters in marriage to its neighbors and borderers when requested, than with that nation which was demanding back those who had been taken away. Therefore, let this rather be done: let Mars there help his son in fighting, so that he might avenge the injury of the denied marriages with arms, and in that way reach the women whom he had wanted. For perhaps by some right of war,

the victor might justly carry off those unjustly denied; but by no right of peace did he snatch those not given, and he waged an unjust war with their parents who were justly angry. This indeed succeeded more usefully and happily, that although the spectacle of the Circensian games remained in memory of that fraud, yet the example of the crime did not find favor in that city and empire: and the Romans erred more easily in this, that after that iniquity they consecrated Romulus to themselves as a god, than that they should permit his deed to be imitated in the snatching of women by any law or custom. From this justice and goodness, after King Tarquin had been expelled with his children, whose son had violently oppressed Lucretia in rape, the consul Junius Brutus compelled Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of the same Lucretia, his colleague, a good and innocent man, to abdicate his office on account of the name and relationship of the Tarquins, nor did he permit him to live in the city. He committed this crime with the favor or patience of the people, from which people Collatinus, just like Brutus himself, had received the consulship. From this justice and goodness, Marcus Camillus, an excellent man of that time—who very easily overcame the Veientes, the most serious enemies of the Roman people, after a ten-year war in which the Roman army was often severely afflicted by fighting poorly, while Rome herself was already doubting and trembling for her safety, and who captured their most opulent city; was made a defendant by the envy of those

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

CHAPTER XVIII.

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

Therefore, I will observe a limit, and I will rather employ Sallust himself as a witness, who, although he had said in praise of the Romans (from which this discourse of ours arose), "justice and goodness prevailed among them not more by laws than by nature," preaching that time in which, after the kings were expelled, the city grew incredibly much in a brief space of time: yet the same man confesses in the first book of his History, and in its very beginning, that even then, when the republic had been transferred from kings to consuls, after a small interval, there were injuries from the more powerful, and

because of them the secession of the plebs from the fathers, and other dissensions in the City. For although he had commemorated that the Roman people acted with the best morals and the greatest harmony between the second and the last Carthaginian war, and had said that the cause of this good was not love of justice, but the fear of an unfaithful peace while Carthage stood; whence even that Nasica, for the sake of repressing wickedness and preserving those best morals, so that vices might be restrained by fear, did not want Carthage to be overturned: immediately the same Sallust added, and said: "But discord, and avarice, and ambition, and other evils accustomed to arise in prosperous circumstances, were greatly increased after the destruction of Carthage." So that we might understand that even before they were accustomed both to arise and to be increased. Whence subjoining why he said this, he says: "For the injuries of the more powerful, and because of them the secession of the plebs from the fathers, and other dissensions at home were there from the very beginning; nor was it conducted with equitable and modest law any longer than when the kings were driven out, while fear of Tarquin and the grave war with Etruria remained." You see how even in that brief time, when the kings were driven out, that is, ejected, he said that fear was the cause why it was conducted somewhat with equitable and modest law; since the war was feared which King Tarquin, driven from the kingdom and the City, and joined with the Etruscans, was

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

Furthermore, if those times are found to be such, in which the Roman republic is preached to have been most beautiful and best; what do we now think should be said or thought concerning the subsequent age, "when having been gradually changed," to use the words of the same historian, "from the most beautiful and best, it became the worst and most flagitious" (Sallust, *The Conspiracy of Catiline*, chap. 5); namely, after the destruction of Carthage, as he commemorated? Which times may be read in the History of Sallust himself, how he briefly recounts and describes them, where he demonstrates that it was reached by so many evils of morals, which

arose in prosperous circumstances, all the way to the civil wars. "From which time," as he says, "the morals of the ancestors were precipitated, not gradually as before, but in the manner of a torrent; so much was the youth corrupted by luxury and avarice, that it is deservedly said that those were born who could neither themselves have private property nor suffer others to have it." Sallust then says more concerning the vices of Sulla and the rest of the foulness of the republic: and other writers agree in these things, although with much unequal eloquence.

3. Yet you see, I think, and whoever attends will very easily perceive into what a sink of the worst morals that city had fallen before the advent of our heavenly King. For these things were done not only before Christ began to teach in his presence in the flesh, but even before he was born of the Virgin. Since, therefore, they do not dare to impute so many and such great evils of those times—either the more tolerable ones earlier, or the intolerable and horrendous ones after the overthrow of Carthage—to their own gods, who by malignant craft inserted opinions into human minds from which such vices would grow wild; why do they impute present evils to Christ, who by most wholesome doctrine forbids false and fallacious gods to be worshipped, and detesting and condemning those harmful and flagitious lusts of men with divine authority, gradually withdraws his family from everywhere in this world wasting away and falling through these evils, so that he may found an eternal and

most glorious city, not by the applause of vanity, but by the judgment of truth?

CHAPTER XIX.

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

Behold the Roman republic (which I am not the first to say, but their own authors, from whom we learned these things for a fee, said so long ago before the advent of Christ) "having been gradually changed, from the most beautiful and best, it became the worst and most flagitious." Behold, before the advent of Christ, after Carthage was destroyed, "the morals of the ancestors were precipitated, not gradually as before, but in the manner of a torrent; to such an extent was the youth corrupted by luxury and avarice." Let them read to us the precepts of their gods given to the Roman people against luxury and avarice. If only they had merely been silent about chaste and modest things, and had not even demanded shameful and ignominious things from them, for which they would procure a pernicious authority through a false divinity. Let them read our things, both through the Prophets, and through the holy Gospel, and through the Apostolic Acts, and through the Epistles—so many things against avarice and luxury, everywhere to the peoples gathered for this purpose, how excellently, how divinely, not sounding like the disputes of philosophers, but thundering as if from oracles and the clouds of God. And yet they do not impute

to their gods that the republic was made the worst and most flagitious by luxury and avarice and by cruel and base morals before the advent of Christ; but whatever affliction their pride and delights have suffered in this time, they blame on the Christian religion. If the kings of the earth and all peoples, the princes and all judges of the earth, young men and virgins, elders with the younger (Psal. CXLVIII, 11, 12), every capable age and both sexes, and those whom John the Baptist addresses, the tax-collectors themselves and the soldiers (Luke III, 12-14), should simultaneously hear and care for its precepts concerning just and upright morals; then the republic would adorn the lands of the present life with its happiness, and it would ascend to the summit of eternal life to reign most blessedly. But because this one hears, that one despises, and more are more friendly to vices that flatter poorly than to the useful harshness of virtues; the servants of Christ are commanded to tolerate, whether they be kings, or princes, or judges, or soldiers, or provincials, or rich, or poor, or free, or slaves of either sex, even the worst and most flagitious republic, if it is so necessary; and to prepare for themselves a most clear place even by that tolerance in that most holy and most august court of the Angels and in the heavenly republic, where the will of God is law.

CHAPTER XX.

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

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

do what he pleases concerning his own things, or with his own people, or with anyone who is willing. Let public prostitutes abound, either for all whom it has pleased to enjoy them, or especially for those who cannot have private ones. Let most ample and most ornate houses be built, let sumptuous banquets be frequent; where it has pleased each and he has been able, let there be playing, drinking, vomiting, and dissolving into luxury day and night. Let dances rattle everywhere, let the theaters seethe with voices of dishonest joy and with every kind of either most cruel or most base pleasure. Let him be a public enemy to whom this happiness is displeasing; whoever has attempted to change or take it away, let the free multitude turn him away from their ears, overturn him from his seats, and take him away from the living. Let those be held as true gods who have procured the attaining of this for the peoples, and have preserved it once attained. Let them be worshipped as they have wished, let them demand what kind of games they have wished, which they may have with their worshippers or from their worshippers: let them only effect that nothing be feared for such happiness from the enemy, nothing from pestilence, nothing from any calamity. What sane man would compare this republic—I will not say to the Roman Empire, but to the house of Sardanapalus? Who was once a king so devoted to pleasures that he had it written on his tomb that he had only those things in death which his libido had consumed by drinking in even while he

was alive. If these men had such a king indulging them in such things, and not opposing anyone in them with any severity, they would more willingly consecrate a temple and a flamen to him than the ancient Romans did to Romulus.

CHAPTER XXI.

What was the opinion of Cicero concerning the Roman republic.

But if he is despised who said the Roman republic was the worst and most flagitious, and these men do not care with how great a stain and disgrace of the worst and flagitious morals it was filled, but only that it should consist and remain; let them hear that it—not as Sallust recounts, having been made the worst and most flagitious—but as Cicero disputes, had already then utterly perished, and no republic at all remained. For he introduces Scipio—the same one who had extinguished Carthage—disputing concerning the republic, when it was sensed that it would soon perish by that corruption which Sallust describes. Indeed, the dispute is held at that time when one of the Gracchi had already been killed, from whom Sallust writes that grave seditions began. For commemoration of his death is made in those same books. But when Scipio had said at the end of the second book, that as in strings and pipes and in singing itself and in voices a certain harmony must be maintained from distinct sounds, which if changed or discrepant, learned ears cannot bear; and that harmony is made har-

monious and congruent from the moderation of very dissimilar voices: so the city sings together with the consent of the most dissimilar from the highest and lowest and middle orders interjected, as if from sounds, by moderated reason; and that which is called harmony by musicians in singing, that is concord in the city, the tightest and best bond of safety in every republic, and that it can in no way be without justice: and then when he had discussed somewhat more widely and more abundantly how much justice profited the city, and how much it harmed it if it were absent; then Philus, one of those who were present at the dispute, took it up and asked that this same question be treated more diligently, and more things be said concerning justice, on account of that which was already commonly reported, that the republic cannot be ruled without injury. Scipio accordingly agreed that this question should be discussed and unraveled, and replied that he thought nothing had yet been said concerning the republic, and that they could progress no further, unless it were confirmed not only that it is false that it cannot be without injury; but that this is most true, that the republic cannot be ruled without the highest justice (Book 2, chap. 43). Since the explanation of this question had been delayed to the following day, the matter was conducted with great conflict in the third book. For Philus himself took up the dispute of those who felt that the republic cannot be ruled without injustice, purging himself, especially lest he himself be believed to feel this. And he acted

zealously for injustice against justice, as if he were endeavoring to show by plausible reasons and examples that the former is useful to the republic, but the latter useless. Then Laelius, at the request of everyone, began to defend justice; and he asserted as much as he could that nothing is so hostile to the city as injustice, nor can the republic be conducted or stand at all except with great justice.

2. When this question had been thoroughly treated, as much as seemed sufficient, Scipio returns to the interrupted things, and recalls and commends his own brief definition of the republic, in which he had said that it is the "property of the people" (rem populi) (Book 1, chap. 25). But he determines that the people is not every assembly of a multitude, but an assembly associated by the consent of law and the communion of utility. He then teaches how great is the utility of definition in disputing: and from those definitions of his he gathers that it is then a republic, that is, the property of the people, when it is conducted well and justly, whether by one king, or by a few optimates, or by the whole people. But when the king is unjust, whom he called a tyrant in the Greek manner; or the optimates are unjust, whose consent he said was a faction; or the people themselves are unjust, for whom he did not find a customary name, unless he should also call the people themselves a tyrant: then it is not already vicious, as had been disputed the day before; but, as the reason connected from those definitions would have taught, there is no

republic at all: since it would not be the property of the people when a tyrant or a faction should seize it; nor would the people themselves already be a people if they were unjust, since it would not be a multitude associated by the consent of law and the communion of utility, as the people had been defined.

3. When, therefore, the Roman republic was such as Sallust describes it, it was no longer "the worst and most flagitious," as he says, but it was nothing at all, according to that reasoning which the dispute concerning the republic held among its great leaders at that time revealed. Just as Tullius himself also, speaking in his own discourse —not Scipio's, nor anyone else's—says at the beginning of the fifth book, having first commemorated a verse of the poet Ennius, in which he had said: "On ancient morals and on men the Roman state stands." Which verse indeed, he says, seems to me to have been uttered as if from some oracle, either for its brevity or its truth. For neither could the men, unless the city had been so motived, nor the morals, unless these men had presided, have been able to either found or hold so long so great a republic and one ruling so justly and widely. And so before our memory both the paternal custom itself employed outstanding men, and excellent men retained the ancient custom and the institutes of the ancestors. But our age, when it had received the republic as if it were an excellent picture, but fading with antiquity, not only neglected to renew it with the same colors with which it had been, but did not even care for

this, that it might at least preserve its form and its extreme lineaments, as it were. For what remains of the ancient morals, on which he said the Roman state stands, which we see so obsolete by oblivion that not only are they not cultivated, but they are even ignored? For what shall I say of the men? For the morals themselves have perished by the penury of men, for which great evil not only must an account be rendered by us, but even the cause must be pleaded in some way as if we were defendants on a capital charge. For by our vices, and not by some chance, we retain the republic in word; but in reality we have lost it long ago.

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

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

CHAPTER XXII.

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

1. But as pertains to the present question, however laudable they may say that republic was or is, according to their most learned authors it had already become the worst and most flagitious long before the advent of Christ; nay, it was nothing, and had altogether perished by the most lost morals. Therefore, so that it might not perish, the gods who were its guardians ought to have given to their worshipping people precepts for excellent life and morals, by whom they were

worshipped with so many temples, so many priests and kinds of sacrifices, so manifold and various sacred rites, so many festive solemnities, and so many celebrations of such great games: where the demons did nothing except act for their own business, not caring how those people lived, but rather caring that they should live even in a lost manner, provided that they, being subject through fear, should minister all those things to their honor. Or if they gave them, let it be brought forward, let it be shown, let it be read, what laws of the gods given to that city the Gracchi despised, so that they might disturb all things with seditions; what laws Marius, and Cinna, and Carbo despised, so that they might even proceed to civil wars, undertaken for most unjust causes, and cruelly waged and more cruelly finished; what laws, finally, Sulla himself despised, whose life, morals, and deeds, as Sallust and other writers of history describe them, who would not abhor? Who would not confess that the republic had then perished?

2. Or will they perhaps dare to oppose that Virgilian sentiment—as they are accustomed to do—for the defense of their gods: "All the gods, by whom this empire had stood, departed, having left their shrines and altars" (Aeneid, book 2, vv. 351, 352)? First, if it is so, they have no reason to complain concerning the Christian religion, that their gods, offended by this, have deserted them; since indeed their ancestors long ago by their own morals drove away from the altars of the City so many and so minute gods, like flies. But

yet where was this crowd of deities when, long before the ancient morals were corrupted, Rome was captured and burned by the Gauls? Were they present and perhaps sleeping? For then, with the whole City reduced into the power of the enemies, only the Capitoline hill had remained; which itself would also have been captured, if at least the geese had not been vigilant while the gods were sleeping. Whence Rome had almost fallen into the superstition of the Egyptians worshipping beasts and birds, when they celebrated solemnities for a goose. But concerning these adventitious evils, and of the body rather than of the mind, which happen either from enemies or from other calamity, I do not yet dispute in the meantime: I am now acting concerning the stain of morals, by which being first gradually discolored, then precipitated in the manner of a torrent, so great a ruin of the republic was made, even while the roofs and walls were intact, that their great authors do not doubt to say it was then lost. But they had rightly departed, so that it might be lost, "all the gods having left their shrines and altars," if the city had despised their precepts concerning a good life and justice. But now, I ask, what kind of gods were they, if they refused to live with their worshipping people, whom, living badly, they had not taught to live well?

CHAPTER XXIII.

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

1. What of the fact that they even seem to have been present for fulfilling their lusts, and are shown not to have presided for refraining them? For who helped Marius—a new and ignoble man, the most bloody author and conductor of civil wars—so that he might become consul seven times, and that he might die an old man in his seventh consulship, nor fall into the hands of Sulla, the victor soon to come? For if their gods did not help him in these things, it is no small thing that they confess that even without their gods being propitious, this temporal happiness, which they love too much, can happen to a man; and that men, such as Marius was, can be heaped with and enjoy health, strength, riches, honors, dignity, and longevity, while the gods are angry: and that men, such as Regulus was, can be tortured and die in captivity, servitude, poverty, watchings, and pains, while the gods are friends. If they grant that it is so, they confess in short that the gods profit nothing, and are worshipped superfluously. For if they insisted that the people learn things rather contrary to the virtues of the mind and the probity of life, whose rewards are to be hoped for after death; if they profit nothing even in these transitory and temporal goods, either harming those whom they hate or profiting those whom they love: for what purpose are they worshipped? Why are they sought with such great zeal for worshipping? Why is there murmuring in laborious and sad times, as if they had departed because they were offended; and why is the Christian religion wounded with most

unworthy insults on their account? But if they have power in these things, either of benefit or of harm; why were they present for the worst man Marius, and failed the best man Regulus? Are they understood from this to be most unjust and worst? But if for that reason they are thought to be more to be feared and worshipped, let them not be so thought: for Regulus is not found to have worshipped them less than Marius. Nor should the worst life seem to be chosen for the reason that the gods are thought to have favored Marius more than Regulus. For Metellus, the most praised of the Romans, who had five sons who were consuls, was also happy in temporal things; and Catiline, the worst man, oppressed by poverty and prostrated in the war of his own crime, was unhappy: and those who are good and worship God excel in most true and most certain happiness, which can be conferred by Him alone.

2. Therefore, when that republic was perishing by bad morals, their gods did nothing for directing or for correcting the morals, lest it should perish; rather they added to depraving and corrupting the morals, so that it might perish. Nor let them feign that they were good, because they departed as if offended by the iniquity of the citizens. They were clearly there; they are betrayed, they are convicted: they could neither help by commanding nor lie hid by being silent. I omit that Marius was commended to the goddess Marica in her grove by the pitying people of Minturnae, so that she might prosper all things for him; and having returned safe from the great-

est desperation, he led a cruel army into the City: where how bloody, how uncivil, and more monstrous than a hostile victory his victory was, let those who wish read those who have written. But this, as I said, I omit: nor do I attribute the bloody happiness of Marius to I know not what Marica, but rather to the secret providence of God for closing the mouths of these men, and for delivering those from error who do not act from zeal, but prudently attend to these things. Because even if demons can do anything in these things, they can do only as much as they are permitted by the secret judgment of the Almighty; lest we should highly value earthly happiness, which, as to Marius, is also frequently granted to the bad; nor again should we judge it as if it were evil, since we see many even pious and good worshippers of the one true God have excelled in it, despite the demons; nor should we think those same most impure spirits are to be propitiated or feared on account of these same earthly goods or evils. Because just as the bad men themselves on earth, so also those spirits cannot do all things which they wish, except as much as they are permitted by the ordination of Him whose judgments no one fully comprehends, and no one justly reproves.

CHAPTER XXIV.

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

1. Certainly Sulla himself, whose times were such that the former times, of which he seemed

to be the avenger, were sought after in comparison with them, when he had first moved his camp against the City against Marius, Livy writes that the entrails were so joyful to him while sacrificing, that Postumius the haruspex wished himself to be guarded to undergo capital punishment, unless Sulla should fulfill those things which he had in his mind, the gods helping. Behold, the gods had not departed, leaving their shrines and altars, when they predicted the event of things, and cared nothing for the correction of Sulla himself. They promised great happiness by presaging, nor did they break his bad desire by threatening. Then when he was in Asia carrying on the Mithridatic war, it was commanded to him by Jupiter through Lucius Titius, that he would overcome Mithridates: and it was done. And afterwards when he was attempting to return to the City, and to avenge his own and his friends' injuries with civil blood, it was again commanded by the same Jupiter through a certain soldier of the sixth legion, that he had previously foretold the victory over Mithridates, and then promised that he would give the power by which he might recover the republic from his enemies, not without much blood. Then Sulla, having inquired what form had appeared to the soldier; when he had indicated it, he remembered that form which he had previously heard from him who had brought the commands from the same source concerning the Mithridatic victory. What can be answered here, why the gods cared to announce these things as if happy, and none

of them cared to correct Sulla by warning, who was about to do such great evils with wicked civil arms, such as would not merely defile, but altogether take away the republic? Truly the demons are understood, as I have often said, and as is known to us in the Sacred Letters, and the things themselves sufficiently indicate, to do their own business, that they may be held and worshipped as gods, and that those things may be exhibited to them, by which those who exhibit them, being associated, may have one most evil cause with them in the judgment of God.

2. Then when Sulla had come to Tarentum, and had sacrificed there, he saw in the head of a calf's liver the likeness of a golden crown. Then Postumius that haruspex replied, that it signified a distinguished victory for him, and ordered that he alone should eat those entrails. After a short interval, a slave of a certain Lucius Pontius cried out in prophesying: I come as a messenger from Bellona; the victory is yours, Sulla. Then he added, that the Capitol would burn. When he had said this, immediately departing from the camp, on the following day he returned more excited, and cried out that the Capitol had burned. Now the Capitol had in truth burned. This indeed was easy for a demon both to foresee and to announce most quickly. Truly attend to that which most pertains to the cause, under what kind of gods those desire to be who blaspheme the Savior delivering the wills of the faithful from the dominion of demons. The man cried out in prophesying, The victory is yours, Sulla;

and that he might be believed to cry it out by a divine spirit, he announced also something both near to happen and soon done, from where he was far away through whom that spirit spoke: yet he did not cry out, Spare from crimes, Sulla; which things the victor committed there so horrendously, to whom the golden crown, the most illustrious sign of his victory, appeared in the calf's liver. If just gods were accustomed to give such signs, and not impious demons, surely they would show in those entrails the nefarious and gravely harmful future evils to Sulla himself. For that victory did not profit his dignity as much as it harmed his desire; by which it happened that, gaping for immoderate things, and being elated and precipitated by prosperous things, he himself perished more in morals than he destroyed his enemies in bodies. These truly sad and truly to be lamented things those gods did not foretell, not by entrails, not by auguries, not by anyone's dream or prophecy. For they feared more lest he should be corrected, than lest he should be conquered. Nay, they were busy enough, that the glorious victor of citizens, being conquered and captive to unspeakable vices, might through these be much more strictly subjected to the demons themselves.

CHAPTER XXV.

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

1. From that indeed, who does not understand, who does not see, except him who has chosen rather to imitate such gods than to be separated from their society by divine grace, how much those malignant spirits strive by their own example to afford as it were divine authority to crimes, because even in a certain broad plain of Campania, where not long after the civil lines conflicted in a nefarious battle, they themselves were first seen to fight among themselves? For there were first heard great crashes: and soon many reported that they had seen two lines of battle for several days. When that fight ceased, they also found tracks as if of men and horses, as much as could be expressed from that conflict. If therefore the deities truly fought among themselves, human civil wars are now excused; yet let it be considered what may be either the malice or the misery of such gods: but if they feigned that they fought, what else did they do but that the Romans, by fighting civilly, might seem to admit no wickedness, following as it were the example of the gods? For already the civil wars had begun, and the execrable slaughter of several nefarious battles had preceded: already it had moved many that a certain soldier, while he was stripping the spoils from one slain, recognized his brother from the naked body, and having detested the civil wars, there killing himself, he joined himself to his brother's body. That therefore there might be the least weariness of this so great evil, but rather that the ardor of wicked arms might increase more and more, the noxious demons, whom

they, thinking them to be gods, judged should be worshipped and venerated, wished to appear to men fighting among themselves; lest the civic affection should tremble to imitate such fights, but rather that human crime might be excused by the divine example. By this craftiness the malignant spirits also commanded the scenic games, of which I have already said many things, to be dedicated and consecrated to themselves: where such great crimes of the gods were celebrated by theatrical songs and the actions of fables, so that whoever believed they had done such things, and whoever did not believe, but yet saw that they most willingly wished such things to be exhibited for them, might securely imitate them. Lest anyone therefore should think that he had written insults to the gods rather than something worthy of them, wherever the poets recorded that they had fought among themselves; they themselves, for the sake of deceiving men, confirmed the songs of the poets, exhibiting their own fights to human eyes, not only through scenic actors in the theater, but even by themselves in the field.

2. We have been compelled to say these things, since their own authors did not at all hesitate to say and write that the Roman republic had already before been lost by the worst morals of the citizens, and that none remained before the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Which perdition they do not impute to their gods, who impute to our Christ the transitory evils, by which the good, whether they live or die, cannot perish: since our Christ frequents so many precepts for

the best morals against lost morals; but their gods by no such precepts did anything with their worshipping people for that republic, lest it should perish; nay, by corrupting those same morals by the noxious authority as if of their own examples, they rather acted so that it might perish. Which republic no one, as I think, will now dare to say perished then because all the gods departed, leaving their shrines and altars, as if being friends to virtues when they were offended by the vices of men; because they are convicted of having been present by so many signs of entrails, auguries, and prophecies, by which they gestured and desired to boast and commend themselves as foreknowers of future things and helpers of battles: who, if they had truly departed, the Romans would have burned more mildly in civil wars from their own lusts than from their instigations.

CHAPTER XXVI.

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

1. Since these things are so, when openly and plainly turpitudes mixed with cruelties, the reproaches and crimes of the deities, whether betrayed or feigned, at their own demanding, and they being angry unless it were done, have shone forth as consecrated and dedicated to them even in certain and stated solemnities, and have proceeded to be seen by the eyes of all, so that they might be proposed for imitation: what is it, that

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

few, may be captured; but this, lest the more numerous, who are most base, should be corrected.

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

what other spirit, agitating most wicked minds by secret instinct, both insists on adulteries to be committed, and feeds on them when done, except he who is also delighted by such sacred rites, placing the idols of demons in temples, loving the images of vices in games; whispering words of justice in secret to deceive even a few good ones, frequenting invitations to wickedness in open to possess innumerable bad ones?

CHAPTER XXVII.

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

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

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

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of the healthfulness of the Christian religion.

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

CHAPTER XXIX.

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

1. Desire these things rather, O laudable Roman character, O offspring of the Reguli, Scaevolae, Scipiones, and Fabricii: desire these

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

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

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

BOOK THIRD.

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

CHAPTER I.

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

I think enough has already been said concerning the evils of morals and of souls, which are especially to be avoided, that the false gods did not care to help their worshipping people, so that they might not be weighed down by the heap of those evils; but rather acted so that they might be especially weighed down. Now I see that I must speak of those evils which alone these are unwilling to suffer, such as famine, disease, war, plundering, captivity, slaughter, and any similar ones we have already mentioned in the first book. For only the bad consider these to be evils,

which do not make men bad, nor do they blush, among the good things they praise, to be bad themselves who praise them; and they are more annoyed if they have a bad villa than a bad life: as if this were man's greatest good, to have all things good, except himself. But neither did their gods, when they were freely worshipped by them, prevent such evils, which these alone dread, from happening to them. For when at various times in different places before the coming of our Redeemer the human race was worn down by innumerable and even some incredible calamities; what other gods than these did the world worship, except for the one Hebrew people, and some outside that people, wherever they were worthy of divine grace by the most hidden and most just judgment of God? But lest I make it too long, I will pass over the most grave evils of other nations everywhere: I will speak only of what pertains to Rome and the Roman empire; that is, to the city itself properly, and whatever lands were joined to it by alliance or subject by condition, what they suffered before the coming of Christ, when they already belonged as it were to its body of the republic.

CHAPTER II.

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

First, Troy itself or Ilium, from which is the origin of the Roman people (for it must not be

passed over or concealed, what I also touched upon in the first book [Chap. 4]), having and worshipping the same gods, why was it conquered, captured, and destroyed by the Greeks? To Priam, they say, the Laomedontean paternal perjuries were repaid. Therefore it is true that Apollo and Neptune served the same Laomedon in mercenary works; for he is said to have promised them a reward and sworn falsely. I wonder that Apollo, named a diviner, worked in such a great task, not knowing that Laomedon was going to deny the promised things. Although it did not become even Neptune himself, his uncle, the brother of Jove, the king of the sea, to be ignorant of future things. For Homer introduces him divining something great concerning the lineage of Aeneas, by whose descendants Rome was founded, since the same poet is said to have lived before that city was founded: whom he even snatched away in a cloud, as he says, lest he be killed by Achilles, when he desired to overturn from the bottom (which he confesses in Virgil) the walls of perjured Troy built by his own hands. (Aeneid. lib. 5, vers. 810, 811.) Therefore so great gods, Neptune and Apollo, not knowing that Laomedon would deny them the reward, were builders of the Trojan walls for nothing, and to an ungrateful man. Let them see if it is not more grave to believe such gods than to swear falsely by such gods. For not even Homer himself easily believed this, who makes Neptune fight against the Trojans, but Apollo for the Trojans, although the fable tells that both were offended by that perjury. If

therefore they believe the fables, let them blush to worship such deities; if they do not believe the fables, let them not put forward Trojan perjuries, or wonder that the gods punished Trojan perjuries but loved Roman ones. For whence did the conspiracy of Catiline in so great and so corrupt a city have even a large abundance of those whom hand and tongue nourished by perjury or civil blood? For what else did the senators so often corrupted in judgments, the people so often in votes or in whatever causes which were handled before them in assemblies, do but sin even by swearing falsely? For with most corrupt morals the ancient custom of swearing was kept for this, not that they might be prohibited from crimes by fear of religion, but that perjuries also might be added to the rest of the crimes.

CHAPTER III.

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

There is therefore no cause why the gods, by whom, as they say, that empire had stood (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 2, v. 352), when they are proved to have been conquered by the prevailing Greeks, should be imagined to be angry with the perjuring Trojans. Nor were they enraged by the adultery of Paris, as they are defended again by some, so as to desert Troy. For they are accustomed to be the authors and teachers of sins, not the avengers. The city of Rome, says Sallust, as I

have received, the Trojans founded and held at the beginning, who, as fugitives under the leadership of Aeneas, were wandering with uncertain abodes (On the Conspiracy of Catiline, chap. 6). If therefore the deities judged that the adultery of Paris was to be avenged, it ought to have been punished either more in the Romans, or certainly even in the Romans; because the mother of Aeneas did this. But how did they hate that flagitious act in him, who did not hate in their associate Venus (to omit other things) what she had committed with Anchises, from whom she had brought forth Aeneas? Or was it because that was done with Menelaus being indignant, but this with Vulcan conceding? For the gods, I believe, do not have such jealousy for their spouses, that they even deign to have them common with men. I am perhaps thought to laugh at the fables, and not to handle a cause of such weight gravely. Therefore let us not believe, if it pleases, that Aeneas is the son of Venus: behold I concede it, if neither that Romulus is the son of Mars. But if that, why not also this? Or is it lawful for gods to be mixed with human females, but for male humans to be mixed with goddesses unlawful? A hard, or rather not to be believed condition, that what was allowed to Mars in cohabitation from the right of Venus, this is not allowed to Venus herself in her own right. But both have been confirmed by Roman authority. For the more recent Caesar did not less believe his grandmother to be Venus, than the more ancient Romulus believed his father to be Mars.

CHAPTER IV.

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

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

CHAPTER V.

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

But whether Venus could have brought forth Aeneas from cohabitation with Anchises, or Mars could have begotten Romulus from cohabitation with the daughter of Numitor, let us leave in the middle. For almost such a question arises also from our Scriptures, in which it is asked

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

CHAPTER VI.

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

I add another thing, because if the sins of men displeased those deities to such a degree, that being offended by the act of Paris they gave over deserted Troy to the sword and fires; the slain brother of Romulus ought to move them more against the Romans than the deluded Greek husband against the Trojans; the parricide of the rising city should irritate them more than the adultery of the reigning one. Nor does it matter for the cause which we are now handling, whether Romulus ordered this to be done, or Romulus did it, which many deny by impudence, many doubt by shame, many conceal by grief. Therefore let us not delay in requiring that matter more diligently through the weighed testimonies of many writers: it is clearly established that the brother of Romulus was killed, not by enemies, not by strangers. If Romulus either perpetrated or commanded this, he himself was more the head of the Romans than Paris was of the Trojans: why then did that ravisher of another's spouse provoke the anger of the gods for the Trojans, and this extinguisher of his own brother invite the protection of the same gods for the Romans? But if that crime is foreign to the act and command of Romulus; since it ought certainly to have been avenged, the whole of that city did this, because the whole despised it; and it killed not now a brother, but a father, which is worse. For both were founders, where the one, taken away by crime, was not permitted to be a ruler. There is not, as I think, what may be said, what evil Troy deserved, that the gods should desert it, so that it

might be extinguished; and what good Rome deserved, that the gods should inhabit it, so that it might be increased: except that being conquered they fled from there, and betook themselves to these, whom they might equally deceive. Nay indeed, they both remained there, to deceive after their custom those who should again inhabit the same lands; and here, by exercising the same arts of their fallacy even more, they gloried in greater honors.

CHAPTER VII.

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

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

departed, I require the cause; and as much as I find the cause of the townsmen better, so much I find that of the gods worse. For they had closed the gates against Fimbria, so that they might preserve the city intact for Sylla: hence he, being angry, burned them, or rather utterly extinguished them. But as yet Sylla was the leader of the better civil parties, as yet he was endeavoring to recover the republic by arms: he had not yet had bad events from these good beginnings. What therefore could the citizens of that city have done better? what more honest? what more faithful? what more worthy of Roman kinship, than to preserve the city for the better cause of the Romans, and to close the gates against the parricide of the Roman republic? But in how much destruction this turned for them, let the defenders of the gods attend. Let the gods have deserted the adulterers, and left Ilium to the flames of the Greeks, so that from its ashes a chaster Rome might be born: why also afterwards did they desert the same city kindred to the Romans, not rebelling against Rome, its noble daughter, but keeping the most constant and most pious faith to its more just parties; and left it to be destroyed, not by the brave men of the Greeks, but by the most filthy man of the Romans? Or if the cause of the Syllan parties displeased the gods, for which the wretched ones had closed the gates while preserving the city; why did they promise and foretell so many good things to the same Sylla? Or are they recognized from this also as flatterers of the successful rather than defenders of the unhappy? Therefore

Ilium was not overturned even then when it was deserted by them. For the demons, always most vigilant to deceive, did what they could. For all the images being overturned and burned along with the town, the statue of Minerva alone is said to have stood intact under so great a ruin of that temple, as Livy writes: not that it might be said, 'Native gods, under whose deity Troy always is,' (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 1, v. 702, 703) to their praise; but lest it be said, 'All the gods departed, leaving the shrines and altars,' to their defense. For they were permitted to be able to do that, not whence they might be proved powerful, but whence they might be convinced to be present.

CHAPTER VIII.

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

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

but they were warned too late to return to defend other things.

CHAPTER IX.

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

These are also believed to have helped Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus, so that he might have peace during the whole time of his reign, and close the gates of Janus, which are accustomed to be open in wars: for that merit, namely, because he established many sacred rites for the Romans. That man was indeed to be congratulated for so great leisure, if only he had known how to spend it on wholesome things, and, neglecting the most pernicious curiosity, to seek the true God with true piety. But now the gods did not confer that leisure upon him; but they would perhaps have deceived him less if they had found him not at all at leisure. For the less they found him occupied, the more they occupied him themselves. For what he attempted, and by what arts he was able to associate such gods with himself or with that city, Varro reveals: which, if it please the Lord, shall be discussed more diligently in its own place. But now, since the question is concerning their benefits, peace is a great benefit: but it is a benefit of the true God, mostly even like the sun, like rain and other supports of life, upon the ungrateful and wicked. But if those gods conferred this so great good upon Rome or upon Pompilius, why did they

never afterwards provide it for the Roman empire through those more laudable times? Or were the sacred rites more useful when they were being established than when they were celebrated after being established? And yet then they were not yet, but were being added so that they might be; but afterwards they already were, and were being guarded so that they might be profitable. What therefore is the reason that those forty-three, or, as others wish, thirty-nine years were passed in such long peace while Numa was reigning, and afterwards, with the sacred rites established, and the gods themselves, who had been invited by the same sacred rites, being already presidents and guardians, scarcely after so many years from the founding of the City until Augustus, one year is mentioned as a great miracle after the first Punic war, in which the Romans were able to close the gates of war?

CHAPTER X.

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

Or do they answer that unless by assiduous and continuously succeeding wars the Roman empire could not be increased so far and wide, and be spread abroad with such great glory? A suitable cause indeed: why should the empire be restless in order to be great? Is it not better in the bodies of men to have a moderate stature with

health, than to reach some giant bulk through perpetual afflictions, and not to rest when you have reached it, but to be agitated by as much greater evils as the limbs are larger? But what evil would there be, or rather what great good, if those times continued which Sallust touched upon, where he says: "Therefore in the beginning kings (for that was the first name of empire on earth) were diverse; some exercised the mind, others the body: even then the life of men was agitated without cupidity, each one's own things pleased him enough" (Sallust, In Catiline's Conspiracy, ch. 2)? Or in order that the empire might be increased so much, ought that to have been done which Virgil detests, saying: "Until gradually a worse and discolored age, and the rage of war, and the love of possessing succeeded" (Aeneid, book 8, lines 326, 327)? But plainly for so many wars undertaken and waged, the just defense of the Romans is that they were compelled to resist enemies rushing upon them importunately, not by greed for acquiring human praise, but by the necessity of protecting safety and liberty. Let it be so plainly. For after their affairs, as Sallust himself writes, increased by laws, manners, and lands, seemed prosperous enough and powerful enough, as most mortal things are held, envy arose from opulence. Therefore neighboring kings and peoples tried them in war, a few of their friends were of help: for the rest, struck with fear, stayed away from the dangers. But the Romans, intent at home and in military service, hurried, prepared, exhorted one another,

went to meet the enemies; they protected liberty, fatherland, and parents with arms. Afterwards, when they had repelled the dangers by valor, they brought help to allies and friends, and prepared friendships more by giving than by receiving benefits (Sallust, In Catiline's Conspiracy, ch. 6). Decently by these arts Rome grew. But while Numa was reigning, so that there might be such long peace, did the wicked rush in and try them in war; or was none of these things done, so that that peace could persist? For if Rome was even then provoked by wars, and arms were not brought to meet arms: by what means was it done, that the enemies were settled, overcome by no battle, terrified by no martial onset; by these means let it always be done, and let Rome always reign in peace with the gates of Janus closed. But if this was not in their power, then Rome had peace not as long as their gods willed, but as long as the neighboring men round about willed, who provoked her with no war: unless perchance such gods will dare even to sell that to a man, which another man willed or did not will. It does indeed concern their own vice, how far those demons are allowed either to terrify or excite evil minds: but if they could always do this, and nothing were often done otherwise by a more secret and superior power against their endeavor, they would always have in their power peace and warlike victories, which almost always happen through the movements of human minds: which nevertheless history itself confesses were often done against their

will, not only the fables lying many things, and scarcely indicating or signifying anything true.

CHAPTER XI.

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

For not from elsewhere was that Cuman Apollo reported to have wept for four days, when war was being waged against the Achaeans and king Aristonicus: by which prodigy the haruspices (aruspices) being terrified, when they had thought that that statue was to be cast into the sea, the Cuman elders interceded, and reported that such a prodigy had appeared in the same image both in the war of Antiochus and of the Persian: and because it had turned out fortunately for the Romans, they testified that by a decree of the senate gifts had been sent to the same Apollo of theirs. Then the haruspices, called in as if more skilled, answered that the weeping of the statue of Apollo was therefore prosperous for the Romans, because the Cuman colony was Greek, and that Apollo by weeping had signified mourning and slaughter to his own lands from which he had been called, that is to Greece itself. Then soon it was announced that king Aristonicus had been conquered and captured; whom Apollo certainly did not want to be conquered and was grieving, and was indicating this even by the tears of his stone. Whence not altogether incongruously, although fabulous, yet similar

to the truth, the manners of the demons are described in the songs of the poets. For Diana grieved for Camilla in Virgil, and Hercules wept for Pallas who was about to die. Hence perhaps also Numa Pompilius, abounding in peace, but not knowing by whose gift, nor seeking; when being at leisure he was thinking to which gods he should commit the protection of Roman safety and the kingdom, and did not think that that true and almighty highest God cared for these earthly things, and was recollecting the Trojan gods, whom Aeneas had brought, that they had been able to preserve neither the Trojan nor the Lavinian kingdom founded by Aeneas himself for long, he thought that others were to be provided, whom he might employ either as guardians to those former ones (either those who had already passed over to Rome with Romulus, or were to pass over whenever Alba was overturned) as if to fugitives, or as helpers as if to the weak.

CHAPTER XII.

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

Nor was Rome deigned to be content with these sacred rites, however many Pompilius had established there: for it did not yet have the highest temple of Jupiter himself. For King Tarquin built the Capitol there. But Aesculapius (Aesculapius) traveled from Epidaurus to Rome, so that as a most skilled physician he might exercise his

art more gloriously in the most noble city. Also the Mother of the gods (Mater deûm), I know not from where, from Pessinus. For it was unworthy that when her son already presided over the Capitoline hill, she herself should still lie hid in an ignoble place. Who nevertheless, if she is the mother of all the gods, not only followed some of her sons to Rome, but also preceded others who were to follow. I wonder indeed if she herself gave birth to Cynocephalus (Cynocephalum), who came from Egypt much later. Whether also the goddess Fever (dea Febris) was born from her, let Aesculapius his great-grandson see. But from wherever she was born, I do not (I suppose) think the foreign gods will dare to call her, a Roman citizen goddess, ignoble. Under this protection of so many gods, whom can anyone number, indigenous and foreign, celestial, terrestrial, infernal, marine, of fountains, of rivers; and, as Varro says, certain and uncertain, and in all kinds of gods, just as in animals, males and females? Rome, therefore, being established under the protection of so many gods, ought not to have been agitated and afflicted by such great and horrendous slaughters, of which I will mention a few out of many. For she had gathered too many gods with her great smoke, as if by a given signal, for her protection; by establishing and providing temples, altars, sacrifices, and priests for whom, she would offend the highest true God, to whom alone these things rightly done are due. And she lived indeed more happily with fewer: but the greater she became, like a ship with sailors, so she

thought more were to be employed; believing, I suppose, that those fewer, under whom in comparison with a worse life she had lived better, were not sufficient to help her greatness. For first under the kings themselves, except Numa Pompilius, of whom I have already spoken above, how great an evil of discordant strife was it, which compelled the brother of Romulus to be slain?

CHAPTER XIII.

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

How could neither Juno, who with her Jupiter was already fostering the Romans, the lords of things and the toga-wearing race (Aeneid, book 1, lines 281, 282), nor Venus herself help her Aeneadae, so that they might merit marriages by a good and equitable custom, and such great slaughter rushed in from this list, that they seized them by deceit, and soon were compelled to fight with their fathers-in-law; so that miserable women not yet reconciled to their husbands from the injury, were already endowed with the blood of their parents? But forsooth the Romans conquered their neighbors in this conflict. With how great and how many wounds and deaths of those so near and bordering did those victories consist? On account of one father-in-law Caesar and one son-in-law of his Pompey, Caesar's daughter already being dead, the wife of Pompey, with how great and how just an instinct of grief does Lucan exclaim: "Wars more than civil through

the Emathian fields, and right given to crime we sing!" (Lucan, book 1, lines 1, 2.) The Romans therefore conquered, so that with bloody hands they might extort miserable embraces from the daughters of the fathers-in-law they had slaughtered; nor did those women dare to weep for their slain fathers, lest they should offend their victorious husbands; who while they were still fighting, did not know for whom they should make vows. With such nuptials not Venus, but Bellona (Bellona) endowed the Roman people: or perhaps that infernal fury Alecto (Alecto), Juno now favoring them, had more license against them than when she had been excited by her prayers against Aeneas. Andromache (Andromacha) was more happily captivated than those Roman marriages wedded: although servile, yet after her embraces Pyrrhus slew none of the Trojans. But the Romans were killing fathers-in-law in battles, whose daughters they were already embracing in bedchambers. She, subjected to a victor, could only grieve for the death of her own, not fear it: they, associated with those warring, feared the deaths of their parents as their husbands went forth, and grieved as they returned, having neither free fear nor grief. For on account of the destruction of citizens, kinsmen, brothers, parents, they were either piously tortured, or cruelly rejoiced in the victories of their husbands. To this was added that, as are the alternations of wars, some lost husbands by the sword of their parents, some by the sword of both lost both parents and husbands: for neither among the Romans were those

dangers small. Since indeed they even came to the siege of the city, and protected themselves with closed gates: which being opened by deceit, and the enemies admitted within the walls, in the forum itself a wicked and too atrocious fight was committed between sons-in-law and fathers-in-law. And those ravishers were even being overcome; and frequently fleeing within their houses, they fouled their former victories more heavily, although they too were shameful and lamentable. Here nevertheless Romulus, already despairing of the valor of his own, asked Jupiter that they might stand: and he on this occasion found the name of Stator (Stator). Nor would there be an end of so great evil, unless those seized women should flash forth with torn hair, and being prostrated before their parents, should settle their most just anger, not with victorious arms, but with suppliant piety. Then Romulus was compelled to bear Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, as a partner of the kingdom, impatient of a brother as a consort: but when would he tolerate him for long, who did not endure a brother and a twin? Whence he also being killed, so that he might be a greater god, he alone obtained the kingdom. What are those rights of nuptials, what incitements of wars, what treaties of brotherhood, affinity, society, divinity? what life of a city, finally, under so many guardian gods? You see how many and how great things could be said from here, unless our intention cared for what remains, and our speech hurried to other things.

CHAPTER XIV.

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

1. What then after Numa under the other kings? With how great evil, not only their own, but also of the Romans, were the Albans provoked into war! because forsooth the so long peace of Numa had become cheap. How frequent were the slaughters of the Roman and Alban army, and the breaking of both cities! For that Alba, which Ascanius the son of Aeneas created, a mother to Rome closer herself than Troy, being provoked by king Tullus Hostilius, fought: and fighting she both was afflicted, and afflicted, until it might weary many of contests of equal defection. Then it pleased to try the outcome of the war by three brothers from here and there: three Horatii (Horatii) went forth from the Romans, and three Curiatii (Curiatii) from the Albans; two Horatii were overcome and extinguished by the three Curiatii, but by one Horatius the three Curiatii were overcome and extinguished. Thus Rome stood forth as victrix, even with that slaughter in the extreme contest, that of six living one might return home. To whom was the loss in both? to whom the mourning, except to the race of Aeneas, except to the posterity of Ascanius, except to the progeny of Venus, except to the grandsons of Jupiter? For even this was more than a civil war, when a daughter city fought with a mother city. Another atrocious and horrendous evil was

added to this last fight of the three brothers. For as both peoples were before friends (being neighbors forsooth and kinsmen), the sister of the Horatii had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii: this woman, after she saw the spoils of the bridegroom on her victorious brother, was killed by the same brother, because she wept. The affection of this one woman seems to me to have been more humane than that of the whole Roman people. I think that she did not culpably weep for that man whom she was already holding by a mediated faith, or perhaps also grieving for the brother himself who had killed him to whom he had promised his sister. For whence in Virgil does pious Aeneas laudably grieve for an enemy slain even by his own hand? Whence did Marcellus, recollecting that the Syracusan city, her height and glory a little before, had suddenly fallen under his hands, commiserating by weeping, think upon the common condition? I ask that we may obtain from human affection, that a woman might have wept for her bridegroom slain by her brother without crime, if men wept for enemies conquered by themselves even with praise. Therefore when that woman was weeping for the death brought upon her bridegroom by her brother, Rome was rejoicing that she had warred with such great slaughter against a mother city, and had conquered with such great effusion of kindred blood on this side and on that.

2. Why is the name of praise and the name of victory held out to me? Let the crimes, with the obstacles of insane opinion removed, be seen

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

one, and conquered. Gladiators also fight, and they themselves conquer: even that cruelty has the rewards of praise. But I think it is better to pay the penalties of any inertia than to seek the glory of those arms. And yet if gladiators were to proceed into the arena to fight among themselves, of whom one was the son, the other the father, who would bear such a spectacle? who would not take it away? How then could the contest of arms between one city the mother and the other the daughter be glorious? Or was it therefore different, because that was not an arena, and broader fields were filled with the deaths not of two gladiators, but of many in two peoples; nor were those contests girt by an amphitheater, but by the whole world, and then an impious spectacle was provided to those living and to posterity, as far as that fame is extended?

3. Yet those gods, the guardians of the Roman empire, were suffering the force of their own zeal, and were like theatrical spectators of such contests, until the sister of the Horatii, on account of the three Curiatii slain, was also herself added as a third on the other side by her brother's sword to her two brothers, lest even Rome which had conquered should have fewer deaths. Then for the fruit of victory Alba was overturned: where after Ilium, which the Greeks destroyed, and after Lavinium, where Aeneas had established a foreign and fugitive kingdom, those Trojan deities had inhabited in the third place. But after their manner they had perhaps already migrated from there; therefore it was deleted. Forsooth

"all the gods, by whom that empire had stood, had departed, their shrines and altars being left." They had indeed departed, behold now for the third time, so that the fourth Rome might be most providently committed to them. For Alba had also displeased them, where Amulius reigned with his brother expelled, and Rome had pleased them, where Romulus reigned with his brother slain. But before Alba was demolished, its people, they say, was transferred to Rome, so that from both one city might be made. Be it so, let it have been so done: nevertheless that city, the kingdom of Ascanius and the third domicile of the Trojan gods, was overturned as a mother by a daughter city. But in order that the remains of the war might make one miserable mass out of two peoples, much blood of both was shed before. Why should I now speak individually of the same wars so often renewed under the other kings, which seemed finished by victories, and were again and again completed with such slaughters, and again and again after treaty and peace repeated between sons-in-law and fathers-in-law and their stock and posterity? It was no small indication of this calamity, that none of them closed the gates of war. None of them, therefore, reigned in peace under so many guardian gods.

CHAPTER XV.

What kind of life and end the Roman kings had.

1. But what were the ends of the kings themselves? As for Romulus, let fabulous adulation see

to it, by which he is held to have been received into heaven: let certain of their writers see to it, who said that he was torn to pieces by the senate on account of his ferocity, and that some Julius Proculus (Julius Proculus) was suborned, who should say that he had appeared to him, and through him had commanded the Roman people that he should be worshiped among the deities; and in that way the people, who had begun to swell against the senate, was repressed and settled. For there had also happened an eclipse of the sun, which the unskillful and ignorant multitude, not knowing it was effected by a certain reason of its course, attributed to the merits of Romulus. As if truly if that had been the mourning of the sun, it ought not rather therefore to be believed that he was slain, and the crime itself indicated by the aversion even of the daylight: just as was truly done when the Lord was crucified by the cruelty and impiety of the Jews (Luke XXIII, 45). Which obscuration of the sun did not happen from the canonical course of the stars, it sufficiently shows, because it was then the passover of the Jews; for it is solemnly celebrated at the full moon: but a regular eclipse of the sun does not happen except at the end of the moon. Cicero also sufficiently signifies that reception of Romulus among the gods to have been thought rather than done, when also praising him in the books On the Republic (book 2, ch. 10), and in the speech of Scipio: "He attained so much," he says, "that when he had not appeared, the sun being suddenly obscured, he was thought to be

placed in the number of the gods: which opinion no mortal could ever attain without exceptional glory of virtue." But what he says, that he did not suddenly appear, is certainly understood there either as the violence of a tempest, or the secret of a slaughter and a crime. For other of their writers also add a sudden tempest to the eclipse of the sun, which certainly either provided an occasion for the crime, or the tempest itself consumed Romulus. Concerning Tullus Hostilius, indeed, who was the third king from Romulus, who also himself was consumed by lightning, the same Cicero says in the same books, that therefore he was not believed to have been received among the gods by such a death, because perhaps the Romans did not want to make common (that is, to make cheap) what had been approved (that is, persuaded) in Romulus, if this were easily attributed to another also. He also says openly in the Invectives: "Him who founded this city, Romulus, we have raised to the immortal gods by benevolence and fame" (Orat. 3 In Catilinam, ch. 1): so that he might show it not truly done, but on account of the merits of his virtue tossed and spread abroad by benevolence. But in the dialogue Hortensius, when he was speaking of the canonical eclipses of the sun, "So that it may effect the same darkness," he says, "which it effected in the death of Romulus, who was made by the obscuration of the sun." Certainly here he feared not at all to say the death of the man, because he was a disputant more than a praiser.

2. But as for the other kings of the Roman people, except for Numa Pompilius and Ancus Martius, who died of disease, what horrendous ends did they have? Tullus Hostilius, as I said, the victor and destroyer of Alba, was burned up with his whole house by lightning. Priscus Tarquinius was slain by the sons of his predecessor. Servius Tullius was killed by the nefarious crime of his son-in-law Tarquinius Superbus, who succeeded him in the kingdom. Nor did "the gods depart, their shrines and altars left behind," though so great a parricide was perpetrated against the best king of that people—those gods who they say, that they might do this to wretched Troy and leave it to be destroyed and burned by the Greeks, were moved by the adultery of Paris. But on top of that, having killed his father-in-law, Tarquinius himself succeeded. This man, a nefarious parricide reigning by the killing of his father-in-law, moreover glorying in many wars and victories, and building the Capitol from the spoils of war —those gods, not departing but present and remaining, saw him, and they endured that their king Jupiter should preside and reign over them in that highest temple, that is, in the work of a parricide. For he did not build the Capitol while still innocent and was afterwards driven from the City for bad merits: but he arrived at the kingdom itself, in which he was to build the Capitol, by the perpetration of a most monstrous crime. But that the Romans afterwards drove him from the kingdom and shut him out from the walls of the city, was not his own sin concerning the rape of Lucre-

tia, but the sin of his son, committed while he was not only ignorant of it, but also absent. He was then besieging the city of Ardea and was waging war for the Roman people: we do not know what he would have done if the disgrace of his son had been brought to his notice. And yet, his judgment being unsearched and untried, the people took away his power; and having received the army, by which he was ordered to be deserted, and the gates then being closed, they did not allow him to enter as he returned. But he, after most grave wars, by which he wore down those same Romans having stirred up the neighbors, after he was unable to recover the kingdom, being deserted by those in whose help he trusted, had for fourteen years, as it is said, a quiet private life in the town of Tusculum near Rome, and grew old with his wife, with a perhaps more desirable end than his father-in-law, who was extinguished by the crime of his son-in-law, his daughter not being ignorant of it, as it is related. Nor yet did the Romans call this Tarquinius cruel or wicked, but proud, perhaps not enduring his royal haughtiness because of another pride of their own. For they so far despised the crime of the killing of his father-in-law, their best king, that they made him their king: wherein I wonder if they did not return so great a reward for so great a crime by an even graver crime. Nor did "the gods depart, their shrines and altars left behind." Unless perchance someone should so defend those gods as to say that they remained at Rome for this reason, that they might rather punish the Romans with pun-

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

CHAPTER XVI.

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

To this time let us add also that time which Sallust says (See above, book 2, ch. 18) was conducted with equal and modest law, as long as there was fear of Tarquinius and the grave war with Etruria was in place. For as long as the Etruscans helped Tarquinius as he tried to return to his kingdom, Rome was shaken by a grave war. Therefore he says that the republic was managed with equal and modest law because fear was pressing, not because justice was persuading. In which very short time, how calamitous was that year in which the first consuls were created, after the royal power had been expelled? For they did not complete their year. For Junius Brutus

drove his colleague Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus from the City, having stripped him of his honor; then soon he himself fell in war from mutual wounds with the enemy, having first killed his own sons and the brothers of his wife, because he had learned that they had conspired for the restoration of Tarquinius. Which deed Virgil, after he had commemorated it laudably, immediately shrunk from with clemency. For when he had said, "And the father shall call his sons, who were stirring up new wars, to punishment for the sake of beautiful liberty;" soon after he exclaimed, and says, "Unhappy man! however posterity shall bear those deeds." In whatever way, he says, posterity may bear those deeds, that is, prefer and extol them; he who kills his sons is unhappy. And as if to console the unhappy man, he added: "The love of country conquered, and the immense desire of praise." (Aeneid, book 6, verses 820-823.) Is not in this Brutus, who both killed his sons, and being struck by an enemy, the son of Tarquinius, could not survive the enemy he had struck, and Tarquinius himself rather survived him—does not the innocence of his colleague Collatinus seem to be vindicated, who, though a good citizen, suffered this after the expulsion of Tarquinius which the tyrant Tarquinius himself suffered? For the same Brutus is also related to have been a kinsman of Tarquinius. But clearly the similarity of the name oppressed Collatinus, because he also was called Tarquinius. He should have been compelled to change his name, then, and not his country:

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

CHAPTER XVII.

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

1. Then already, the fear being a little diminished, not because the wars had ceased, but because they did not press with so heavy a weight —the time in which it was conducted with equal and modest law being finished—there followed those things which the same Sallust (Histories, book 1) briefly explains: "Then the fathers began to exercise a servile command over the plebs, to consult concerning life and back in the royal manner, to drive them from the land, and, others being excluded, to act alone in the empire." By which cruelties, and especially by usury, the plebs being oppressed, when they were tolerating tribute and military service at the same time with constant wars, being armed they occupied the Sacred Mountain and the Aventine: and then they obtained for themselves tribunes of the plebs and other laws. The end of the discords and the contest on both sides was the second Punic war. [XVII.] Why therefore should I endure such delays either in writing, or bring them to those who will read? How wretched that republic was for so long an age through so many years even to the second Punic war, the wars without ceasing to disquiet from outside and the discords and civil seditions within, has been briefly intimated by Sallust. Accordingly those victories were not solid joys of the blessed, but empty consolations of the wretched, and alluring incitements for those who were by no means quiet to undergo

other and still other sterile evils. Nor let good and prudent Romans be angry with us because we say these things: although concerning this matter they are neither to be asked nor warned, since it is most certain that they will not be angry at all. For we do not say more grave things or more gravely than their own authors, and we are much unequal to them in style and leisure: for the learning of which things they themselves also labored, and they compel their sons to labor. But those who are angry, when would they bear me if I should say what Sallust (Ibid.) says? "Very many disturbances, seditions, and at last civil wars arose, while a few powerful men, into whose favor most had yielded, were affecting dominations under the honest name of the fathers or the plebs; and good and bad citizens were so called, not for their merits toward the republic—all being equally corrupt—but as each one was most wealthy and more powerful in injury, because he defended present things, he was considered as a good man." Furthermore, if those writers of history thought it to pertain to honest liberty not to be silent about the evils of their own city, which in many places they were compelled to praise with great commendation, since they had no other truer city in which eternal citizens are to be read: what does it become us to do, whose hope is so much better and more certain in God, that our liberty ought to be so much greater, when they impute present evils to our Christ, so that weaker and more ignorant minds may be alienated from that city in which

alone one is to live continually and happily? Nor do we say more horrible things against their gods than their own authors likewise, whom they read and preach: since indeed we have received from them the things which we should say, and in no way are we sufficient to say either such things or all of them.

CHAPTER XVII.

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

2. Where were those gods, then, who are thought worthy of worship for the sake of the slight and deceptive happiness of this world; when the Romans, to whom they were selling themselves to be worshiped with most lying craft, were vexed by such great calamities? Where were they, when Valerius the consul was killed while defending the Capitol, which had been set on fire by exiles and slaves? And he himself was more easily able to help the temple of Jupiter than that crowd of so many deities with their greatest and best king, whose temple he had liberated, could come to his aid. Where were they, when the city, fatigued by the most dense evils of seditions, while it was waiting for a little quiet for the legates sent to Athens to borrow laws, was wasted by a grave famine and pestilence? Where were they, when again the people, while laboring with famine, created for the first time a prefect of the provisions; and that famine in-

creasing, Spurius Maelius, who distributed corn to the hungry multitude, incurred the crime of affecting the kingdom, and at the instance of the same prefect, through the dictator L. Quintius, decrepit with age, was killed by Quintus Servilius, the master of the horse, with a most great and dangerous tumult of the city? Where were they, when a most great pestilence arose, and the people, long and much fatigued without remedy by the useless gods, thought that new lectisternia should be exhibited, which they had never done before? But couches were spread in honor of the gods, whence this sacred or rather sacrilegious name was taken. Where were they, when for ten continuous years the Roman army had received frequent and great slaughters at Veii by fighting badly, unless help was finally brought through Furius Camillus, whom the ungrateful city afterwards condemned? Where were they, when the Gauls took Rome, spoiled it, burned it, and filled it with slaughters? Where were they, when that notable pestilence gave such a great slaughter, in which even that Furius Camillus was extinguished, who before defended the ungrateful republic from the Veientes, and afterwards vindicated it from the Gauls? In this pestilence they introduced scenic games, another new plague, not to the bodies of the Romans, but, what is much more pernicious, to their morals. Where were they, when another grave pestilence was believed to have arisen from the poisonings of matrons, whose characters, of many and noble ones beyond belief, were discovered to be more grave

than any pestilence? Or when, being besieged in the Caudine Forks by the Samnites, both consuls with the army were compelled to make a foul treaty with them; so that, six hundred Roman knights being given as hostages, the rest, having lost their arms and being spoiled and deprived of other coverings, were sent under the yoke of the enemy with a single garment each? Or when, others laboring with a grave pestilence, many also in the army perished being struck by lightning? Or when likewise Rome was compelled to call for and apply Aesculapius from Epidaurus as a medical god in another intolerable pestilence? since Jupiter, the king of all, who had long sat in the Capitol, perhaps his many adulteries, in which as a youth he had been vacant, had not permitted him to learn medicine. Or when, their enemies —the Lucanians, Bruttians, Samnites, Etruscans, and Senonian Gauls—conspiring at one time, first the legates were slain by them, then the army was oppressed with the praetor, seven tribunes perishing with him and thirteen thousand soldiers? Or when, after grave and long seditions at Rome, in which at last the plebs had seceded to the Janiculum by a hostile plundering, the dire calamity of this evil was so great that for the sake of this thing, which was accustomed to be done in extreme perils, Hortensius was created dictator, who, after the plebs had been recalled, expired in the same magistracy—which had happened to no dictator before, and which was a more grave crime for those gods, Aesculapius being already present.

3. But then so many wars grew everywhere, that for the want of soldiers those proletarians were enrolled in the military, who, because they were vacant for the begetting of offspring and not strong enough to serve for want of means, had received this name. Pyrrhus also, the king of Greece, then celebrated with great glory, being called by the Tarentines, became an enemy of the Romans. To whom indeed consulting about the future event of things, Apollo gave so ambiguous an oracle, that whatever had happened from the two, he himself would be held as divine. For he says: "I say that you, Pyrrhus, are able to conquer the Romans." And so whether Pyrrhus should be conquered by the Romans, or the Romans by Pyrrhus, the secure soothsayer would expect either event. What then and how horrendous was the slaughter of both armies? In which nevertheless Pyrrhus stood out superior, so that he could now preach Apollo as divine according to his own understanding; unless in another battle very soon the Romans departed superior. And in so great a slaughter of wars a grave pestilence of women also arose: for before they could give birth to mature offspring, being pregnant they died. Where, I believe, Aesculapius excused himself, because he professed himself a chief physician, not a midwife. The cattle also similarly died, so that now it was believed the genus of animals would fail. What of that memorable winter raging with such incredible monstrousness, so that with snows of horrendous height remaining even in the forum for forty days, the Tiber also was

hardened with ice—if it had happened in our times, what and how great things would they have said? What of that likewise huge pestilence, how long it raged, how many it destroyed? Which when it was extended into another year much more gravely, Aesculapius being present in vain, the Sibylline books were approached. In which kind of oracles, as Cicero commemorates in the books On Divination, it is accustomed to be believed rather by interpreters conjecturing doubtful things as they are able or wish. (Book 2, ch. 54). Then therefore it was said that that was the cause of the pestilence, because many held privately many sacred buildings that were occupied: thus in the meantime Aesculapius was liberated from a great crime of unskillfulness or sloth. But for what reason had those buildings been occupied by many, no one prohibiting, unless because to so great a crowd of deities it had long been supplicated in vain; and thus by degrees the places were deserted by the worshipers, so that as if vacant they could be vindicated at least for human uses without anyone's offense? For what things were then diligently repeated and repaired as if to settle the pestilence, unless they were afterwards neglected in the same way and remained hidden by being usurped, would certainly not be attributed to the great skill of Varro, that in writing of sacred buildings he commemorates so many things that were unknown. But then in the meantime an elegant thing was procured, not a driving away of the pestilence, but an excusing of the gods.

CHAPTER XVIII.

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

1. But now in the Punic wars, when victory hung for a long time doubtful and uncertain between each empire, and two very powerful peoples were making most brave and opulent impetuses against each other, how many smaller kingdoms were crushed? what large and noble cities were deleted? how many were afflicted, how many cities lost? how far and wide were so many regions and lands wasted? how often were the conquered on this side and the victors on that? what of men was consumed, either of fighting soldiers, or of peoples vacant from arms? how great a force of ships was oppressed in marine battles also, and submerged by the variety of diverse tempests? If we should attempt to narrate or commemorate these things, we ourselves will be nothing other than writers of history. Then the Roman city, disturbed by great fear, ran to vain and ridiculous remedies. The secular games were restored by the authority of the Sibylline books, the celebration of which had been instituted between a hundred years, and in more happy times had perished by neglecting memory. The pontiffs also renewed the sacred games to the gods below, and these also abolished in better years past. For certainly when they were renewed, it was delighting even the gods below, enriched by so great a supply of the dying, to play: when indeed wretched men were acting out the great games

of the demons and the rich banquets of the gods below in those very rabid wars and bloody animosities and funeral victories on this side and that. Surely nothing more miserable happened in the first Punic war than that the Romans were so conquered that even that Regulus was captured, of whom we made mention in the first and in the second book (Book 1, ch. 15 and 24; and book 2, ch. 23), a man clearly great and previously a victor and tamer of the Carthaginians: who also would have finished the first Punic war itself, unless by too much greed for praise and glory he had commanded harder conditions than they could bear upon the weary Carthaginians. If the most unexpected captivity and most unworthy servitude and most faithful swearing and most cruel death of that man does not compel those gods to blush, it is true that they are of brass and have no blood.

2. Nor were most grave evils wanting within the walls at that time. For the river Tiber overflowing too much beyond custom, almost all the flat parts of the city were subverted; some being pushed by the impetus as if of a torrent, others being made wet and having collapsed as if in a daily pool. Then a more pernicious plague of fire followed that plague, which, having seized whichever higher things were around the forum, did not spare even the temple of Vesta, its most familiar one, where virgins, not so much honored as condemned, were accustomed to give to it as if a perpetual life by the most diligent substitution of wood. But then the fire there not only was living, but also was raging. Terrified by whose

impetus, the virgins, since they were not able to liberate from that fire those fatal sacred things which had already pressed three cities in which they had been, Metellus the pontiff, having in a certain way forgotten his own safety, rushing in, snatched them away half-burned. For not even the fire recognized him: or truly there was a deity there, who, if he had been, would not even have fled. A man, therefore, was rather able to help the sacred things of Vesta, than those things were able to help a man. But if they did not repel fire from themselves, what could they help against those waters and flames the city whose safety they were thought to guard? just as the thing itself made plain that they had been able to do nothing at all. These things would by no means be objected by us to them, if they said those sacred things were instituted, not for guarding these temporal goods, but for signifying eternal ones; and therefore, when it happened that they perished because they were corporal and visible things, nothing was diminished of these things for the sake of which they had been instituted, and they could be repaired anew for the same uses. But now by a wonderful blindness, they think it could be done by those sacred things which are able to perish, so that the earthly safety and temporal happiness of the city could not perish. Accordingly, when even while those sacred things remain, either the crushing of safety or unhappiness is shown to have rushed in, they blush to change the opinion which they are unable to defend.

CHAPTER XIX.

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

In the second Punic war indeed it is too long to commemorate the slaughters of two peoples, fighting so long and far and wide with each other; so that even those confessing, who instituted not so much to narrate the Roman wars as to praise the Roman empire, that he who conquered was more like the conquered. For Hannibal rising from Spain and, the Pyrenean mountains being surpassed, Gaul being run through, and the Alps being broken through, having increased his forces by so long a circuit, wasting or subduing all things, rushing into the jaws of Italy in the manner of a torrent, how bloody wars were waged, how many battles! How often were the Romans surpassed! how many towns defected to the enemy, how many were captured and oppressed! how dire the fights, and so often glorious for Hannibal by the Roman slaughter! But of the wonderfully horrendous evil of Cannae what shall I say, where Hannibal, although he was most cruel, yet being satiated by such great slaughter of most atrocious enemies, is related to have ordered to spare them? Whence he sent three modii of gold rings to Carthage: by which they might understand that so great Roman dignity had fallen in that battle, that a measure might easier take it than a number; and from this the slaughter of the rest of the crowd, so much more numerous as it was lower, which was lying without rings, might

be conjectured rather than announced. Finally such a want of soldiers followed, that the Romans collected those guilty of crimes, impunity being proposed, gave liberty to slaves, and from them a shameful army was not so much supplied as instituted. To the slaves therefore, nay let us not do injury, now to the freedmen who were about to fight for the Roman republic, arms were wanting. They were taken from the temples, as if the Romans were saying to their gods, "Put down what you have held in vain for so long, lest perchance our bond-slaves might be able to do something useful from there, whence you, our deities, were able to do nothing." Then also when the treasury had failed for the stipends to be sufficient, private wealth came into public uses, each one so conferring what he had, that except for single gold rings and single bullae, the miserable insignia of dignity, the senate itself left nothing of gold for itself, how much more the other orders and tribes! Who would bear those men if in our times they were compelled to this want, since we can hardly bear them now, when more things are given to actors for superfluous pleasure than were then collected for the legions for extreme safety?

CHAPTER XX.

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

But in all these evils of the second Punic war, nothing was more miserable or more worthy

of a miserable complaint than the destruction of the Saguntines. For this city of Spain, most friendly to the Roman people, was overturned while it kept faith with that same people. For from this Hannibal, having broken the treaty of the Romans, sought causes by which he might irritate them to war. Therefore he was fiercely besieging Saguntum: which when it was heard at Rome, ambassadors were sent to Hannibal, that he might depart from its siege. Despised, they proceed to Carthage, and lay down a complaint of the broken treaty, and, the business being unfinished, they return to Rome. While these delays are acted out, that miserable city, most opulent, and most dear to its own republic and to the Roman, was deleted in the eighth or ninth month by the Carthaginians. To read whose destruction, how much more to write it, is of horror. Yet I will briefly commemorate it: for it pertains much to the matter which is being acted. First it wasted away by hunger: for it is related to have been fed even by the corpses of its own by some. Then weary of all things, lest at least it should come captive into the hands of Hannibal, it publicly constructed a huge pyre, into which, while burning, they all cast themselves and theirs, even being slaughtered by the sword. Here those gods, gluttons and rascals, gaping for the fats of sacrifices, and deceiving by the darkness of false divinations, should have done something: here they should have done something, they should have come to the aid of a city most friendly to the Roman people, they should not have permitted

it to perish while perishing for the preservation of faith. They indeed were present as mediators, when it was coupled to the Roman republic, a treaty being interposed. Therefore guarding faithfully what it had joined by the pleasure of those same presiding ones, had bound by faith, and had constrained by oath, it was besieged, oppressed, and consumed by a perfidious one. If the gods themselves afterwards terrified Hannibal with a tempest and thunderbolts when he was nearest to the Roman walls, and sent him far away; then first they should have done such a thing. For I dare to say, that they could more honestly have raged with a tempest for the friends of the Romans, therefore being in danger lest they should break faith with the Romans, and having no help then, than for the Romans themselves, who were fighting for themselves, and were opulent against Hannibal. If therefore they were guardians of Roman happiness and glory, they would avert so grave a crime of the Saguntine calamity from it: but now how foolishly is it believed that Rome did not perish by those gods as defenders when Hannibal was victor, who were not able to come to the aid of the Saguntine city, lest it should perish for its friendship? If the people of the Saguntines were Christian, and suffered something of this kind for the evangelical faith, although it had not corrupted itself either by the sword or by fires; yet if it suffered destruction for the evangelical faith, it would suffer it by that hope by which it had believed in Christ, not for the reward of a very short time,

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

CHAPTER XXI.

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

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

which I commemorated concerning Scipio, that yielding to his enemies he died outside the fatherland which he liberated, pertains to the present disputation, because the Roman deities, from whose temples he averted Hannibal, did not return the favor to him, who are worshiped only for the sake of this happiness. But because Sallust said that at that time there were the best manners, therefore I thought this concerning Asian luxury should be commemorated, so that it may be understood that that was also said by Sallust in comparison with other times, in which times there were surely worse manners in the most grave discords. For then, that is between the second and the last Carthaginian war, that Voconian law was also passed, that no one should make a female an heir, not even an only daughter. Than which law I know not what more iniquitous could be said or thought. Nevertheless, in that whole interval of the two Punic wars unhappiness was more tolerable. Only by wars abroad was the army worn down, but it was consoled by victories: at home however no discords were raging, as at other times. But in the last Punic war, by one impetus of the other Scipio, who on account of this also found for himself the cognomen Africanus, the rival of the Roman empire was deleted from the root: and thereafter the Roman republic was oppressed by such great heaps of evils, that by the prosperity and security of things, from which those evils were amassed through too much corrupted manners, it is shown to have harmed more being

so quickly overturned, than Carthage had previously harmed being so long adverse. In this whole time until Caesar Augustus, who seems to have extorted from the Romans by every means a liberty not yet glorious even in their own opinion, but contentious and destructive and clearly now nerveless and languid, and to have recalled all things to a royal judgment, and to have as it were restored and renewed the republic collapsed by a morbid antiquity: in all that time, therefore, I omit again and again the military slaughters from other and other causes, and the Numantine treaty spotted with horrendous ignominy: for the chickens had flown from the cage, and had made a bad augury for Mancinus the consul, as they say; as if through so many years, in which that tiny city had afflicted the surrounded Roman army, and had already begun to be a terror to the Roman republic itself, others had proceeded against it with a bad augury.

CHAPTER XXII.

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

But these things, I say, I omit, although I would by no means keep silent about that, that Mithridates the king of Asia ordered Roman citizens traveling everywhere in Asia, and intent on their businesses in innumerable abundance, to be killed in one day: and it was done. How miserable was that face of things, that suddenly everyone, wherever he had been found, in the

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

CHAPTER XXIII.

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

But now let us briefly commemorate, as much as we can, those evils which, as much as they were more interior, so much more miserable they stood out: civil discords, or rather uncivil; and

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

CHAPTER XXIV.

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

But the beginning of the civil wars was the seditions of the Gracchi excited by the agrarian laws. For they wished to divide the fields to the people, which the nobility was possessing wrongly. But to dare to pluck up so ancient an

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

CHAPTER XXV.

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

By an elegant decree of the senate indeed, in that very place where that funeral tumult was committed, where so many citizens of every order fell, the temple of Concord was made, so that as a witness of the punishment of the Gracchi it

might strike the eyes of those holding assemblies, and might prick the memory. But what else was this than a mockery of the gods, to construct a temple to that goddess who, if she were in the city, it would not collapse torn apart by so great dissensions? unless perchance Concord, guilty of this crime because she had deserted the minds of the citizens, deserved to be included in that temple as if in a prison. For why, if they wished to agree with the things done, did they not rather build a temple of Discord there? or is any reason rendered why Concord should be a goddess, and Discord should not be a goddess; so that according to the distinction of Labeo, that one should be good, but this one bad? Nor does he himself seem to have followed anything else than what he noticed, that at Rome a temple was constituted even to Fever, just as to Health. In that way therefore not only to Concord, but also to Discord it ought to have been constituted. Dangerously therefore the Romans wished to live with so bad a goddess being angry, nor did they recollect that the Trojan destruction took its origin from her offense. For she herself, because she had not been invited among the gods, devised the strife of the three goddesses by the substitution of the golden apple: whence the quarrel of the deities, and Venus victrix, and Helena snatched away, and Troy deleted. Wherefore, if perchance indignant because she deserved to have no temple among the gods in the City, she was therefore now disturbing the city with so great tumults; how much more atrociously could she be irritated, when in

the place of that slaughter, that is in the place of her own work, she saw a temple constituted to her adversary? At us laughing at these vain things those learned and wise men are angry, and yet the worshipers of good and bad deities do not depart from this question of Concord and Discord, whether they have passed over the worship of these goddesses, and preferred Fever and Bellona to them, to whom they made ancient temples; or have worshiped these also, when thus Concord departing, Discord raging has led them all the way to civil wars.

CHAPTER XXVI.

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

They thought that a remarkable obstacle indeed to seditions, the temple of Concord, should be opposed to those holding assemblies as a witness of the slaughter and punishment of the Gracchi. How much they profited from this, the worse things that followed indicate. For thereafter the speakers labored, not to avoid the example of the Gracchi, but to surpass their purpose: Lucius Saturninus, tribune of the plebs, and Caius Servilius, the praetor, and much later Marcus Drusus; from the seditions of all of whom first indeed then the most grave slaughters, then the Social wars blazed forth: by which Italy was vehemently afflicted, and brought to a wonderful vastness and desertion. Then the servile war succeeded, and civil wars: in which what battles

were committed, what blood was shed? so that almost all the Italian nations, by whom the Roman empire was most powerful, were subdued as if a savage barbarity. Now from very few, that is less than seventy, gladiators, in what manner the servile war was contracted, to what number and how sharp and fierce it arrived: what generals of the Roman people that number overcame: what cities and regions it devastated and in what way, those who have written history have scarcely been able to explain sufficiently. Nor was that the only servile war; but also servile groups first depopulated the province of Macedonia, and then Sicily and the maritime coast. How great also and how horrendous robberies they first committed, then the powerful wars of the pirates, who might be able to speak according to the magnitude of the things?

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the Marian and Sullan civil war.

But when Marius, already bloody with civil blood, many of the parties adverse to him having been destroyed, had fled from the City being conquered, the city scarcely breathing for a little while, to use the Tullian words, Cinna afterwards surpassed with Marius. Then indeed the most illustrious men being killed, the lights of the city were extinguished. Sulla afterwards avenged the cruelty of this victory, it is not even necessary to say with how great a diminution of citizens and how great a calamity of the republic. For concern-

ing this vengeance, which was more pernicious than if the crimes which were being punished had been left unpunished, Lucan also says: The medicine exceeded the measure; and too much followed where the diseases led the hand; the guilty perished. But when now the guilty alone were able to survive, then liberty was given to hatreds, and anger, released from the reins of the laws, rushed on. In that Marian and Sullan war, those being excepted who fell abroad in the line of battle, in the City itself also the streets, squares, forums, theaters, temples were filled with corpses; so that it was difficultly judged when the victors gave out more funerals, whether first that they might conquer, or afterwards because they had conquered: when first in the Marian victory, when he restored himself from exile, slaughters made everywhere on every side being excepted, the head of Octavius the consul was placed on the rostra, Caesar and Fimbria were slaughtered in their own houses, the two Crassi, father and son, were butchered in mutual sight, Bebius and Numitorius being dragged by a hook with scattered viscera perished, Catulus by having drunk poison withdrew himself from the hands of his enemies, Merula, the flamen Dial, his veins having been cut even to his own Jupiter made an offering with his blood. Moreover, in the eyes of Marius himself they were immediately struck, to whom he had not been willing to extend his right hand while they were saluting.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

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

But the Sullan victory having followed, the avenger of this cruelty forsooth, after so much blood of the citizens, by the shedding of which it had been compared, the war being already finished while enmities were living, it raged more cruelly in peace. For already even after the former and most recent slaughters of the elder Marius, others more grave had been added by the younger Marius and Carbo of the same Marian parties: who, with Sulla imminent, despairing not only of victory but even of safety itself, filled all things with their own and others' slaughters. For besides the carnage diffused far and wide through diverse places, the senate also being besieged, they were brought forth to the sword from the curia itself as if from a prison. Mucius Scaevola the pontiff, since nothing was held more sacred among the Romans than the temple of Vesta, having embraced the altar itself, was killed; and that fire, which by the perpetual care of the virgins was always burning, he almost extinguished with his own blood. Then Sulla the victor entered the City, who in the villa publica, not now with war but with peace itself raging, had prostrated seven thousand of those who had surrendered (whence certainly unarmed) not by fighting, but by commanding. Moreover, in the whole City each Sullan struck whom he wished: whence so many funerals were not able to be numbered at all, until it was suggested to Sulla that some should be allowed to live, so that there

might be those whom those who had conquered might be able to command. Then already was restrained that license of cutting throats which furibund was carried here and there everywhere, that table was proposed with great gratulation, which contained two thousand of men to be killed and proscribed from each splendid order, that is the knightly and the senatorial. The number made them sad, but the manner consoled them; nor was there so much of mourning because so many were falling, as of joy because the rest did not fear. But in some of them who had been ordered to die, even that security of the rest, although cruel, groaned at the exquisite kinds of deaths. For the hands of those mangling without iron tore someone apart; men more monstrously tore apart a living man than beasts are accustomed to tear apart a corpse cast away. Another, his eyes being dug out and his members being amputated piece by piece, was compelled to live for a long time in so great tortures, or rather to die for a long time. Certain noble cities were also sold by auction as if villas. One indeed, as if one guilty person were ordered to be led away, thus the whole was ordered to be slaughtered. These things were done in peace after war, not that the victory to be obtained might be accelerated, but that the one obtained might not be contemned. Peace contended with war concerning cruelty, and conquered. For the one prostrated the armed, the other the naked. It was war, so that he who was struck, if he could, might strike: but peace,

not so that he who had escaped might live, but so that dying he might not resist.

CHAPTER XXVI.

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

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

Marian parties, while Sulla was absent, what was there sacred for them to spare, when they did not spare Mucius the citizen, the senator, the pontiff, while he was surrounding the altar itself, where the Roman fates are, as they say, with miserable embraces? Furthermore, that last table of Sulla, that we may omit other innumerable deaths, cut the throats of more senators than the Goths were even able to despoil.

CHAPTER XXX.

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

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

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

CHAPTER XXXI.

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

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

But much less would their voices be tolerated, as far as pertains to the Romans, if the reception and diffamation of the Christian religion, either that irruption of the Gauls, or that depopulation of the Tiber river and of fires, or what precedes all evils, those civil wars were to follow. Other evils also, which happened so far incredible that they were numbered among prodigies, if they had happened in Christian times, to whom would they object them, unless to Christian men, as if crimes? For I omit those which were more wonderful than harmful, oxen speaking, infants not yet born from the wombs of mothers crying out certain words, serpents flying, women and hens and men having been converted into the masculine sex: and other things of this kind; which in their books, not fabulous but historical, whether they be true or false, do not bring in destruction to men, but stupor. But when it rained earth, when it rained chalk, when it rained with stones, not as hail is accustomed to be called by this name, but entirely stones; these forsooth were able to hurt even gravely. We read among them, that with Aetnaean fires from the very peak of the mountain flowing down all the way to the nearest shore, the sea boiled so that the rocks were burned, and the pitches of ships were dissolved. This certainly was not lightly harmful, although incredibly wonderful. Again by the same heat of fires they wrote that Sicily was filled with so great a force of ashes, that it overthrew the roofs of the city of Catina buried and oppressed: by which calamity moved, the Romans mercifully

relaxed its tribute for that same year. They also committed to letters that the multitude of locusts in Africa was similar to a prodigy, when it was already a province of the Roman people: for the fruits and leaves of trees having been consumed, they say it was cast into the sea in a huge and inestimable cloud: which being dead and returned to the shores, and hence the air being corrupted, so great a pestilence arose, that in the kingdom of Masinissa alone eight hundred thousand of men are reported to have perished, and much more in the lands nearest to the shores. Then at Utica they confirm that out of thirty thousand of young men, who were there, ten remained. What of these, therefore, would such vanity as we bear, and are compelled to answer it, not attribute to the Christian religion, if it saw them in Christian times? And yet they do not attribute those things to their gods: whose worship they therefore require, lest they suffer those or smaller things, when they endured those greater ones from whom they were formerly worshiped.

BOOK FOUR.

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

CHAPTER I.

Concerning those things which were disputed in the first volume.

Having begun to speak concerning the City of God, I first thought it should be answered to its enemies, who following earthly joys, and gasping for fleeting things, whatever sad things they suffer in them, rather by the mercy of God admonishing than by the severity of Him punishing, they rail at the Christian religion, which alone is the salutary and true religion. And since, as there is even among them an unlearned vulgar, they are more gravely irritated into hatred of us as if by the authority of the learned, the unskilful thinking that those things which occurred unusually in their times, were not accustomed to occur through other times past; and those also who

knew it to be false confirming their opinion, so that they may seem to have just murmurs against us, by the dissimulation of their knowledge: it had to be demonstrated from the books which their authors committed to memory for knowing the history of past times, that it is far otherwise than they think; and at the same time it was to be taught, that the false gods, whom they either openly worshiped, or still secretly worship, are most impure spirits and most malignant and most fallacious demons; all the way to such a point that they are delighted either with true, or even with feigned, yet their own crimes, which they wished to be celebrated for themselves through their festivals; so that human infirmity may not be able to be recalled from perpetrating damnable facts, while divine authority as it were is provided for imitating these. We have proved these things not from our conjecture, but partly from recent memory, because we ourselves have seen such things exhibited to such deities; partly from their letters, who left those things written to posterity not as if for the insult, but as if for the honor of their gods: so that the most learned man among them, Varro, and of the most grave authority, when he made books distributed of human and divine things, distributing some to the human, others to the divine, according to the dignity of each thing, did not at least place scenic games in human things, but in divine things: when certainly, if only good and honest men were in the city, scenic games ought not to have been even in human things. Which forsooth he did not

do by his own authority, but since being born and educated at Rome he found them in divine things. And since at the end of the first book, we briefly placed those things which were to be said thereafter, and of these we said certain things in the two following, we recognize that those which remain are to be rendered to the expectation of the readers.

CHAPTER II.

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

We had promised, therefore, that we were going to say certain things against those who refer the calamities of the Roman republic to our religion, and to commemorate whatever and how great things might have been able to occur, or might seem to be sufficient, the evils which that city endured, or the provinces pertaining to its empire, before their sacrifices had been prohibited: all of which they would without doubt attribute to us, if either our religion were already clear to them, or it thus prohibited them from sacrilegious rites. These things we have sufficiently, as I think, absolved in the second and third book: in the second acting concerning the evils of manners, which evils either alone, or are to be deputed the greatest; but in the third concerning these which fools dread alone to endure, of the body forsooth and of external things, which for the most part even the good suffer. But those evils they have not I say patiently, but will-

ingly, by which they themselves become evil. And how few things have I said concerning that city alone and its empire? nor all things from there all the way to Caesar Augustus. What if I had wished to commemorate, and to exaggerate those evils which men do not do to each other mutually, such as are the vastations and overthrows of those warring, but happen to earthly things from the elements of the world itself? which in one place Apuleius briefly touches upon in that book which he wrote concerning the World, saying that all earthly things have mutations, conversions, and destructions. For by immoderate tremors of the earths, to use his words, he says the ground has burst asunder, and cities with their peoples have been intercepted: by abrupt rains also whole regions have been washed away: those also which before had been continents, being insulated by guest and stranger waves, and others by the sloth of the sea made passable by pedestrian access: by winds and storms cities have been overturned: fires have flashed forth from the clouds, by which the regions of the East perished being conflagrated; and in the tracts of the West certain springs and overflows gave the same carnage. Thus from the peaks of Aetna formerly the craters being poured out, by divine fire through the declivities, rivers of flames ran in the stead of a torrent. If I had wished to collect these and things of this kind, which history has, from where I could, when would I have finished those things which happened in those times, before the name of Christ suppressed those vain

things of theirs and those pernicious to true safety? I had also promised that I was going to demonstrate, what manners of theirs, and for what cause the true God deigned to help for increasing the empire, in whose power are all kingdoms; and how nothing those helped them whom they think to be gods, and rather how much they hurt by deceiving and fallaciously: whence now I see it is to be said by me, and more concerning the increments of the Roman empire. For concerning the noxious fallacy of the demons, whom they worshiped as if gods, how much of evils it brought into their manners, not a few things have already been said in the second book especially. Moreover, through all the three completed books, where it seemed opportune, we have commended even in those martial evils how much of solaces God conferred upon the good and the bad through the name of Christ, to whom so much of honor the barbarians deferred beyond the custom of wars, just as He who makes his sun to rise upon the good and the bad, and rains upon the just and the unjust.

CHAPTER III.

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

Now therefore let us see what kind of thing it is, that they dare to attribute so great a breadth and long duration of the Roman empire to those gods: whom even through the obsequies

of shameful games and through the ministries of shameful men they contend that they have honestly worshiped. Although first I would wish to inquire a little, what is the reason, what the prudence, when you cannot show the happiness of men, always in martial calamities and in civil blood, or hostile, nevertheless human, with those living in dark fear and bloody cupidity, that a vitreous joy may be compared, fragilely splendid, for which it may be feared more horribly lest it suddenly be broken, to wish to glory concerning the magnitude and breadth of empire. That this may be more easily judged, let us not vanish being tossed by empty windiness, and let us not blunt the edge of our intention with high-sounding words of things, when we hear peoples, kingdoms, provinces: but let us constitute two men (for each single man, as in speech one letter, so is as it were an element of a city and a kingdom, by however great an occupation of lands most wide), of which two men, let us think one poor, or rather mediocre; another very rich: but the rich man anxious with fears, wasting away with mournings, burning with cupidity, never secure, always unquiet, panting with perpetual contentions of enmities, increasing indeed by these miseries his patrimony in an immense measure, and by those augmentations heaping up also most bitter cares; but that mediocre man sufficient for himself with a small and succinct family property, most dear to his own, enjoying most sweet peace with kinsmen, neighbors, friends, religious in piety, benign in

mind, healthy in body, spare in life, chaste in manners, secure in conscience. I do not know whether anyone is so foolish, that he dares to doubt which he may prefer. As therefore in these two men, so in two families, so in two peoples, so in two kingdoms the rule of equity follows: which being vigilantly applied, if our intention be corrected, we shall most easily see where vanity dwells, and where happiness. Wherefore if the true God be worshiped, and He be served with truthful sacrifices and good manners, it is useful that the good should rule far and wide for a long time. Nor is this so much useful to themselves, as to those over whom they rule. For as much as pertains to themselves, their piety and probity, which are great gifts of God, suffice them for true happiness, by which both this life may be well passed, and afterwards the eternal one may be perceived. In this earth therefore the kingdom of the good is not so much provided for them, as for human affairs: but the kingdom of the bad hurts more those ruling, who devastate their own minds by a greater license of crimes; but to those who are subjected to them by serving, nothing hurts except their own iniquity. For to the just whatever of evils is inflicted by unjust masters, is not the punishment of crime, but the examination of virtue. Accordingly the good man even if he serves, is free: but the bad man even if he reigns, is a slave; nor of one man, but what is more grave, of so many masters as of vices. Concerning which vices when divine Scripture was acting, For by whom anyone, it says, has been

conquered, to this one also he has been assigned as a slave (II Pet. II, 19).

CHAPTER IV.

How similar kingdoms without justice are to robberies.

Justice therefore being removed, what are kingdoms, except great robberies? for what are robberies themselves, except small kingdoms? The band itself is of men, it is ruled by the command of a prince, it is bound by a pact of society, the booty is divided by the law of agreement. If this evil grows by the accessions of desperate men to such an extent that it holds places, establishes seats, occupies cities, subjugates peoples, it assumes the name of a kingdom more evidently, which is now conferred upon it in manifest not by removed cupidity, but by added impunity. For elegantly and truthfully a certain captured pirate responded to that Alexander the Great. For when the same king had asked the man, what it seemed to him, that he should keep the sea infested: he with free contumacy, "What to you," he said, "that [you should keep] the world: but because I do it with a small ship, I am called a robber, because you [do it] with a great fleet, a general."

CHAPTER V.

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

Accordingly I omit to inquire what kind of men Romulus gathered, since much was pro-

vided for them, so that from that life, the fellowship of the city being given to them, they might cease to think of due punishments, the fear of which was impelling them into greater crimes; so that henceforth they might be more peaceful toward human affairs. This I say, that the Roman empire itself, now great many nations being subjugated and to the rest terrible, bitterly felt, gravely feared, not with small business of avoiding a huge calamity was it oppressed; when very few gladiators in Campania fleeing from the school, prepared a great army, had three leaders, and devastated Italy most widely and most cruelly. Let them say what god helped those, so that from a small and contemptible robbery they should arrive at a kingdom, to be feared by so great Roman forces and citadels. Or because they were not for a long time, will they therefore be denied to have been helped divinely? As if indeed the very life of any man is long-lasting. By this pact therefore the gods help no one to reign, since each single one dies quickly; nor is it to be deputed as a benefit, which in a small time in each man, and through this individually indeed in all, vanishes in the manner of a vapor. For what does it interest those who under Romulus worshiped the gods, and long ago are dead, that after their death the Roman empire grew so much? since they among those below may act their own causes: whether good or bad, it does not pertain to the present matter. But this is to be understood concerning all, who through the empire itself (although by those departing and succeeding

mortals it may be extended into long spaces) in a few days of their life have passed through cursorily and rapidly, carrying the burdens of their acts. But if indeed even these benefits of the shortest time are to be attributed to the help of the gods, not a little were those gladiators helped, who broke the bonds of servile condition, fled, escaped, gathered a great and most strong army, obeying the counsels and commands of their kings, to be feared much by Roman highness, and insuperable to some Roman generals they took many things: they possessed very many victories, used pleasures which they wished; what lust suggested, they did: finally until they should be conquered, which was done most difficultly, they lived sublime and reigning. But let us come to greater things.

CHAPTER VI.

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

Justin, who following Trogus Pompey wrote a history not only in Latin, as he did, but also briefly, begins the work of his books thus: "In the beginning of things the empire of gentiles and nations was in the power of kings, whom not popular ambition, but moderation witnessed among the good, promoted to the summit of this majesty. The peoples were held by no laws: the judgments of princes were as laws. It was the custom to protect the borders of empire rather than to extend them: the kingdoms were finished

each within its own Fatherland. Ninus, king of the Assyrians, first of all changed the old and as it were ancestral custom for the nations by a new cupidity of empire. He first brought wars upon his neighbors, and subjugated the peoples still rude to resisting even to the borders of Libya." And a little after: "Ninus," he says, "firmly established the magnitude of the sought domination by continuous possession. Therefore, his neighbors being tamed, when he might pass to others stronger by the accession of forces, and each nearest victory should be the instrument of the following one, he subdued the peoples of the whole Orient." By whatever faith of things, either he or Trogus wrote (for that they lied in certain things, other more faithful writings show), it is nevertheless clear also among other writers, that the kingdom of the Assyrians was extended far and wide by king Ninus. But it persevered so long, that the Roman is not yet of its age. For as they write who have pursued chronic history, one thousand two hundred and forty years from the first year in which Ninus began to reign, this kingdom remained, until it should be transferred to the Medes. But to bring wars upon neighbors, and from there to proceed into the rest, and to wear down and subject peoples not troublesome to oneself by the sole cupidity of reigning, what else than a great robbery is it to be named?

CHAPTER VII.

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

If by no help of the gods this kingdom was so great and prolonged, why is the Roman kingdom attributed to the Roman gods, ample in places and long-lasting in times? For whatever that cause is, the same is also this. But if they contend that that also is to be attributed to the help of the gods, I ask of which. For not other nations, which Ninus tamed and subdued, were then worshiping other gods. Or if the Assyrians had their own, as it were more skilled craftsmen of constructing and preserving empire, did they perchance die, when they themselves also lost the empire, or the reward not being returned to them, or another greater being promised, did they prefer to pass to the Medes, and from there again to the Persians, Cyrus inviting and promising something more commodious? Which nation, not in the narrow borders of the Orient, after the great kingdom of Alexander the Macedonian in places, but shortest in time, continues yet in its own kingdom. If this is so, either the gods are unfaithful, who desert their own and pass to the enemies; which not even the man Camillus did, when victor and conqueror of a most adverse city, he felt Rome, for which he had conquered, ungrateful, which nevertheless afterwards having forgotten the injury, mindful of the fatherland, he liberated again from the Gauls: or they are not so strong, as it becomes gods to be strong, who can be conquered by either human counsels or forces. Or if, when they wage war among themselves, not gods by men, but gods by other gods perchance are conquered, who are proper to each of the

cities; they have therefore also among themselves enmities, which each takes up for his own part. A city therefore ought not to have worshiped its own gods more than others, by whom its own were helped. Finally, in whatever way that transit of the gods, or flight, or migration, or defection in battle holds itself, the name of Christ had not yet been preached in those times and in those parts of the lands, when those kingdoms were lost and transferred through huge martial calamities. For if after one thousand two hundred and running years, when the kingdom was taken from the Assyrians, the Christian religion already preached there another eternal kingdom, and inhibited the sacrilegious cults of false gods; what else would the vain men of that nation say, except that the kingdom, which was preserved so long, could perish for no other cause except their religions being deserted and that one received? In which voice of vanity, which could be, let these attend their own mirror; and to complain of similar things, if there is any shame in them, let them blush. Although the Roman empire has been afflicted rather than changed; which also happened to it at other times before the name of Christ: and it was recreated from that affliction; which is not to be despaired of even in these times. For who has known the will of God concerning this matter?

CHAPTER VIII.

By the protection of which gods the Romans think their empire was increased and preserved, when they believed that

the protection of single things was scarcely to be committed to single ones.

Next let us inquire, if it pleases, from so great a crowd of gods, which the Romans were worshiping, which most especially, or which gods they believe expanded and preserved that empire. For in this so illustrious work and full of so great dignity they do not dare to attribute any parts to the goddess Cloacina; or to Volupia, who has been named from pleasure; or to Lubentina, whose name is from lust; or to Vaticanus who presides over the wailings of infants; or to Cunina, who administers their cradles. But when can all the names of gods or goddesses be commemorated in one place of this book, which they were scarcely able to comprehend in great volumes, distributing proper offices of deities to single things? Nor did they think the task of the fields was to be committed to any one god; but they set the country under the goddess Rusina, the ridges of the mountains under the god Jugatinus; over the hills the goddess Collatina, over the valleys Vallonia. Nor at least were they able to find one Segetia such, to whom once for all they might commend the crops: but as long as the sown grains should be under the earth, they wished to have the goddess Seja set over them; but when they should already be above the earth and should make a crop, the goddess Segetia; but the grains being collected and stored away, that they might be safely preserved, they set over them the goddess Tutilina. To whom would that Segetia not seem to suffice, as long as the crop should

arrive from the grassy beginnings even to the dry ears? Nevertheless it was not enough for men loving a multitude of gods, that the miserable soul should be prostituted to a crowd of demons, having disowned the chaste embrace of the one true God. They set Proserpina therefore over the germinating grains, over the joints and nodes of the stalks the god Nodotus, over the wrappings of the follicles the goddess Volutina; when the follicles open, so that the spike may come out, the goddess Patelana; when the crops are equaled with new ears, because the ancients said to equal was hostire, the goddess Hostilina; over the flowering grains the goddess Flora, over the milky ones the god Lacturnus, over the maturing ones the goddess Matuta; when they are weeded, that is removed from the earth, the goddess Runcina. Nor do I commemorate all, because it irks me what does not shame them. But these very few things I have said for this reason, that it might be understood that in no way do they dare to say those deities established, increased, or preserved the Roman empire, which were each so applied to its own offices, that nothing universal was committed to any one. When therefore would Segetia care for the empire, to whom it was not allowed to manage at the same time both the crops and the trees? When would Cunina think concerning arms, whose prefecture was not permitted to exceed the cradles of little ones? When would Nodotus help in war, who pertained not even to the follicle of the spike, but only to the node of the joint? Each one places one doorkeeper to his

house, and because he is a man, it is altogether sufficient: these placed three gods, Forculus for the doors, Cardea for the hinge, Limentinus for the threshold. Thus Forculus was not able at the same time to preserve both the hinge and the threshold.

CHAPTER IX.

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

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

instituted images for peoples, both took away fear and added error.

CHAPTER X.

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

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

is certainly water: suppose because it is dissimilar, is it to such an extent that it is not water? And the inferior earth, what else can it be than earth, distinguished by however great a diversity? Then behold now the whole corporeal world is filled in these four or three elements: where will Minerva be? what will she hold? what will she fill? For she was established together with these in the Capitol, although she is not the daughter of both. Or if they say Minerva holds the superior part of the ether, and on this occasion the poets feign that she was born from the head of Jove; why therefore is she not rather deputed the queen of the gods, because she is superior to Jove? or because it was unworthy to set the daughter before the father? Why was that justice not served concerning Jove himself toward Saturn? or because he was conquered? Therefore they fought? Far be it, they say: that is the garrulity of fables. Behold let fables not be believed, and let better things be thought concerning the gods: why therefore was there not given to the father of Jove, even if not a more sublime, certainly an equal seat of honor? Because Saturn, they say, is the length of time. They worship time therefore, who worship Saturn, and Jove the king of the gods is insinuated as born from time. For what unworthy thing is said, when Jove and Juno are said born from time, if he is the heaven and she the earth, when certainly heaven and earth were made? For this also their learned and wise men have in their books: nor from poetic figments, but from the books of philosophers it was said by Virgil, Then the omnipotent father

ether with fertile rains, descends into the lap of his joyful spouse (Virgil. Georg. lib. 2, v. 325, 326), that is into the lap of the soil or earth. For here also they wish there to be some differences, and in the earth itself they think Earth to be one thing, Tellus another, Tellumo another. And they have all these gods called by their own names, distinguished by their own offices, venerated by their own altars and sacrifices. They also call the same Earth the mother of the gods: so that now the poets may feign more tolerable things, if according to the books, not of the poets, but of the sacred things of these men, Juno is not only sister and spouse, but also the mother of Jove. They wish the same earth to be Ceres, the same also Vesta: although nevertheless they more often assert Vesta to be nothing except fire, pertaining to the hearths, without which a city cannot be; and for that reason virgins are accustomed to serve her, because as from a virgin, so nothing is born from fire. Which whole vanity it was certainly behooving to be abolished and extinguished by Him who was born from a Virgin. For who may bear, that when they have attributed so much of honor and as it were of chastity to fire, sometimes they do not blush to call Vesta even Venus, so that honored virginity may vanish in her handmaids? For if Vesta is Venus, how did virgins rightly serve her by abstaining from venereal works? Or are there two Venuses, one a virgin, the other a woman? or rather three, one of virgins, who is also Vesta, another of the married, another of harlots? To whom even the Phoenicians used to give a gift

from the prostitution of daughters, before they should join them to men. Which of those is the matron of Vulcan? Not certainly the virgin, since she has a husband. But far be it that she is the harlot, lest we should seem to do injury to the son of Juno and co-worker of Minerva. Therefore she is understood to pertain to the married: but we do not wish that they should imitate her in that which she did with Mars. Again, they say, you return to fables. What justice is this, to be angry at us, because we say such things of their gods; and not to be angry at themselves, who most willingly behold these crimes of their gods in the theatres? And what would be incredible, unless it were proved most contestably, these very theatrical crimes of their gods have been instituted in honor of the same gods.

CHAPTER XI.

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

However many physical reasons and disputations they may assert: now let Jove be the mind of this corporeal world, who fills and moves this whole mass constructed and compacted from four, or however many elements please them; now from there let him cede his parts to his sister and brothers: now let him be the ether, so that he may embrace from above the air, Juno, spread beneath; now let he himself be the whole heaven together with the air, but let him fertilize the earth as his spouse and at the same time

mother (because this is not shameful in divine things) with fertile rains and seeds; now however (lest it be necessary to run through all things) let there be one god, concerning whom many think it was said by a most noble poet, For God goes through all lands, and the tracts of the sea, and the profound heaven: (Virgil. Georg. lib. 4, v. 221, 222.) let he himself be Jove in the ether, he himself Juno in the air, he himself Neptune in the sea, in the inferior parts of the sea he himself Salacia, in the earth Pluto, in the inferior earth Proserpina, in the domestic hearths Vesta, in the furnace of smiths Vulcan, in the stars the sun and moon and stars, in those divining Apollo, in merchandise Mercury, in Janus the initiator, in Terminus the terminator, Saturn in time, Mars and Bellona in wars, Liber in vineyards, Ceres in crops, Diana in woods, Minerva in geniuses: finally let he himself be also in that crowd as it were of plebeian gods: let he himself preside in the name of Liber over the seeds of men, and in the name of Libera over those of women: let he himself be Diespiter, who may bring the birth to the day; let he himself be the goddess Mena, whom they set over the menses of women; let he himself be Lucina, who may be invoked by those giving birth: let he himself bring help to those being born, receiving them in the lap of the earth, and be called Opis; let he himself open the mouth in wailing, and be called the god Vaticanus: let he himself lift from the earth, and be called the goddess Levana; let he himself protect the cradles, and be called the goddess Cunina: let it not be another, but he

himself in those goddesses, who sing the fates to those being born, and are called Carmentes: let him preside over fortuitous things, and be called Fortuna: in the goddess Rumina let him milk the breast to the little one, because the ancients called the breast ruma; in the goddess Potina let him minister the potion; in the goddess Educa let him provide the food: from the fear of infants let him be named Paventia; from the hope which comes, Venilia; from pleasure Volupia; from action Agenoria; from the stimuli, by which a man is impelled to too much action, let the goddess Stimula be named; let Strenia be a goddess, by making strenuous; Numeria, who may teach to number; Camoena, who [may teach] to sing: let he himself be also the god Consus, by providing counsels; and the goddess Sentia, by inspiring sentences: he himself the goddess Juventas, who after the praetexta should receive the beginnings of youthful age: let he himself be also Fortuna Barbata, who should clothe adults with a beard; whom they did not wish to honor, so that they might at least name this whatever deity a masculine god, either Barbatus from the beard, as Nodotus from nodes, or certainly not Fortuna, but because he has beards, Fortunius: let he himself join spouses in the god Jugatinus; and when the girdle is loosed for the virgin wife, let he himself be invoked, and be called the goddess Virginiensis: let he himself be Mutunus or Tutunus, who among the Greeks is Priapus: if it does not shame, let all these things which I have said, and whatever I have not said (for I

did not think all things were to be said), let all these gods and goddesses be one Jove: whether they be, as certain ones wish, all those his parts, or his virtues, as it seems to them, to whom it pleases that he be the mind of the world; which opinion is as it were of great and many doctors. If these things are so (of what kind it may be, I do not meanwhile inquire), what would they lose, if they should worship one God by a more prudent compendium? For what of him would be contemned, when he himself should be worshiped? But if it was to be feared, lest his omitted or neglected parts should be angry: therefore this whole life is not, as they wish, as it were of one living being, which contains all the gods as its own virtues, or members, or parts; but each part has its own life separate from the rest, if one part can be angry besides another, and one can be placated, another incited. But if it is said all at the same time, that is all Jove himself could have been offended, if his parts were not also worshiped individually and minutely, it is said foolishly. For none of them would be passed over, when he himself alone who has all things, should be worshiped. For to omit other things, which are innumerable, when they say all the stars are parts of Jove, and all live and have rational souls, and for that reason are gods without controversy, they do not see how many they do not worship, for how many they do not construct temples, do not establish altars, which nevertheless they thought were to be established for the very few of the stars, and sacrifice to be made individually. If

therefore, those are angry who are not worshiped individually, do they not fear, few being placated, to live with the whole heaven angry? But if they worship all the stars for this reason, because they are in Jove whom they worship, by this compendium they could in that one supplicate all. For thus no one would be angry, when in that one no one should be contemned, rather than, certain ones being worshiped, a just cause of being angry should be provided to those who had been passed over, many more numerous: especially when, with them shining from the supernal seat, Priapus, distended with shameful nudity, should be set before them.

CHAPTER XII.

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

What of that, ought it not to move acute men, or men of whatever kind? For there is no need for excellence of genius for this, that, laying aside the study of contention, they should attend to this: if God is the mind of the world, and the world is as a body to that mind, so that there is one living being consisting of mind and body, and this God is containing all things in himself in a certain bosom of nature, so that from his own soul, by which this whole mass is vivified, the lives and souls of all living things are taken according to the lot of each one being born, [then] nothing at all remains which is not a part of God. Which if it is so, who may not see how great impiety

and irreligiosity follows, so that whatever anyone should tread upon, he treads upon a part of God, and in the killing of every living being, a part of God is slaughtered? I do not wish to say all things which can occur to those thinking [of it], for they cannot be said without shame.

CHAPTER XIII.

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

But if they contend that only rational animals, such as are men, are parts of God; I do not see indeed, if the whole world is God, how they separate the beasts from his parts. But what need is there to struggle? Concerning the rational living being itself, that is, man, what more unhappy thing can be believed, than that a part of God is beaten when a boy is beaten? Now indeed, who could bear that parts of God should become lascivious, iniquitous, impious, and altogether damnable, unless he who is utterly insane? Finally, why is he angry with those by whom he is not worshiped, when he is not worshiped by his own parts? It remains, therefore, that they say all the gods have their own lives, each one lives for himself, none of them is a part of anyone; but all are to be worshiped who can be known and worshiped; because they are so many that all cannot be. Of whom Jove, because he presides as king, I believe is thought by them to have constituted or increased the Roman kingdom. For if he himself did not do this, what other god could they believe

could have undertaken so great a work, when all are occupied with their own offices and works, nor does one rush into those of another? By the king of the gods, therefore, the kingdom of men could be propagated and increased.

CHAPTER XIV.

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

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

CHAPTER XV.

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

Let them see, therefore, lest perchance it does not pertain to good men to rejoice in the

latitude of a kingdom. For the iniquity of those with whom just wars have been waged helped the kingdom to grow: which would certainly be small, if the quiet and justice of neighbors provoked no war to be waged against them by any injury: and thus, with more happy human affairs, all kingdoms would be small, rejoicing in harmonious vicinity; and so there would be very many kingdoms of nations in the world, as there are very many houses of citizens in a city. Hence to wage war and to dilate a kingdom by thoroughly subduing nations seems to the evil a felicity, to the good a necessity. But because it would be worse that the injurious should dominate the more just, therefore not incongruously is even that called a felicity. But without doubt it is a greater felicity to have a harmonious good neighbor than to subjugate a warring evil neighbor. They are evil vows to wish to have one whom you may hate, or whom you may fear, so that there may be one whom you may conquer. If therefore, by waging just wars, not impious, not iniquitous, the Romans were able to acquire so great an empire, should even the iniquity of others be worshiped by them as some goddess? For we see that it cooperated much toward that latitude of empire, which made men injurious, so that there might be those with whom just wars might be waged, and the empire might be increased. Why, moreover, should even iniquity not be a goddess, even of foreign nations, if Dread and Paleness and Fever deserved to be Roman gods? Therefore by these two, that is, foreign

iniquity and the goddess Victoria, while iniquity excites the causes of wars, Victoria happily terminates the same wars, [and] the empire grew even with Jove being on holiday. For what parts would Jove have here, when those things which could be thought his benefits are held as gods, are called gods, are worshiped as gods, and are themselves invoked for their own parts? But even he would have some part here if he himself were also called 'Kingdom,' just as she is called Victoria. Or if a kingdom is a gift of Jove, why is not also victory held as his gift? Which certainly would be held, if not a stone in the Capitol, but the true King of kings and Lord of lords (Rev. 19:16) were known and worshiped.

CHAPTER XVI.

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

But I wonder very much that, when they attributed individual gods to individual things and almost to individual motions, they called the goddess Agenoria, who should excite to action; the goddess Stimula, who should stimulate to action beyond measure; the goddess Murcia, who should not move beyond measure, and should make a man, as Pomponius says, murcidus, that is, too slothful and inactive; the goddess Strenia, who should make one strenuous; for all these gods and goddesses they undertook to perform public sacred rites: but calling [her] Quiet, who

should make one quiet, when she had a temple outside the Colline gate, they were unwilling to receive her publicly. Whether was it an indication of an unquiet mind, or rather was it so signified, that he who should persevere in worshiping that crowd, not plainly of gods, but of demons, could not have quiet? to which the true Physician calls, saying: Learn from me, for I am meek and humble in heart, and you shall find rest for your souls (Matt. 11:29).

CHAPTER XVII.

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

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

selves did not laugh when they read such deliraments not among poets, but worshiped them in temples. Therefore they should ask Jove concerning all things, they should supplicate him alone. For wherever he might have sent Victoria, if she is a goddess and is under that king, she could not dare to resist him, and rather to do her own will.

CHAPTER XVIII.

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

What of the fact that Felicity also is a goddess? She has received a temple, she has merited an altar, sacred rites congruous to her have been paid. She alone, therefore, should be worshiped: for where she herself should be, what of good would not be? But what does it mean that Fortune also is thought a goddess, and is worshiped? Is felicity one thing, fortune another? Because fortune can also be evil: but felicity, if it should be evil, will not be felicity. Certainly we ought to think all the gods of both sexes (if they also have sex) to be nothing but good. This Plato says (De Rep. lib. 2), this other philosophers, this the excellent rulers of the republic and of nations. How therefore is the goddess Fortune sometimes good, sometimes evil? Or perchance when she is evil, is she not a goddess, but is suddenly converted into a malignant demon? How many, therefore, are those goddesses? Truly as many as there are fortunate men, that is, of good fortune. For since there are also very many others at the

same time, that is, at one time, of evil fortune, would she, if she were the same, be at the same time both evil and good; to these one thing, to those another? Or is she who is a goddess always good? She herself, therefore, is Felicity: why are two names employed? But this is to be borne: for one thing is often called by two names. Why diverse temples, diverse altars, diverse sacred rites? There is a cause, they say: because that felicity is what the good have by preceding merits; but fortune, which is called good, happens by chance to men both good and evil, without any examination of merits, whence also it is named fortune. How therefore is she good, who comes without any judgment both to the good and to the evil? Why, moreover, is she worshiped, who is so blind, running here and there into any persons whatever, so that she mostly passes by her own worshipers, and cleaves to her own contemners? Or if her worshipers profit anything, so that they may be seen and loved by her, now she follows merits, she does not come by chance. Where is, therefore, that definition of fortune? where is that which she received even her name from fortuitous things? For it profits nothing to worship her, if she is fortune. But if she discerns her own worshipers, so that she may profit them, she is not fortune. Or does Jove send her also wherever he has willed? Let he himself alone be worshiped: for Fortune cannot resist him commanding and sending her wherever he has willed. Or certainly let the evil worship her, who do not wish to

have merits by which the goddess Felicity can be invited.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of Women's Fortune.

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

CHAPTER XX.

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

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

CHAPTER XXI.

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

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

be worshiped individually? Why should not also iniquity itself, which provides causes for dilating the empire, be worshiped individually? Which if she is not a goddess, because she is an evil; why is not also Victoria herself held as a gift of God, just as the kingdom is his gift? Certainly if Victoria is a goddess, why should not also triumph be a god? What is triumph, except the end of victory? But if even triumph itself is not a god, but is a gift of God, why is not also Victoria herself held as his gift? For if Victoria is a goddess, and is under that king, to whom she shall have been sent, her she will favor: why therefore is he himself not alone worshiped, from whom all these things are given?

CHAPTER XXII.

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

What is it, therefore, that Varro boasts he provides to his citizens as a great benefit, because he not only commemorates the gods whom it behooves the Romans to worship, but also says what pertains to each one? "Since it profits nothing," he says, "to know the name and form of some medical man, and to be ignorant that he is a physician: so he says it profits nothing to know that Aesculapius is a god, if you do not know that he helps health, and thus you are ignorant why you ought to supplicate him." This he also affirms by another similitude, saying, that not only to live well, but that no one at all can live, if

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

CHAPTER XXIII.

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

1. But whence it is now treated, if their books and sacred things are true, and Felicity is a goddess, why was she not alone constituted to be worshiped, who could confer all things, and by a short-cut make a man happy? For who desires anything for the sake of anything else than that he may become happy? Why, finally, so late to this so great a goddess, after so many Roman princes, did Lucullus constitute a temple? Why did Romulus himself, desiring to found a happy city, not build a temple to her especially? Nor

for the sake of anything would he have supplicated the other gods, since nothing would be lacking, if she were present. For neither would he himself first become a king, nor, as they think, afterwards a god, if he did not have this goddess propitious. For what purpose, therefore, did he constitute for the Romans the gods Janus, Jove, Mars, Picus, Faunus, Tiberinus, Hercules, and if there are any others? For what purpose did Titus Tatius add Saturn, Ops, Sol, Luna, Vulcan, Lux, and whomever others he added, among whom also the goddess Cloacina, Felicity being neglected? For what purpose Numa so many gods and so many goddesses without her? Or could he perhaps not see her in so great a crowd? Hostilius certainly, the king, would not himself have introduced new gods, Fear and Pallor, to be propitiated, if he had known or worshiped this goddess. For if Felicity were present, all fear and pallor, not propitiated, would depart, but, being repelled, would flee away.

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

honor, but rather to contumely, so that with her were worshiped Priapus, and Cloacina, and Fear, and Pallor, and Fever, and other things not deities of those to be worshiped, but crimes of those worshiping?

3. At the end, if with such a most unworthy crowd so great a goddess seemed fit to be worshiped, why was she not at least worshiped more illustriously than the others? For who can bear, that neither among the gods Consentes, whom they say are adhibited into the council of Jove, nor among the gods whom they call Select, was Felicity constituted? Some temple should be made for her, which should pre-eminently excel both in the sublimity of the place and in the dignity of the work. For why not something better than for Jove himself? For what even gave the kingdom to Jove except Felicity? if indeed, while he reigned, he was happy. And felicity is more powerful than a kingdom. For no one doubts, that a man is easily found who fears to become a king: but none is found who does not wish himself to be happy. Therefore the gods themselves, if they think they can be consulted through auguries or in any way, should be consulted about this matter, whether they wished to yield place to Felicity: if perchance the place had already been occupied by the temples or altars of others, where a greater and more sublime temple should be constructed for Felicity, even Jove himself should yield, so that Felicity rather should obtain the very summit of the Capitoline hill. For no one at all would resist Felicity, except, which cannot be, one who

wished to be unhappy. By no means at all, if he were consulted, would Jove do what three gods, Mars, Terminus, and Juventas, did to him, who would in no way yield place to their greater and king. For as their letters have it, when king Tarquinius wished to build the Capitol, and perceived that place which seemed to him worthier and more fit, was preoccupied by other gods, not daring to do anything against their arbitrament, and believing that they would yield to so great a deity and their own prince by their will; because there were many there where the Capitol was constituted, he sought through augury whether they wished to concede the place to Jove: and all wished to yield from there, except those whom I have commemorated, Mars, Terminus, Juventas: and therefore the Capitol was so constructed, that even these three should be within with such obscure signs, that the most learned men should scarcely know this. By no means therefore would Jove himself contemptuously treat Felicity, as he was contemned by Terminus, Mars, and Juventas. But they themselves also who had not yielded to Jove, would surely yield to Felicity, who had made Jove a king for them. Or if they did not yield, they would not do it out of contempt for her, but because they would rather be obscure in the house of Felicity, than eminent without her in their own places.

4. Thus with the goddess Felicity constituted in a most ample and high place, the citizens would learn whence the help of every good vow was to be sought. And thus nature itself persuad-

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

cannot lack infelicity, who worships felicity as if a goddess, and leaves God the giver of felicity: just as he cannot lack hunger, who licks painted bread, and does not seek from the man who has true bread.

CHAPTER XXIV.

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

But it is pleasing to consider their reasons. Is it to be believed, they say, that our ancestors were so unwise as not to know that these were divine gifts, not gods? But since they knew that such things were conceded to no one except by some god bestowing them, of which gods they did not find the names, they called the gods by the names of those things which they perceived were given by them, flecting some vocables from them, just as from war (*bellum*) they named Bellona, not war; just as from cradles (*cunae*) Cunina, not the cradle; just as from crops (*segetes*) Segetia, not the crop; just as from fruits (*poma*) Pomona, not the fruit; just as from oxen (*boves*) Bubona, not the ox: or certainly by no declension of the vocable, just as the things themselves are named, as Pecunia is called a goddess, who gives money (*pecunia*), not at all was money itself thought to be a goddess: thus Virtue (*Virtus*), which gives virtue; Honor, which gives honor; Concord (*Concordia*), which gives concord; Victory (*Victoria*), which gives victory. Thus, they say, when Felicity is called a goddess, not she

herself who is given, but that deity is attended to from whom felicity is given.

CHAPTER XXV.

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

With this reason given to us, we shall perhaps much more easily persuade those whose heart is not too hardened what we wish. For if already human infirmity has sensed that felicity cannot be given except by some God; and this was sensed by men who worshiped so many gods, among whom even their king himself Jove; because they were ignorant of his name, by whom felicity was given, therefore they wished to call him by the name of that very thing which they believed was given by him: they judged enough, therefore, that felicity could not be given even by Jove himself, whom they already worshiped; but certainly by him whom they thought should be worshiped by the name of felicity itself. I confirm entirely that they believed felicity to be given by a certain God whom they knew not: let him therefore be sought, let him be worshiped, and it suffices. Let the noise of innumerable demons be repudiated: let this God not suffice for him, for whom his gift does not suffice. To him, I say, let the God the giver of felicity not suffice for worshiping, for whom felicity itself does not suffice for receiving. To whom however it suffices (for a man has nothing further which he ought to desire), let him serve the one God the giver of felicity. He is not

he whom they name Jove. For if they acknowledged him as the giver of felicity, they would not certainly inquire for another, or another female, from whom felicity was given, by the name of Felicity itself; nor would they think that Jove himself was to be worshiped with such great injuries. He is said to be the adulterer of others' wives; he the impudic lover and ravisher of a beautiful boy.

CHAPTER XXVI.

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

But Homer feigned these things, says Tullius, and transferred human things to the gods: I should have preferred divine things to us. Meritously did the poet-contriver of divine crimes displease a grave man. Why therefore are scenic games, where these things are said repeatedly, sung repeatedly, acted repeatedly, exhibited for the honors of the gods, and written down among divine things by the most learned? Here let Cicero exclaim, not against the figments of poets, but against the institutes of the ancestors. Would not they also exclaim, What have we done? The gods themselves demanded that these things be exhibited for their honors, atrociously commanded them, foretold disaster unless it were done; because something was neglected, they most severely vindicated it; because that which had been neglected was done, they showed themselves to be appeased. Among their virtues and wonderful deeds is commemorated what I shall say. To Titus

Latinius, a Roman rustic father of a family, it was said in his dreams to announce to the senate that the Roman games should be restored, because on their first day, in a certain criminal who was ordered to be led to punishment while the people were watching, a sad command had displeased the deities seeking hilarity from the games. When therefore he, who had been admonished by the dream, had not dared to do the commands on the following day, on the second night this same thing was again more severely commanded: he lost his son, because he did not do it. On the third night it was said to the man, that a greater penalty would hang over him if he did not do it. When even thus he did not dare, he fell into a sharp and horrible disease. Then truly, by the opinion of his friends, he brought the matter to the magistrates, and was carried in a litter into the senate: and the dream having been exposed, his health being recovered immediately, he departed sound on his own feet. The senate, stupified by so great a miracle, decreed that the games should be restored with quadrupled money. Who does not see, who is of sound taste, that men were compelled by force, being subjects to malignant demons, from whose domination nothing liberates except the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, to exhibit to such gods those things which by right counsel could be judged base? In those games certainly the poetic crimes of the deities are frequented, which games, by the gods compelling, were restored by the command of the senate. In those games the most base actors sang

of, acted, and pleased by Jove the corrupter of chastity. If that was feigned, he would be angry: but if he was delighted by his own crimes even when feigned, when should he be worshiped, except that the devil be served? Would he thus found, dilate, preserve the Roman empire, more abject than any Roman man whom such things displeased? Would he give felicity, who was so infelicitously worshiped; and unless he were thus worshiped, was more infelicitously angry?

CHAPTER XXVII.

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

It is related in letters, that the most learned pontiff Scaevola disputed that three kinds of gods have been handed down: one by the poets, another by the philosophers, the third by the princes of the city. The first kind he says is nugatory, because many things are feigned about the gods that are unworthy; the second does not congruate with cities, because it has some things that are superfluous, some even which it hurts the peoples to know. Concerning the superfluous there is no great cause: for it is wont to be said even by jurisconsults, "Superfluous things do not harm." But what are those things which, brought forth into the multitude, harm? "These," he says, "that Hercules, Aesculapius, Castor, Pollux are not gods: for it is betrayed by the learned, that they were men, and failed by human condition." What else? "That the cities of those who are gods

do not have true images; that the true God has neither sex, nor age, nor defined members of the body." These things the pontiff does not wish the peoples to know: for he does not think them to be false. He judges it to be expedient, therefore, that cities be deceived in religion. Which Varro himself does not doubt to say even in his books of Divine Things. Excellent religion! to which the infirm man may fly to be liberated, and when he inquires for the truth by which he may be liberated, it be believed to be expedient for him that he be deceived. Indeed, why Scaevola should reject the poetic kind of gods is not kept silent in the same letters: because forsooth they thus deform the gods, that they are not compared even to good men, when they make one to steal, another to commit adultery; thus also to say or do something otherwise, basely, and ineptly; that three goddesses fought among themselves for the prize of beauty, and the two defeated by Venus overturned Troy; that Jove himself was converted into a bull or a swan, that he might lie with some woman; that a goddess married a man, that Saturn devoured his children: finally that nothing of miracles and vices can be feigned, which is not found there, and is far away from the nature of the gods. O Scaevola, most great pontiff, remove the games, if you can: command the peoples, that they defer not such honors to the immortal gods, where it is pleasing to admire the crimes of the gods, and it is pleasing to imitate those things which can be done. But if the people shall respond to you: "You pontiffs brought those

things in to us": ask the gods themselves, at whose instigation you commanded those things, lest they command such things to be exhibited for themselves. Which if they are evil, and therefore in no way to be believed concerning the majesty of the gods, greater is the injury of the gods, about whom these things are feigned with impunity. But they do not hear you, they are demons, they teach perverse things, they rejoice in base things: not only do they not depute it as an injury, if these things are feigned about them; but they rather cannot bear that injury, if they are not acted through their solemnities. Now truly if you should interpose Jove against them, especially for that cause, because more of his crimes are acted repeatedly in the scenic games; is not even if you call him God Jove, by whom all this world is ruled and administered, by you the greatest injury done to him, because you think he is to be worshiped with these, and you perhibit him to be their king?

CHAPTER XXVIII.

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

In no way, therefore, could such gods, who are appeased by such honors, or rather accused by them, so that the crime is greater that they are delighted by those false things than if true things were said about them, have been able to increase and preserve the Roman empire. For if they could do this, they would rather confer

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

CHAPTER XXIX.

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

For what sort of thing is that which they said was a most beautiful auspice, which I commemorated a little before, that Mars and Terminus and Juventas were not willing to yield place even to Jove the king of the gods? For thus, they say, it

was signified, that the Martian nation, that is, the Roman, would give place to no one which it held; that no one would move the Roman boundaries on account of the god Terminus; that also the Roman youth on account of the goddess Juventas would yield to no one. Let them see therefore how they hold that king of their gods and giver of their kingdom, that those auspices should put him as an adversary, to whom it was beautiful not to yield. Although if these things are true, they have nothing at all what they should fear. For they are not about to confess that the gods yielded to Christ, who were not willing to yield to Jove. Safe forsooth as to the boundaries of the empire, they were able to yield to Christ, both from the seats of places and especially from the heart of believers. But before Christ came in the flesh, before finally these things were written, which we proffer from their books; but yet after that auspice was made under king Tarquinius, several times the Roman army was routed, that is, turned into flight, and showed the auspice false, by which that Juventas had not yielded to Jove; and the Martian nation, the Gauls overcoming and breaking in, was crushed in the City itself; and the boundaries of the empire, many cities falling away to Hannibal, had been coarctated into a narrow space. Thus the beauty of the auspices was evacuated, the contumacy remained against Jove, not of gods, but of demons. For it is one thing not to have yielded; another to have returned whence you had yielded. Although also afterwards in the Oriental parts by the will of Hadrian the

boundaries of the Roman empire were changed. For he conceded three noble provinces, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, to the empire of the Persians: so that that god Terminus, who was protecting the Roman boundaries according to those men, and by that most beautiful auspice had not yielded place to Jove, seems to have feared king Hadrian, a man, more than the king of the gods. The memorated provinces also being received at another time, almost in our memory Terminus yielded backwards, when Julian, given up to the oracles of those gods, by immoderate daring ordered the ships to be burned, by which nourishment was carried: by which the army being destitute, soon also he himself being extinguished by a hostile wound, it was reduced to such great penury, that no one should escape from there, the enemies from everywhere incursioning the soldier troubled by the death of the emperor, unless by a pact of peace the boundaries of the empire were constituted there, where today they persist; not indeed with so great detriment as Hadrian had conceded, but yet fixed by a middle composition. By a vain augury therefore the god Terminus did not yield to Jove, who yielded to the will of Hadrian, yielded also to the temerity of Julian, and to the necessity of Jovian. The graver and more intelligent Romans saw these things; but against the custom of the city, which had been obligated to demoniac rituals, they were little able: because even they, although they sensed those things to be vain, yet thought that to the nature of things constituted under the

regimen and empire of the one true God, religious worship, which is owed to God, should be exhibited: "serving," as the Apostle says, "the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever" (Rom. I, 25). Of this true God the help was necessary, by whom should be sent holy men and truly pious, who should die for the true religion, so that the false ones should be taken away from the living.

CHAPTER XXXI.

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

1. What [says] Varro himself, whom we grieve to have placed scenic games in divine things, although not by his own judgment, since in many places he exhorts to worshipping the gods as if religious, does he not thus confess, that he does not follow those things by his own judgment, which he commemorates the Roman city to have instituted, so that if he were constituting that city anew, he does not doubt to confess that he would have dedicated the gods and their names rather from the formula of nature? But since he was now in an ancient people, he says he ought to hold the history of names and surnames received from the ancients, as it was delivered, and to write and search into those things to this end, that the vulgar should rather wish to worship them than to despise them. By which words the most acute

man sufficiently indicates, that he does not open all things, which were not a matter of contempt to himself, but would even seem to the vulgar themselves as things to be despised, unless they were kept silent. I ought to have been thought to conjecture these things, unless he himself said evidently in another place, speaking of religions, that many things are true which it is not only not useful for the vulgar to know, but even, although they are false, it is expedient for the people to think otherwise, and therefore the Greeks shut up their "teletae" and mysteries in silence and within walls. Here certainly he has betrayed the whole counsel as if of the wise, through whom cities and peoples should be governed. Yet by this fallacy the malignant demons are delighted in wonderful ways, who possess both the deceivers and the deceived alike, from whose domination nothing delivers except the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

2. The same most acute and learned author also says, that those alone seem to him to have noticed what God was, who believed Him to be a soul governing the world by motion and reason. And through this, although he did not yet hold what the truth has; for the true God is not a soul, but is the effector and founder of the soul also: yet if he could be free against the prejudices of custom, he would confess and persuade that one God should be worshipped, governing the world by motion and reason: so that this question should remain with him concerning this matter, that he said He was a soul, and not rather the

creator of the soul also. He also says that the ancient Romans worshipped the gods for more than a hundred and seventy years without an image. "Which if it had still remained," he says, "the gods would be observed more chastely." To which sentiment of his he adduces as a witness among other things also the Jewish nation: nor does he doubt to conclude that place thus, as to say, that those who first placed images of the gods for the peoples, both took away fear from their cities and added error; prudently judging that the gods could easily be contemned in the stolidity of images. Because indeed he does not say, They delivered error; but, they added it; he certainly wishes it to be understood that there was already error even without images. Wherefore when he says that those alone noticed what God was, who believed Him a soul governing the world, and judges that religion is observed more chastely without images, who should not see how much he approached the truth? For if he were able to do anything against the antiquity of so great an error, surely he would judge both that one God, by whom he believed the world was governed, and that He should be worshipped without an image; and being found in such proximity, he would perhaps easily be commonished concerning the mutability of the soul, so that he should sense that the immutable nature, which had founded the soul itself also, was the true God. These things being so, whatever mockeries of many gods such men have placed in their writings, they were compelled to confess them rather

by the hidden will of God, than they endeavored to persuade them. If therefore any testimonies are proffered by us from there, they are proffered for redarguing those, who do not wish to advert from how great and how malignant a power of demons the singular sacrifice of so holy blood shed and the gift of the Spirit imparted delivers us.

CHAPTER XXXII.

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

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

similarly possess their subjects. But what infirm and unlearned man should escape at once both the deceitful princes of the city and the demons?

CHAPTER XXXIII.

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

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

in which gifts of God there should be true happiness.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

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

Therefore, so that even those earthly goods, which those alone gape for who are not able to think better things, should be known to be placed in the power of the one true God Himself, not in that of the many false ones, whom the Romans previously believed should be worshipped, He multiplied His people in Egypt from very few, and from there delivered them by wonderful signs. Nor did those women invoke Lucina, when He Himself delivered, He Himself preserved their births from the hands of the persecuting Egyptians and those wishing to kill all the infants, so that they were multiplied in wonderful ways, and that nation grew incredibly. They sucked without the goddess Rumina; they were in cradles without Cunina; they took food and drink without Educa and Potina: they were educated without so many childish gods; married without conjugal gods; mixed with spouses without the worship of Priapus. Without the invocation of Neptune the sea lay open divided for those crossing, and overwhelmed their following enemies with the waves returning upon themselves. Nor did they consecrate any goddess Mannia, when they took manna from heaven; nor when the struck rock

poured out water for the thirsty, did they worship Nymphs and Lymphae. They waged wars without the insane rites of Mars and Bellona, and indeed they did not conquer without victory, yet they did not have her as a goddess, but as a gift of their God. Crops without Segetia, oxen without Bubona, honey without Mellona, apples without Pomona; and precisely all things, for which the Romans thought such great crowds of false gods should be supplicated, they received much more happily from the one true God. And if they had not sinned against Him with impious curiosity, as if seduced by magical arts, flowing away to alien gods and to idols, and lastly by killing Christ, they would have remained in the same kingdom, although not more spacious, yet more happy. And now that they are dispersed through almost all lands and nations, it is by the providence of that one true God: so that, because the images, altars, groves, and temples of the false gods are everywhere overturned, and sacrifices are prohibited, it should be proved from their codices how this was prophesied so long before; lest perchance, when it was read in ours, it should be thought by us to have been feigned. Now what follows is to be seen in the following volume, and here a limit must be given to this prolixity.

BOOK FIVE.

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

PREFACE.

Since it is manifest that the fullness of all things to be desired is happiness, which is not a goddess, but a gift of God, and therefore no god is to be worshipped by men except He who can make them happy; whence if she were a goddess, she alone would be said deservedly to be worshipped: now consequently let us see, for what cause God, who can give even those goods which

those not good can also have, and through this also those not happy, willed the Roman empire to be so great and so long-lasting. For because that multitude of false gods which they were worshipping did not do this, we have already said many things, and where it shall seem to be opportune, we shall say [more].

CHAPTER ONE.---THAT THE CAUSE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND OF ALL KINGDOMS IS NEITHER FORTUITOUS, NOR CONSISTS IN THE POSITION OF THE STARS.

The cause therefore of the magnitude of the Roman empire is neither fortuitous nor fatal, according to the sentiment or opinion of those who say those things are fortuitous which either have no causes, or do not come from some rational order; and those things fatal which happen beyond the will of God and men by the necessity of a certain order. Altogether by divine providence human kingdoms are constituted. Which if anyone attributes to fate for this reason, because he calls the very will or power of God by the name of fate, let him hold his sentiment, but let him correct his tongue. For why does he not say this first, which he is about to say afterward, when anyone shall have asked from him what he called fate? For when men hear that, by the used custom of speaking they do not understand anything except the force of the position of the stars, such as it is when one is born or conceived: which some alienate from the will of God, some confirm that even this depends from it. But those who think

that the stars, without the will of God, decree what we should do, or what goods we should have or what evils we should suffer to be borne, are to be repelled from the ears of all; not only of those who hold the true religion, but who wish to be worshippers of whatever gods, although false ones. For what else does this opinion act, except that no God at all should be worshipped or asked? Against whom a disputation has not been instituted by us now, but against those who, for the defense of those whom they think gods, are adverse to the Christian religion. Those truly, who suspend the position of the stars, in a certain way decreeing of what sort each one is, and what good should come to him or what evil should happen to him, from the will of God, if they think the same stars have this power delivered to themselves from that highest power of His, so that they decreeing these things should be willing; they do a great injury to heaven, in whose as if most bright senate and most splendid curia they think crimes to be decreed to be done; such as if any earthly city had decreed, the human race decreeing, it would have had to be overturned. What judgment then is left to God concerning the deeds of men, to whom a celestial necessity is applied, since He is the Lord of both stars and men? Or if they do not say that the stars, having indeed received power from the highest God, decree these things by their own choice, but in bringing in such necessities they altogether complete His commands: is it thus to be felt concerning God Himself, which seemed most unworthy to be felt

concerning the will of the stars? But if the stars are said rather to signify these things than to do them; so that that position should be as it were a certain speech, foretelling future things, not acting (for this was the sentiment of not moderately learned men): indeed mathematicians are not accustomed to speak thus, so that, for example's sake, they say, Mars thus positioned signifies a homicide; but, It makes a homicide: nevertheless so that we may concede that they do not speak as they ought, and that it is fitting to receive the rule of speech from philosophers for foretelling those things which they think they find in the position of the stars: how does it happen, that they were never able to say anything, why in the life of twins, in actions, in events, in professions, arts, honors, and other things pertaining to human life, and in death itself there is for the most part so great diversity, that many strangers are more similar to them, as much as pertains to these things, than the twins themselves among themselves, separated by a very small interval of time in being born, but in conception sown by one coitus at even one moment?

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the similar and dissimilar health of twins.

Cicero says that Hippocrates, a most noble physician, left it written that he suspected certain brothers to be twins, when they had begun to be sick at the same time, and their disease would grow worse at the same time, and be lightened at

the same time. Whom Posidonius the Stoic, much given to astrology, was accustomed to assert to have been born under the same constitution of the stars and conceived under the same. Thus what the physician believed to pertain to a most similar temper of health, this the philosopher astrologer [referred] to the force and constitution of the stars, which had been at what time they were conceived and born. In this cause the medicinal conjecture is much more acceptable and more credible from proximity: since as the parents were affected in body while they were cohabiting, so the primordia of those conceived were able to be affected, so that, the first increments from the maternal body having followed, they should be born of equal health; then nourished in one house with the same aliments, where medicine witnesses that the air and the position of the place and the force of the waters avail most for the body to be affected either well or ill; accustomed also to the same exercises, they should bear such similar bodies, that they should be moved similarly by the same causes even to being sick at one time. But to wish to draw to that parility of being sick the constitution of the heaven and stars, which was when they were conceived or born, when so many things of most diverse kind, of most diverse affects and events, were able to be conceived and born at the same time in the earth of one region subject to the same heaven, I know not of what insolence it should be. But we have known twins not only to have diverse acts and peregrinations, but even

to suffer disparate sicknesses. Concerning which matter Hippocrates, as much as it seems to me, would render a most easy reason, that by diverse aliments and exercises, which do not come from the temperation of the body but from the will of the mind, dissimilar healths were able to happen to them. Furthermore, however, it is a wonder if Posidonius, or any asserter of fatal stars, can find here what he should say, if he should be unwilling to illude the minds of the unskilful in those things which they do not know. For what they endeavor to effect concerning the small interval of time, which twins had between themselves while they were being born, on account of the particle of heaven where the notation of the hour is placed, which they call the horoscope; either it does not avail so much as is found of diversity in the wills, acts, morals, and cases of twins; or it avails even more than is either the same humility of race of twins, or nobility, the greatest diversity of which they place in nothing but the hour in which each one is born. And through this, if one is born so quickly after the other that the same part of the horoscope remains, I seek all things equal, which can be found in no twins: but if the slowness of the following one changes the horoscope, I seek diverse parents, whom twins are not able to have.

CHAPTER III.

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

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

sulted: (for who would consult when he should sit, when he should walk about, when or what he should dine?) do we say those things, when we show many and very diverse things in the morals, works, and cases of twins?

CHAPTER IV.

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

Two twins were born in the ancient memory of the fathers (that I may speak of notable ones) one so after the other, that the later one held the heel of the former. So great were the diversities in their life and morals, so great the disparity in their acts, so great the dissimilarity in the love of their parents, that even the distance itself made them enemies between themselves (Gen. XXV, 24-34). Is this said, because while one was walking the other was sitting, and while one was sleeping the other was waking, while one was speaking the other was silent; things which pertain to those minutiae, which cannot be comprehended by those who write the constitution of the stars, by which each one is born, whence mathematicians are consulted? One led a mercenary servitude, the other did not serve; one was beloved by his mother, the other was not beloved; one lost the honor, which was held great among them, the other obtained it. What concerning wives, what concerning children, what concerning things, how great a diversity? If therefore these pertain to those minutiae of times, which

twins have between themselves, and are not ascribed to constellations; why are these things said when the constellations of others have been inspected? But if they are said for this reason, because they do not pertain to incomprehensible minutes, but to the spaces of times, which can be observed and noted; what does that potter's wheel do here, unless that men having a heart of clay should be sent into a whirl, lest the vain talk of mathematicians should be convinced?

CHAPTER V.

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

What about these same men, whose disease, because it appeared heavier and lighter in both at the same time, Hippocrates inspecting medicinally, suspected them to be twins, do they not sufficiently refute those who want to give to the stars what came from a similar tempering of bodies? For why did they sicken similarly and at the same time, not one earlier and the other later, as they had been born, because certainly both were not able to be born together? Or if it brought nothing of a moment that they should sicken at diverse times, because they were born at diverse times; why do they contend that a diverse time in being born avails to the diversities of other things? Why were they able to travel at diverse times, to take wives at diverse times, to procreate children at diverse times, and many other things, because they were born at diverse

times, and were not able for the same cause to sicken also at diverse times? For if the disparate delay of being born changed the horoscope, and brought in disparity to other things; why did that remain in sicknesses, which the conception had in the equality of time? Or if the fates of health are in conception, but of other things are said to be in the rising, they ought not to say anything concerning health from the inspected constellations of nativities, when the conceptional hour is not given to them to be inspected. But if they therefore announce sicknesses, the conceptional horoscope not having been inspected, because the moments of those being born indicate them; how would they say to any one of those twins from the hour of nativity when he would be about to sicken, when also the other, who did not have the same hour of nativity, would have a necessity to sicken likewise? Then I ask, if there is so great a distance of time in the nativity of twins, that through this it is necessary for diverse constellations to be made for them, on account of a diverse horoscope, and because of this all diverse angles, where so great force is placed, that from here also the fates are diverse; whence could this happen, since their conception could not have a diverse time? Or if of two conceived in one moment of time there could be disparate fates for being born, why can there not also be disparate fates for living and dying of two born in one moment of time? For if one moment, in which both were conceived, did not impede that one should be born earlier and the other later; why, if two are

born in one moment, should anything impede that one should die earlier and the other later? If a conception of one moment permits twins to have diverse cases in the womb; why should a nativity of one moment not also permit any two on earth to have diverse cases, and thus all comments of this art, or rather vanity, be taken away? What is this, that conceived at one time, in one moment, under one and the same position of heaven, they have diverse fates, which lead them to a nativity of diverse hours, and two born together from two mothers in one moment of time under one and the same position of heaven, cannot have diverse fates, which lead them to a diverse necessity of living or dying? Or do those conceived not yet have fates, which, unless they are born, they will not be able to have? What is it therefore that they say, if the conceptional hour be found, many things can be said by these diviners? Whence also that is preached by some, that a certain wise man chose the hour in which he should lie with his wife, whence he should beget a wonderful son. Whence finally also this is, that concerning those twins sickening likewise, Posidonius, a great astrologer and the same a philosopher, answered, that it happened therefore, because they had been born at the same time, and conceived at the same time. For certainly because of this he added conception, lest it should be said to him that they could not have been born at the clearly same time, whom it was certain had been conceived at altogether the same time; so that this, that they sickened similarly and together, he should not

give from a proximate equal temperament of the body, but should bind the same parility of health also by sidereal bonds. If therefore in conception there is so great force for the equality of fates, the same fates ought not to have been changed by being born. Or if for this reason the fates of twins are changed, because they are born at diverse times, why do we not rather understand that they had already been changed, so that they should be born at diverse times? Thus does the will of those living not change the fates of nativity, when the order of those being born changes the fates of conception?

CHAPTER VI.

Of twins of disparate sex.

Although even in those conceptions of twins, where certainly there are the same moments of times for both, whence does it happen that under the same fatal constellation one is conceived a male, the other a female? We know twins of diverse sex, both still live, both are still vigorous in age; since their species of bodies are similar between themselves, as much as is possible in diverse sex; yet in the institution and purpose of life they are so disparate, that, besides the acts which it is necessary should differ from the masculine, the feminine, because he serves in the office of Count and is almost always traveling from his home, she does not recede from her paternal soil and from her own countryside: moreover (which is more incredible, if astral fates are believed; but

not a wonder, if the wills of men and the gifts of God are thought upon), he is married, she is a sacred virgin; he has begotten a numerous progeny, she has not even married. But forsooth, does the force of the horoscope avail very much? How this is nothing, I have already sufficiently discussed. But whatever it may be, they say it avails in the rising: does it also in conception? where it is manifest that there is even one coitus; and so great is the force of nature, that when a woman has conceived, she thereafter cannot conceive another at all: whence it is necessary that there be the same moments of conception in twins. Or perhaps, because they were born with a diverse horoscope, either he was changed into a male, while they were being born, or she into a female? Since therefore it could not be said altogether absurdly, that certain sidereal blasts avail to the differences of bodies alone, as we see in the solar accesses and recesses also the times of the year itself varied, and in the lunar increments and decrements certain kinds of things increased and diminished, as sea urchins, and shells, and the wonderful tides of the ocean; but not that the wills of the mind are subjected to the positions of the stars: now these, when they endeavor to bind even our acts from there, admonish us that we should seek, whence even in those bodies themselves that reason cannot stand to them. For what pertains so much to the body, as the sex of the body? and yet under the same position of the stars twins of diverse sex were able to be conceived. Whence what can be said or believed

more foolish, than that the position of the stars, which at the hour of conception was the same for both, could not have caused, that she should not have a sex diverse from her brother, with whom she had the same constellation; and the position of the stars, which was at the hour of those being born, could have caused, that she should differ so much from him in virginal sanctity?

CHAPTER VII.

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

Now who would bear that, that in choosing days they forge certain new fates for their own acts? That man, forsooth, was not so born that he should have a wonderful son; but rather so, that he should beget a contemptible one: and therefore the learned man chose the hour in which he should be joined to his wife. He made therefore a fate which he did not have, and from his own deed that began to be fatal which had not been in his nativity. O singular folly! A day is chosen so that a wife may be taken: I believe, for this reason, because it can be run into a not good day, unless it be avoided, and be taken unhappily. Where is it therefore that the stars already decreed for the one being born? or can a man change by the election of a day what has already been constituted for him, and what he himself shall have constituted in choosing the day, will not be able to be changed by another power? Then if men alone, but not all things which are under heaven,

are subject to constellations, why do they choose some days accommodated for planting vines, or trees, or crops; other days for taming cattle, or for admitting males, by which the herds of mares or cows are made pregnant, and other things of this kind? But if for this reason chosen days avail to these things, because over all earthly bodies, whether animate or not animate, according to the diversities of temporal moments, the position of the stars dominates; let them consider how innumerable things either are born, or arise, or are begun under one point of time, and have such diverse exits, that they should persuade these observations to be laughed at by any boy. For who is so heartless, as to dare to say, that all trees, all herbs, all beasts, serpents, birds, fishes, little worms, have diverse moments of being born individually? Yet men are accustomed, for the sake of trying the skill of mathematicians, to bring to them the constellations of mute animals, whose risings they diligently observe at their home on account of this exploration, and they prefer those mathematicians to the rest, who, the constellations having been inspected, say that not a man was born, but a beast. They even dare to say what kind of beast, whether apt for wool-making, or for carrying, or for the plow, or for the guarding of the house. For they are tried even for canine fates, and with great shouts of those wondering they answer these things. Thus men are so foolish, that they think, when a man is born, other risings of things are so inhibited, that not even a fly is born with him under the same region

of heaven. For if they admit this, a reasoning proceeds, which by small steps leads them from flies to camels and elephants. Nor do they wish to advert to that, that the day having been chosen for sowing a field, so many grains come into the earth together, germinate together, the crop having arisen they grow green together, reach puberty, turn yellow together; and yet from there, of the ears coeval with the rest, and, so to speak, congerminal, rust kills some, birds depopulate others, men pluck others. How are they about to say that there were other constellations for these, which they see have such diverse exits? or will it repent them to choose days for these things, and will they deny that they pertain to the celestial decree, and subject men alone to the stars, to whom alone on earth God gave free wills? These all having been considered, it is not undeservedly believed, when astrologers answer many true things wonderfully, that it happens by an occult instinct of spirits not good, whose care it is to insert and firm these false and noxious opinions concerning astral fates in human minds, not by any art of a noted and inspected horoscope, which is none.

CHAPTER VIII.

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

But those who call not the constitution of the stars, as it is when each thing is conceived, or

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

Stoics, asserting the force of fate, are accustomed to use these verses from Homer, it is treated not concerning the opinion of that poet, but of those philosophers, since through those verses, which they apply to the disputation which they have concerning fate, what they think fate to be is most openly declared, since they call him Jupiter, whom they think the highest god, from whom they say the connection of fates depends.

CHAPTER IX.

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

1. Cicero endeavors to refute these in such a way, that he does not think he avails anything against them, unless he takes away divination. Which he so endeavors to take away, that he denies there is knowledge of future things, and with all his forces contends that it is altogether none, either in God or in man, and that there is no prediction of things. Thus he both denies the prescience of God, and endeavors to overturn every prophecy clearer than light with vain argumentations, and by opposing to himself certain oracles, which can easily be refuted: which yet he does not even himself convince. But in refuting these conjectures of mathematicians his speech reigns; because they are truly such, that they destroy and refute themselves. But they are much more tolerable who even constitute sidereal fates, than this man, who takes away the prescience of future things. For both to confess that there is a God and

to deny Him to be prescient of future things, is most open insanity. Which when he himself saw, he also attempted to assert that which is written: 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God' (Psalm XIII, 1): but not from his own person. For he saw how invidious and troublesome it would be: and therefore he made Cotta disputing concerning this matter against the Stoics in the books on the Nature of the Gods (Book 3), and for Lucilius Balbus, to whom he gave the parts of the Stoics to be defended, he preferred to bear sentence, than for Cotta, who contends that there is no divine nature. But in the books on Divination from himself he most openly opposes the prescience of future things. But he seems to do this whole thing, lest he should consent that there is fate, and lose free will. For he thinks, knowledge of future things being granted, that fate is so consequent, that it cannot be denied at all. But in whatever way the most tortuous concertations and disputations of philosophers have themselves, as we confess the highest and true God, so we confess His will and highest power and prescience. Nor do we fear lest we therefore do not do by will what we do by will, because He foreknew that we would do it, whose prescience cannot be deceived. Which Cicero feared, so that he opposed prescience; and the Stoics, so that they said not all things are done by necessity, although they contended that all things are done by fate.

2. What is it, then, that Cicero feared in the prescience of future things, that he should strive

to undermine it with such a detestable disputation? Evidently because if all future things are foreknown, they will come to pass in that order in which they have been foreknown to come; and if they come to pass in this order, the order of things is certain to the prescient God; and if the order of things is certain, the order of causes is certain; for nothing can happen unless some efficient cause has preceded it. But if the order of causes is certain, by which everything that happens is done, 'all things,' he says, 'which happen, happen by fate.' If this is so, nothing is in our power, and there is no choice of the will; 'which if we grant,' he says, 'all human life is subverted; laws are given in vain; reproofs, praises, vituperations, and exhortations are applied in vain; nor is any justice established for rewards for the good and punishments for the evil.' Lest, therefore, these unworthy, absurd, and pernicious consequences should follow for human affairs, he does not wish there to be prescience of future things: and he restricts the religious mind to these straits, that it must choose one of the two: either that there is something in our will, or that there is prescience of future things; since he thinks both cannot exist, but if one is confirmed, the other is taken away; if we choose the prescience of future things, the choice of the will is taken away; if we choose the choice of the will, the prescience of future things is taken away. He himself, therefore, as a great and learned man, and consulting most greatly and skillfully for human life, chose from these two the free choice of the will; which, that

it might be confirmed, he denied the prescience of future things. And thus, while wishing to make men free, he made them sacrilegious. But the religious mind chooses both, confesses both, and confirms both by the faith of piety. 'How?' he asks. For if there is prescience of future things, all those things which are connected will follow, until it is reached that nothing is in our will. Furthermore, if there is something in our will, by the same steps retraced it is reached that there is no prescience of future things. For through all those things it is thus retraced: If there is choice of the will, not all things happen by fate; if not all things happen by fate, there is not a certain order of all causes; if the order of causes is not certain, neither is the order of things certain to the prescient God, which things cannot happen except by preceding and efficient causes; if the order of things is not certain to the prescient God, not all things come to pass as He foreknew they would come to pass; furthermore, if not all things come to pass as they were foreknown by Him to come to pass, there is not, he says, in God the prescience of all future things.

3. Against these sacrilegious and impious attempts, we say both that God knows all things before they happen, and that we do by our will whatever we feel and know is done by us only as willing it. But we do not say that all things happen by fate; rather, we say that nothing happens by fate, because we show that the name of fate, where it is usually placed by speakers—that is, in the constitution of the stars when each

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

4. For even that which the same Cicero concedes—that nothing happens if an efficient cause does not precede it—is sufficient for refuting him

in this question. For what does it help him that he says nothing indeed happens without a cause, but not every cause is fatal; because there is a fortuitous cause, there is a natural one, there is a voluntary one? It is enough that he confesses that everything which happens happens only by a preceding cause. For we say that those causes which are called fortuitous, from which fortune also received its name, are not non-existent, but latent; and we attribute them either to the will of the true God or of any spirits whatsoever; and we by no means separate the natural causes themselves from the will of Him who is the author and founder of all nature. Now truly voluntary causes are either of God, or of Angels, or of men, or of any animals whatsoever—if, however, those movements are to be called the wills of animals devoid of reason, by which they do something according to their nature, when they either desire or avoid something. But I speak of the wills of Angels, whether of the good, whom we call the Angels of God, or of the evil, whom we call the angels of the devil or even demons; so also of men, namely both the good and the evil. And by this it is gathered that there are no efficient causes of all things that happen, except voluntary ones—of that nature, namely, which is the spirit of life. For even this air or wind is called a spirit; but because it is a body, it is not the spirit of life. Therefore the spirit of life, which vivifies all things, and is the creator of every body and of every created spirit, is God Himself, the spirit certainly not created. In His will is the highest power, which helps the

good wills of created spirits, judges the evil ones, ordains all; and to some He grants powers, to others He does not grant them. For as He is the creator of all natures, so is He the giver of all powers, not of all wills. For evil wills are not from Him; because they are against nature, which is from Him. Bodies, therefore, are more subject to wills; some to ours, that is, of all mortal living things, and more of men than of beasts; some indeed of angels; but all are especially subject to the will of God, to whom also all wills are subjected, because they have no power except what He grants. The cause of things, therefore, which makes and is not made, is God. But other causes both make and are made; such as are all created spirits, especially rational ones. But corporeal causes, which are made rather than make, are not to be numbered among efficient causes; since they can do only what the wills of spirits do from them. How, then, does the order of causes, which is certain to the prescient God, effect that nothing is in our will, when in that very order of causes our wills have a great place? Let Cicero, then, contend with those who say that this order of causes is fatal, or rather call it by the name of fate; which we abhor, especially on account of the word, which is not accustomed to be understood in its true reality. But that he denies the order of all causes to be most certain and most known to God's prescience, we detest him more than the Stoics. For he either denies that God exists—which indeed he endeavored to do by introducing the person of another in the books on the Nature

of the Gods—or if he confesses that God exists, whom he denies to be prescient of future things, even so he says nothing else than what that fool said in his heart: 'There is no God' (Psalm XIII, 1). For He who is not prescient of all future things is certainly not God. Wherefore also our wills avail as much as God willed and foreknew they would avail; and therefore whatever they avail, they avail most certainly; and what they are to do, they themselves are altogether to do; because He foreknew that they would avail and would act, whose prescience cannot be deceived. Wherefore if it pleased me to apply the name of fate to anything, I would rather say that fate is the will of the weaker for the more powerful, who has him in his power, than that by that order of causes, which the Stoics call fate not in a usual but in their own manner, the choice of our will is taken away.

CHAPTER X.

Whether any necessity dominates the wills of men.

1. Wherefore neither is that necessity to be feared, which the Stoics, by fearing, labored to distinguish the causes of things in such a way that they withdrew some from necessity and subjected others to it; and among those which they did not wish to be under necessity, they placed also our wills, lest, evidently, they should not be free if they were subjected to necessity. For if that is to be called our necessity which is not in our power, but, even if we are unwilling, effects what it can, such as is the necessity of death; it is

manifest that our wills, by which we live rightly or perversely, are not under such necessity. For we do many things which, if we were unwilling, we would certainly not do. To which primarily belongs the very act of willing; for if we will, it is; if we are unwilling, it is not; for we would not will if we were unwilling. But if that is defined to be necessity according to which we say it is necessary that something be so, or so be done; I know not why we should fear it, lest it should take away from us the freedom of the will. For neither do we place both the life of God and the prescience of God under necessity, if we say it is necessary that God always live and foreknow all things; just as His power is not diminished when He is said to be unable to die or be deceived. For He cannot do this in such a way that rather, if He could, He would certainly be of less power. For He is rightly called omnipotent, who yet cannot die or be deceived. For He is called omnipotent by doing what He wills, not by suffering what He does not will; which if it happened to Him, He would by no means be omnipotent. Wherefore He cannot do certain things for the very reason that He is omnipotent. So also, when we say it is necessary that, when we will, we will with free choice; we both speak the truth beyond doubt, and we do not therefore subject that very free choice to a necessity which takes away freedom. Therefore our wills exist, and they themselves do whatever we do by willing, which would not happen if we were unwilling. But whatever anyone suffers unwillingly by the will of other men, even so a

will prevails; although not the will of that man, yet the power of God. For if it were only a will, and could not do what it willed, it would be hindered by a more powerful will; yet even so it would not be a will unless it were a will; nor would it be of another, but of him who willed, even if he could not fulfill what he willed. Wherefore whatever a man suffers contrary to his own will, he ought not to attribute to human or angelic wills, or those of any created spirit, but rather to His who gives power to those who will.

2. Therefore it is not because God foreknew what would be in our will that there is nothing in our will; for He who foreknew this did not foreknow nothing. Furthermore, if He who foreknew what would be in our will foreknew not indeed nothing, but something; surely even with Him foreknowing, there is something in our will. Wherefore we are in no way compelled either to take away the choice of the will while retaining the prescience of God, or to deny (which is nefas) that God is prescient of future things while retaining the choice of the will; but we embrace both, we faithfully and truly confess both; the former, that we may believe well; the latter, that we may live well. But one lives ill if one does not believe well concerning God. Wherefore far be it from us to deny His prescience, that we may wish to be free, by whose help we are free, or shall be. Accordingly, laws, reproofs, exhortations, praises, and vituperations are not in vain; because He also foreknew that they would be, and they avail as much as He foreknew they

would avail; and prayers avail for obtaining those things which He foreknew He would grant to those who pray; and rewards were justly established for good deeds, and punishments for sins. For a man does not therefore sin because God foreknew that he would sin; on the contrary, it is therefore not doubted that he himself sins when he sins, because He, whose prescience cannot be deceived, foreknew not fate, not fortune, not anything else, but that he himself would sin. Who, if he should be unwilling, certainly does not sin; but if he should be unwilling to sin, even this He foreknew.

CHAPTER XI.

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

The supreme and true God, therefore, with His Word and the Holy Spirit, which three are one, the one omnipotent God, creator and maker of every soul and of every body: by whose participation those are happy, whoever are happy in truth, not in vanity: who made man a rational animal from soul and body; who permitted him neither to be unpunished when sinning, nor left him without mercy; who gave to the good and the evil essence even with stones, seminal life even with trees, sensual life even with beasts, intellectual life with the Angels alone: from whom is every mode, every species, every order; from whom is measure, number, weight; from whom is whatever naturally exists, of whatever genus

it is, of whatever estimation it is; from whom are the seeds of forms, the forms of seeds, the movements of seeds and of forms: who gave also to the flesh its origin, beauty, health, the fecundity of propagation, the disposition of members, the health of harmony: who gave also to the irrational soul memory, sense, appetite; but to the rational soul, moreover, mind, intelligence, will: who left not only the heaven and the earth, nor only the angel and man; but not even the entrails of the smallest and most contemptible animal, nor the feather of a bird, nor the little flower of an herb, nor the leaf of a tree, without the harmony of their parts, and as it were a certain peace: it is by no means to be believed that He willed the kingdoms of men, and their dominations and servitudes, to be alien from the laws of His providence.

CHAPTER XII.

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

1. Accordingly, let us see what manners of the Romans, and for what cause, the true God, in whose power are also earthly kingdoms, deigned to help for the increasing of their empire. That we might be able to discuss this more fully, we have written the previous book pertaining to this, showing that in this matter there is no power of those gods whom they thought should be worshipped even for trifling things; and the ear-

lier parts of the present volume, which we have brought thus far, concerning the removal of the question of fate: lest anyone, who had already been persuaded that the Roman empire was not propagated and preserved by the worship of those gods, should attribute it rather to some fate or other, than to the most powerful will of the supreme God. The ancient and earliest Romans, therefore, as much as their history teaches and commends, although like other nations, except for the one people of the Hebrews, they worshipped false gods, and offered sacrifices not to God but to demons, yet they were greedy of praise, liberal of money, they wished for great glory and honest riches (Sallust, In Catil., cap. 7): this they loved most ardently, for this they wished to live, for this they did not hesitate to die. Other desires they suppressed by the immense desire for this one thing. Finally, their own country itself, since it seemed inglorious to serve, but glorious to dominate and command, they first desired with all zeal to be free, and then to be mistress. Hence it is that, not bearing royal domination, they created for themselves annual powers and pairs of commanders, who were called consuls from consulting, not kings or lords from reigning and dominating: since kings are indeed seen to be better named from ruling, as kingdom from kings, and kings, as has been said, from ruling; but royal pride was thought to be not the discipline of one ruling, or the benevolence of one consulting, but the pride of one dominating. Therefore, King Tarquin having been expelled

and consuls instituted, there followed what the same author placed among the praises of the Romans, that "it is incredible to relate how much the city increased in a short time after liberty was attained, so great a desire for glory had come upon them" (Sallust, In Catil., cap. 7). This greediness for praise, therefore, and desire for glory, performed many of those marvelous things, laudable and glorious indeed according to the estimation of men.

2. The same Sallust praises in his own times great and illustrious men, Marcus Cato and Caius Caesar, saying that for a long time that republic did not have anyone great in virtue, but that in his memory those two were of immense virtue, though of diverse manners. Among the praises of Caesar, he placed this, that he wished for himself a great empire, an army, and a new war, where his virtue might be able to shine forth (Sallust, In Catil., capp. 53, 54). Thus it happened in the prayers of men great in virtue, that they might stir up miserable nations to war, and Bellona might drive them with a bloody scourge, so that there might be a place where their virtue might shine forth. This, surely, that greediness for praise and desire for glory performed. By the love, therefore, first of liberty, and afterwards also of domination, and by the desire for praise and glory, they performed many great things. Their own illustrious poet also gives testimony to them concerning both matters: hence he says, "Moreover, Porsenna commanded that the expelled Tarquin should be received, and pressed

the city with a huge siege: the descendants of Aeneas rushed upon the iron for liberty" (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 8, vers. 646-648). Then, therefore, it was a great thing for them either to die bravely or to live free. But when liberty had been attained, such a desire for glory had come upon them, that liberty alone was too little, unless domination also were sought, while it was held as a great thing that which the same poet says, as if Jupiter were speaking: "Nay, harsh Juno, who now fatigues sea and lands and heaven with fear, shall bring back her counsels for the better, and with me shall cherish the Romans, lords of affairs and the toga-clad nation. So it has pleased. An age shall come as the lustres glide by, when the house of Assaracus shall press Phthia and clear Mycenae with servitude, and shall dominate over conquered Argos" (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 1, vers. 279-285). These things Virgil indeed, bringing in Jupiter as if foretelling future things, himself was already recollecting as facts, and was beholding as present: but for this reason I wished to commemorate them, that I might show that after liberty the Romans so held domination, that it was placed among their great praises. Hence is also that other saying of the same poet, in which, when he preferred those very proper arts of the Romans of reigning and commanding and subduing and warring down peoples to the arts of other nations, he says: "Others shall forge more softly the breathing bronzes: I believe indeed, they shall lead living countenances from marble; they shall plead causes better; and shall describe

with a rod the movements of the heaven, and tell of the rising stars. Do thou, O Roman, remember to rule the peoples with empire. These shall be thy arts, and to impose the custom of peace, to spare the subjected, and to war down the proud" (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 6, vers. 847-853).

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

even the temples of the gods among them indicate, which they established most closely joined, those of Virtue and Honor, holding as gods what are given by God. Whence it can be understood what end they wished to be that of virtue, and to what they referred it, those who were good, namely to honor: for the evil did not even have it, although they desired to have honor, which they endeavored to attain by evil arts, that is by deceits and fallacies.

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

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

6. He who hears these words of Cato or of Sallust, thinks that such as the ancient Romans are praised, all of them were then such, or at least many. It is not so: otherwise those things would not be true which he himself likewise writes, those which I commemorated in the second book of this work (Cap. 18), where he says that the injuries of the more powerful, and because of them the secession of the plebs from the fathers, and

other dissensions were at home even from the beginning, nor was it acted with equal and modest law more than after the kings were expelled, as long as there was fear of Tarquin, until the grave war, which had been undertaken because of him with Etruria, was finished: but that afterwards the fathers exercised the plebs with servile empire, scourged them in royal fashion, drove them from the field, and, others being excluded, they alone acted in the empire; of which discords, while the former wished to dominate and the latter were unwilling to serve, the end was the second Punic war: because again a grave fear began to urge, and to restrain restless minds from those perturbations by another greater care, and to recall them to civil concord. But by some few, who were good according to their own mode, great things were administered, and, those evils being tolerated and tempered, that state increased by the providence of a few good men, as the same historian says, that to him reading and hearing many things, what illustrious deeds the Roman people performed at home and in service, by sea and by land, it pleased him to attend to what thing especially had sustained such great business; since he knew that the Romans had often contended with a small hand against great legions of enemies, he had known that wars were waged with small forces against opulent kings; and he said that to him agitating many things it was clear that the egregious virtue of a few citizens had performed all things, and hence it happened that poverty overcame riches,

and paucity multitude. But after the city was corrupted by luxury and sloth, he says, "again the republic by its own magnitude sustained the vices of generals and magistrates." The virtue of a few, therefore, striving towards glory, honor, and empire by the true way, that is by virtue itself, was praised even by Cato. Hence will be the industry at home, which Cato commemorated, so that the treasury might be opulent, and private means slender. Whence, with corrupted manners, he placed the opposite vice, publicly poverty, privately opulence.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the love of praise, which, though it be a vice, is for this reason thought a virtue, because by it greater vices are restrained.

Wherefore, since the kingdoms of the East had been long illustrious, God willed that there should also be one in the West, which in time should be later, but more illustrious in the breadth and magnitude of its empire. And He granted this especially to such men for taming the grave evils of many nations, who for the cause of honor, praise, and glory consulted for their country, in which they sought that very glory, and did not hesitate to prefer its safety to their own safety, suppressing the desire for money and many other vices for this one vice, that is, the love of praise. [XIII.] For he sees more soundly, who also recognizes the love of praise to be a vice: which did not escape the poet Horace,

who says: "Thou swellest with the love of praise; there are certain expiations which will be able to restore thee, the little book having been read purely thrice" (Epistles, lib. 1, ep. 1, vers. 36, 37). And the same in a lyric poem, for reprimanding the lust of dominating, sang thus: "Thou wouldst reign more widely by taming a greedy spirit, than if thou shouldst join Libya to remote Gades, and both Carthaginians should serve one" (Odes, lib. 2, ode 2, vers. 9-12). Nevertheless, those who do not refrain from viler lusts by the faith of piety, having obtained the Holy Spirit and the love of intelligible beauty, are at least less vile by the desire for human praise and glory, though not indeed already holy. Even Tully here could not dissemble, in those same books which he wrote concerning the Republic, where he speaks of instituting the prince of a city, whom he says ought to be nourished by glory; and consequently he commemorates that his ancestors performed many marvelous and illustrious things from the desire for glory. To this vice, therefore, they not only did not resist, but even thought that it should be excited and kindled, thinking this useful to the republic. Although even in those books of philosophy Tully does not dissemble from this pest, where he confesses it clearer than light. For when he was speaking of such studies, which surely are to be followed for the end of the true good, not for the windiness of human praise, he brought in this universal and general sentence: "Honor nourishes the arts, and all are kindled to studies by glory, and those things always lie low

which are disapproved among any people" (Tuscul. Quaest., lib. 1, cap. 2).

CHAPTER XIV.

Of cutting back the love of human praise, since all the glory of the just is in God.

To this desire, therefore, it is better resisted without doubt, than yielded. For each one is so much more similar to God, as he is cleaner from this uncleanness. Which in this life although it be not fundamentally eradicated from the heart, because it does not cease to tempt even minds proficient in good; at least let the desire for glory be overcome by the love of justice: so that if anywhere those things lie low which are disapproved among any people, if they are good, if they are right, let even the love of human praise itself be ashamed, and yield to the love of truth. For so much is this vice inimical to pious faith, if there be a greater desire for glory in the heart than fear or love of God, as the Lord said, "How can ye believe, who expect glory from one another, and seek not the glory which is from God alone?" (John 5:44). Likewise concerning some, who had believed in Him, and feared to confess openly, the Evangelist says: "They loved the glory of men more than of God" (John 12:43). Which the holy Apostles did not: who, when they were preaching the name of Christ in those places where it was not only disapproved (as he says, "and those things always lie low which are disapproved among any people"), but was even

held in the highest detestation; holding what they had heard from the good Master and the same physician of minds, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father who is in heaven, and before the Angels of God" (Matt. 10:33; Luke 12:9); among maledictions and reproaches, among the gravest persecutions and cruel punishments, they were not deterred from the preaching of human salvation by so great a din of human offense. And because an immense glory followed them in the Church of Christ as they were doing and saying divine things and living divinely, hard hearts being in a manner subdued and the peace of justice introduced; they did not rest in it as in the end of their virtue: but referring even that itself to the glory of God, by whose grace they were such, they kindled also by that fuel those for whom they consulted to the love of Him, by whom they themselves also should become such. For lest they should be good on account of human glory, their Master had taught them, saying: "Take heed that ye do not your justice before men, to be seen of them; otherwise ye shall have no reward with your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 6:1). But again, lest understanding this perversely they should fear to please men, and profit less by hiding that they are good, demonstrating for what end they ought to become known, "Let your light," He says, "so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 5:16). Not therefore, "to be seen of them," that is with this intention that you should wish

them to be converted to you, because you are not anything by yourselves: but "that they may glorify your Father who is in heaven," converted to whom they may become what you are. These the martyrs followed, who surpassed the Scaevolas, and Curtii, and Decii, not by bringing punishments upon themselves, but by bearing those brought upon them, and by true virtue, since by true piety, and in an innumerable multitude. But since they were in an earthly city, to whom the end of all duties for it was proposed, its safety, and a kingdom not in heaven, but on earth; not in eternal life, but in the departure of the dying and the succession of those who are to die: what else should they love than glory, by which they wished even after death as it were to live in the mouth of those praising them?

CHAPTER XV.

Of the temporal reward which God rendered to the good manners of the Romans.

To those, therefore, to whom God was not to give eternal life with His holy Angels in His celestial city, to the society of which true piety leads, which exhibits the servitude of religion, which the Greeks call latreia, to none but the one true God; if He did not grant to them also this earthly glory of a most excellent empire, the reward would not be rendered to their good arts, that is, to the virtues by which they strived to arrive at so great glory. For concerning such, who are seen to do something good for this purpose, that

they may be glorified by men, the Lord also says, "Verily I say unto you, they have received their reward" (Matt. 6:2). Thus also these contemned their private affairs for the common affair, that is the republic, and for its treasury, they resisted avarice, they consulted for their country with free counsel; being obnoxious neither to crime according to their laws, nor to lust: by all these arts as by a true way they strived for honors, empire, glory: they have been honored in almost all nations; they imposed the laws of their empire upon many nations; and today they are glorious in letters and history among almost all nations. There is no reason why they should complain of the justice of the supreme and true God: "they have received their reward."

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the reward of the holy citizens of the eternal city, to whom the examples of the virtues of the Romans are useful.

But the reward of the saints is far other, even of those sustaining reproaches here for the city of God, which is odious to the lovers of this world. That city is everlasting: there no one is born, because no one dies: there is true and full happiness, not a goddess, but a gift of God: thence we have received the pledge of faith, as long as, sojourning, we sigh for its beauty: there the sun does not rise over the good and the evil (Matt. 5:45), but the sun of justice protects the good alone: there there will be no great industry, to enrich the public treasury with narrow private

means, where the common treasury is of truth. Accordingly, not only that such a reward should be rendered to such men was the Roman empire dilated to human glory; but also that the citizens of that eternal city, as long as they are sojourning here (2 Cor. 5:6), should diligently and soberly intuit those examples, and see how much love is owed to the supernal country on account of eternal life, if the earthly was so much loved by its citizens on account of the glory of men.

CHAPTER XVII.

With what fruit the Romans waged wars, and how much they conferred upon those whom they conquered.

1. For as much as pertains to this life of mortals, which is led and finished in a few days, what does it matter under whose empire a man about to die lives, if those who command do not force him to impious and iniquitous things? Or did the Romans indeed harm in anything the nations to whom, having been subjugated, they imposed their laws, except because that was done with a huge slaughter of wars? Which if it were done harmoniously, that same thing would be done with better success: but there would be no glory of those triumphing. For neither did the Romans not live under their own laws, which they imposed upon the rest. If this were done without Mars and Bellona, so that neither victory should have a place, no one conquering where no one had fought, would there not be one and the same condition for the Romans and

the other nations? especially if that were soon done which was afterwards most gratefully and humanely done, that all pertaining to the Roman empire should receive the society of the city and be Roman citizens; and thus that should be of all which was before of a few: only that that plebs, which did not have its own fields, should live from the public: which feeding of it would be more gratefully provided by harmonious people through good administrators of the republic, than extorted from the conquered.

2. For what it matters to safety and good manners, certainly the very dignities of men, that some conquered and others were conquered, I do not see at all, except that most empty pride of human glory, in which they received their reward, who burned with a huge desire for it and waged ardent wars. For do their fields not pay tributes? is it permitted to them to learn what is not permitted to others? are there not many senators in other lands who do not even know Rome by face? Take away boasting, and what are all men but men? Which if the perversity of the age admitted, that those who were better should be more honored; not even so ought human honor to be held as great, because it is smoke of no weight. But let us use also in these things the benefit of the Lord our God: let us consider how great things they contemned, what things they bore, what desires they subdued for human glory, who merited to receive it as the reward of such virtues: and let this also avail us for overwhelming pride; so that when that city, in which it is

promised to us to reign, differs as much from this one as heaven differs from earth, eternal life from temporal joy, solid glory from empty praises, the society of Angels from the society of mortals, the light of Him who made the sun and moon from the light of the sun and moon, the citizens of so great a country should seem to have done nothing great for themselves, if for the sake of attaining it they have performed something of a good work, or sustained some evils; since the former performed such great things, and suffered such great things, for this earthly one already attained. Especially because the remission of sins, which collects citizens to the eternal country, has something to which that asylum of Romulus was similar through a certain shadow, in which the impunity of whatever crimes gathered the multitude by which that city should be founded.

CHAPTER XVIII.---How far from boasting Christians ought to be, if they have performed anything for the love of the eternal country, when the Romans performed such great things for human glory and an earthly city.

1. What great thing, therefore, is it for that eternal and celestial country, to contemn all the allurements of this age, however pleasant, if for this temporal and earthly one Brutus was able even to kill his sons, which that other city forces no one to do? But certainly it is more difficult to kill sons than that which is to be performed for the former, either to give to the poor those things which seemed to be gathered and kept for sons, or, if a temptation should exist which

compels that to be done for faith and justice, to lose them. For neither do earthly riches make either us or our sons happy, being either to be lost while we live, or, after we are dead, to be possessed by those we know not, or perhaps by those we wish not: but God makes happy, who is the true opulence of minds. Concerning Brutus, however, because he killed his sons, even a praising poet gives testimony of unhappiness. For he says: "And the father shall call to punishment his sons stirring up new wars for the sake of beautiful liberty, unhappy, however posterity shall bear those deeds." But in the following verse he consoled the unhappy man: "The love of country and an immense desire for praises overcomes" (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 6, vers. 820-823). These are those two things, liberty and the desire for human praise, which compelled the Romans to marvelous deeds. If therefore for the liberty of those about to die and the desire for praises, which are sought from mortals, sons could be killed by a father; what great thing is it, if for true liberty, which makes us free from the dominion of iniquity and death and the devil, and not from the desire for human praises, but from the charity of liberating men, not from King Tarquin, but from demons and the prince of demons, sons are not killed, but the poor of Christ are counted among sons?

2. If another Roman leader also, surnamed Torquatus, killed his son—not because he acted against his country, but even for his country, yet because he acted against his own command,

that is, against what his father the general had commanded—when, provoked by the enemy, he had fought with youthful ardor, even though he had conquered; lest there be more evil in the example of a command despised than good in the glory of an enemy slain: why should they boast of themselves, who for the laws of an immortal country contemn all earthly goods, which are loved much less than sons? If Furius Camillus, even after being condemned by his rivals, delivered from the Gauls that ungrateful country from whose neck he had driven the yoke of the most fierce enemies, the Veientes, because he had no better place where he could live gloriously: why should he be extolled as if he had done something great, who perhaps having suffered in the Church a most grave injury of dishonor from carnal enemies, did not transfer himself to its heretical enemies, or himself found some heresy against it, but rather defended it as much as he was able from the most pernicious depravity of heretics; since there is no other place, not where one may live in the glory of men, but where eternal life may be acquired? If Mucius, that peace might be made with King Porsenna, who was pressing the Romans with a most grave war, because he could not kill Porsenna himself, and deceived killed another in his place, extended his right hand into a burning altar before his eyes, saying that many such as he saw him to be had conspired for his destruction; at whose fortitude and the conspiracy of such men he, trembling with fear, without any delay restrained himself from that war, peace

having been made: who is to impute his merits to the kingdom of heaven, if for its sake he should spend not one hand, and this not doing of his own accord to himself, but suffering it at the hands of some persecutor, his whole body in the flames? If Curtius, armed and on a swift horse, gave himself headlong into a deep hiatus of the earth, serving the oracles of his gods, since they had ordered that whatever the Romans had that was best should be sent thither, nor could they understand anything else than that they excelled in men and arms, whence forsooth it was fitting that at the commands of the gods an armed man should be precipitated into that destruction: what great thing will he say he has done for the eternal country, who having suffered some enemy of his faith, not sending himself of his own accord into such a death, but sent by him, shall have died; since indeed he received from his Lord and the same King of his country a more certain oracle, "Fear not those who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul" (Matt. X, 28)? If the Decii, as it were consecrating themselves with certain words to be killed, devoted themselves, that by their falling and by their appeasing the wrath of the gods with their own blood the Roman army might be delivered; in no way will the holy martyrs be proud as if they have done something worthy for the participation of that country, where there is eternal and true happiness, if even to the shedding of their own blood, loving not only their brothers for whom it was shed, but even those very enemies by whom it was

shed, as it was commanded them, they have contended by the faith of charity and the charity of faith? If Marcus Pulvillus, dedicating the temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, when the death of his son was falsely announced to him by envious men, that being perturbed by that news he might withdraw, and so his colleague might obtain the glory of the dedication, so contemned it that he even ordered him to be cast out unburied; and thus in his heart the desire for glory had overcome the grief of bereavement: what great thing will he say he has done for the preaching of the holy Gospel, by which the citizens of the supernal country are delivered and gathered from diverse errors, to whom the Lord says, being solicitous about the burial of his father, "Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead" (Id. VIII, 22)? If M. Regulus, lest he should deceive most cruel enemies by swearing, returned to them from Rome itself, since, as he is reported to have answered the Romans wishing to hold him back, after he had served the Africans, he could not have the dignity of an honorable citizen there; and the Carthaginians, because he had acted against them in the Roman senate, killed him with most grave torments: what tortures are not to be contemned for the faith of that country, to whose beatitude faith itself leads? or "what shall be rendered to the Lord for all that he has rendered" (Ps. CXV, 12), if for the faith which is owed to Him a man shall have suffered such things as Regulus suffered for the faith which he owed to most pernicious enemies? How, moreover, will a Christian dare to

extol himself concerning voluntary poverty, that in the pilgrimage of this life he may walk more expeditiously the way which leads to the country where God Himself is true riches, when he hears or reads that L. Valerius, who died in his consulship, was so poor that his burial was provided for by coins collected from the people? let him hear or read that Quintius Cincinnatus, when he possessed four acres and cultivated them with his own hands, was taken from the plow that he might become dictator, an honor certainly greater than that of consul; and having obtained great glory by conquering the enemies, remained in the same poverty? Or what great thing will he proclaim he has done, because he was seduced by no reward of this world from the society of that eternal country, when he shall have learned that Fabricius could not be torn away from the Roman state by so great gifts of Pyrrhus, king of the Epirotes, even with the promise of a fourth part of the kingdom, and preferred to remain there as a private man in his poverty? For as to that fact that while they had a most opulent and wealthy republic, that is, the property of the people, the property of the country, the common property, they themselves were so poor in their own houses that one of them, who had already been twice consul, was expelled from that senate of poor men by censorial notation because he was found to have ten pounds of silver in vessels; thus those same men were poor by whose triumphs the public treasury was enriched: do not all Christians, who with a more excellent purpose

make their riches common, according to that which is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that "it was distributed to each as each had need," and "no one said anything was his own, but all things were common to them" (Acts II, 45; and IV, 32); understand that they ought to be tossed by no boasting on this account, doing this for the obtaining of the society of the Angels, when those men did almost such a thing for preserving the glory of the Romans?

3. These and other things, if any of this kind are found in their writings, when would they have become so known, when would they have been proclaimed with such great fame, unless the Roman Empire, stretched far and wide, were increased by magnificent successes? Therefore, through that empire so wide and so long-lasting, and illustrious and glorious by the virtues of such great men, both the reward which they sought was rendered to their intention, and examples of necessary admonition are proposed to us: that if we have not held the virtues, to which those are in some way similar, which they held for the glory of the earthly city, for the most glorious city of God, we may be pricked by shame; if we have held them, we may not be extolled by pride: since, as the Apostle says, "the sufferings of this time are unworthy of the future glory which shall be revealed in us" (Rom. VIII, 18). But for human glory and of the present time, their life was estimated to be sufficiently worthy. Whence also the Jews, who killed Christ, the New Testament revealing what was veiled in the Old, that the one and

true God might be worshipped, not for earthly and temporal benefits, which divine providence grants mixedly to the good and the evil, but for eternal life and perpetual gifts and the society of the supernal city itself, were most rightly given over to the glory of those men; that those who by whatever virtues sought and acquired earthly glory, might overcome those who by great vices killed and rejected the giver of true glory and of the eternal city.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the difference between the desire for glory and the desire for domination.

There is indeed a difference between the desire for human glory and the desire for domination. For although it is easy for one who is excessively delighted by human glory to also ardently affect to dominate; yet those who desire the true glory, though of human praises, take care not to displease those who judge well. For there are many good things in morals, concerning which many judge well, although many do not possess them: through those good things of morals they strive for glory and command or domination, concerning which Sallust says, "But he strives by the true way." Whoever, however, without the desire for glory, by which a man fears to displease those who judge well, desires to dominate and command, seeks for the most part to obtain what he loves even through most open crimes. Therefore, he who desires glory either strives by the

true way, or certainly contends by deceits and fallacies, wishing to seem to be good, which he is not (Sallust in Catil.). And therefore for one possessing virtues it is a great virtue to contemn glory; because the contempt of it is in the sight of God, but is not open to human judgment. For whatever he shall have done before the eyes of men, by which he may appear a contemnor of glory, if it be believed that he does it for greater praise, that is, for greater glory, there is no way for him to show to the senses of those suspecting that it is otherwise than they suspect. But he who contemns the judgments of those praising, contemns also the temerity of those suspecting: whose salvation, however, if he is truly good, he does not contemn; since he who has virtues from the Spirit of God is of such great justice that he loves even his enemies; and so loves them that he wishes to have his haters or detractors as corrected associates; not in an earthly country, but a supernal one: in those praising him, however, although he may value little that they praise him, yet he does not value little that they love; nor does he wish to deceive those praising him, lest he should deceive those who love: and therefore he insists ardently that He rather may be praised, from whom a man has whatever is justly praised in him. But he who, being a contemnor of glory, is greedy for domination, surpasses the beasts either in the vices of cruelty or of luxury. Such certain Romans were: for they did not, having lost the care for reputation, lack the desire for domination. History reveals that many such existed:

but Nero Caesar first obtained the summit and, as it were, a certain citadel of this vice; whose luxury was so great that nothing manly was thought to be feared from him; his cruelty so great that nothing soft was believed to be in him, if it were not known. Yet even to such the power of dominating is not given except by the providence of the most high God, when He judges human affairs worthy of such masters. The divine voice is open concerning this matter, the wisdom of God speaking: "Through me kings reign, and tyrants through me hold the earth" (Prov. VIII, 15). But lest tyrants should be thought not to be the worst and most wicked kings, but called strong by an old name, whence Virgil says, "A part of peace to me will be to have touched the right hand of the tyrant" (Aeneid, lib. 7, vers. 266): most openly in another place it is said of God, "Who makes a hypocrite man to reign on account of the perversity of the people" (Job XXXIV, 30). Wherefore, although I have sufficiently explained, as I was able, for what cause the one true and just God helped the Romans, good according to a certain form of an earthly city, to obtain the glory of so great an empire: there can, however, be another more latent cause, on account of the diverse merits of the human race, better known to God than to us; while it is certain among all truly pious men, that no one without true piety, that is, the true worship of the true God, can have true virtue; nor is it true virtue when it serves human glory. Those, however, who are not citizens of the eternal city, which in our sacred Scriptures is called the City

of God (Ps. XLV, 5; and XLVII, 3 and 9, etc.), are more useful to the earthly city when they have even that virtue itself, than if they had not even that. Those, moreover, who endowed with true piety live well, if they have the science of ruling peoples, nothing is more happy for human affairs than if they should have power by the mercy of God. Such men, however, do not attribute their virtues, however many they are able to have in this life, except to the grace of God, because He has given them to those willing, believing, and asking; and at the same time they understand how much is lacking to them for the perfection of justice, such as is in the society of those holy Angels, to which they strive to adapt themselves. However much, moreover, that virtue is praised and proclaimed, which without true piety serves the glory of men, it is by no means to be compared to the small beginnings of the saints, whose hope is placed in the grace and mercy of the true God.

CHAPTER XX.

That human virtues serve human glory as basely as they serve the pleasure of the body.

The philosophers who constitute the end of human good in virtue itself, are accustomed, for the purpose of bringing shame upon certain philosophers who indeed approve of the virtues but measure them by the end of bodily pleasure, and think that that is to be sought for its own sake, but the virtues on account of it, to paint as it were a certain picture in words, where pleasure

sits on a royal throne like some delicate queen; and to her the virtues are subjected as handmaids, observing her nod, that they may do what she has commanded: who commands prudence that she may vigilantly inquire how pleasure may reign and be safe; she commands justice that she may provide whatever benefits she can for acquiring friendships necessary for bodily advantages; that she may do injury to no one, lest by offending the laws pleasure should not be able to live secure; she commands fortitude that, if pain should happen to the body, which does not compel unto death, she may hold her mistress, that is, pleasure, strongly in the thought of the mind, that through the recollection of her former delights she may mitigate the stings of present pain; she commands temperance that she may take only so much of food, and if there are any things that delight, lest through immoderation any harmful thing should disturb the health, and pleasure, which the Epicureans place as the greatest even in the health of the body, should be gravely offended. Thus the virtues with all the dignity of their glory will serve pleasure as if some imperious and dishonorable little woman. They say that nothing is more ignominious and deformed than this picture, and which the sight of good men could less bear: and they say the truth. But I do not think the picture is of sufficient becoming decorum, if it be also so imagined where human virtues serve human glory. For although that glory is not a delicate woman, yet it is inflated, and has much of vanity. Whence a

certain solidity and firmness of the virtues does not worthily serve it, so that prudence provides nothing, justice distributes nothing, fortitude tolerates nothing, temperance moderates nothing, except whence men may be pleased and a windy glory may be served. Nor will they have defended themselves from this foulness who, while they spurn the judgments of others as if contemnors of glory, seem wise to themselves and please themselves. For their virtue, if indeed there is any, is in another certain way subjected to human praise: for he who pleases himself is not a man who is not a man. But he who by true piety believes and hopes in God, whom he loves, intends more those things in which he displeases himself, than those, if there are any in him, which please not so much himself as the truth: nor does he attribute that whence he is already able to please, except to His mercy, whom he fears to displease; giving thanks for those things healed, pouring out prayers for those to be healed.

CHAPTER XXI.

That the Roman kingdom was disposed by the true God, from whom is all power, and by whose providence all things are ruled.

Since these things are so, let us not attribute the power of giving kingdom and empire except to the true God, who gives happiness in the kingdom of heaven to the pious alone; but an earthly kingdom to both the pious and the impious, as it pleases Him, to whom nothing pleases unjustly.

For although we have said something which He wished to be open to us, yet it is much for us, and far surpasses our strength, to discuss the secrets of men, and to judge the merits of kingdoms by a clear examination. Therefore that one true God, who deserts the human race neither by judgment nor by aid, when He wished and as much as He wished, gave the kingdom to the Romans: who gave it to the Assyrians, or even to the Persians, by whom their writings contain that only two gods are worshipped, one good, the other evil: to say nothing of the Hebrew people, of whom I have already said as much as seemed sufficient, who worshipped none but the one God even when they reigned. He, therefore, who gave to the Persians harvests without the worship of the goddess Segetia, who gave other gifts of the lands without the worship of so many gods, whom those men set over single things, single ones, or even several over single things; He Himself also gave the kingdom without the worship of those through whose worship those men believed themselves to have reigned. So also to men; He who gave to Marius, He Himself gave to Gaius Caesar; He who gave to Augustus, He Himself gave also to Nero; He who gave to the Vespasians, either the father or the son, most pleasant emperors, He Himself gave also to Domitian, the most cruel: and lest it be necessary to go through single ones, He who gave to Constantine the Christian, He Himself gave to the apostate Julian: whose excellent character was deceived by a sacrilegious and detestable

curiosity from the love of dominating, to whose vain oracles he was given over, when relying on the security of victory, he burned the ships by which necessary food was carried; then fervidly insisting on immoderate darings, and soon killed by the merit of his temerity, he left a needy army in hostile places, so that there was no other way of escape thence, unless against that auspice of the god Terminus, of which we spoke in the preceding book (Cap. 29), the boundaries of the Roman empire should be moved. For the god Terminus yielded to necessity, who had not yielded to Jupiter. Clearly the one and true God rules and governs these things as it pleases: and if for hidden causes, are they therefore unjust?

CHAPTER XXII.

That the times and issues of wars depend on the judgment of God.

So also the times themselves of wars, as it is in His arbitrament and just judgment and mercy, either to wear out or to console the human race, so that some are finished more quickly, others more slowly. The war of the Pirates by Pompey, the third Punic war by Scipio were concluded with incredible celerity and brevity of time. The war also of the fugitive gladiators, although many Roman leaders and two consuls were conquered, and Italy horribly worn down and wasted, yet in the third year after many things consumed was consumed. The Picentes, Marsi, and Peligni, nations not foreign, but Italian, after a long and

most devoted servitude under the Roman yoke, attempted to raise their head unto liberty, when already many nations had been subjugated to the Roman empire, and Carthage destroyed: in which Italian war the Romans were very often conquered, where also two consuls perished, and other most noble senators: yet this evil was not protracted for a long time; for the fifth year gave an end to it. But the second Punic war with the greatest losses and calamity of the republic attenuated and almost consumed the Roman strength through eighteen years: in two battles nearly seventy thousand Romans fell. The first Punic war was carried on through twenty-three years: the Mithridatic war for forty years. And lest any one should think that the beginnings of the Romans were stronger for carrying on wars more quickly, in former times, much praised in all virtue, the Samnite war was protracted for nearly fifty years: in which war the Romans were so conquered that they were even sent under the yoke. But because they did not love glory on account of justice, but seemed to love justice on account of glory, they broke the peace and the treaty that had been made. These things I therefore commemorate, since many ignorant of past things, some even dissemblers of their own knowledge, if in Christian times they see any war protracted a little longer, immediately leap forth most petulantly against our religion, exclaiming that, if it were not itself, and the deities were worshipped in the old rite, already by that Roman virtue, which with the aid of Mars and Bellona

concluded so many wars quickly, that also would be most quickly finished. Let them therefore recall who have read how long-lasting wars, with how varying events, with how mournful slaughters were carried on by the ancient Romans, just as the world is accustomed to be tossed like a most tempestuous sea by the varying storm of such evils: and let them at length confess what they are unwilling to, and not destroy themselves with insane tongues against God, and deceive the unskilful.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Concerning the war in which Rhadagaisus, king of the Goths, a worshipper of demons, was conquered in one day with his huge forces.

Yet that which in our memory God did wonderfully and mercifully in very recent time, they do not commemorate with thanksgiving; but as much as is in them, they endeavor to bury it in the oblivion of all men, if it can be done: which if it be kept silent by us, we shall be similarly ungrateful. When Rhadagaisus, king of the Goths, with a huge and immense army already stationed in the vicinity of the City, was imminent over Roman necks, in one day with such great celerity he was so conquered, that not even one of the Romans was, I do not say killed, but wounded, while much more than a hundred thousand of his army were prostrated, and he himself with his sons soon captured was killed with due punishment. For if that so impious man with so

great and so impious forces had entered Rome, whom would he have spared? to what places of the martyrs would he have deferred honor? in what person would he fear God? whose blood would he not wish poured out, whose chastity would he wish intact? Moreover, what voices would those men have for their gods, with what great insultation would they boast, that he had therefore conquered, therefore had been able to do so much, because by daily sacrifices he was appeasing and inviting the gods, which the Christian religion did not permit the Romans to do? For when he was already approaching these places where he was oppressed by the nod of the supreme majesty, when his fame was increasing everywhere, it was said to us at Carthage that the Pagans believed, spread, and boasted, that he, his friend-gods protecting and helping him, to whom he was reported to sacrifice daily, could not be conquered at all by those who did not perform such sacrifices to the Roman gods, nor permitted them to be performed by any one. And the miserable men do not give thanks for so great mercy of God, who, when He had determined to chastise the manners of men worthy of suffering more grave things by a barbarian irruption, tempered His indignation with such great mildness, that He first caused him to be wonderfully conquered, lest for the overturning of the minds of the infirm glory should be given to the demons, to whom it was certain that he supplicated; then Rome was captured by those barbarians who, against all custom of wars previously carried

on, flying to the holy places were protected by the reverence of the Christian religion, and were so opposed to the demons themselves and the rites of impious sacrifices, concerning which he had presumed, for the Christian name, that they seemed to carry on a far more atrocious war with them than with men: thus the true Lord and governor of things both scourged the Romans with mercy, and by the so incredibly conquered supplicators of demons, showed that those sacrifices are not necessary even for the safety of present things; so that by those who do not pertinaciously contend, but prudently attend, true religion may not be deserted on account of present necessities, and may rather be held by a most faithful expectation of eternal life.

CHAPTER XXIV.

What is the true happiness of Christian emperors.

For neither do we say that certain Christian emperors are happy because they have either reigned longer, or when reigning have left sons by a peaceful death, or have subdued the enemies of the republic, or have been able both to beware of and to oppress the inimical citizens rising up against them. These and other gifts or solaces of this laborious life, even some worshippers of demons have deserved to receive, who do not belong to the kingdom of God, to which these belong: and this was done by His mercy, lest those who should believe in Him should desire these things as the supreme goods. But we say

they are happy if they reign justly; if they are not extolled among the tongues of those sublimely honoring them and the services of those saluting them too humbly, but remember that they are men; if they make their power a handmaid to His majesty for the purpose of greatly extending the worship of God; if they fear, love, and worship God; if they love more that kingdom where they do not fear to have associates; if they are slow to punish, ready to forgive; if they exert the same punishment for the necessity of ruling and protecting the republic, not for satisfying the hatreds of enmities; if they indulge the same pardon not for the impunity of iniquity, but for the hope of correction; if, what they are often compelled to decree harshly, they compensate with the mildness of mercy and the largess of benefits; if luxury is so much more restrained by them as it could be more free; if they prefer to rule over evil desires than over any nations whatever: and if they do all these things, not on account of the ardor of empty glory, but on account of the charity of eternal happiness; if they do not neglect to immolate to their true God the sacrifice of humility and of commiseration and of prayer for their sins. Such Christian emperors we say are happy in the meantime in hope, and afterwards to be so in reality, when that which we expect shall have arrived.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the prosperities which God conferred on Constantine the Christian emperor.

For the good God, lest men who believed that He was to be worshipped on account of eternal life, should think that these sublimities and earthly kingdoms could be attained by no one unless he supplicated the demons, because those spirits could do much in such things, filled the emperor Constantine, not supplicating demons, but worshipping the true God Himself, with such great earthly gifts as no one would dare to wish for: to whom He even granted to found a city as an associate to the Roman empire, as if the daughter of Rome herself, but without any temple or idol of demons. He reigned long, alone as one Augustus he held and defended the whole Roman world; in administering and carrying on wars he was most victorious; in oppressing tyrants he prospered through all things; being very aged he died of sickness and old age; he left his sons reigning. But again, lest any emperor should be a Christian for this reason, that he might merit the happiness of Constantine, since every one ought to be a Christian on account of eternal life; He took away Jovian much more quickly than Julian; He permitted Gratian to be killed by the tyrannical sword; much more mildly indeed than Magnus Pompey, worshipping as it were the Roman gods. For he could not be vindicated by Cato, whom he had left as it were the heir of the civil war: but this one, although pious souls do not require such solaces, was vindicated by Theodosius, whom he had made a partner of the kingdom, when he had a very small brother; being more greedy of faithful society than of excessive power.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the faith and piety of Augustus Theodosius.

1. Whence also he not only preserved the faith he owed while he was alive, but even after his death, when Valentinian, his little brother, was driven out by his slayer Maximus, he received him as a Christian ward into his own parts of the empire, and guarded him with paternal affection, whom, destitute of all resources, he could have removed with no trouble, if he had burned with the desire of reigning more widely rather than with the charity of doing well: whence rather he, having received him and preserved his imperial dignity, comforted him with that very humanity and grace. Then, when that success made Maximus terrible, he in the straits of his cares did not fall into sacrilegious and illicit curiosities, but sent to John, established in the desert of Egypt, whom he had learned by increasing fame to be a servant of God endowed with the spirit of prophesying; and from him he received a most certain message of victory. Soon, as the extinguisher of the tyrant Maximus, he restored the boy Valentinian with most merciful veneration to the parts of his empire from which he had been routed: and when he was extinguished shortly after, whether by snares or by some other agreement or accident, he oppressed another tyrant Eugenius, who had not legitimately been substituted in the place of that emperor, having again received a prophetic response, being certain in faith, against whose most robust army he fought more by

praying than by striking. The soldiers who were present reported to us that whatever they were throwing was extorted from their hands, since a vehement wind went from the parts of the Theodosius against the adversaries, and not only snatched away whatever was thrown at them most excitedly, but even turned back their own weapons into their own bodies. Whence also the poet Claudian, although alienated from the name of Christ, yet said in his praises: O too much beloved of God, for whom Aeolus pours forth armed winters from his caves; for whom the ether fights, and the conspirator winds come to the trumpets! (In the Panegyric on the third consulship of Honorius, verses 96-98.) But as victor, as he had believed and foretold, he threw down the idols of Jupiter, which had been as it were consecrated by I know not what rites against him and established in the Alps: and their thunderbolts, because they had been of gold, he cheerfully and kindly gave to the Couriers who were joking (which that joy permitted) and saying that they wished to be struck by thunderbolts by them. The sons of his enemies, whom not his own command but the impetus of war had taken away, even while not yet Christians fleeing to the church, he wished to become Christians by this occasion, and loved with Christian charity; nor did he deprive them of their property, and he increased them with honors. He permitted private enmities to prevail against no one after victory. Civil wars, not as Cinna and Marius and Sulla and other such who did not wish to finish

them even when finished, but he rather grieved that they had arisen than wished to harm anyone when terminated. Among all these things, from the very beginning of his empire, he did not rest from succoring with most just and most merciful laws the Church laboring against the impious, which the heretic Valens favoring the Arians had vehemently afflicted: in being a member of which Church he rejoiced more than in reigning on earth. He commanded the idols of the Gentiles to be overturned everywhere, understanding well enough that not even earthly gifts were placed in the power of demons, but in that of the true God. But what was more wonderful than his religious humility, when for the most grave crime of the Thessalonians, to which he had already promised indulgence through the intercession of the bishops, he was compelled to vindicate by the tumult of some who were clinging to him, and being restrained by ecclesiastical discipline, he so did penance that the people praying for that imperial height was made more by seeing it prostrated than they feared it angry by sinning? These good works he carried with him, and if there are any similar ones which it is long to commemorate, out of that temporal vapor of any human summit and sublimity; the reward of which works is eternal happiness, the giver of which is God to those truly pious alone. But the other heights or subsidies of this life, as the world itself, light, airs, lands, waters, fruits, and the soul, body, senses, mind, and life of man himself, He bestows on the good and the bad: among which is also any

greatness of empire, which He dispenses for the government of the times.

2.---[XXVII.] Furthermore, I see that an answer must now also be given to those who, being refuted and convicted by the most manifest proofs by which it is shown that the multitude of false gods is of no use for those temporal things which fools alone desire to have, attempt to assert that the gods are to be worshipped not for the utility of the present life, but for that which is to come after death. For to those who wish to worship vanities on account of the friendships of this world, and complain that they are not permitted their childish senses, I think enough has been answered in these five books. When I had published the first three of these, and they had begun to be in the hands of many, I heard that some were preparing I know not what response in writing against them. Then it was brought to me that they have already written it, but are seeking a time when they can publish it without danger. I admonish them not to wish for what is not expedient for them. For it is easy for anyone who is unwilling to be silent to seem to have answered. Or what is more loquacious than vanity? which cannot do what truth can, because, if it wishes, it can even cry out more than truth. But let them consider all things diligently: and if perchance, judging without party zeal, they shall perceive that such things are as can rather be tossed about than torn up by most impudent talkativeness and as it were satirical or mimetic levity, let them restrain their trifles; and let them choose rather to

be corrected by the prudent than to be praised by the imprudent. For if they are waiting for a time not for the liberty of speaking true things, but for the license of speaking evil, far be it that it should happen to them what Tullius says of a certain one who was called happy by the license of sinning: O wretched man, to whom it was permitted to sin! Whence whoever he is who thinks himself happy by the license of speaking evil, he will be much happier if this is not permitted to him at all: since, having laid aside the inanity of boasting, he can even at this time, as if with the desire of consulting, contradict whatever he wishes; and hear what is proper, honestly, gravely, and freely from those whom he consults in friendly disputation, as much as they are able.

BOOK SIXTH.

Hitherto against those who think that the gods are to be worshipped for the sake of this temporal life: now, however, against those who believe that worship is to be exhibited to them for the sake of eternal life: whom Augustine, about to refute in the five following books, shows here first of all how abject an opinion of the gods Varro himself, the most commended writer of Gentile theology, held. He adduces, according to the same, three kinds of this theology, fabulous, natural, and civil: and soon demonstrates concerning the fabulous and the civil, that these kinds confer nothing to the happiness of the future life.

PREFACE.

In the five preceding books, I think I have disputed enough against those who think that many gods and false ones—whom Christian truth convicts of being useless idols, or unclean spirits and pernicious demons, or certainly creatures, not the Creator—are to be venerated and worshipped for the utility of this mortal life and of earthly things, with that rite and service which in Greek is called latreia, and is owed to the one true God. And who does not know that

neither these five, nor any other books of whatever number, can be enough for excessive folly or pertinacity? when that is thought to be the glory of vanity, to yield to no powers of truth; to the destruction, surely, of him whom so immense a vice dominates. For also against all the industry of the one curing, a disease is unvanquished, not by the fault of the physician, but of the incurable sick man. But those who weigh what they read, understood and considered either without any, or not with a great and excessive obstacy of old error, will more easily judge that we have satisfied them in this number of five volumes terminated, more than the necessity of the question itself demanded, than that we have discussed less; and they will not be able to doubt that the whole envy, which the unskillful attempt to bring upon the Christian religion concerning the calamities of this life and the attrition and mutation of earthly things—not only while the learned are dissembling, but even while they are favoring against their own conscience, whom a mad impiety has possessed—is altogether void of right thought and reason, and full of most light temerity and most pernicious animosity.

CHAPTER FIRST.

Of those who say that the gods are worshipped by them not on account of the present life, but on account of the eternal.

1. Now therefore, since henceforth, as the promised order requires, those also are to be refuted and taught who contend that the gods

of the Gentiles, whom the Christian religion destroys, are to be worshipped not on account of this life, but on account of that which is to come after death; it pleases me to take the beginning of my disputation from the true oracle of the holy Psalm: Blessed is he whose hope is the Lord God, and who has not regarded vanities and lying follies (Psal. XXXIX, 5). Nevertheless, in all vanities and lying follies, the philosophers are to be heard far more tolerably, to whom those opinions and errors of the peoples were displeasing: which peoples established idols for deities, and either feigned or believed feigned things about those whom they call immortal gods, many things false and unworthy, and mixed believed things with their worship and the rites of their sacrifices. With these men, who, if not by preaching freely, at least in some way by muttering in disputations, have testified that they disapprove such things, this question is not so inconveniently treated: whether one God, who made every spiritual and corporal creature, ought not to be worshipped on account of the life which is to come after death; but many gods, whom some of the same philosophers, more excellent and noble than the rest, perceived to have been made by that one and sublimely placed.

2. But who can bear it to be said and contended, that those gods, some of whom I commemorated in the fourth book (Chapters 11 and 21), to each of whom single duties of small things are distributed, afford eternal life to anyone? Or indeed, will those most skillful and acute men,

who boast that they have taught recorded things for a great benefit, so that it might be known for what each god was to be supplicated, what was to be sought from each, lest by a most foul absurdity, such as is wont to be done jocularly in a mime, water should be sought from Liber, wine from the Lymphae; be authors to any man supplicating the immortal gods, that when he has sought wine from the Lymphae, and they have answered him, We have water, seek this from Liber; he could rightly say, If you have not wine, at least give me eternal life? What is more monstrous than this absurdity? Will not those laughing ones (for they are wont to be easy to laughter) if they do not affect to deceive as demons, answer the suppliant, O man, do you think that we have life in our power, whom you hear not to have even a vine? It is therefore of most impudent folly to seek or hope for eternal life from such gods, who are asserted so to protect single particles of this most calamitous and shortest life, and whatever things pertain to aiding and supporting it, that if that which is under the protection and power of one be sought from another, it is so inconvenient and absurd that it seems most similar to mimetic scurrility. Which when it is done by skillful mimes, they are worthily laughed at in the theatre; but when by unskillful fools, they are more worthily mocked in the world. To what god or goddess, therefore, for what reason each should be supplicated, as far as pertains to those gods whom the cities instituted, was skillfully found by the learned and committed to memory; what

from Liber, for example, what from the Lymphae, what from Vulcan, and so from the others, some of whom I commemorated in the fourth book, some of whom I thought should be passed over. Furthermore, if it is of error to seek wine from Ceres, bread from Liber, water from Vulcan, fire from the Lymphae; how much greater madness ought it to be understood to be, if eternal life be supplicated from any of these?

3. Wherefore, if, when we were seeking concerning the earthly kingdom, which of those gods or goddesses it was to be believed could confer it on men, it was shown, after all had been discussed, to be far from the truth that anyone should determine that even earthly kingdoms are to be esteemed from any of those many and false deities: is it not of the most insane impiety if eternal life, which without any doubt or comparison is to be preferred to all earthly kingdoms, should be believed to be able to be given to anyone by any of those? For neither for this reason did such gods seem not to be able to give even an earthly kingdom, because they are great and lofty, and this is something small and abject, which they would not deign to care for in so great sublimity. But however much anyone by consideration of human fragility may worthily despise the falling peaks of an earthly kingdom; those gods appeared such that they seemed most unworthy that even these things should be committed to them to be given and preserved. And through this, if (as the things treated in the two preceding books taught) no god from that crowd,

either as it were of plebeian or as it were of noble gods, is fit to give mortal kingdoms to mortals, how much less can he make immortals out of mortals?

4. To this is added that, if now we deal with those who think the gods are to be worshipped not on account of this life, but on account of that which is to come after death; they are not at all to be worshipped even on account of those things which are attributed to the power of such gods as distributed and proper, not by reason of truth, but by the opinion of vanity; as those believe who contend that their worship is necessary for the utilities of this mortal life: against whom I have already disputed enough, as much as I was able, in the five preceding volumes. Which things being so, if the age itself of those who worshipped the goddess Juventas flourished more signily; but her despisers either fell within the years of youth, or in it grew cold as if with senile torpor: if the bearded Fortune clothed the cheeks of her worshippers more speciously and festively; but those by whom she was spurned we saw smooth or ill-bearded: even so we would most rightly say, that these single goddesses were able thus far, limited in a way by their duties; and through this, that neither eternal life ought to be sought from Juventas, who would not give a beard; nor anything of good after this life to be hoped from the bearded Fortune, whose power in this life was none, so that she herself should afford even that same age which is clothed with a beard. Now indeed, since their worship is not necessary even on

account of those very things which are thought to be subject to them; because both many worshipping the goddess Juventas have by no means flourished in that age, and many not worshipping her rejoice in the strength of youth; and likewise many suppliants of the bearded Fortune have been able to attain to no beard or a deformed one, and if any venerate her for the sake of impetrating a beard, they are mocked by her bearded despisers: does the human heart thus dote, that it should believe to be fruitful for the sake of eternal life the worship of those gods whose worship on account of those very temporal and quickly passing gifts, over each of which they are reported single to preside, it knows to be void and ludicrous? These to be able to give this, not even they have dared to say, who to them, so that they might be worshipped by the foolish peoples, attributed these temporal works, because they thought them too many, lest anyone of them should sit idle, divided into small parts.

CHAPTER II.

What it is to be believed that Varro felt concerning the gods of the Gentiles, whose such kinds and sacred things he detected, that he would have dealt more reverently with them if he had been altogether silent about them.

Who has sought those things more curiously than Marcus Varro? who has found them more learnedly? who has considered them more attentively? who has distinguished them more acutely? who has written them more diligently

and fully? Who, although he is less sweet in eloquence, yet is so stuffed with learning and opinions, that in all erudition, which we call secular, but they call liberal, he teaches as much the student of things, as Cicero delights the student of words. Finally, Tullius himself offers such testimony to him, that in the Academic books he says that he had that disputation which is conducted there with Marcus Varro, a man, he says, easily the most acute of all, and without any doubt the most learned. He does not say, Most eloquent, or, most facund; since in truth in this faculty he is much unequal: but, of all, he says, easily the most acute. And in those books, that is the Academics, where he contends that all things are to be doubted, he added, without any doubt the most learned. Truly concerning this thing he was so certain, that he took away the doubt which he is wont to apply in all things, as if about this one thing even against the doubt of the Academics he were about to dispute, having forgotten that he was an Academic. But in the first book, when he was praising the literary works of the same Varro, he says: We, wandering and straying in our city as if guests, your books as it were brought back home, so that we could at length recognize who and where we were. You the age of the fatherland, you the descriptions of times, you the laws of sacred things, you of priests, you domestic, you public discipline, you the seat of regions and places, you the names, kinds, duties, causes of all divine and human things have opened (Cicero lib. 1, c. 3, de Quaest. Acad.). This man, therefore, of so

signal and excellent skill, and what Terentianus also briefly says of him in a most elegant versicle,
The most learned man from everywhere Varro;
(De metris, in the section on phalaecian verses.)
who read so many things, that we wonder that he had leisure to write anything; wrote so many things, as we believe scarcely anyone could have read: this man, I say, so great in genius, and so great in learning, if he were an assaulter and destroyer of as it were divine things about which he writes, and said that they pertained not to religion but to superstition, I know not whether he would write so many things in them to be laughed at, despised, and detested. But when he so worshipped the same Gods, and thought them to be worshipped, that in that very work of his letters he says that he fears lest they perish, not by hostile incursion, but by the negligence of the citizens, from which he says they are delivered by him as if from ruin, and are laid up and preserved in the memory of the good through books of this kind with a more useful care than Metellus is reported to have delivered the Vestal sacred things from burning, and Aeneas the household gods from the Trojan destruction; and yet he brings forth those things to be read to the ages, which by the wise and the foolish are worthily to be rejected and judged most hostile to the truth of religion: what ought we to think, except that a most sharp and skillful man, yet not free by the Holy Spirit, was oppressed by the custom and laws of his city; and yet was unwilling to be

silent about those things by which he was moved, under the appearance of commending religion?

CHAPTER III.

What is the partition of Varro's books, which he composed concerning the Antiquities of human and divine things.

He wrote forty-one books of Antiquities: these he divided into human and divine things, he attributed twenty-five to human things, sixteen to divine: following that reason in that partition, that he should give six books to four parts of human things. For he intends who act, where they act, when they act, what they act. In the first six, therefore, he wrote of men, in the second six of places, the third six of times, the fourth six and the same last ones he finished of things. But four times six make twenty-four. But one singular one, which should speak commonly of all first, he placed at the head. In divine things likewise the same form of division was preserved by him, as far as pertains to those things which are to be exhibited to the gods: for sacred things are exhibited by men in places and times. These four which I have said, he embraced in three books each: for the first three he wrote of men, the following of places, the third of times, the fourth of sacred things; also here commending with most subtle distinction who exhibit, where they exhibit, when they exhibit, what they exhibit. But because it was necessary to say, and that was most expected, to whom they exhibit, he also wrote the three last concerning the gods

themselves, so that five times three should be fifteen. But they are all, as we have said, sixteen: because he also placed at the beginning of these one singular one, which should speak of all first: which being finished, consequently from that five-part distribution he so subdivided the three preceding ones, which pertain to men, that the first is of pontiffs, the second of augurs, the third of the fifteen-men of sacred things. The second three pertaining to places; so that in one of them he spoke of shrines, in another of sacred houses, in the third of religious places. Furthermore, the three which follow these, and pertain to times, that is to feast days; so that he made one of them of festivals, another of circensian games, the third of scenic ones. To one of the fourth three pertaining to sacred things he gave consecrations, to another private sacred things, to the last public. These as it were the pomp of services, the gods themselves follow last in the three which remain, to whom this whole worship was expended: in the first certain gods, in the second uncertain, in the third last of all the principal and select gods.

CHAPTER IV.

That from Varro's disputation human things are found older than divine things among the worshippers of the gods.

1. In this whole series of most beautiful and subtle distribution and distinction, that eternal life is in vain sought and hoped for, or most impudently desired, is most easily apparent to

any man who is not an enemy to himself with an obstinate heart, from those things which we have already said, and which are henceforth to be said. For either these are institutes of men, or of demons: not such as they call good demons; but, that I may speak more openly, of unclean spirits and without controversy malignant ones, who with wonderful envy both secretly insert noxious opinions into the thoughts of the impious, by which the human soul may more and more vanish, and cannot be coadapted to and inhere in the unchangeable and eternal truth, and sometimes openly thrust them upon the senses, and confirm them by what fallacious attestation they can. This Varro himself testifies that for this reason he wrote first concerning human things, and concerning divine things afterwards, because cities existed first, then by them these things were instituted. But true religion was not instituted by any earthly city; but plainly it instituted the celestial city: but it the true God, the giver of eternal life, inspires and teaches to His true worshippers.

2. [IV.] Of Varro, therefore, confessing that for this reason he wrote first concerning human things, afterwards concerning divine, because those divine things were instituted by men, this is the reason: Just as the painter, he says, is prior to the painted tablet, the smith prior to the building; so cities are prior to those things which are instituted by cities. But he says that he would have written first concerning the gods, afterwards concerning men, if he were writing concerning the whole nature of the gods. As if he here

writes concerning some, and not concerning all; or indeed even some nature of the gods, although not all, ought not to be prior to that of men? What of the fact that in those three last books, diligently explaining certain and uncertain and select gods, he seems to pass over no nature of the gods? What is it, therefore, that he says: If we were writing concerning the whole nature of gods and men, we would have finished divine things before we had touched human things? For either he writes concerning the whole nature of the gods, or concerning some, or altogether concerning none. If concerning the whole, it is surely to be set before human things: if concerning some, why should not that very thing precede human things? is some part of the gods unworthy to be preferred even to the universal nature of men? But if it is much that some divine part be set before all human things, at least it is worthy even of the Roman: for he wrote the books of human things, not as far as pertains to the whole world, but as far as pertains to Rome alone. Which yet he said that he worthily preferred in the order of writing to the books of divine things, just as the painter to the painted tablet, just as the smith to the building; most openly confessing that even these divine things, just as a picture, just as a structure, were instituted by men. It remains that he be understood to have written concerning no nature of the gods; nor did he wish to say this openly, but left it to the intelligent. For where it is said, Not all, usually indeed some is understood: but none can also be understood; since

that which is none, is neither all nor some. For, as he himself says, if it were the whole nature of the gods concerning which he wrote, it would be to be set before human things in the order of writing: but as truth cries out even while he is silent, it would certainly be to be set before Roman things, even if it were not all, but at least some: but it is rightly postponed; therefore it is none. He did not therefore wish to prefer human things to divine things, but he did not wish to prefer false things to true things. For in those things which he wrote concerning human things, he followed the history of things done: but what concerning these, which he calls divine, what except the opinions of vain things? This is undoubtedly what he wished to show by subtle significance; not only writing concerning these later than concerning those, but also giving the reason why he did it. Which if he had kept silent, this deed of his would perhaps be defended otherwise by others. But in that very reason which he gave, he neither left anything for others to suspect at their will, and enough proved that he set men before the institutes of men, not the nature of men before the nature of the gods. Thus he confessed that he wrote the books of divine things, not concerning the truth which pertains to nature, but concerning the falsity which pertains to error. Which he placed more openly elsewhere, as I commemorated in the fourth book (Chapter 31, n. 1), that he would have written according to the formula of nature, if he himself were founding a new city;

but because he had already found an old one, he could not but follow its custom.

CHAPTER V.

Of the three kinds of theology according to Varro, namely one fabulous, another natural, and the third civil.

1. Then what is that, that he says there are three kinds of theology, that is, of the reason which is explained concerning the gods, and that one of them is called mythicon, another physicon, the third civil? If Latin usage admitted, we would call the genus which he placed first fabulare; but let us say fabulous: for mythicon was so called from fables (fabulae); since mythos in Greek is called fable. But that the second should be called natural, the custom of speech already admits. The third also he himself enunciated in Latin, which is called civil. Then he says: They call mythicon that which the poets chiefly use; physicon, which the philosophers; civil, which the peoples. The first, he says, which I said, in it are many things feigned against the dignity and nature of the immortals. For in this it is, that one god is born from the head, another from the thigh, another from drops of blood: in this, that the gods have stolen, that they have committed adultery, that they have served man: finally in this all things are attributed to the gods, which can fall not only upon man, but even upon the most contemptible man. Here certainly where he was able, where he dared, where he thought it unpunished, he expressed without the mist of

any ambiguity how great injury was done to the nature of the gods by most lying fables. For he was speaking, not of natural theology, nor of civil, but of fabulous, which he thought was freely to be blamed by him.

2. Let us see what he says of the second. The second kind is, he says, that which I have shown, concerning which the philosophers have left many books: in which is, who the gods are, where, of what kind, what quality; whether the gods have been from a certain time, or from eternity; whether they are from fire, as Heraclitus believes; or from numbers, as Pythagoras; or from atoms, as Epicurus says. Thus other things, which ears can more easily bear within the walls in the school, than without in the forum. He blamed nothing in this kind, which they call physicon, and pertains to philosophers: only that he commemorated their controversies among themselves, through which a multitude of dissenting sects was made. He removed this kind, however, from the forum, that is, from the peoples; but closed it within schools and walls: but that first most lying and most foul one he did not remove from the cities. O religious popular ears, and among these even Roman ones! What the philosophers dispute concerning the immortal gods, they cannot bear: but what the poets sing, and the actors act, because they are feigned against the dignity and nature of the immortals, because they can fall not only upon man, but even upon the most contemptible man, they not only bear, but even willingly hear. Nor that only, but

they decree that these things also please the gods themselves, and that through these they are to be appeased.

3. Some one may say, Let us distinguish these two kinds, the mythic and the physic, that is, the fabulous and the natural, from this civil one, of which we are now treating; whence also he himself distinguished them: and now let us see how he explains the civil itself. I see indeed, why the fabulous ought to be distinguished: because it is false, because it is foul, because it is unworthy. But to wish to distinguish the natural from the civil, what else is it, than to confess that the civil itself is faulty? For if that is natural, what has it of blame, that it should be excluded? but if this which is called civil is not natural, what has it of merit, that it should be admitted? This namely is the cause, why he wrote first concerning human things, and afterwards concerning divine things; since in divine things he followed not nature, but the institutes of men. Let us look surely also at the civil theology. The third kind is, he says, that which the citizens in the cities, especially the priests, ought to know and to administer. In which is, which gods it is fit that each one should worship publicly, and what rites and sacrifices he should perform. Let us attend yet to what follows. The first theology, he says, is chiefly accommodated to the theatre, the second to the world, the third to the city. Who does not see to which he gave the palm? Surely to the second, which he said above was that of the philosophers. For he testifies that this pertains to the world,

than which they think nothing is more excellent in things. But these two theologies, the first and the third, namely of the theatre and of the city, did he distinguish them, or join them? For we see that not immediately what is of the city, can also pertain to the world; although we see that cities are in the world: for it can happen that in the city, according to false opinions, those things are worshipped and those things are believed, the nature of which is nowhere in the world or outside the world: but where is the theatre, except in the city? who instituted the theatre, except the state? for what did it institute it, except for the scenic games? where are the scenic games, except in divine things, concerning which these books are written with such great skill?

CHAPTER VI.

Of mythic theology, that is fabulous, and of civil, against Varro.

1. O Marcus Varro, since you are of all men most acute and without any doubt most learned, but yet a man, not God, nor borne up by the Spirit of God to the truth and liberty of seeing and announcing divine things, you discern indeed how divine things are to be separated from human trifles and lies: but you fear to offend the most vicious opinions and customs of the peoples in public superstitions, which you yourself feel to be abhorrent from the nature of the gods, or even such as the infirmity of the human mind suspects in the elements of this world, both

when you consider them everywhere, and all your literature rings around. What does human genius, although most excellent, do here? what does human doctrine, although manifold and huge, support you in these straits? You desire to worship natural gods, you are compelled to worship civil ones: you have found others fabulous, against whom you may more freely vomit what you feel, whence also you may besprinkle these civil ones, whether you will or no. For you say that the fabulous are accommodated to the theatre, the natural to the world, the civil to the city: since the world is a divine work, but cities and theatres are works of men; nor are other gods laughed at in the theatres, than those who are adored in the temples; nor do you exhibit games to others, than to those to whom you immolate victims. How much more freely and subtly would you divide those things, saying that some gods are natural, others instituted by men; but concerning those instituted, that the letters of the poets have one thing, those of the priests another; yet that both are so friendly to each other by a consortship of falsehood, that both are pleasing to the demons, to whom the doctrine of truth is inimical?

2. Having set aside, therefore, for a little while the theology which they call natural, concerning which we must discourse afterwards, is it pleasing at length that eternal life be sought or hoped for from the poetic, theatrical, ludicrous, scenic gods? Far be it: nay, let the true God avert such great and sacrilegious madness. What, is eternal life to be asked from those gods, whom these

things please, and whom these things placate, since their crimes are frequent there? No one, as I think, is insane to such a great precipice of most furious impiety. Neither by fabulous, therefore, nor by civil theology does any one obtain eternal life. For the one sows by feigning foul things concerning the gods, the other reaps by favoring them: the one scatures lies, the other gathers them: the one pursues divine things with false crimes, the other embraces the games of those crimes in divine things: the one resounds the unspeakable figments of men in songs concerning the gods, the other consecrates them in the festivities of the gods themselves: the one sings the deeds and flagitious acts of the deities, the other loves them: the one produces, or feigns; but the other either attests them if true, or is delighted even if false. Both are foul, and both are damnable: but that which is theatrical, professes public foulness; that which is urban, is adorned with its foulness. Will eternal life be hoped for from hence, whence this brief and temporal life is polluted? Or indeed does a consortship of nefarious men pollute life, if they insert themselves into our affections and assents, and does not the society of demons, who are worshipped by their own crimes, pollute life? If by true crimes, how evil they are! if by false ones, how evilly they are worshipped!

3. When we say these things, it can perhaps seem to some one too ignorant of these things, that those things alone are celebrated as unworthy of the divine majesty, and ridiculous, and

detestable, which are sung in poetic songs, and are frequently acted in scenic games; but that those rites, which not the actors, but the priests perform, are purged from and alien to all disgrace. If this were so, no one would ever think that theatrical foulnesses were to be celebrated in their honor, nor would the gods themselves ever command them to be exhibited to themselves. But therefore it is not at all shaming to carry on such things in the theatres for the service of the gods, because similar things are carried on in the temples. Finally, when the mentioned author endeavored to distinguish civil theology from the fabulous and the natural, as a certain third kind of its own, he wished it to be understood rather as tempered from both, than as separated from both. For he says, that those things which the poets write, are less than what the peoples ought to follow; but those which the philosophers write, are more than it is expedient for the vulgar to scrutinize. "Which so abhor," he says, "that yet not a few things are assumed from both kinds for civil reasons. Wherefore what things are common with the poets, we shall write together with the civil ones: from which we ought to have a greater society with the philosophers, than with the poets." Not no society, therefore, with the poets. And yet in another place he says that concerning the generations of the gods the peoples have been more inclined to the poets than to the physics (natural philosophers). For here he said what ought to be done; there, what is done. He said that the physics wrote for the sake of utility;

the poets, for the sake of delight. And through this those things which being written by the poets the peoples ought not to follow, are the crimes of the gods: which yet delight both the peoples and the gods. For for the sake of delight, as he says, the poets write, not of utility: yet they write those things, which the gods expect, and the peoples exhibit.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the similitude and concord of fabulous and civil theology.

1. Fabulous, theatrical, scenic theology, full of indignity and foulness, is therefore recalled to civil theology: and this whole thing, which is judged deservedly to be blamed and rejected, is a part of this which is thought to be worshipped and observed; not indeed an incongruous part, as I have instituted to show, and which, being alien from the whole body, is importunely connected and suspended to it, but altogether consonant, and most conveniently coupled as a member of the same body. For what else do those images, forms, ages, sexes, habits of the gods show? do the poets have a bearded Jupiter, an unbearded Mercury, and the pontiffs not have them? did the mimes make enormous shameful parts for Priapus, and not also the priests? or does he stand otherwise to be adored in sacred places, than he proceeds to be laughed at in the theatres? Is the old Saturn, the youth Apollo, so the persons of actors, as they are not the statues of the shrines? why are Forculus, who is set over the doors, and

Limentinus, who is set over the threshold, male gods, and among these is Cardea a female, who keeps the hinge? Are not those things found in the books of divine things, which grave poets thought unworthy of their songs? does the theatrical Diana carry arms, and the urban one is simply a virgin? is the scenic Apollo a citharist, and the Delphic one free from this art? But these things are more honest in comparison of more foul things. What did they think concerning Jupiter himself, who placed his nurse in the Capitol? Did they not attest to Euhemerus, who wrote that all such gods were not of fabulous garrulity, but of historical diligence, were men and mortals? They also who constituted the banquetting gods, the parasites of Jupiter, at his table, what else did they wish than that the rites be mimic? For if a mime had said that the parasites of Jupiter were admitted to his banquet, he would surely seem to have sought a laugh. Varro said it; not when he was mocking the gods, but when he was commending them, he said this: the books of divine, not human things, testify that he wrote this; nor where he was exposing scenic games, but where he was opening Capitoline laws. Finally he is conquered by such things, and confesses, as they made the gods in human form, so they believed them to be delighted with human pleasures.

2. For neither were the malignant spirits wanting to their own business, that they might confirm these noxious opinions by the ludification of human minds. Whence also is that, that

the idle and holiday-keeping sexton of Hercules played with dice with himself, alternating with each hand, in one constituting Hercules, in the other himself; under this condition, that, if he himself should win, he should prepare a supper for himself from the money of the temple, and should hire a mistress; but if the victory should be of Hercules, he should exhibit this same thing from his own money for the pleasure of Hercules: then when he had been conquered by himself as if by Hercules, he gave the due supper and a most noble harlot Larentina to the god Hercules. but she when she had slept in the temple, saw Hercules in her dreams being mixed with her, and saying to her, that departing thence to whatever youth she should first meet, she would find a reward with him, which she ought to believe was paid to her by Hercules. And thus when the first youth the most wealthy Tarutius had occurred to her going away, and had had her for a longer time beloved with him, he died having left her as heir. She having obtained very ample money, lest she should seem ungrateful to the divine reward, wrote also the Roman people herself as heir, because she thought it was most accepted by the deities; and she not appearing, the testament was found: for which merits they say that she also merited divine honors.

3. If the poets should feign these things, if the mimes should act them, they would be said without doubt to pertain to fabulous theology, and would be judged to be separated from the dignity of civil theology. But when these disgraces, not

of poets, but of peoples; not of mimes, but of sacred things; not of theatres, but of temples; that is, not of fabulous, but of civil theology, are produced by so great an author; not in vain do the actors feign the foulness of the gods, which is so great, by ludicrous arts, but plainly in vain do the priests endeavor to feign the honesty of the gods, which is none, as if by sacred rites. There are sacred things of Juno, and these are celebrated in her beloved island Samos, where she was given in marriage to Jupiter. There are sacred things of Ceres, where Proserpine being ravished by Pluto is sought. There are sacred things of Venus, where her beloved Adonis, a most beautiful youth extinct by the tusk of a boar, is bewailed. There are sacred things of the Mother of the gods, where the beautiful youth Atys, beloved by her and cut off by feminine zeal, is deplored also with the unhappiness of the cut off men, whom they call Galli. Since these things are more deformed than all scenic filthiness, what is it that they strive to distinguish as it were the fabulous figments of the poets concerning the gods, pertaining namely to the theatre, from civil theology, which they wish to pertain to the city, as if unworthy and foul things from honest and worthy ones? Therefore it is rather whence thanks ought to be owed to the actors, who spared the eyes of men, nor bared all those things to spectacles, which are hidden by the walls of the sacred edifices. What is to be thought of good concerning their sacred things, which are covered with darkness, since those things are so detestable, which are brought

forth into light? And certainly what they carry on in secret through the cut off and soft ones, let them see themselves: yet they were by no means able to hide those same men unhappily and foully enervated and corrupted. Let them persuade whom they can, that they carry on something holy through such men; whom they cannot deny to be numbered and to converse among their own holy things. We do not know what they carry on, but we know through what kind of persons they carry on. For we know what things are carried on on the stage, where never, even in the chorus of harlots, did a cut off or soft one enter: and yet even they themselves carry on foul and infamous things; for neither ought they to have been carried on by honest ones. What are therefore those sacred things, for the carrying on of which holiness chose such as even the thymelic obscenity does not admit into itself?

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the interpretations of natural reasons, which the pagan doctors endeavor to show for their gods.

1. But for those things have certain physiological, as they say, that is, of natural reasons, interpretations. As if indeed we sought physiology in this disputation, and not theology; that is, the reason, not of nature, but of God. For although he who is the true God, is God not by opinion, but by nature: yet not every nature is god; because there is certainly a nature of man, and of beast, and of tree, and of stone, of which none is God.

But if of this interpretation, when it is treated concerning the sacred things of the Mother of the gods, the head is surely that the mother of the gods is the earth, what do we seek further, why do we scrutinize the rest? What more evidently supports those, who say, that all these gods were men? For as they are earth-born, so the earth is their mother. But in true theology the earth is the work of God, not the mother. Yet in whatever way her sacred things are interpreted, and referred to the nature of things; for men to suffer womanish things, is not according to nature, but against nature. This disease, this crime, this disgrace has a profession among those sacred things, which among the vicious manners of men scarcely has a confession among tortures. Then if these sacred things, which are convinced to be more foul than scenic foulnesses, are excused and purged from hence, because they have their own interpretations, by which they may be shown to signify the nature of things; why are not the poetic things also similarly excused and purged? For many have also interpreted them after the same manner: even so far that what is said by them as most monstrous and unspeakable, that Saturn devoured his own sons, some so interpret, that the length of time, which is signified by the name of Saturn, consumes whatever it generates: or, as the same Varro opines, that Saturn pertains to seeds, which fall back again into the earth, from which they arise. And others in another way, and similarly the rest.

And yet fabulous theology is said, and with all these kind of its own interpretations it is blamed, rejected, disapproved; nor only from the natural, which is of the philosophers, but even from this civil one, of which we treat, which is asserted to pertain to cities and peoples, in that it has feigned unworthy things concerning the gods, it is discerned as deservedly to be repudiated: namely by this counsel, that since the most acute and most learned men, by whom these things were written, understood both were to be disapproved, namely both that fabulous one and this civil one, but they dared to disapprove the former, they dared not the latter; they proposed the former as to be blamed, they exposed the latter as to be compared as similar to it; not that this should be chosen to be held before that, but that it should be understood as to be rejected with that; and thus without danger of those who feared to blame civil theology, both being contemned, that which they call natural, might find a place among better minds. For both the civil and the fabulous are both fabulous and both civil: he will find both fabulous who will prudently inspect the vanities and obscenities of both; both civil who will advert to the scenic games pertaining to the fabulous in the festivities of the civil gods and in the divine things of the cities. How therefore is the power of giving eternal life attributed to any of these gods, whom their own images and sacred things convince, the fabulous gods being most openly reprobated, to be most similar in forms, ages, sex, habit, marriages, generations, rites, in

all which they are either understood to have been men, and sacred and solemn things constituted for them according to the life or death of each, the demons insinuating and confirming this error, or certainly from whatever occasion the most unclean spirits crept in for the sake of deceiving human minds?

CHAPTER IX.

Of the offices of the individual gods.

1. What of the offices of the deities themselves so vilely and minutely divided, on account of which they say it is necessary to supplicate them for the proper gift of each, concerning which we have already said many things, though not indeed all, do they not resonate with mimic scurrility, than with divine dignity? If any one should employ two nurses for an infant, of whom one should give nothing but food, the other nothing but drink, as these have employed for this two goddesses, Educa and Potina; surely he would seem to be unwise, and to carry on something similar to a mime in his own house. They wish Liber to be called from deliverance (liberamento), because males in copulating are delivered by his benefit from the emitted seeds: that Libera does this same thing in females, whom also they think is Venus, because they assert that they also emit seeds; and for this cause the same male part of the body is placed for Liber in the temple, the female part for Libera. To these they add women attributed to Liber, and wine on account of inciting

lust. Thus the Bacchanalia were celebrated with the highest madness. Where Varro himself confesses that such things could not be done by the Bacchants, unless the mind was moved. Yet these things afterwards displeased the sounder senate, and it ordered them to be removed. At least here at length they perhaps felt what unclean spirits can do in the minds of men, while they are held for gods. These things certainly would not be done in the theatres. For they play there, they do not rage: although to have gods, who are even delighted with such games, is similar to madness.

But of what kind is that, that since he discerns the religious from the superstitious by that distinction, that he says the gods are feared by the superstitious, but by the religious only revered as parents, not feared as enemies; and says that all are so good, that it is easier for them to spare the hurtful, than to harm any innocent person: yet he commemorates that for a woman who has brought forth, after the birth three guardian gods are employed, lest the god Silvanus should enter through the night and vex her; and for the sake of signifying those guardians, that three men go around the thresholds of the house by night, and first strike the threshold with an axe, afterwards with a pestle, thirdly sweep it with brooms, that these signs of culture being given, the god Silvanus may be prohibited from entering; because neither are trees cut and pruned without iron, nor is corn made without a pestle, nor are the fruits heaped together without brooms; but from these three things three gods are named, Intercidona

from the intercision of the axe, Pilumnum from the pestle, Deverra from the brooms, by which guardian gods the woman who has brought forth is preserved against the force of the god Silvanus? Thus against the savageness of a hurtful god the guardianship of the good ones would not avail, unless there were more against one, and they should resist him, as rough, horrible, uncultivated, as being silvan, by signs of culture as if contrary ones. Is that the innocence of the gods, that the concord? are these the salutary deities of the cities, more to be laughed at than the mockeries of the theatres?

3. When male and female are joined, the god Jugatinus is employed: let this be bearable. But she who marries must be led home, and the god Domiducus is also employed; that she may be in the house, the god Domitius is employed; that she may remain with her husband, the goddess Manturna is added. What further is sought? Let human modesty be spared: let the concupiscence of flesh and blood perform the rest, the secret of shame being provided for. Why is the bedchamber filled with a crowd of deities, when even the paranymphs depart thence? And for this it is filled, not that the thought of their presence should be a greater care for chastity, but that for the females, weak in sex, fearful by novelty, their virginity should be taken away without any difficulty by those cooperating: for the goddess Virginiensis is present, and the god father Subigus, and the goddess mother Prema, and the goddess Pertunda, and Venus, and Priapus. What is this? If

it was altogether necessary that the man laboring in that work should be helped by the gods, would not some one god, or some one goddess, suffice? Would not Venus alone be too little, who for this cause also is said to be named, because without her force a female does not cease to be a virgin? If there is any brow in men, which is not in the deities, do they not, when married people believe so many gods of each sex to be present, and instant upon this work, are they not so affected with shame, that both he is less moved, and she more reluctant? And certainly if the goddess Virginiensis is present, that the girdle may be loosed for the virgin; if the god Subigus is present, that she may be subjected to the man; if the goddess Prema is present, that being subjected, lest she should move herself, she may be pressed down; what does the goddess Pertunda do there? Let her blush, let her go out: let the husband also do something. It is very dishonest, that what she is called, any one should fill except he. But perhaps therefore it is tolerated, because she is said to be a goddess, not a god. For if he were believed to be a male, and were called Pertundus, the husband would rather ask help against him for the chastity of his wife, than a woman who has brought forth against Silvanus. But why should I say this, when Priapus is there also, an excessive male, upon whose most immense and most foul phallus the new bride was commanded to sit, by the most honest and most religious custom of matrons?

4. Let them go still, and let them endeavor to discern by what subtlety they can civil theol-

ogy from fabulous theology, cities from theatres, temples from stages, the sacred things of the pontiffs from the songs of the poets, as honest things from foul ones, true from fallacious ones, grave from light ones, serious from ludicrous ones, things to be sought from those to be rejected. We understand what they do: they knew that that theatrical and fabulous theology depends from this civil one, and results from it as from a mirror concerning the songs of the poets; and therefore this being exposed, which they dare not damn, they more freely argue and reprehend that image of it, so that they who acknowledge what they wish, may detest even this face itself, of which that is the image; which yet the gods themselves beholding themselves as if in the same mirror so love, that they are better seen who and what kind they are in both. Whence also they compelled their worshippers by terrible commands, that they should dedicate to them the uncleanness of fabulous theology, should place it in their solemnities, should have it in divine things; and thus they more manifestly taught that they themselves are most unclean spirits, and made that theatrical one, cast off and reprobated, a member and part of this urban theology as if elected and approved; so that since the whole is foul and fallacious, and contains in itself counterfeit gods, one part of it is in the letters of the priests, the other in the songs of the poets. Whether it has also other parts, is another question: now on account of the division of Varro, I think it has been sufficiently shown that both

the urban and the theatrical theology pertain to one civil one. Whence, because both are of similar foulness, absurdity, indignity, falsehood, far be it from religious men that eternal life should be hoped for either from this or from that.

5. Finally also Varro himself began to commemorate and enumerate the gods from the conception of man, the number of whom he began from Janus; and he led that series through even to the death of a decrepit man, and closed the gods pertaining to man himself at the goddess Naenia, who is sung in the funerals of old men: then he began to show other gods, who should pertain, not to man himself, but to those things which are of man, such as is food, clothing, and whatever other things are necessary to this life; showing in all what is the office of each; and for the sake of what one ought to supplicate each: in which universal diligence he demonstrated or named no gods, from whom eternal life is to be asked, for the sake of which one alone we properly are Christians. Who therefore should be so slow, as not to understand that this man, by so diligently exposing and opening civil theology, and demonstrating it to be similar to that fabulous, unworthy and reproachful one, and teaching clearly enough that fabulous one itself to be a part of this, was laboring for a place in the minds of men for nothing else than that natural one, which he says pertains to the philosophers, by that subtlety, that he should reprehend the fabulous, but should not indeed dare to reprehend the civil, but by producing it should show it to be

reprehensible, and thus both being reprobated by the judgment of those rightly understanding, the natural one alone should remain to be chosen? Concerning which we must discourse more diligently in its own place by the help of the true God.

CHAPTER X.

Of the liberty of Seneca, who more vehemently reprehended civil theology, than Varro fabulous.

1. Liberty indeed, which was wanting to this man, lest he should dare to reprehend this urban theology, most similar to the theatrical one, as openly as that one, was not indeed altogether, but from some part not wanting to Annaeus Seneca, whom we find by some indications to have flourished in the times of our Apostles. For it was present to him writing, it was wanting to him living. For in that book which he composed against superstitions, he himself reprehended this civil and urban theology much more copiously and vehemently, than Varro the theatrical and fabulous. For when he was treating of images, "They dedicate," he says, "sacred, immortal, inviolable things in the most vile and immobile matter, they put upon them the habits of men and wild beasts and fishes, and some indeed of mixed sex with diverse bodies: they call them deities, which if having received a spirit they should suddenly occur, they would be held for monsters." Then a little after, when preaching natural theology, he had digested the sentences of certain philosophers, he opposed a question to

himself, and says: "In this place some one says, Shall I believe that heaven and earth are gods, and some above the moon, others below? Shall I bear either Plato, or the Peripatetic Strato, of whom one made a god without a body, the other without a mind?" And responding to this, "What therefore at length," he says, "do the dreams of T. Tatius, or of Romulus, or of Tullus Hostilius seem to you more true? Tatius dedicated the goddess Cloacina, Romulus Picus and Tiberinus, Hostilius Fear and Pallor, the most foul affections of men, of which one is the motion of a terrified mind, the other of the body, nor indeed a disease, but a color." Will you rather believe these deities, and receive them into heaven?" But concerning the rites themselves cruelly foul how freely he wrote! "That one," he says, "amputates his own male parts, that one cuts his arms. Where do they fear angry gods, who thus merit propitious ones? But the gods ought to be worshipped in no kind, if they also want this. So great is the madness of a perturbed mind and driven from its own seats; that the gods are thus placated, in the same way as not even the most foul men and of a cruelty delivered into fables rage. Tyrants have lacerated the members of some, they have commanded no one to lacerate his own. For the pleasure of royal lust some have been castrated: but no one, that he might not be a man, laid hands upon himself, the master commanding. They slaughter themselves in the temples, they supplicate with their own wounds and blood. If it were vacant to any one to behold what things they do, and what things

they suffer, he would find them so indecorous to honest ones, so unworthy of free ones, so dissimilar to sane ones, that no one would have been about to doubt that they were mad, if they were mad with fewer: now the crowd of those being insane is the patronage of sanity."

2. Now those things which he commemorates to be accustomed to be done in the Capitol itself, and coargues altogether intrepidly, who would believe they were done unless by those mocking or raging? For when he had mocked that in the Egyptian sacred things Osiris is bewailed as lost, but soon being found is of great joy, when his loss and finding is feigned, yet that grief and joy is truly expressed by those, who lost nothing and found nothing, "To this madness however," he says "there is a certain time. It is tolerable to be insane once in a year. Come to the Capitol, it will shame of published madness, what a vain rage attributed to itself of office. One subjects names to the god, another announces the hours to Jupiter; another is a lictor, another an anointer, who by a vain motion of the arms imitates an anointer. There are those who dispose the hair for Juno and Minerva, standing far from the temple, not only from the image, they move their fingers in the manner of those adorning. There are those who hold a mirror: there are those who call the gods to their bail-bonds: there are those who offer libels, and teach them their cause. A learned arch-mime, an old man now decrepit, daily acted a mime in the Capitol, as if the gods willingly beheld him, whom those men had ceased to. Every

kind of artisans there sits idle for the immortal gods." And a little after: "These however," he says, "although they promise a superfluous use, not a foul nor an infamous one to the god. There sit certain ones in the Capitol, who think themselves beloved by Jupiter: nor indeed are they terrified by the respect of Juno, if you will believe the poets, the most irascible."

3. This liberty Varro did not have: he only dared to confess concerning the fabulous theology; but concerning the civil one, which this man [Seneca] cast down, he was silent. But if we attend to the truth, those things committed more grievous faults to which Seneca ascribes these things, than those to which those theatrical games feign foulness for a god. For in those, that is, in the fabulous ones, the poets feign the foul things of the deities: but in these civil ones, they themselves exhibit more foul things to the deities. The poets through a game feign Jupiter an adulterer: but those who worship him exhibit him as an adulterer in the Capitol itself, in the scenic games of the Capitol itself. And Seneca himself says: "There sit certain ones in the Capitol, who think themselves beloved by Jupiter: nor indeed are they terrified by the respect of Juno." In the scenes are fabulous things, in the Capitol are civil things: in the scenes are things feigned, in the Capitol are things done. Why therefore is Jupiter more an adulterer there, than in the Capitol where he is held for an adulterer by those who worship him? And in the sacred things of Egypt where not the poets, but the worshippers them-

selves feign the loss and the finding of Osiris, there are not games, but sacred rites. But there, he says, they are not foul things, but superfluous. But what, I pray you, is superfluous in a divine matter, unless what is most empty and most foolish, that is, most vain? But what else is vanity, unless what is against the truth? But Seneca adds: "These however, although they promise a superfluous use, not a foul nor an infamous one to the god."

CHAPTER XI.

What Seneca thought concerning the Jews.

Here among other superstitions of civil theology he reprehended also the sacraments of the Jews, and especially the sabbaths; affirming that they act uselessly, because through those single seven days interposed, they lose almost a seventh part of their age by being idle, and are harmed by not doing many urgent things in time. However, the Christians, already then most inimical to the Jews, he dared to commemorate in neither part, lest either he should praise against the ancient custom of his country, or reprehend against perhaps his own will. Concerning those Jews indeed when he was speaking, he says: "When meanwhile the custom of a most wicked nation has so far prevailed, that it is now received through all lands: the conquered gave laws to the conquerors." He wondered saying these things, and ignorant of what was being acted divinely, he subjected plainly a sentence, by which he might

signify what he thought concerning the reason of their sacraments. For he says: "They however knew the causes of their rite; the greater part of the people does, what it is ignorant of why it does." But concerning the sacraments of the Jews, either why, or how far they were instituted by divine authority, and afterwards from the people of God, to whom the mystery of eternal life has been revealed, in the time in which it behooved they were taken away by the same authority, we have said elsewhere, especially when we acted against the Manichaeans, and it is to be said in a more opportune place in this work.

CHAPTER XII.

That the vanity of the Gentile gods being detected, it cannot be doubted that they can afford eternal life to no one, who do not even aid that temporal life.

Now on account of the three theologies, which the Greeks call *mythice*, *physice*, *politice*, but in Latin can be called, fabulous, natural, civil; that eternal life is to be hoped for neither from the fabulous, which even the worshippers themselves of many and false gods most freely reprehended, nor from the civil, of which that part is convinced to be, and this is found most similar to it or even worse; if to anyone those things are not enough which have been said in this volume, let him join also those which were disputed most fully in the superior books, and especially in the fourth concerning God the giver of happiness. For to what one thing unless to

happiness on account of eternal life would men have to be consecrated, if happiness were a goddess? But because she is not a goddess, but a gift of God; to what God unless to the giver of happiness are we to be consecrated, who love eternal life with pious charity, where there is true and full happiness? But that any of these gods, who are worshipped with such great foulness, and unless they are thus worshipped, are much more foully angry, and on this account confess themselves most unclean spirits, is the giver of happiness, I think from these things which have been said, no one ought to doubt. Furthermore, how can he give eternal life, who does not give happiness? for we call that eternal life, where there is happiness without end. For if the soul lives in eternal pains, by which also the unclean spirits themselves will be tortured, that is rather an eternal death, than life. For there is no greater and worse death, than where death does not die. But because the nature of the soul, through that which it was created immortal, cannot be without some kind of life, its highest death is alienation from the life of God in the eternity of punishment. Therefore only He gives eternal life, that is happy without any end, who gives true happiness. Which since those, whom this civil theology worships, are convicted not to be able to give; not only on account of these temporal and earthly things, which we showed in the superior five books, but much more on account of eternal life, which is about to be after death, which we have acted in this one volume even with those [previous books] cooperating,

they are not to be worshipped. But since the force of inveterate custom has roots too deep, if to anyone I seem to have disputed too little concerning this civil theology to be rejected and avoided, let him intend his mind into another volume, which, God helping, is to be joined to this one.

BOOK SEVENTH.

Concerning the select gods of civil theology, Janus, Jupiter, Saturn, and the rest, that neither by their worship is reached the happiness of eternal life.

PREFACE.

Me, more diligently endeavoring to pluck up and extirpate the depraved and ancient opinions, inimical to the truth of piety, which the long-lasting error of the human race has fixed more deeply and tenaciously in dark minds, and for my small measure cooperating in His aid of that grace, who as the true God can do this, the quicker and better wits, for whom the superior books suffice enough and more for this matter, ought to bear patiently and equanimously; and on account of others not to think superfluous, what they now feel not necessary for themselves. A much great matter is being acted, when the true and truly holy divinity, although from it also necessary subsidies are afforded to us for this fragility which we now bear, yet is preached to be sought and worshipped not on account of the transitory vapor of mortal life, but on account of the blessed life, which is only eternal.

CHAPTER FIRST.

Whether, since it has been established that divinity is not in civil theology, it is to be believed that it can be found in the select gods.

This divinity, or, as I might say, deity; for now our people are not reluctant to use also this word, that they may translate more expressively from the Greek that which those call *theoteta*: this divinity therefore or deity not to be in that theology, which they call civil, which was explained by Marcus Varro in sixteen volumes, that is, that the happiness of eternal life is not reached by the worship of such gods, as have been instituted by the cities and in what manner they are to be worshipped, he whom the sixth book, which we recently finished, has not yet persuaded, when he will have read this one perhaps, will not have what he may further desire for expediting this question. For it can be that at least the select and principal gods, whom Varro comprised in the last volume, concerning whom we have said little, someone may think are to be worshipped on account of the blessed life, which is only eternal. In which matter I do not say what Tertullian said perhaps more facetiously than truly: *If gods are selected like bulbs, certainly the rest are judged reprobate*. I do not say this: for I see even from the select some are selected for something greater and more excellent; as in military service, when recruits have been chosen, from these also some are chosen for some greater work of arms. And when they are chosen in the Church who

may become those set over, certainly the rest are not reprobated, since all good faithful ones are deservedly called elect. Corner-stones are chosen in a building, the rest not being reprobated, which are deputed to other parts of the structure. Grapes are chosen for eating, nor are the others reprobated, which we leave for drinking. There is no need to run through many things, since the matter is in the open. Wherefore not from this, that certain gods are select out of many, either he who wrote, or their worshippers, or the gods themselves are to be vituperated: but rather it is to be adverted who these are, and for what matter they seem to be select.

CHAPTER II.

Who the select gods are, and whether they are held excepted from the offices of the viler gods.

These select gods indeed Varro commends by the contexture of one book, Janus, Jupiter, Saturn, Genius, Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Vulcan, Neptune, Sol, Orcus, Liber the father, Tellus, Ceres, Juno, Luna, Diana, Minerva, Venus, Vesta: in all which almost twenty, twelve are males, eight are females. Are these deities called select on account of greater administrations in the world, or because they became more known to the peoples, and a greater worship was exhibited to them? If on this account, because greater works are administered by them in the world, we ought not to have found them among that quasi plebeian multitude of deities deputed to

minute little works. For Janus himself first, when a child-bearing is conceived, whence all those works take their beginning, distributed minutely to minute deities, opens the access for receiving the seed: there is also Saturn on account of the seed itself: there is Liber, who liberates the male the seed being poured out: there is Libera, whom they also want to be Venus, who may confer this same benefit on the female, that she also the seed being emitted may be liberated. All these are from those who are called select. But there is also the goddess Mena, who is set over the menstrual flows, although the daughter of Jupiter, yet ignoble. And this province of the menstrual flows the same author assigns to Juno herself in the book of the select gods, who in the select gods is also queen: and here as Juno Lucina with the same Mena, her step-daughter, she is set over the same blood. There are also two, I know not who most obscure, Vitumnus and Sentinus; of whom one bestows life, the other senses on the child-bearing. And doubtless they afford much more, although they are most ignoble, than all those chiefs and select ones. For surely without life and sense, what is that whole thing which is carried in the womanly womb, unless I know not what most abject to be compared to slime and dust?

CHAPTER III.

How no reason can be shown concerning the selection of certain gods, since a more excellent administration is deputed to many inferior ones.

1. What cause therefore compelled so many select gods to these minimal works, where they are surpassed in the partition of this munificence by Vitumnus and Sentinus, whom an obscure fame hides? For the select Janus affords the access and as it were the door to the seed; the select Saturn affords the seed itself; the select Liber affords the emission of the same seed to the males; Libera, who is Ceres or Venus, affords this same to the females; the select Juno, and she not alone, but with Mena, the daughter of Jupiter, affords the menstrual flows for the increment of that which has been conceived: and the obscure and ignoble Vitumnus affords life; the obscure and ignoble Sentinus affords sense: which two things are so much more excellent than those things, as also they themselves are surpassed by intellect and reason. For as those things which ratiocinate and understand, are surely better than these which live and feel without intellect and reason, as cattle: so also those things which are endowed with life and sense, are deservedly preferred to these which neither live nor feel. Among the select gods therefore Vitumnus the vivifier and Sentinus the sensificator ought rather to have been held, than Janus the admitter of the seed and Saturn the giver or sower of the seed, and Liber and Libera the movers or emitters of seeds; which seeds it is unworthy to think of, unless they shall have come to life and sense. Which select gifts are not given by select gods, but by certain ones unknown and neglected in comparison of the dignity of these [select ones]. But if it

is responded, that Janus has the power of all beginnings, and therefore to him also that which is opened for conception, not unworthily is attributed; and Saturn of all seeds, and therefore the semination also of man cannot be separated from his operation; Liber and Libera of all seeds to be emitted, and therefore they also are set over these things, which pertain to substituting men; Juno of all things to be purged and brought forth, and therefore she is not wanting to the purgations of women and the births of men: let them seek what they may respond concerning Vitumnus and Sentinus, whether they also wish them to have the power of all things which live and feel. Which if they concede, let them attend how much more sublimely they are about to place them. For to be born from seeds is in the earth and from the earth; but to live and to feel even the sidereal gods they think [to do]. But if they say that these things only were attributed to Vitumnus and Sentinus, which live in the flesh and are aided by senses; why does not that god, who makes all things to live and to feel, also afford life and sense to the flesh, attributing this gift also to births by a universal work? And what need is there for Vitumnus and Sentinus? But if by him who is set over life and senses universally, these carnal things as it were extreme and lowest were committed to these as it were servants; are those select ones so destitute of a family, that they did not find to whom they also might commit these things, but with all their nobility, by which they seemed to be selected, they were compelled to work with

the ignoble? Juno the select and queen and sister and spouse of Jupiter, she however is Iterduca to boys, and does work with the most ignoble goddesses Abeona and Adeona. They placed there also the goddess Mind, who may make a good mind for boys, and she is not placed among the select, as if anything greater could be afforded to man: but Juno is placed, because she is Iterduca and Domiduca, as if it should profit anything to take a journey and to be led home, if the mind is not good: of which gift those selectors placed the goddess minutely among the select deities. Which surely ought even to have been preferred to Minerva, to whom they attributed the memory of boys through these minute works. For who would doubt that it is much better to have a good mind, than a memory howsoever immense? For no one is bad, who has a good mind: but certain ones are most bad with a wonderful memory, so much worse as they can less forget what they think badly. And yet Minerva is among the select gods; but the goddess Mind a vile crowd has covered. What shall I say of Virtue? what of Happiness? concerning whom we have already said many things in the fourth book: whom since they held as goddesses, they wished to give them no place among the select gods, where they gave it to Mars and Orcus, one the effector of deaths, the other the receptor.

2. Since therefore in these minute works, which are distributed minutely to more gods, we see even the select themselves work equally as a senate with the plebeians; and we find that

by certain gods, who were by no means thought to be selected, much greater and better things are administered, than by those who are called select: it remains to be arbitrated, that not on account of more excellent administrations in the world, but because it happened to them that they became more known to the peoples, they were named select and principal. Whence Varro himself also says, that to certain gods fathers and goddesses mothers, just as to men, ignobility had happened. If therefore Happiness on this account perhaps ought not to have been among the select gods, because they arrived at that nobility not by merit, but by chance; at least Fortune would be placed among them, or rather before them, whom they say is a goddess conferring her own gifts on each one not by a reasonable disposition, but as it may have happened rashly. This one ought to have held the apex among the select gods, in whom she showed especially what she could do: when we see them selected not by a principal virtue, nor by a reasonable happiness, but by the rash power of Fortune, as their worshippers feel concerning her. For also the most eloquent man Sallust perhaps attended to the gods themselves, when he said: "But surely Fortune dominates in every thing; she celebrates and obscures all things from lust more than from truth." For they cannot find a cause why Venus was celebrated, and Virtue was obscured; since the deities of both were consecrated by those, nor are their merits to be compared. Or if this deserved to be ennobled, which more people

appetite; for more [appetite] Venus than Virtue; why was the goddess Minerva celebrated, and the goddess Money obscured? since in the human race avarice allures more than skill; and in those themselves who are artificial [skillful], you may rarely find a man, who does not have his own art venal for a pecuniary reward; and that on account of which something is done is always weighed more, than that which is done on account of another thing. If therefore this selection of gods was made by the judgment of the foolish multitude, why was the goddess Money not preferred to Minerva, since on account of money there are many artisans? But if that distinction is of a few wise men, why was Virtue not preferred to Venus, since reason prefers her by far? At least certainly, as I said, Fortune herself, who, as those think who attribute most to her, dominates in every thing, and celebrates and obscures all things from lust more than from truth; if she also so far prevailed in the gods, that by her own rash judgment she might celebrate whom she would, and obscure whom she would, she would have a principal place in the select, who is of so principal a power even in the gods themselves. Or that she could not be there, is Fortune herself also to be thought to have had nothing else unless an adverse fortune? She therefore was adverse to herself, who making others noble was not ennobled.

CHAPTER IV.

That it was acted better with the inferior gods, who are defamed by no reproaches, than with the select, whose so great foulnesses are celebrated.

Any craver of nobility and clarity would congratulate these select gods, and would call them fortunate, if he did not see them selected more for injuries than for honors. For that lowest crowd their own ignobility has covered, lest it should be overwhelmed with reproaches. We laugh indeed, when we see them distributed in their works partitioned by the figments of human opinions, as if small collectors of taxes, or as if artisans in the silver street, where one vessel, that it may go out as perfect, passes through many artists, when it could be perfected by one perfect [artist]. But otherwise it was not thought that the multitude of those working was to be consulted, unless that each might learn each single part of an art quickly and easily, lest all should be compelled to be perfect in one art slowly and difficultly. But nevertheless scarcely anyone is found of the non-select gods, who has drawn an infamous fame by some crime; but scarcely any one of the select, who has not received upon himself a mark of signal contumely. Those [the select] descended to the humble works of these; these [the non-select] did not come into the sublime crimes of those. Concerning Janus indeed nothing easily occurs to me, which pertains to reproach: and perhaps he was such, he lived more innocently and more remote from crimes and flagitious acts. He benignly received Saturn fleeing: he parted the kingdom with his guest, so that they also founded single

cities; this one Janiculum, that one Saturnia. But those cravers of all disgrace in the worship of the gods, whose life they found less foul, they defiled him with the monstrous deformity of an image; making him now double-faced, now also four-faced, as if twin. Or perhaps they wished, that, since very many select gods by perpetrating shameful things had lost their face [shame], by how much this one was more innocent, by so much more faced he should appear?

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the more secret doctrine of the Pagans and their physical reasons.

But let us rather hear their physical interpretations, by which they attempt to color the foulness of their most wretched error, as if with the appearance of a higher doctrine. First Varro so commends these interpretations, that he says the ancients fashioned the images of the gods and their insignia and ornaments; so that when those who had approached the mysteries of the doctrine had perceived them with their eyes, they might be able to see the soul of the world and its parts, that is, the true gods, with their mind: of whom those who made images in the form of man, seemed to have followed this, that the mind of mortals which is in the human body, is most like the immortal mind: as if vessels were placed for the sake of noting the gods, and in the temple of Liber a wine-vessel were set up, which would signify wine, through that which

contains that which is contained: so through the image which has a human form, the rational soul is signified, because by it, as if by a vessel, that nature is accustomed to be contained, of which nature they wish the god to be, or the gods. These are the mysteries of doctrine, which that most learned man had penetrated, whence he would bring these things forth into the light. But, O most acute man, have you lost in those mysteries of doctrine that prudence, by which it seemed to you soberly, that those who first established images for the peoples, both took away fear from their citizens, and added error, and that the ancient Romans observed the gods more chastely without images? for these were your authors, that you should dare to say these things against the later Romans. For if those most ancient ones also had worshipped images, perhaps you would suppress that whole sense of yours about not establishing images, in the meantime true, in the silence of fear, and you would preach those mysteries of doctrine more loquaciously and more loftily in pernicious and vain figments of this kind. Yet your soul, so learned and ingenious (wherein we grieve much for you), through these mysteries of doctrine could by no means reach to its God, that is, by whom it was made, not with whom it was made; nor whose portion it is, but whose creation (conditio) it is; nor who is the soul of all, but who made every soul, by whose illumination alone the soul becomes blessed, if it be not ungrateful for His grace. But of what kind those mysteries of doctrine are, and how much

they are to be weighed, the things which follow will show. In the meantime, that most learned man confesses that the soul of the world and its parts are the true gods: whence it is understood that his whole theology, namely that very natural one, to which he attributes most, was able to extend itself even to the nature of the rational soul. For concerning the natural he speaks very few things beforehand in this book: in which we shall see whether through physiological interpretations he can refer to this natural [theology] the civil one, which he wrote last concerning the select gods. Because if he could, the whole will be natural: and what need was there to add to it the civil with such care of distinction? But if it is separated by a right discrimination; when not even that one is true which pleases him as natural; for it reaches even to the soul, not even to the true God who made the soul also: how much more abject and false is that civil one, which is chiefly occupied about the nature of bodies; as his own interpretations, from which it is necessary for me to commemorate some, will demonstrate with so much exquisite and enucleated diligence?

CHAPTER VI.

Concerning the opinion of Varro, by which he thought God to be the soul of the world, who yet has in his parts many souls, whose nature is divine.

The same Varro, therefore, still speaking beforehand concerning natural theology, says that he thinks God to be the soul of the world, which

the Greeks call kosmos, and this world itself to be God: but as a wise man, although he consists of body and mind, yet is called wise from the mind; so the world is called God from the mind, although it consists of mind and body. Here he seems in some way to confess one God; but that he may also introduce many, he adds that the world is divided into two parts, heaven and earth; and heaven twofold, into ether and air; but the earth into water and soil: of which the highest is ether, the second air, the third water, the lowest earth: all which four parts are full of souls, in the ether and air of immortal ones, in the water and earth of mortal ones; but from the highest circuit of heaven to the circle of the moon there are ethereal souls, the stars and planets, and that these are not only understood to be celestial gods, but are also seen: but between the gyre of the moon and the summits of clouds and winds there are aerial souls, but these are seen with the mind, not with the eyes; and are called heroes, and lares, and genii. This, forsooth, is the natural theology briefly proposed in that prolusion, which pleased not only this man, but many philosophers: concerning which it is then to be more diligently discussed, when I shall have fulfilled, with the help of the true God, what remains concerning the civil [theology], as far as pertains to the select gods.

CHAPTER VII.

Whether it were reasonable that Janus and Terminus should be separated into two deities.

Janus, therefore, from whom he took the beginning, I ask who he is? It is answered, He is the world. This is plainly a brief and open response. Why then are the beginnings of things said to pertain to him, but the ends to another, whom they call Terminus? For on account of beginnings and ends they peradventure have two months dedicated to these two gods, besides those ten of which March is the head as far as December; January to Janus, February to Terminus. Therefore they say that the Terminalia are celebrated in the same month of February, when the purgatory sacrifice is made, which they call Februum; whence the month received its name. Does it not then pertain to the world, which is Janus, the beginnings of things, and the ends not pertain, so that another god should be set over them? Do they not confess that all things which they say are done in this world, are also terminated in this world? What is that vanity, to give him half power in the work, and a double face in the image? Would they not interpret that double-faced one much more elegantly, if they called the same both Janus and Terminus; and gave one face to the beginnings, and the other to the ends? since he who works, ought to intend both. For in every motion of his action he who does not respect the beginning, does not prospect the end. Whence it is necessary that from the memory respecting, the intention prospecting should be connected. For he to whom it shall have escaped what he began, will not find how he may finish. But if they thought the blessed life to be commenced in

this world, and to be perfected outside the world, and therefore attributed to Janus, that is, to the world, the only power of beginnings; certainly they would prefer Terminus to him, and would not alienate him from the select gods. Although even now when in these two gods the beginnings and ends of temporal things are treated, more honor ought to be given to Terminus. For greater is the joy, when each thing is perfected: but the beginnings are full of solicitude, until they be led through to the end, which he who begins anything, chiefly craves, intends, expects, wishes; nor does he exult over a thing begun, unless it be terminated.

CHAPTER VIII.

For what cause the worshippers of Janus fashioned a double-faced image of him, which yet they wish to be seen as four-faced.

But now let the interpretation of the double-faced image be brought forth. They say he has two faces, before and behind, because our opening, when we open the mouth, seems like to the world: whence also the Greeks call the palate ouranos [heaven]; and some, he says, of the Latin poets have called the palate heaven: from which opening of the mouth, there is both an exit outwards towards the teeth, and an entrance inwards to the throat. Behold to what the world has been led on account of the name of our palate, whether Greek or poetic. But what is this to the soul, what to eternal life? For the sake

of spittle alone let this god be worshipped, for swallowing partly, and for spitting out partly, which beneath the heaven of the palate both gates of Janus are opened. What is more absurd, moreover, than not to find in the world itself two gates situated opposite, through which it may either admit something into itself, or emit something from itself; and from our mouth and throat, whose likeness the world does not have, to wish to compose an image of the world in Janus, on account of the palate alone, whose likeness Janus does not have? When indeed they make him four-faced and call him twin Janus, they interpret this to the four parts of the world, as if the world looks out at something, as Janus through all his faces. Then, if Janus is the world, and the world consists of four parts, the image of the double-faced Janus is false: or if it is therefore true, because by the name of East and West the whole world is accustomed to be understood, when we name two other parts, of North and South, as they call that four-faced one twin Janus, is anyone going to call the world twin? They have not at all whence they may interpret four gates, which are open to those entering and exiting, to the likeness of the world; as they found at least in the mouth of man what they might say concerning the double-faced one; unless Neptune perhaps should assist and reach out a fish, to which besides the opening of the mouth and throat, also the right and left gills are open. And yet through so many gates no soul escapes this vanity, unless that which hears the Truth saying, I am the door. (John x. 9).

CHAPTER IX.

Concerning the power of Jove, and the comparison of the same with Janus.

1. But let them explain whom they wish to be understood by Jove, who is also called Jupiter. He is the God, they say, having power of the causes, by which anything is made in the world. How great this is, that most noble verse of Virgil testifies: Happy he who was able to know the causes of things. (Georg. lib. 2, ver. 490.) But why Janus is preferred to him, let that most acute and most learned man answer us. "Since with Janus," he says, "are the first things, with Jove the highest. Merely therefore is Jove held the king of all. For first things are conquered by the highest: because although first things precede in time, highest things surpass in dignity." But this would be rightly said, if the first and highest of things done were discerned: as the beginning of a deed is to set out, the highest to arrive; the beginning of a deed the inception of learning, the highest the perception of doctrine: and thus in all things the beginnings are first, and the highest are the ends. But already this business has been discussed between Janus and Terminus. But the causes which are given to Jove, are efficient, not effects: nor in any way can it be, that even in time they should be preceded by things done or the beginnings of things done. For always the thing which makes is prior to that which is made. Wherefore if the beginnings of things done pertain to Janus, they are not therefore prior to efficient causes, which

they attribute to Jove. For as nothing is made, so nothing is commenced that it may be made, which a making cause has not preceded. This God indeed, with whom are all the causes of all made natures and natural things, if the peoples call Him Jove, and worship Him with such contumelies and such wicked criminations, they bind themselves with a more foul sacrilege than if they thought there were no God at all. Whence it would be better for them to call some other one by the name of Jove, worthy of foul and flagitious honors, a vain figment being substituted which they might rather blaspheme (as a stone is said to have been substituted to Saturn, which he would devour for his son), than to say that this God is both thundering and adulterating, and ruling the whole world and flowing through so many debaucheries, and having the highest causes of all natures and natural things and not having his own good causes.

2. Then I ask, what place now they attribute to this Jove among the gods, if Janus is the world. For that learned man defined the true gods as the soul of the world and its parts: and by this whatever this is not, is certainly not a true god according to them. Are they therefore going to say Jove is the soul of the world in such a way, that Janus is its body, that is, this visible world? If they say this, there will be no way how they may call Janus a god; since the body of the world is not a god even according to them, but the soul of the world and its parts. Whence most openly the same man says, that he thinks God is the soul

of the world, and this world itself is God: but as a wise man, although he is from mind and body, yet from the mind is called wise; so the world is called God from the mind, although it is from mind and body. The body of the world alone, therefore, is not God: but either its soul alone, or body and mind together; yet so that it is not a god from the body, but from the mind. If therefore Janus is the world, and Janus is a god, are they going to say Jove is some part of Janus, that he may be able to be a god? For they are accustomed rather to attribute the universe to Jove: whence is, all things are full of Jove. Therefore also Jove, that he may be a god, and especially the king of gods, they can think to be no other than the world; that he may reign over the other gods, his own parts according to them. Into this opinion also the same Varro expounds certain verses of Valerius Soranus, in that book which he wrote separately from these concerning the worship of the gods; which verses are these: Almighty Jupiter, progenitor of kings and things and gods, and mother of gods, one god, and all things. But they are expounded in the same book, so that since they thought him a male, who would emit seed, a female who would receive it; and that Jove is the world, and that he emits all seeds from himself, and receives them in himself: "For which cause," he says, "Soranus wrote, Jupiter progenitor and mother: nor less with cause that he is one and all things; for the world is one, and in that one are all things."

CHAPTER X.

Whether the distinction between Janus and Jove be correct.

When therefore both Janus is the world, and Jupiter is the world, and the world is one, why are there two gods, Janus and Jupiter? why do they have separate temples, separate altars, diverse sacrifices, dissimilar images? If on account of this, that there is one power of primordia, another of causes, and that one received the name of Janus, that the name of Jove; if one man in diverse things should have two powers or two arts, because the power of each is diverse, are therefore two judges or two artisans spoken of? So therefore also one God, since He Himself has the power of primordia, Himself of causes, is it therefore necessary that He be thought to be two gods, because primordia and causes are two things? But if they think this just, let them also say that Jove himself is as many gods as the cognomens they have given him on account of many powers: since all the things from which those cognomens are applied, are many and diverse; of which I commemorate a few.

CHAPTER XI.

Concerning the cognomens of Jove, which are referred not to many gods, but to one and the same.

They called him Victor, Invictus, Opitulus, Impulsor, Stator, Centumpeda, Supinalis, Tigillus, Almus, Ruminus, and others which it is long to pursue. But these cognomens they imposed

on one god on account of diverse causes and powers, not however on account of so many things did they compel there to be also so many gods: because he conquered all things, because he was conquered by no one, because he brought aid to the indigent, because he had the power of impelling, of establishing, of stabilizing, of throwing back on the back, because as if a beam (tigillus) he contained and sustained the world, because he nourished all things, because with the ruma, that is, the breast, he nourished animals. In these, as we notice, some are great, some small; and yet one is perhibited to do both. I think the causes of things and the primordia, on account of which things they wished one world to be two gods, Jove and Janus, are nearer to each other than to contain the world and to give the breast to animals: nor yet on account of these two works so far diverse from each other in power and dignity, were they compelled to be two gods; but one Jove, on account of that called Tigillus, on account of that Ruminus. I am unwilling to say, that to provide the breast to sucking animals could more become Juno than Jove: especially when there was also the goddess Rumina, who would provide aid or service to him in this work. For I think it can be answered, that Juno herself is nothing else than Jove, according to those verses of Valerius Soranus, where it was said: Almighty Jupiter, progenitor of kings and things and gods, and mother of gods. Why therefore was he also called Ruminus, when to those seeking more diligently he himself may be found to be even that

goddess Rumina? For if it rightly seemed unworthy of the majesty of the gods, that in one ear of corn one [goddess] should pertain to the care of the joint, another to the follicle; how much more unworthy is it that one most low thing, that is, that animals be nourished by breasts, be cared for by the power of two gods, of whom one is Jove, the king himself of all; and that he do this not at least with his own spouse, but with some ignoble Rumina, unless because he is himself also that Rumina; Ruminus perhaps for sucking males, Rumina for females? I would indeed say that they were unwilling to impose a feminine name on Jove, unless in those verses he were called progenitor and mother; and among other of his cognomens I read, that he was also called Pecunia [Money], which goddess we found among those small collectors, and in the fourth book we commemorated (chap. 21). But since both males and females have money, why he was not called both Pecunia and Pecunius, as Rumina and Ruminus, let them see.

CHAPTER XII.

That Jupiter is also named Pecunia [Money].

How elegantly indeed they have rendered the reason of this name! "And Pecunia," they say, "he is called, because all things are his." O great reason of a divine name! Nay, rather, He whose all things are, is most vilely and most contumeliously named Pecunia. For to all things which are contained by heaven and earth, what is money

among all things whatever, which are possessed by men under the name of money? But doubtless avarice imposed this name on Jove, so that whoever loves money, may seem to himself to love not some ordinary god, but the king himself of all. But it would be far otherwise, if he were called riches: for riches are one thing, money another. For we call the wise, the just, the good rich, to whom there is either no money, or little; for they are more rich in virtues, through which even in the necessities of corporal things that which is present is enough for them: but the avaricious poor, always gaping and indigent; for they can have money however great, but in however much abundance of it they cannot not be in want. And the true God Himself we rightly call rich, yet not in money, but in omnipotence. Rich people are also called pecuniosi [monied]; but interiorly they are needy, if they are covetous. Likewise those lacking money are called poor; but interiorly they are rich, if they are wise. Of what kind therefore ought this theology to be to a wise man, where the king of the gods received the name of that thing which no wise man has craved? For how much more easily, if something which pertained to eternal life were healthfully learned by this doctrine, would the god, the ruler of the world, be called by them not money, but wisdom, the love of which purges from the filth of avarice, that is, from the love of money?

CHAPTER XIII.

That while it is explained what Saturn is, or what Genius is, both are taught to be one Jove.

But why more concerning this Jove, to whom perhaps the rest are to be referred, so that the opinion of very many gods may remain empty, since he himself is all of them; whether when they are thought parts of him or his powers, or when the force of the soul, which they think diffused through all things, from the parts of this mass, into which this visible world rises up, and by the manifold administration of nature, has received as it were the names of many gods? For what also is Saturn? "One," he says, "of the principal gods, with whom is the dominion of all sowings." Does not the exposition of those verses of Valerius Soranus hold thus, that Jove is the world, and that he emits all seeds from himself, and receives them in himself? He therefore is the one with whom is the dominion of all sowings. What is Genius? "The god," he says, "who is set over and has the power of all things to be generated." Whom else do they believe to have this power, than the world, to which it was said, Jupiter progenitor and mother? And when in another place he says that Genius is the rational mind of each one, and therefore that there are single ones for single [persons], but that such a mind of the world is God; he certainly recalls to this same thing, so that the mind itself of the world may be believed to be as it were the universal genius. This is he, therefore, whom they call Jove. For if every genius is a god, and every man's mind is a genius, it follows that every man's mind

is a god: which if even the absurdity itself compels them to abhor, it remains that they should singularly and excellently call that genius a god, which they call the mind of the world, and by this Jove.

CHAPTER XIV.

Concerning the offices of Mercury and Mars.

But how they might refer Mercury and Mars to some parts of the world and works of God, which are in the elements, they did not find; and therefore they set them over at least the works of men, as administrators of discoursing and of warring. Of whom if Mercury also bears the power of the speech of the gods, he also dominates the king of the gods himself, if Jove speaks according to his arbitrament, or received the faculty of speaking from him: which indeed is absurd. But if the power of human speech only is perhibited to be attributed to him, it is not credible that Jove should have wished to descend to suckling with the breast, not only boys, but even cattle, whence he was named Ruminus, and should have been unwilling that the care of our speech, by which we excel the cattle, should pertain to himself: and by this the same himself is Jove and Mercury. Because if speech itself is said to be Mercury, as those things which they interpret concerning him show: (for therefore he is said to have been called Mercury, as if running in the middle (medius currens), because speech runs in the middle between men; therefore Hermes in Greek,

because speech or interpretation, which certainly pertains to speech, is called hermeneia; therefore also he is set over merchandise, because between sellers and buyers speech becomes the middle; his wings on head and feet signify that speech is carried through the air as a winged thing; he is called a messenger, because through speech all thoughts are enunciated): if therefore Mercury is speech itself, even by their own confession, he is not a god. But when they make gods for themselves those who are not even demons, by supplicating unclean spirits, they are possessed by those who are not gods, but demons. Likewise because they could not find for Mars any element or part of the world where he might perform any works whatever of nature, they said he is the god of war, which is a work of men, and not desirable to them. If therefore Felicity gave perpetual peace, Mars would not have what he might do. But if war itself is Mars, as speech is Mercury; would that as it is manifest that he is not a god, so war also might not be that which is even falsely called a god.

CHAPTER XV.

Concerning certain stars, which the Pagans called by the names of their gods.

Unless perchance those stars are these gods, which they have called by their names: for they call a certain star Mercury, and likewise a certain one Mars. But there is also that one which they call Jove; and yet the world is Jove's to them:

there is that one which they call Saturn; and yet besides they give to him no small substance, namely, of all seeds: there is also that clearest one of all, which is called by them Venus; and yet they wish the same Venus also to be the Moon: although concerning that most shining star Juno and Venus contend among them as if concerning a golden apple. For some say the morning star (Lucifer) belongs to Venus, some to Juno: but, as is wont, Venus conquers. For many more attribute that star to Venus, so that scarcely anyone of them is found who opines otherwise. But who would not laugh, when they say Jove is the king of all, because his star is surpassed by the star of Venus by such great clarity? For that one ought to have been so much more refulgent than the rest, by as much as he himself is more powerful. They respond that it thus seems to be, because that which is thought more obscure is higher and far more remote from the earth. If therefore a higher place merited a greater dignity, why is Saturn higher there than Jove? Or could the vanity of the fable, which makes Jove king, not reach as far as the stars; and that which Saturn could not avail in his own kingdom, nor in the Capitol, was he at least permitted to obtain in heaven? But why did Janus not receive some star? If for this reason because he is the world, and all are in him; Jove's also is the world, and he has one nevertheless. Or did he compose his cause as he could, and for one star which he does not have among the stars, did he receive so many faces on earth? Then if on account of the stars alone they think

Mercury and Mars parts of the world, so that they may be able to have them as gods, because certainly speech and war are not parts of the world, but acts of men; why to Aries and Taurus and Cancer and Scorpio and the rest of this kind, which they number as celestial signs, and consist not of single stars, but each of many, and are perhibited to be placed above these in the highest heaven, where a more constant motion affords an unerring passage to the stars, have they made no altars, no sacred things, no temples; nor have they had them as gods, I do not say among these select ones, but not even among those as it were plebeian ones?

CHAPTER XVI.

Concerning Apollo and Diana and the other select gods, whom they wished to be parts of the world.

Although they wish Apollo to be a diviner and a physician, nevertheless that they might station him in some part of the world, they said that he himself is also the sun; and likewise Diana his sister to be the moon and the guardian of roads. Whence also they wish her to be a virgin, because a road brings forth nothing: and therefore they both have arrows, because those two stars extend their rays from heaven even to the lands. They wish Vulcan to be the fire of the world, Neptune the waters of the world, Father Dis, that is Orcus, the earthly and lowest part of the world. They set Liber and Ceres over seeds, either him over the masculine, her over the feminine; or him indeed

over the liquid, but her over the aridity of seeds. And this indeed is all referred to the world, that is to Jove, who for this reason was called "Progenitor and mother," because he would emit all seeds from himself, and receive them into himself. Since indeed they also wish the Great Mother to be the same Ceres, whom they say to be nothing else than the earth, and they perhibit her also to be Juno. And therefore they attribute to her the secondary causes of things: although nevertheless it was said to Jove, "Progenitor and mother of the gods": because according to them the whole world itself is Jove's. Minerva also, because they set her over human arts, and did not find even a star where they might place her, they said she is either the highest ether or even the moon. They thought Vesta also herself for this reason the greatest of the goddesses, because she is the earth; although they believed that the lighter fire of the world, which pertains to the easy uses of men, not the more violent kind such as Vulcan's is, was to be deputed to her. And by this they wish all these select gods to be this world, in some things the whole, in some its parts: the whole as Jove; its parts, as Genius, as the Great Mother, as the Sun and Moon, or rather Apollo and Diana. And sometimes they make one god many things, sometimes one thing many gods. For one god is many things, as Jove himself: for the whole world is Jove, and the heaven alone is Jove, and the star alone is held and called Jove. And likewise Juno is the mistress of secondary causes, and Juno is air, and Juno is earth, and if she conquered Venus,

Juno would be a star. Similarly Minerva is the highest ether, and Minerva likewise the moon, which they think to be in the lowest limit of the ether. But they thus make one thing many gods. Both Janus is the world, and Jove: so also Juno is the earth, and the Great Mother, and Ceres.

CHAPTER XVII.

That even Varro himself pronounced his opinions concerning the gods to be ambiguous.

And as these things, which I have commemorated for the sake of example, so they do not explain the rest, but rather implicate them; as the impetus of an erring opinion has impelled them, so they leap in and leap back hither and thither, hence and thence: so that Varro himself preferred to doubt concerning all things, than to affirm anything. For when he had finished the first of the three last books concerning the certain gods, having entered upon speaking in the second concerning the uncertain gods, he says: "When in this little book I shall have placed doubtful opinions concerning the gods, I ought not to be reprehended." For he who shall think it ought to be and can be judged, when he has heard it, will do so himself: I can be more quickly led to recall into doubt those things which I said in the first book, than in this to describe all things so as to direct them to some sum. Thus he made not only that one concerning the uncertain gods, but even that one concerning the certain ones, uncertain. Furthermore in this third one concerning the se-

lect gods, after he has prefaced what he thought ought to be prefaced from natural theology, being about to enter upon the vanities and mendacious insanities of this civil theology, where not only the truth of things did not lead him, but also the authority of his ancestors pressed upon him: "Concerning the public gods of the Roman people," he says, "to whom they have dedicated temples, and have noted them adorned with many signs, I shall write in this book; but, as Xenophanes of Colophon writes, I shall set down what I think, not what I contend for." For it is the part of man to opine these things, of God to know them." Trembling, therefore, he promises a discourse of things not comprehended, nor most firmly believed, but opined and to be doubted, being about to say those things which have been instituted by men. For indeed, as he knew the world to be, the heaven and earth to be, the heaven shining with stars, the earth fertile with seeds, and the rest of this kind, as he believed with a certain stability of mind that this whole mass and nature is ruled and administered by a certain invisible and very powerful force; so he could not affirm concerning Janus, that he was the world itself; or find concerning Saturn, how he was both the father of Jove and had been made subject to Jove reigning, and other such things.

CHAPTER XVIII.

What may be the more credible cause, by which the error of Paganism has grown.

Concerning which things a more credible reason is rendered, when they are perhibited to have been men, and for each of them by those who, by flattering them, wished them to be gods, sacred things and solemnities were constituted according to his genius, morals, acts, and casualties, and these gradually creeping through the souls of men similar to demons and greedy of playful things, were divulged far and wide, with the lies of the poets adorning them, and fallacious spirits seducing them to them. For it could more easily have happened, that an impious youth either fearing to be killed by an impious father and greedy of the kingdom should drive his father from the kingdom, than that which this man interprets, that Saturn the father was for this reason overcome by Jove his son, because the cause which pertains to Jove is before the seed which pertains to Saturn. For if this were so, Saturn would never have been prior, nor would he be the father of Jove. For the cause always precedes the seed, nor is it ever generated from seed. But when they endeavor to honor most vain fables or the deeds of men as if with natural interpretations, even the most acute men suffer such straits, that we are compelled to grieve also for their vanity.

CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the interpretations by which the reason for worshipping Saturn is devised.

They said, he says, that Saturn was accustomed to devour those things which were born

from him; because seeds returned thither from whence they were born. And that a clod (gleba) was cast to him to be devoured instead of Jove, signifies, he says, that crops begun by human hands were covered by sowing, before the utility of plowing was found. Saturn therefore ought to have been called the earth itself, not the seeds: for she herself in a certain way devours what she has generated, when the seeds born from her return into her again to be received. And as to what is said, that he received a clod instead of Jove, how does this avail to that, that the seed was covered with a clod by the hands of men? Was it therefore not devoured like the rest, because it was covered with a clod? For this was thus said, as if he who opposed the clod took away the seed, just as Jove is perhibited to have been taken away from Saturn when the clod was offered; and not rather that the clod by covering the seed caused it to be more diligently devoured. Then in this way the seed is Jove, not the cause of the seed, which was said a little before. But what can men do, who when they interpret foolish things, do not find what may be said wisely? He has a sickle, he says, on account of agriculture. Certainly while he was reigning there was as yet no agriculture, and therefore his times are perhibited as prior, as the same man interprets the fables, because the first men lived from those seeds which the earth generated spontaneously. Or did he receive the sickle when his scepter was lost, so that he who in the first times had been an idle king, should become a laborious workman while his son was

reigning? Then he says that for this reason children were accustomed to be immolated to him by some, as by the Carthaginians, and by some even greater ones, as by the Gauls, because the human race is the best of all seeds. Concerning this most cruel vanity what need is there to say more? Let us rather advert to and hold this, that these interpretations are not referred to the true God, a living, incorporeal, and immutable nature, from whom a life eternally blessed is to be asked; but that their ends are in corporeal, temporal, mutable, and mortal things. That Saturn is said in the fables to have castrated his father Heaven (Caelum), this signifies, he says, that divine seed is in the power of Saturn, not in the power of Heaven. This is for this reason, as far as it is given to be understood, because nothing in heaven is born from seeds. But behold, if Saturn is the son of Heaven, he is the son of Jove. For they affirm innumerably and diligently that Jove is Heaven. Thus those things which do not come from the truth, for the most part subvert themselves even without anyone impelling them. He says he was called Kronos, which in the Greek word signifies a space of time: without which, he says, the seed cannot be fecund. These and many other things are said concerning Saturn, and all are referred to seed. But at least Saturn might suffice for the seeds with such great power: why are other gods required for these, especially Liber and Libera, that is Ceres? Concerning whom again, as pertains to seed, he says so many things, as if he had said nothing concerning Saturn.

CHAPTER XX.

Concerning the sacred rites of Eleusinian Ceres.

But in the sacred rites of Ceres those Eleusinian mysteries are praised, which were most noble among the Athenians. Concerning which this man interprets nothing, except what pertains to the corn which Ceres found, and to Proserpine, whom she lost when Orcus ravished her. And he says that she herself signifies the fecundity of seeds: which when it had failed at a certain time, and the earth mourned with the same sterility, the opinion arose, that Orcus had taken away the daughter of Ceres, that is fecundity itself, which was called Proserpine from creeping forth (proserpendo), and had detained her among the infernal regions: which thing having been celebrated with public mourning, because the same fecundity returned again, joy arose at Proserpine being restored, and from this the solemnities were constituted. He says then that many things are delivered in her mysteries, which do not pertain except to the invention of fruits.

CHAPTER XXI.

Concerning the foulness of the sacred rites which were celebrated to Liber.

But now the sacred rites of Liber, whom they set over liquid seeds, and by this not only over the liquids of fruits, of which wine holds as it were the primacy, but also over the seeds of animals, to how great foulness they reached, it indeed irks to

say, on account of the length of the discourse; but on account of the proud dullness of these men, it does not irk. Among other things which I am compelled to omit, since they are many; he says that certain sacred rites of Liber were celebrated in the crossroads of Italy with such license of foulness, that the virile shames (genitals) were worshipped in his honor; not even in somewhat more modest secrecy, but in public with exulting wickedness. For this foul member through the festive days of Liber was with great honor placed upon little carts, and was first carried in the crossroads in the country, and afterwards even into the city. But in the town of Lavinium a whole month was attributed to Liber alone, during whose days all used the most flagitious words, until that member had been carried through the forum and rested in its own place. Upon which dishonest member it was necessary that a most honest matron should openly place a crown. Thus indeed Liber the god was to be placated for the produce of seeds: thus fascination was to be repelled from the fields, that a matrona should be compelled to do in public, what not even a harlot, if matrons were looking on, ought to have been permitted in the theatre. On account of these things Saturn alone was not believed to be able to suffice for seeds, so that an unclean soul might find occasions of multiplying gods, and being deservedly by reason of its uncleanness destitute of the one true God, and prostituted through many false ones by the greed of greater uncleanness, it should call these sacrileges sacred rites, and

should offer itself to be violated and polluted by crowds of filthy demons.

CHAPTER XXII.

Concerning Neptune, and Salacia, and Venilia.

Now indeed Neptune had Salacia for a wife, whom they said was the lower water of the sea; why was Venilia also joined to him, unless so that without any cause of necessary sacred rites, by the mere lust of a prostituted soul, the invitation of demons might be multiplied? But let the interpretation of this illustrious theology be brought forward, which may restrain us from this reprehension by a reason rendered. Venilia, he says, is the wave which comes to the shore; Salacia, that which returns into the deep (salum). Why then are there two goddesses, when there is one wave which comes and returns? Indeed it is the insane lust itself surging into many deities. For although the water is not doubled which goes and returns; nevertheless by the occasion of this vanity, two demons being invited, the soul is more fully defiled, which goes and does not return. I ask you, Varro, or you who have read such writings of so learned men, and boast that you have learned something great, interpret this, I do not wish to say according to that eternal and immutable nature, who alone is God; but at least according to the soul of the world and its parts, which you think to be true gods. That you have made Neptune a god for yourselves as that part of the soul of the world which permeates the sea, is of a

somewhat more tolerable error. Is a wave coming to the shore and returning into the deep thus two parts of the world, or two parts of the soul of the world? Who of you is so foolish as to think this? Why then did they make two goddesses for you, unless because it was provided by your wiser ancestors, not that many gods might rule you, but that those things which rejoice in these vanities and falsehoods, namely many demons, might possess you? But why has that Salacia, through this interpretation, lost the lower part of the sea, by which she was subject to her husband? For you have just now placed her on the surface, when you perhibit her to be the reflowing flood. Or because he took Venilia as a concubine, did she, being angry, exclude her husband from the upper parts of the sea?

CHAPTER XXIII.

Concerning the Earth, which Varro confirms to be a goddess, for this reason that that mind of the world, which he opines to be a god, permeates even this lowest part of his body, and imparts to it a divine force.

1. Indeed there is one earth, which we see indeed full of its own animals; nevertheless since it is a great body in the elements and the lowest part of the world, why do they wish it to be a goddess? Is it because it is fecund? Why then are men not rather gods, who make it more fecund by cultivating it; but when they plow, not when they adore? But a part of the soul of the world, they say, which permeates through it, makes it

a goddess. As if the soul were not more evident in men, concerning which there is no question whether it exists; and yet men are not held to be gods: and what is to be heavily grieved for, they are subjected by a wonderful and miserable error to worshipping and adoring those who are not gods, and than whom they themselves are better. And certainly the same Varro in the same book concerning the select gods, affirms that there are three grades of the soul in all and universal nature: one, which passes through all parts of the body which live, and has not sense, but only health for living: this force in our body he says permeates into the bones, the nails, the hair: just as in the world trees are nourished and grow without sense, and live in a certain way of their own. The second grade of the soul, in which there is sense: this force reaches into the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, touch. The third grade of the soul is the highest, which is called mind (animus), in which intelligence is preeminent: this all mortals except man lack: this part of the soul of the world he says is a god, but in us it is called Genius. But there are in the world stones and earth, which we see, whither sense does not permeate, like the bones, like the nails of the god: but the sun, the moon, the stars, which we perceive, and by which he himself perceives, are his senses. Furthermore the ether is his mind: from whose force, which reaches into the stars, he also makes them gods; and through that which permeates into the earth, the goddess Tellus; but that which

permeates thence into the sea and ocean, is the god Neptune.

2. Let him return, therefore, from this which he thinks to be natural theology, whither as if for the sake of resting he went out, fatigued by these ambiguities and windings. Let him return, I say, let him return to the civil: here I still hold him, so long I deal with this. I do not yet say, if the earth and stones are similar to our bones and nails, that similarly they do not have intelligence, just as they lack sense; or if for this reason our bones and nails are said to have intelligence, because they are in a man who has intelligence, he is as foolish who says these are gods in the world, as he is foolish who says the bones and nails in us are men. But these things are perhaps to be dealt with with philosophers: but now I still wish him to be a politician. For it may be, that although he seems to have wished to lift up his head a little into that liberty as it were of natural theology, yet still turning over this book, and thinking himself to be occupied in it, he even thence looked back; and said this for this reason, lest his ancestors, or other states, should be believed to have worshipped Tellus and Neptune in vain. But this I say, that part of the mundane mind which permeates through the earth, as the earth is one, why did he not also make it one goddess, which he says is Tellus? But if he thus did, where will Orcus be, the brother of Jove and Neptune, whom they call Father Dis? Where his wife Proserpine, who according to another opinion placed in the same books, is perhibited to be not the fecundity of

the earth, but its lower part? Because if they say, that the part of the mundane mind, when it permeates the upper part of the earth, makes Father Dis a god; but when the lower part, the goddess Proserpine; what will that Tellus be? For thus the whole, which she herself was, is divided into these two parts and gods, so that what or where she herself as a third may be, cannot be found: unless anyone should say that those gods Orcus and Proserpine together are one goddess Tellus; and that there are no longer three, but either one or two: and yet they are said to be three, are held to be three, are worshipped three with their own altars, their own fanes, sacred rites, images, their own priests, and through these also by their own demons debauching the soul prostituted to fallacies. Let it still be answered, what part of the earth a part of the mundane mind permeates, so as to make the god Tellumo. Not so, he says, but one and the same earth has a twin force, both masculine, because it produces seeds; and feminine, because it receives and nourishes them: whence from the feminine force she was called Tellus, from the masculine Tellumo. Why then do the pontiffs, as he himself indicates, two others also being added, perform divine service to four gods, to Tellus, Tellumo, Altor, Rusor? Concerning Tellus and Tellumo it has already been said: why to Altor? Because from the earth, he says, all things which are born are nourished (aluntur). Why to Rusor? Because again, he says, all things revolve (revolvuntur) back to the same.

CHAPTER XXIV.---On the surnames of Tellus and their meanings, which, even if they were indicators of many things, ought not to have confirmed the opinions of many gods. 1. Therefore one earth, on account of that fourfold force, ought to have had four surnames, not to have made four gods: just as one Jupiter with so many surnames, and one Juno with so many surnames; in all of whom the manifold force is said to belong to one god or one goddess, not the multitude of surnames also making a multitude of gods. But truly, just as sometimes even the vilest women are weary and repentant of the crowds of those whom they have sought through lust: so it has liked a soul made vile and prostituted to unclean spirits to multiply for itself gods to whom it might be prostrated to be contaminated, as it much pleased, so sometimes it also irked. For even Varro himself, as if ashamed of that very crowd, wishes Tellus to be one goddess. The same, he says, they call the Great Mother (Mater magna), because she has a tympanum, signifying that she is the orb of the earth: because she has towers on her head, towns: because seats are fashioned around her, while all things are moved, she herself is not moved. That they made Galli serve this goddess, signifies that those who are in need of seed ought to follow the earth; for in it all things are found. That they toss themselves about before her, it is commanded, he says, that those who cultivate the earth should not sit; for there is always something for them to do. The sound of cymbals, of the tossing of iron tools

and of hands, and the clatter of that thing which happens in cultivating the field, signify: therefore with bronze, because the ancients cultivated it with bronze, before iron was found. They add a lion, he says, unchained and tame, to show that there is no kind of earth so remote and vehemently wild, which it does not befit to be subdued and cultivated. Then he adds and says, that because they named the mother Tellus both with more names and surnames, several were thought to be gods. They think, he says, that Tellus is Ops, because she becomes better by work (opere); Mother, because she brings forth very many things; Great, because she brings forth food; Proserpine, because from her the fruits creep forth (proserpant); Vesta because she is clothed (vestiatur) with herbs. Thus other goddesses, he says, they not absurdly refer back to this one. If then there is one goddess, who indeed according to the consulted truth is not even herself one, meanwhile why is it gone into many? Let those many names be of one, not so much many goddesses as names. But the authority of erring ancestors weighs down, and compels the same Varro to tremble after this sentence. For he adds and says: With which the opinion of the ancestors concerning these goddesses, because they thought them to be several, does not fight. How does it not fight, when it is a very different thing, for one goddess to have many names, and another, for there to be many goddesses? But it can, he says, happen that the same thing is both one, and in it certain things are several. I grant

that in one man there are several things, but are there therefore also several men? so in one goddess there are several things, but are there therefore also several goddesses? But let them divide, fuse, multiply, replicate, imply, as they wish.

2. These are the famous mysteries of Tellus and the Great Mother, whence all things are referred to mortal seeds and to the exercise of agriculture. Do then the tympanum, the towers, the Galli, the insane tossing of limbs, the clatter of cymbals, the fashioning of lions, referred to these things and having this end, promise eternal life to anyone? Do then therefore the emasculated Galli serve this Great goddess, so that they may signify that those who are in need of seed ought to follow the earth; as if that very service did not rather make them in need of seed? For whether by following this goddess, when they are in need, do they acquire seed; or rather by following this goddess, when they have it, do they lose it? Is this to interpret, or to detest? Nor is it attended to, how much the malignant demons have prevailed, who neither dared to promise any great thing by these sacred rites, and were able to exact things so cruel. If the earth were not a goddess, men would lay hands upon her by working, that they might obtain seeds through her; not also upon themselves by raging, that they might lose seeds on account of her. If she were not a goddess, she would be made fecund by the hands of others, so that she would not compel a man to become sterile by his own hands. Now that in the sacred rites of Liber an honest matron crowned the vir-

ile parts, while the multitude looked on, where blushing and sweating, if there is any brow in men, perhaps even her husband stood by; and that in the celebration of nuptials, the new bride was ordered to sit upon the shaft of Priapus: these are far more contemptible and lighter than that most cruel turpitude or most foul cruelty, where by demoniac arts both sexes are so deluded, that neither is destroyed by its own wound. There the fascination of the fields is feared, here the amputation of limbs is not feared: there the modesty of the new bride is so dishonored, that not only fecundity, but not even virginity is taken away; here virility is so amputated, that it is neither converted into a female, nor left a man.

CHAPTER XXV.

What interpretation the doctrine of the Greek sages has found concerning the castration of Atys.

And that Atys was not mentioned, nor was his interpretation sought by him, in memory of whose love the Gallus is castrated. But the learned and wise Greeks by no means kept silent about so holy and famous a reason. For on account of the vernal face of the earth, which is more beautiful than at other times, Porphyry, a noble philosopher, asserted that Atys signifies flowers; and therefore he was castrated, because the flower falls before the fruit (In the book on the Natural Reason of the gods). They compared, therefore, not the man himself, or the quasi-man, who was called Atys, but his virile parts to a

flower. For they fell while he was living: or rather they did not fall, nor were they plucked, but plainly torn away; nor did any fruit follow after that flower was lost, but rather sterility. What then of he himself remaining? and whatever remained of the castrated one, what is said to be signified by it? to what is it referred? what interpretation is brought forth thence? or by laboring in vain and finding nothing, do they persuade that that rather ought to be believed, which fame has tossed about concerning the castrated man, and has been committed to writings? Justly was our Varro averse from this, nor did he wish to say this: for it did not escape the most learned man.

CHAPTER XXVI.

On the turpitude of the sacred rites of the Great Mother.

And likewise concerning the effeminates (molles) consecrated to the same Great Mother against all modesty of men and women, who up to yesterday with moist hair, whitened face, flowing limbs, with feminine gait through the streets and lanes of Carthage, even from the peoples exacted whence they might live basely, Varro wished to say nothing, nor do I remember that I have read it anywhere. Interpretation failed, reason blushed, speech fell silent. The crime, not the greatness of the deity, conquered all the gods who were sons of the Great Mother. Not even the monstrosity of Janus is compared to this monster. He had in his images only deformity, she in her sacred rites a deformed cruelty; he had

limbs added in stones, she had them lost in men. The so many and so great debaucheries of Jove himself do not conquer this disgrace: he among feminine corruptions defamed heaven with one Ganymede; she with so many professed and public effeminates both polluted the earth, and did injury to heaven. Perhaps we could either compare or prefer Saturn to her in this kind of most foul cruelty, who is perhibited to have castrated his father: but in the sacred rites of Saturn men could rather be killed by the hands of others, than be cut off by their own. He devoured his sons, as the poets relate, and the physicists interpret from this what they wish; but as history reveals, he killed them: but that the Carthaginians (Poeni) sacrificed their sons to him, the Romans did not receive. But truly that great Mother of the gods brought even into Roman temples castrated men, and preserved that savagery and custom; believed to help the strength of the Romans, by cutting out the virile parts of men. What are the thefts of Mercury, the lasciviousness of Venus, the debaucheries and turpitudes of the others to this evil, which we would bring forth from books, unless they were daily sung and danced in the theaters? but what are these to so great an evil, the magnitude of which was suitable only to the Great Mother? especially since those are said to be feigned by the poets: as if the poets also feigned this, that they are pleasing and acceptable to the gods. That therefore they were sung or written, let it be the audacity or petulance of the poets: but that they were added to divine things

and honors, with the same deities commanding and extorting them, what is it but the crime of the gods; or rather the confession of demons, and the deception of miserable men? Truly that for which the Mother of the gods deserved to be worshipped by the consecration of castrated men, the poets did not feign, but preferred to shudder at it rather than to sing of it. Is anyone to be consecrated to these select gods, that after death he may live blessedly, to whom consecrated before death he cannot live honorably, subjected to such foul superstitions and bound to unclean demons? But all these things, he says, are referred to the world (mundum). Let him see lest rather to the unclean (immundum). But what cannot be referred to the world, which is demonstrated to be in the world? But we seek a soul, which trusting in true religion, should not adore the world as its god, but as the work of God for God's sake should praise the world; and expiated from worldly sordes, being clean (mundus), may arrive at God, who founded the world (mundum).

CHAPTER XXVII.---On the figments of the physiologists, who neither worship true divinity, nor with that worship with which true divinity is to be worshipped. 1. But we see indeed that these select gods have become more clearly known than the rest; not, however, that their merits might be illustrated, but lest their reproaches should be hidden: whence it is more believable that those were men; as not only poetic letters, but even historical ones have handed down. For as for what Virgil says, First from ethereal Olym-

pus came Saturn, fleeing the arms of Jove, and an exile with his kingdoms taken away: (Aeneid, lib. 8, vers 319, 320), and those things which follow pertaining to this matter, Euhemerus opens the whole history concerning this, which Ennius turned into Latin eloquence: whence, because they who before us wrote against errors of this kind, whether in the Greek or Latin tongue, have placed very many things, it has not pleased me to dwell upon it.

2. [XXVII.] When I consider the physiologies themselves, by which learned and acute men endeavor to turn these human things into divine things, I see nothing except that they were able to be referred to temporal and earthly works and a corporeal nature, or even if invisible, yet changeable: which in no way is the true God. But if this at least were done with significations suitable to religiousness, it would indeed be to be grieved, that the true God is not announced and preached by these; yet in some way to be borne that things so foul and shameful are not done nor commanded: but now when instead of the true God, by whom alone the soul inhabiting Him may be happy, it is a crime to worship either body or soul; how much more nefarious is it so to worship those, that neither health, nor human grace may the body or soul of the worshiper obtain? Wherefore if by a temple, a priest, a sacrifice, which is owed to the true God, some element of the world be worshipped, or some created spirit, even if not unclean and evil; it is not therefore evil, because those are evil by which it is

worshipped; but because those things are such, by which He alone is to be worshipped, to whom such worship and service is owed. But if by the stolidity or monstrosity of images, by sacrifices of homicides, by the crowning of the virile parts, by the hire of debaucheries, by the cutting of limbs, by the castration of genitals, by the consecration of effeminates (molles), by the feasts of impure and obscene games, anyone should contend that he worships the one true God, that is, the creator of every soul and body; he does not therefore sin, because He whom he worships is not to be worshipped; but because he worships Him who is to be worshipped, not as He is to be worshipped. But he who worships both with such things, that is, foul and wicked, and not the true God, that is, the maker of soul and body, but a creature, although not vicious, whether that be a soul, or a body, or soul and body together, sins twice against God, because he worships for Himself that which is not Himself; and worships with such things, as neither He is to be worshipped with, nor anyone not Himself. But in what way, that is, how foully and nefariously, these have worshipped, is manifest. But what or whom they worshipped, would be obscure, unless their history testified that those very things which they confess to be foul and shameful were rendered to deities terribly exacting them. Whence, ambiguities being removed, it is clear that nefarious demons and most unclean spirits were invited by all this civil theology in visiting the stolid images, and through them in possessing also foolish hearts.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

That the doctrine of Varro concerning theology is consistent with itself in no part.

What therefore is it worth, that the most learned and acute man Varro endeavors by as it were a subtle disputation to reduce and refer all these gods to heaven and to earth? He cannot: they flow from his hands, they leap back, they slip and fall. For about to speak of females, that is of goddesses: "Since," he says, "as I said in the first book concerning places, two principles of the gods are observed from heaven and earth, from which the gods are partly called celestial, partly terrestrial: as in the superior things we made a beginning with heaven, when we spoke of Janus, whom some said to be heaven, others to be the world; so of females we make a beginning of writing from Tellus." I feel how much trouble such and so great a genius suffers. For he is led by a certain verisimilar reason, that heaven is that which acts, the earth that which suffers; and therefore to the former he attributes masculine force, to the latter feminine: and he does not attend to Him who rather is the one who does these things, who made both. Hence also he thus interprets the noble mysteries of the Samothracians in a former book, and most religiously promises that he will set forth by writing and send to them those things which are not known even to his own people. For he says that he has collected there by many indications that in the images one thing signifies heaven, another the

earth, another the patterns (exempla) of things, which Plato calls ideas: he wishes heaven to be understood as Jupiter, the earth as Juno, ideas as Minerva: heaven from which something may be made, the earth from which it may be made, the pattern according to which it may be made. In which matter I omit to say, that Plato says those ideas have so much force, that according to them not heaven made something, but even heaven was made. This I say, that he in this book of select gods, has lost that reason of the three gods, by which as if he embraced all things. For to heaven he attributed masculine gods, females to the earth: among whom he placed Minerva, whom above heaven itself he had placed before. Then the masculine god Neptune is in the sea, which pertains to the earth rather than to the heaven. Finally Dispater, who in Greek is called Pluto, even himself a masculine brother of both, is perhibited to be a terrestrial god; holding the upper earth, having Proserpine his wife in the lower. How then do they endeavor to refer gods to heaven, goddesses to earth? What solid, what constant, what sober, what definite thing has this disputation? But that Tellus is the beginning of goddesses, namely the Great Mother, with whom the insane turpitude of effeminates and of the castrated and of those cutting and tossing themselves about resounds: what is it then that Janus is called the head of the gods, Tellus the head of the goddesses? Error does not make one head there, nor fury a sane one here. Why do they strive in vain to refer these things to the world? Because

even if they could, no pious man worships the world instead of the true God: and yet that they cannot even do this, the open truth convinces. Let them refer these things rather to dead men, and to the worst demons, and no question will remain.

CHAPTER XXIX.

That all things which the physiologists referred to the world and its parts, they ought to have referred to the one true God.

For let us observe in this way how all things which are referred by them from the theology of these gods as if by physical reasons to the world, may without any scruple of sacrilegious opinion be attributed rather to the true God, who made the world, the founder of every soul and of every body: We worship God, not heaven and earth, of which two parts this world consists: nor the soul or souls diffused through whatever living things; but God who made heaven and earth and all things which are in them: who made every soul, whether living in whatever way and devoid of sense and reason, or even sentient, or even intelligent.

CHAPTER XXX.

By what piety the Creator is distinguished from creatures, lest for one so many gods be worshipped, as there are works of one author.

And now that I may begin to run through those works of the one and true God, on account

of which these, while they endeavor as if honorably to interpret the most foul and wicked sacraments, have made many and false gods: we worship that God, who appointed the beginnings and ends of subsisting and moving to the natures created by Him; who has, knows, and disposes the causes of things; who founded the force of seeds; who placed the rational soul, which is called the mind (animus), in those living things He willed; who gave the faculty and use of speech; who imparted the gift of telling future things to those spirits He pleased, and through whom He pleases Himself predicts future things, and through whom He pleases drives away bad healths; who also moderates the beginnings, progresses, and ends of wars themselves, when the human race is thus to be emended and chastened; who both created and rules the most vehement and most violent fire of this world for the temperament of an immense nature; who is the creator and governor of all waters; who made the sun the brightest of corporeal lights, and gave to it suitable force and motion; who does not withdraw His domination and power even from the lower regions themselves; who supplied the seeds and nourishments of mortals, whether dry or liquid, attributed to competent natures; who founds and fecundates the earth; who bestows its fruits on animals and men; who knows and ordains not only principal causes, but also subsequent ones; who appointed to the moon its own motion; who provides celestial and terrestrial ways for changes of places; who also granted to

human geniuses, which He created, the sciences of various arts for helping life and nature; who instituted the conjunction of male and female for the aid of propagating offspring; who indulged to the assemblies of men the gift of earthly fire for easiest uses, which they might apply to hearths and lights. These are certainly the things which the most acute and learned man Varro, either which he received from elsewhere, or which he himself conjectured, labored to distribute to the select gods by some physical interpretations or other.

[XXX.] But these things the one true God does and acts; but as God, that is, everywhere whole, included in no places, bound by no chains, divisible into no parts, changeable in no part, filling heaven and earth with present power, not with indigent nature. Thus therefore He administers all things which He created, that He also allows them to exercise and act their own proper motions. For although they can be nothing without Him, they are not what He is. But He acts many things also through Angels: but He does not beatify Angels except from Himself. Thus although on account of some causes He sends Angels to men: yet He does not beatify men from Angels, but from Himself, just as He does the Angels. From this one and true God we hope for eternal life.

CHAPTER XXXI.

What benefits of God properly, except the general largess, the followers of truth use.

For we have from Him, besides benefits of this kind, which from this administration of nature of which we have said some things, He bestows on the good and the bad, a great and proper sign of great love for the good. For although, for that we are, that we live, that we behold heaven and earth, that we have mind and reason, by which we may inquire after Him himself, who founded all these things, we are by no means able to suffice for the giving of thanks: yet because He did not altogether desert us, burdened and overwhelmed with sins, and turned away from the contemplation of His light, and blinded by the love of darkness, that is, of iniquity, and sent to us His Word, who is His only Son, by whom, having assumed flesh for us, being born and having suffered, we might know how much God valued man, and by that singular sacrifice we might be cleansed from all sins, and by His Spirit, love being diffused in our hearts, all difficulties being overcome, we might come into eternal rest and the ineffable sweetness of His contemplation, what hearts, how many tongues will strive to be sufficient for giving thanks to Him?

CHAPTER XXXII.---That the sacrament of the redemption of Christ has been missing in no times past, and has always been preached by various significations. This mystery of eternal life even from the beginning of the human race has been preached through Angels by certain signs and sacraments suitable to the times, as it was behoveful. Then the Hebrew people was gathered into a certain one republic, which might act

this sacrament; where through some knowing, through some not knowing, that which is acted from the coming of Christ up to now and henceforth, should be foreannounced as about to come: that same nation being also afterward dispersed through the nations on account of the testimony of the Scriptures, by which eternal salvation in Christ to come was predicted. For all things, not only the prophecies which are in words; nor only the precepts of life, which conform morals and piety, and are contained in those letters; but even the sacred rites, priesthoods, tabernacle, or temple, altars, sacrifices, ceremonies, festival days, and whatever else pertains to that service which is owed to God, and is properly called latreia in Greek, signified and foreannounced those things which, on account of the eternal life of the faithful in Christ, we both believe to have been fulfilled, and perceive to be being fulfilled, and trust will be fulfilled.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

That the fallacy of the malignant spirits, rejoicing in the error of men, could be manifested by the Christian religion alone.

Through this religion alone, and that true, it could be opened that the gods of the Nations are most impure demons, desiring themselves to be thought gods under the occasions of deceased souls or the appearance of worldly creatures, and rejoicing with proud impurity in quasi-divine honors and in the same wicked and base things,

and envying the conversion of human minds to the true God. From whose most immense and most impious dominion man is delivered, when he believes in Him who provided so great an example of humility for rising up, as by how great pride they fell. Hence are not only those, concerning whom we have already said many things, and others and still others similar of the rest of the nations and lands; but even these, concerning whom we now treat, as if selected into the senate of the gods; but plainly selected for the nobility of their crimes, not the dignity of their virtues. Whose sacred rites while Varro attempts to refer as if to natural reasons, seeking to make honest base things, he cannot find how it may fit and harmonize with these: since those are not the causes of those sacred rites which he thinks, or rather wishes to be thought. For if not only those, but even any others of this kind were, although they should pertain nothing to the true God and eternal life, which is to be sought in religion; yet by whatever reason of the nature of things rendered, they would somewhat mitigate the offense, which some as if baseness or absurdity not understood in the sacred rites had made; just as in certain fables of the theaters or mysteries of the shrines he has attempted to do: where he did not absolve the theaters by the similitude of the shrines, but rather condemned the shrines by the similitude of the theaters; yet howsoever he attempted, that he might soothe the sense offended by horrible things by the reason of natural causes rendered.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Concerning the books of Numa Pompilius, which the senate, lest the causes of the sacred rites, such as were contained in them, should become known, ordered to be burned.

But on the contrary we find, as that most learned man himself has delivered, that the causes of the sacred rites rendered from the books of Numa Pompilius could in no way be tolerated, nor were they held worthy, which should not only become known by being read by the religious, but at least being written should be hidden in darkness. For now I shall say what I had promised in the third book of this work (Cap. IX) that I would say in its place. For, as is read in the same Varro in the book on the Worship of the gods, "A certain Terentius when he had a farm at the Janiculum, and his plowman passing near the sepulcher of Numa Pompilius with the plow had erubated from the earth his books, where the causes of the instituted sacred rites were written, he brought them into the City to the praetor. But he when he had inspected the beginnings, brought so great a matter to the senate. Where when the leading men had read certain causes, why each thing had been instituted in the sacred rites, the senate assented to the dead Numa, and those books as religious conscript fathers, they decreed that the praetor should burn." Let anyone believe what he thinks: nay rather let him say what insane contention, any egregious defender of so great impiety, shall have suggested to be said. Let it suffice for me to admonish, that

the causes of the sacred rites written by king Pompilius, the institutor of the Roman sacred rites, ought to have become known neither to the people, nor to the senate, nor even to the priests themselves, and that Numa Pompilius himself by illicit curiosity arrived at those secrets of the demons, which he himself indeed wrote, that he might have whence by reading he might be reminded: but those however, when he was a king, who least should fear anyone, he dared neither to teach anyone, nor by deleting or in any way consuming to lose; so that what he wished no one to know, lest he should teach men nefarious things, but feared to violate, lest he should have the demons angry, he buried where he thought it safe, not believing that the plow could approach his sepulcher. But the senate when it feared to condemn the religions of the ancestors, and therefore was compelled to assent to Numa; yet they judged those books to be so pernicious, that they ordered neither to be buried again, lest human curiosity should much more vehemently seek the matter already betrayed, but the nefarious monuments to be abolished by flames: so that, because they already thought it necessary to do those sacred rites, it might be erred more tolerably with their causes ignored, than the city be disturbed with them known.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Concerning hydromancy, by which Numa, having seen certain images of demons, was mocked.

For even Numa himself, to whom no prophet of God, no holy angel was sent, was compelled to practice hydromancy, that he might see in water the images of the gods, or rather the mockeries of the demons, from whom he might hear what he ought to constitute and observe in the sacred rites. Which kind of divination the same Varro says was brought from the Persians, which he commemorates both Numa himself, and afterward Pythagoras the philosopher to have used: where he also reports the infernal spirits to be consulted with blood added; and he says it is called necromantia in Greek: which whether it be called hydromancy or necromancy, it is the same thing, where the dead are seen to divine. By what arts these things are done, let them see. For I am unwilling to say that these arts even before the coming of our Savior were accustomed to be prohibited by the laws in the cities of the Nations themselves, and to be avenged by the most severe penalty. I am unwilling, I say, to say this: for perhaps such things were then lawful. Yet by these arts Pompilius says those sacred rites, the facts of which sacred rites he betrayed, the causes he buried; so he himself feared what he learned: of which causes the senate burned the betrayed books. Why then does Varro interpret to me some other I know not what as if physical causes of those sacred rites; such as if those books had had, they would not certainly have burned; or the conscript fathers would have similarly burned those of Varro written and published to Caesar the pontiff? Because therefore he drew off water, that is,

exported it, Numa Pompilius, whence he might perform hydromancy, he is said for that reason to have had the nymph Egeria as his spouse, in the manner explained in the above-mentioned book of Varro. For so things done are accustomed to be turned into fables by the sprinkling of lies. In that hydromancy therefore that most curious Roman king both learned the sacred rites, which the pontiffs should have in their books; and their causes, which he wished no one besides himself to know. Therefore he made them written apart to die with himself in a certain way, when he took care they should be thus subtracted from the knowledge of men and be buried. Either then so sordid and noxious desires of demons were written there, that from these that whole civil theology should appear execrable even among such men, who had received so many things to be blushed at in the sacred rites themselves: or all those were betrayed to be nothing else than dead men, whom through the length of so much time almost all the peoples of the Nations had believed to be immortal gods: since also the same demons were delighted with such sacred rites, who substituted themselves to be worshipped for those dead men, whom they had made to be thought gods by the attestation of certain fallacious miracles. But it was done by the secret providence of the true God, that they should be permitted to confess all those things even to Pompilius their friend conciliated by those arts, by which hydromancy could be done; and yet that they should not be permitted to admonish him that he being

about to die should burn them rather than bury them: who lest they should become known, could neither resist the plow, by which they were erubated, nor the pen of Varro, by which those things which were done concerning this matter, have arrived into our memory. For they cannot effect what they are not permitted; but they are permitted by the high and just judgment of the supreme God according to the merits of those, whom it is just to be either only afflicted by them, or even subjected and deceived. How truly pernicious or alien from the worship of the true divinity those letters were judged, can be understood from this, that the senate preferred to burn them, which Pompilius hid, rather than to fear what he feared who could not dare this. He then who wishes to have a pious life neither in this way, let him seek eternal life by such sacred rites. But he who does not wish to have society with malignant demons, let him not fear the noxious superstition, by which they are worshipped: but let him recognize the true religion, by which they are betrayed and overcome.

BOOK EIGHT.

He comes to the third kind of theology, which is called natural, and to the question concerning the gods pertaining thereto, whether, forsooth, the worship of those gods may profit for the obtaining of the blessed life, which is to be hereafter after death, he undertakes to discuss with the Platonists, who are easily the chief of the rest of the philosophers and approaching nearer to the truth of the Christian faith. And here first he refutes Apuleius and whoever others wish worship to be paid to demons as to messengers and interpreters between the gods and men; showing that the demons themselves whom he has proved to be subject to vices, and which things honest and prudent men turn away from and condemn, that is, sacrilegious figments of poets, theatrical mockeries, the maleficence and crimes of magical arts, they have brought in, and are known to altogether favor and be delighted by them, can by no reason conciliate men to the good gods.

CHAPTER PRIMUM.

Concerning the question of natural theology to be discussed with the philosophers of more excellent knowledge.

Now there is need for us of a much more intent mind than was in the solution of the superior

questions and the explanation of the books. For concerning theology, which they call natural, the conference is to be held not with any men (for it is not fabulous or civil, that is, either theatrical or urban; of which the one boasts of the crimes of the gods, the other indicates the more criminal desires of the gods, and through this of malignant demons rather than of gods); but it is to be held with the philosophers: whose name itself if we interpret in Latin, professes the love of wisdom. Furthermore if wisdom is God, through whom all things were made, as divine authority and truth has shown (Wisd. VII, 24-27; and Hebr. 1, 2, 3), the true philosopher is a lover of God. But because the thing itself, of which this is the name, is not in all who glory in this name (for not all are straightway lovers of true wisdom, whoever are called philosophers): certainly out of all, whose opinions we have been able to know even by letters, those are to be chosen with whom this question may not unworthily be treated. For neither in this work have I undertaken to refute all the vain opinions of all philosophers, but those only which pertain to theology, by which Greek word we understand the reason or discourse concerning divinity to be signified: nor those of all, but of those only, who while they consent both that divinity exists and that it cares for human things, yet think that the worship of the one unchangeable God does not suffice for the attaining of the blessed life, even after death, but think many, created and instituted indeed by that one, are to be worshipped for that cause. These

already transcend even the opinion of Varro by proximity of truth: since he was able to extend the whole of natural theology only up to this world or its soul: but these confess God above every nature of the soul, who made not only this visible world, which is often called by the name of heaven and earth, but also every soul whatsoever; and who makes the rational and intellectual soul, of which kind the human soul is, blessed by the participation of His unchangeable and incorporeal light. No one who has heard these things even slightly, is ignorant that these philosophers are called Platonists, the word being derived from Plato their teacher. Concerning this Plato therefore, those things which I think necessary to the present question, I shall briefly touch upon, first commemorating those who preceded him in the same kind of letters.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning two kinds of philosophers, that is, the Italic and Ionic, and their authors.

For as much as pertains to Greek letters, which language is held clearer among the rest of the nations, two kinds of philosophers are handed down; one Italic, from that part of Italy which was once called Great Greece; the other Ionic, in those lands where even now it is named Greece. The Italic kind had Pythagoras the Samian as its author, from whom they also say the name of philosophy itself arose. For when previously they were called Wise men, who in a certain manner

of laudable life seemed to excel others; he being asked what he professed, responded that he was a Philosopher, that is, a studious man or lover of wisdom: since to profess himself wise, seemed most arrogant. But of the Ionic kind Thales the Milesian was the prince, one of those seven who were called Wise men. But those six were distinguished by their kind of life, and by certain precepts accommodated to living well: but this Thales, that he might also propagate successors, scrutinized the nature of things and committing his disputations to letters became eminent; and especially stood out as admirable, because by astrology's numbers comprehended, he was able also to predict the eclipses of the sun and moon. Yet he thought water to be the principle of things, and from hence all the elements of the world and the world itself, and those things which are generated in it, to exist. But he set nothing from a divine mind over this work, which we behold so admirable with the world considered. To him succeeded Anaximander, his auditor, and changed his opinion concerning the nature of things. For he thought that each thing was born not from one thing, as Thales from moisture, but from its own proper principles. Which principles of singular things he believed to be infinite, and to generate innumerable worlds, and whatever things arise in them; and he thought those worlds sometimes to be dissolved, sometimes again to be born, as long as each was able to remain in its age; nor did he himself attribute anything to a divine mind in these works of things. He left Anaximenes as

a disciple and successor: who gave all the causes of things to the infinite air: nor did he deny or keep silence concerning the gods; yet he believed not the air to have been made by them, but them to have arisen from the air. But Anaxagoras, his auditor, perceived a divine mind to be the effecter of all these things which we see; and he said that from infinite matter, which should consist of particles similar among themselves, the kinds of all things were made each according to their own modules and species, but by a divine mind making them. Diogenes also, another auditor of Anaximenes, said indeed that air was the matter of things, from which all things were made; but that it was possessed of divine reason, without which nothing could be made from it. To Anaxagoras succeeded his auditor Archelaus: he himself also thought all things thus to consist of particles similar among themselves, by which each singular thing was made, so that he said a mind also was within, which by joining and dissipating the eternal bodies, that is, those particles, should act all things. Socrates is reported to have been the disciple of this man, the teacher of Plato, on account of whom I have briefly recollected all those things.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Socratic discipline.

Socrates therefore is commemorated to have been the first to turn universal philosophy to the correcting and composing of morals; since

before him all impended their greatest labor rather in scrutinizing physical, that is, natural, things. But it does not seem to me to be able to be gathered to the liquid, whether Socrates, that he might do this, intended his mind from the weariness of obscure and uncertain things to the finding of something open and certain, which should be necessary for the blessed life; for which alone the industry of all philosophers seems to have kept watch and labored: or truly, as some more benevolently suspect concerning him, he was unwilling that minds impure with earthly desires should try to extend themselves into divine things. Since he saw the causes of things to be inquired into by them, which he believed to be the first and highest only in the will of the one and supreme God: whence he thought those could not be comprehended except by a cleansed mind; and therefore he judged that a life to be purged by good morals must be insisted upon, that the mind exonerated from depressing lusts might lift itself by natural vigor into eternal things, and might behold the nature of the incorporeal and unchangeable light, where the causes of all made natures stably live, by the purity of intelligence. It is certain however that he with a wonderful charm of discoursing and most acute urbanity agitated and turned the folly of the unskilled opining themselves to know something, even in those moral questions, to which he seemed to have intended his whole mind, either by his confessed ignorance, or dissimulated knowledge. Whence also

with stirred up enmities condemned by a calumnious crimination, he was punished with death. But afterward that same city of the Athenians publicly mourned him, whom it had publicly condemned, the indignation of the people being turned against his two accusers to such a degree, that one of them being oppressed by the force of the multitude perished, but the other escaped a similar penalty by voluntary and perpetual exile. With so illustrious a fame therefore of life and death Socrates left very many followers of his philosophy, whose study was emulously to be versed in the discussion of moral questions, where it is treated concerning the supreme good, by which man can become blessed. Which in the disputations of Socrates, while he moves, asserts, destroys all things, since it did not evidently appear; what pleased each, they took from thence, and where it seemed to each, they constituted the end of the good. But the end of the good is called that, where when anyone shall have arrived, he is blessed. But the Socratics had so diverse opinions among themselves concerning that end, that (which is scarcely credible, to have been able to make followers of one master) some said the supreme good was pleasure, just as Aristippus; some virtue, just as Antisthenes. Thus others and others opined something else and something else: whom to commemorate is long.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning Plato, the chief among the disciples of Socrates, who distinguished all philosophy by a triple partition.

But among the disciples of Socrates, not indeed unmeritedly, Plato shone with most excellent glory, who should altogether obscure the rest. Who since he was an Athenian, born of an honorable place among his own, and by a wonderful genius far preceded his fellow-disciples; yet thinking himself and the Socratic discipline to suffice little for the perfecting of philosophy, he traveled as far and wide as he could, whithersoever the fame of perceiving any nobility of science snatched him away. Therefore he both learned in Egypt whatever great things were held and taught there, and from thence coming into those parts of Italy where the fame of the Pythagoreans was celebrated, whatever of Italic philosophy then flourished, having heard the more eminent teachers in it, he most easily comprehended. And because he singularly loved his master Socrates, making him speaking in almost all his discourses, even those things which he had either learned from others, or he himself had seen by as much intelligence as he could, he tempered with his charm and moral disputations. Therefore since the study of wisdom is versed in action and contemplation, whence one part of it can be called active, the other contemplative; of which the active pertains to the acting of life, that is, to the instituting of morals, but the contemplative to the beholding of the causes of nature and most sincere truth: Socrates is commemorated to have excelled in the active; but Pythagoras rather to have insisted upon the contemplative, with what powers of intelligence he could. Accordingly

Plato is praised for having perfected philosophy by joining both, which he distributed into three parts: one moral, which is mostly versed in action; another natural, which is deputed to contemplation; the third rational, by which the true is distinguished from the false: which although it be necessary to both, that is to action and contemplation, yet contemplation especially claims the perspection of truth for itself. Therefore this tripartition is not contrary to that distinction, by which it is understood all study of wisdom to consist in action and contemplation. But what Plato sensed in these or concerning these singular parts, that is, where he knew or believed the end of all actions, where the cause of all natures, where the light of all reasons to be, I judge it both to be long to explain by discoursing, and I do not judge it to be rashly affirmed. For when he affects to preserve the most known custom of his master Socrates, whom he makes disputing in his volumes, of dissimulating his knowledge or his opinion, because that custom also pleased him, it was done that even the sentences of Plato himself concerning great things cannot easily be perceived. Yet from these things which are read in him, whether those which he said, or those which he narrated and wrote to have been said by others, which seemed pleasing to himself, certain things ought to be commemorated and inserted into this work by us, either where he suffragates the true religion, which our faith receives and defends, or where he seems to be contrary to it, as much as pertains to this question concerning

one God and many, on account of the life which is hereafter after death, truly blessed. For perhaps those who are praised with a more celebrated fame to have understood and followed Plato more acutely and truly, far and rightly preferred to the rest of the philosophers of the nations, sense something such concerning God, that in Him may be found both the cause of subsisting, and the reason of understanding, and the order of living: of which three, one is understood to pertain to the natural, another to the rational, the third to the moral part. For if man was so created, that through that which excels in him, he may touch that which excels all things, that is, the one true best God, without whom no nature subsists, no doctrine instructs, no use profits: let Him be sought, where all things are secure for us; let Him be beheld, where all things are certain for us; let Him be loved, where all things are right for us.

CHAPTER V.

That the discussion concerning theology is to be held with the Platonists especially, to whose opinion the dogmas of all philosophers are to be postponed.

If therefore Plato said that he is wise who is an imitator, knower, lover of this God, by the participation of whom he may be blessed, what need is there to shake out the rest? None have approached nearer to us than these. Let therefore not only that fabulous theology delighting the minds of the impious with the crimes of the gods yield to them; nor only also that civil, where

impure demons deceiving the peoples addicted to earthly joys under the name of the gods, wished to have human errors as their own divine honors, exciting their worshippers by most impure studies to behold the games of their own crimes as if for their own worship, and exhibiting to themselves more delightful games from the spectators themselves: where if any as if honest things are carried on in the temples, they are fouled by the obscenity of the theaters joined to them; and whatever base things are carried on in the theaters, they are praised by the foulness of the temples compared to themselves. And those things which Varro interpreted from these sacred rites, as if to heaven and earth and the seeds and acts of mortal things; because neither are those themselves signified by those rites, which he himself attempts to insinuate; and therefore truth does not follow him attempting: and if those themselves were, yet to the rational soul those things, which are constituted below it in natural order, were not to be worshipped for its god; nor ought it to prefer to itself, as if gods, those things, to which the true God preferred it itself. And those things, which Numa Pompilius truly pertaining to sacred rites of this kind took care to be hidden by burying them with himself, and being erubated by the plow the senate ordered to be burned. In that kind are also those things, that we may suspect something milder concerning Numa, which Alexander the Macedonian writes to his mother, made open to himself by a certain Leo, a great high-priest of the

Egyptian sacred rites: where not only Picus and Faunus and Aeneas and Romulus, or even Hercules and Aesculapius and Liber born of Semele, and the Tyndarid brothers, and if any others from mortals they have for gods, but even the gods themselves of the major nations, whom Cicero in the Tusculans seems to touch upon with names kept silent (Lib. I, cap. 13), Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, Vulcan, Vesta, and very many others, whom Varro attempts to transfer to the parts of the world or the elements, are betrayed to have been men. For he also fearing as if the revealed mysteries, asking admonishes Alexander, that when he shall have insinuated those things written to his mother, he should order them to be burned by flames. Not only therefore those things, which the two theologies, the fabulous and civil, contain, let them yield to the Platonist philosophers, who said that the true God is both the author of things, and the illustrator of truth, and the bestower of blessedness: but other philosophers also, who have opined corporeal principles of nature with minds given over to the body, let them yield to these men so great and knowers of so great a God, as Thales in moisture, Anaximenes in air, the Stoics in fire, Epicurus in atoms, that is most minute little bodies, which can neither be divided nor sensed, and whoever others, on whose enumeration it is not necessary to dwell, whether simple, or joined bodies, whether lacking life, or living, but yet bodies, have said to be the cause and principle of things. For certain of them have believed that living things can be made from non-

living things, just as the Epicureans: but certain indeed from a living thing both living and non-living things, but yet bodies from a body. For the Stoics thought fire, that is one body from these four elements, by which this visible world consists, both living, and wise, and the fabricator of the world itself and of all things which are in it, and that altogether fire to be God. These and the rest similar to them were able to think that only, which their hearts bound with the senses of the flesh have fabled with them. For in themselves they had what they did not see, and among themselves they imagined what they had seen without, even when they did not see, but only thought. But this in the sight of such thought is now not a body, but a similitude of a body. But that from whence this similitude of a body is seen in the mind, is neither a body, nor a similitude of a body; and from whence it is seen, and whether it be beautiful or deformed is judged, is certainly better than that which is judged. This is the mind of man and the nature of the rational soul, which certainly is not a body; if already that similitude of a body, when it is beheld and judged in the mind of the thinking person, is not itself a body. It is therefore neither earth, nor water, nor air, nor fire: by which four bodies, which are called the four elements, we see the corporeal world to be compacted. Furthermore if our mind is not a body, how is God the creator of the mind a body? Let these also therefore yield, as was said, to the Platonists: let those yield also, who indeed were ashamed to say that God is a body, yet neverthe-

less have thought our minds to be of the same nature as He is. So so great mutability of the soul did not move them, which it is nefas to attribute to the nature of God. But they say, The nature of the soul is changed by the body; for by itself it is unchangeable. These could say, The flesh is wounded by some body; for by itself it is invulnerable. Truly what cannot be changed, can by no thing: and by this what can be changed by a body, can by some thing, and therefore cannot rightly be called unchangeable.

These philosophers, therefore, whom fame celebrates as deservedly preferred to the rest, saw that no body is God; and therefore they transcended all bodies seeking God. They saw that whatever is mutable is not the supreme God: and therefore they transcended every soul and mutable spirits seeking the supreme God. Then they saw that every species in any mutable thing, by which it is whatever that is, in what manner soever and of what quality soever it is, can be only from Him who truly is, because He is unchangeably. And by this whether the body of the whole world, the figures, qualities, and ordered motion, and the elements disposed from heaven even to earth, and whatever bodies are in them; or every life, either that which nourishes and preserves, such as is in trees; or that which both has this and senses, such as is in cattle; or that which both has these and understands, such as is in men; or that which does not need nourishment, but only preserves, senses, understands, such as is in Angels: can be only from Him, who simply is.

Because to Him it is one thing to be, another to live: as if He could be not living; another to live, another to understand: as if He could live not understanding; another to understand, another to be blessed: as if He could understand not blessed. But to God this is to be, which is to live, which is to understand, which is to be blessed, changed by no mutability. On account of this unchangeability and simplicity they understood both Him to have made all these things, and Himself to have been able to be made by no one. For they considered that whatever is, is either body or life; and that life is something better than body; and that the species of body is sensible, life intelligible. Therefore they preferred the intelligible species to the sensible. We call sensible things, those which can be sensed by the sight and touch of the body: intelligible, those which can be understood by the sharpness of the mind. But there is no species of body, in which there does not appear, howsoever it may excel less there, some number: which can be only from the intelligible and unchangeable number, which is in supreme wisdom, who made all things in measure and number and weight. Since therefore in their sight there was not the body, from whence they should think these things; but their interior sight was in their mind, from whence they should judge such things concerning bodies: they saw certainly also the soul itself to be mutable. For now it willed, now it willed not; now it knew, now it knew not; now it remembered, now it forgot; now it feared, now it dared; now it was borne to vices, now to

virtues. They saw therefore that, if the soul had one thing, through which it should be changed; it should have another, through which that same species should be: certainly also in the soul itself the species should be intelligible, just as in bodies sensible. Whence they also transcended the soul itself, that they might seek the unchangeable species, where they had known it to be. And so they arrived at that which is one, and simply is, and through this is God. For there it is not one thing to be, and another to be beautiful; but this is to Him to be, which is to be beautiful. Just as it is not one thing to Him to be, and another to be wise; but this is to Him to be, which is to be wise. And whatever is said concerning Him, is referred to His essence, which is one and unchangeable. This is that natural theology, which these philosophers, who saw all things more acutely, segregated from all the rest of the sects and kinds of philosophers.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the opinion of the Platonists in that part of philosophy which is called physics.

These philosophers, therefore, whom we see deservedly preferred to the rest by fame and glory, saw that God is no body: and therefore they transcended all bodies in seeking God. They saw that whatever is mutable is not the supreme God: and therefore they transcended every soul and all mutable spirits, seeking the supreme God. Then they saw that every form (species) in any mutable

thing, by which it is whatever it is, in whatever way and of whatever nature it may be, cannot be except from Him who truly is, because He is unchangeably. And by this, whether the body of the entire world, its figures, qualities, and ordered motion, and the elements disposed from heaven even unto the earth, and whatever bodies are in them; or all life, either that which nourishes and contains, such as is in trees; or that which both has this and feels, such as is in cattle; or that which has these and understands, such as is in men; or that which needs no nutritional support, but only contains, feels, and understands, such as is in the Angels—it could not be except from Him who simply is: because to Him to be is not one thing, and to live another, as if He could be without living; nor is it to Him one thing to live, and another to understand, as if He could live without understanding; nor is it to Him one thing to understand, and another to be blessed, as if He could understand and not be blessed; but what it is for Him to live, to understand, and to be blessed, this is for Him to be. Because of this unchangeability and simplicity, they understood both that He had made all these things, and that He Himself could not have been made by any one. For they considered that whatever exists is either a body or life; and that life is something better than a body; and that the form of a body is sensible, while that of life is intelligible. Therefore they preferred the intelligible form to the sensible. We call those things sensible which can be perceived by the sight and touch of the body; intelligible,

those which can be understood by the sight of the mind. For there is no bodily beauty, whether in the state of the body, such as figure, or in motion, such as a song, concerning which the mind does not judge. Which indeed it could not do, unless there were in it a better form of this, without the swelling of mass, without the noise of the voice, without the space of either place or time. But there also, unless it were mutable, one would not judge better than another concerning the sensible form: the more ingenious better than the slower, the more skilled better than the unskilled, the more practiced better than the less practiced, and the same one when he profits, certainly better afterwards than before. But that which receives more and less is without doubt mutable. Whence ingenious and learned and practiced men in these things easily gathered that the first form is not in those things where it is proved to be mutable. When, therefore, both the body and the soul were in their sight more or less beautiful, and if they could be deprived of all form, they would be nothing at all, they saw that there is something where the first and unchangeable form is, and therefore not comparable: and there they most rightly believed the principle of things to be, which had not been made, and from which all things were made. Thus what is known of God, He Himself manifested to them, since His invisible things, being understood through those things which are made, were seen by them; also His eternal power and divinity (Rom. I, 19, 20): by whom also all visible and temporal things were

created. Let these things be said concerning that part which they call physics, that is, natural philosophy.

CHAPTER VII.

How much more excellent the Platonists are to be held than the rest in logic, that is, rational philosophy.

But as pertains to doctrine, where the second part is concerned, which is called by them logic, that is, rational philosophy; far be it that they should seem comparable to those who placed the judgment of truth in the senses of the body, and thought that all things which are learned should be measured by their faithless and fallacious rules, as the Epicureans, and whoever else are such; as even the Stoics themselves, who, though they vehemently loved the skill of disputing, which they call dialectic, thought it should be derived from the senses of the body; asserting from this that the mind conceives notions, which they call ennoias (ἐννοίας), namely, of those things which they explain by defining; and that from here the whole system of learning and teaching is propagated and connected. Where I am often wont to wonder much, since they say that none are beautiful except the wise, by what senses of the body they saw that beauty, with what eyes of the flesh they beheld the form and glory of wisdom. But these, whom we deservedly prefer to the rest, have distinguished those things which are seen by the mind from those which are touched by the senses; neither taking away from

the senses what they can do, nor giving to them more than they can. But they said that the light of minds for learning all things is that same God by whom all things were made.

CHAPTER VIII.

That the Platonists also obtain the primacy in moral philosophy.

The remaining part is the moral, which they call in the Greek word ethike (ἠθικήν), where the question is concerning the supreme good (summum bonum), by referring to which all things that we do, and which we desire not for the sake of something else, but for its own sake, and attaining which, we require nothing further that we may be blessed. For this reason, indeed, it is also called the end, because for the sake of this we wish other things, but it only for its own sake. Some, therefore, said that this beatific good is in the body, others in the soul, others in both in man. For they saw that man himself consists of soul and body, and therefore they believed that it could be well with him from one of these two, or from both, by some final good, by which they might be blessed, to which they might refer all things which they did, and that they should not seek further for that to which reference should be made. Whence those who are said to have added a third kind of goods, which is called extrinsic, such as honor, glory, money, and if there be any such, did not so add them as to be the final good, that is, to be desired for its own sake, but for the

sake of something else; and this kind was a good to the good, but an evil to the evil. Thus the good of man, which they sought either from the soul, or from the body, or from both, they thought was to be sought from nothing else than from man. But those who desired it from the body, from the worse part of man; those who from the soul, from the better part; those from both, from the whole man. Whether therefore from any part, or from the whole, it was only from man. Nor were these differences, because they are three, therefore only three, but they made many dissensions and sects of philosophers: because they thought differently concerning the good of the body, and the good of the soul, and the good of both. Let all these therefore yield to those philosophers who did not say that man is blessed in enjoying the body, or in enjoying the soul, but in enjoying God: not as the soul enjoys the body or itself, or as a friend enjoys a friend, but as the eye enjoys light; if any likeness is to be brought from these to those things, which what it may be, if God Himself shall help, will appear in another place as much as can be done by us.

[IX.] Now let it suffice to mention that Plato determined the end of good to be to live according to virtue, and that this can happen only to him who has the knowledge of God and imitation; nor is he blessed for any other cause. And therefore he does not doubt that this is to philosophize, to love God, whose nature is incorporeal. Whence it is certainly gathered that the student of wisdom (for that is a philosopher) will then be

blessed when he shall begin to enjoy God. For although he is not immediately blessed who enjoys what he loves; for many by loving those things which are not to be loved are miserable, and more miserable when they enjoy them: yet no one is blessed who does not enjoy that which he loves. For even they themselves who love things not to be loved, do not think themselves blessed in loving, but in enjoying. Whoever therefore enjoys what he loves, and loves the true and supreme good, who except the most miserable denies him to be blessed? But Plato says that the true and supreme good itself is God, whence he wishes the philosopher to be a lover of God, that, since philosophy tends to a blessed life, he who has loved God may be blessed by enjoying God.

CHAPTER IX.

Of that philosophy which has approached more nearly to the truth of the Christian faith.

Whatever philosophers, therefore, have thought these things concerning the supreme and true God, that He is both the maker of created things, and the light of those to be known, and the good of those to be done; that from Him we have both the principle of nature, and the truth of doctrine, and the happiness of life; whether they be called Platonists more suitably, or impose whatever other name of their sect; whether only those of the Ionic kind, who were chief among them, have thought these things, as the same Plato and those who have well understood him;

or even the Italics, because of Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, and if any others of the same opinion have been found; or also of other nations, who have been held as wise men or philosophers, Atlantic Libyans, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Chaldeans, Scythians, Gauls, Spaniards, and others are found who have seen and taught this, we prefer them all to the rest, and we confess them to be nearer to us.

CHAPTER X.

What is the excellence of the religious Christian among the philosophical arts.

1. For although a Christian man, instructed only in ecclesiastical letters, may perhaps be ignorant of the name of the Platonists, and may not know whether two kinds of philosophers have existed in the Greek language, the Ionic and the Italic; yet he is not so deaf in human affairs as not to know that philosophers profess either the study of wisdom or wisdom itself. He is cautious of them, however, who philosophize according to the elements of this world, not according to God, by whom the world itself was made. For he is admonished by the apostolic precept, and faithfully hears what is said: "Beware lest any man deceive you through philosophy and vain deceit, according to the elements of the world" (Coloss. II, 8). Then, lest he should think all are such, he hears it said by the same apostle concerning some: "Because that which is known of God is manifest in them; for God has manifested it to

them. For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; even His eternal power and divinity" (Rom. I, 19, 20). And where, speaking to the Athenians, when he had said a great thing concerning God, and which could be understood by few, that "in Him we live, and move, and are"; he added and said: "As certain also of your own have said" (Acts XVII, 28). He knows indeed how to beware of them even in those things in which they err. For where it is said that through those things which are made, God manifested to them His invisible things to be seen by the understanding; there also it is said that they did not rightly worship God Himself, because they also deferred divine honors, due to Him alone, to other things to which they ought not: "Because that, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things" (Rom. I, 21-23). Where he made it understood that both the Romans, and the Greeks, and the Egyptians, who have gloried in the name of wisdom, were meant. But concerning this we shall dispute with them hereafter. But in that in which they agree with us concerning one God, the author of this universe, who is not only above all bodies, being incorporeal, but also above all souls, being incor-

ruptible, our principle, our light, our good, in this we prefer them to the rest.

2. [X.] Nor, if the Christian, being ignorant of their letters, does not use in dispute words which he has not learned, so as to call that part in which the investigation of nature is treated either natural in Latin or physics in Greek, and that in which it is sought in what way truth can be perceived either rational or logic, and that in which morals are discussed and the ends of goods to be desired and of evils to be avoided either moral or ethics, does he therefore not know that from the one true and best God we have both a nature, by which we are made after His image, and a doctrine, by which we may know Him and ourselves, and a grace, by which by clinging to Him we may be blessed.

This, therefore, is the cause why we prefer these to the rest; because while other philosophers have worn out their minds and studies in seeking the causes of things, and what was the manner of learning and living; these, having known God, have found where the cause of the constituted universe was, and the light of truth to be perceived, and the fountain of happiness to be drunk. Whether, therefore, these Platonists, or whatever other philosophers of any nations, think these things concerning God, they think with us. But therefore it has pleased us more to plead this cause with the Platonists, because their writings are better known. For both the Greeks, whose language is pre-eminent among the nations, have celebrated them with great

praise; and the Latins, moved either by their excellence or glory, have more willingly learned them, and by translating them into our eloquence have made them more noble and clear.

CHAPTER XI.

Whence Plato could have acquired that intelligence by which he approached Christian knowledge.

Certain persons, joined with us in the grace of Christ, wonder when they hear or read that Plato had such sentiments concerning God, which they recognize as agreeing much with the truth of our religion. Whence some have thought that, when he went into Egypt, he heard the prophet Jeremiah, or read the prophetic Scriptures in that same pilgrimage: whose opinion indeed I have placed in some of my books. But the calculation of times being diligently computed, which is contained in chronic history, indicates that Plato was born nearly a hundred years after the time when Jeremiah prophesied: and since he lived eighty-one years, from the year of his death until that time when King Ptolemy of Egypt asked for the prophetic Scriptures of the Hebrew nation from Judea, and took care to have them translated and possessed by seventy Hebrew men, who also knew the Greek language, nearly sixty years are found to be. Wherefore in that pilgrimage of his, Plato could neither see Jeremiah, who had died so long before, nor read the same Scriptures, which had not yet been translated into the Greek language, in which he was proficient: unless per-

haps, because he was of very keen study, just as he learned Egyptian things, so also he learned these through an interpreter, not so as to translate them by writing, which Ptolemy is recorded to have merited as a great benefit, who could even be feared by royal power, but so as to learn by conversing, as much as he could capture, what they contained. That this may be thought, those indications seem to persuade, because the book of Genesis thus begins: In the beginning God made heaven and earth. And the earth was invisible and uncomposed, and darkness was over the abyss, and the Spirit of God was borne over the water (Gen. I, 1, 2). But in the Timaeus, which book Plato wrote concerning the constitution of the world, he says that God in that work first joined earth and fire: but it is manifest that he attributes the place of heaven to fire: this sentence therefore has a certain likeness to that in which it was said, In the beginning God made heaven and earth. Then those two means, by which these extremes might be coupled together, he says are water and air: whence he is thought to have thus understood what is written, The Spirit of God was borne over the water. For attending too little to the manner in which that Scripture is accustomed to call the Spirit of God, since air is also called spirit, he can be seen to have thought that four elements were commemorated in that place. Then that Plato says the lover of God is the philosopher, nothing so shines in those sacred Letters: and especially that which most of all leads me to almost agree that Plato was not

without experience of those Books, that when the words of God were brought by an angel to holy Moses in such a way that, to him asking what was His name who was commanding him to proceed to the Hebrew people to deliver them from Egypt, it was answered, I am that I am; and you shall say to the children of Israel, He who is, sent me to you (Exod. III, 14); as if in comparison with Him who truly is because He is incommutable, those things which were made mutable are not: Plato held this vehemently, and most diligently commended it. And I know not whether this is anywhere found in the books of those who were before Plato, unless where it was said, I am that I am; and you shall say to them, He who is, sent me to you.

CHAPTER XII.

That even the Platonists, although they thought well concerning the one true God, nevertheless thought that sacrifices should be made to many gods.

But from wherever he learned these things, whether from the preceding books of the ancients, or rather as the Apostle says, "because that which is known of God is manifest in them; for God has manifested it to them: for his invisible things, from the constitution of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; his eternal power also and divinity" (Rom. I, 19, 20): I have now sufficiently explained, as I think, why I not undeservedly chose the Platonist philosophers with whom to treat, because in this question which we have now undertaken,

concerning natural theology, it is discussed whether, for the sake of the happiness which is to be after death, one ought to sacrifice to one God or to many.

1. [XII.] Therefore indeed I chose these above all, since, as they thought better concerning the one God who made heaven and earth, so they are held more glorious and illustrious than the rest: so far preferred to others by the judgment of posterity, that when Aristotle, the disciple of Plato, a man of excellent genius, and indeed unequal to Plato in eloquence, but easily surpassing many, had founded the Peripatetic sect, because he had been accustomed to dispute while walking about, and excelling with great fame had gathered very many disciples into his own heresy while his master was still living, but after the death of Plato, Speusippus, the son of his sister, and Xenocrates, his beloved disciple, had succeeded him in his school, which was called the Academy, and on this account both they and their successors were called Academics; yet the most noble recent philosophers, to whom it pleased to follow Plato, have not wished to be called Peripatetics or Academics, but Platonists. Of whom the Greeks, Plotinus, Iamblichus, Porphyry, are very highly renowned: and in both languages, that is, both Greek and Latin, Apuleius the African stood forth as a noble Platonist. But all these, and others of that kind, and Plato himself, thought that sacrifices should be made to very many gods.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the sentiment of Plato, by which he defined that gods are nothing but good and friends of virtues.

Although therefore they dissent from us in many and great other things, yet in this which I have just set forth, because it is no small matter, and from it the question now is, first I ask of them to which gods they think this worship should be exhibited, whether to the good, or to the evil, or both to the good and the evil. But we have the sentiment of Plato, saying that all gods are good, nor is there any evil among the gods at all (Book 10 of the Laws, and of the Republic, book 2). It follows therefore that it should be understood that these are to be exhibited to the good: for then they are exhibited to the gods; since they will not even be gods if they are not good. If this is so, (for what else is it becoming to believe concerning the gods?) that opinion is surely made void by which some think that evil gods are to be appeased by sacrifices, lest they should harm; and that the good are to be invoked that they may help. For there are no evil gods: further, the due honor of sacrifices, as they say, is to be deferred to the good. Who, then, are those who love scenic games, and demand that they be added to divine things and exhibited to their own honors? whose power does not indicate them to be nothing, but this affection certainly indicates them to be evil. For what Plato thought concerning scenic games is known; since he judges that the poets themselves, because they composed songs so un-

worthy of the majesty and goodness of the gods, should be expelled from the city. Who, therefore, are these gods, who contend with Plato himself concerning scenic games? For he does not suffer the gods to be defamed with false crimes: these command their own honors to be celebrated with the same crimes. Finally, these, when they commanded the same games to be restored, demanding base things, even acted malignantly, taking away his son from Titus Latinius, and sending a disease, because he had refused their command, and withdrawing that disease when he had fulfilled the orders: but he thinks that those, even though so evil, are not to be feared, but keeping the strength of his sentiment most constantly, he does not hesitate to remove from a well-ordered people all the sacrilegious trifles of the poets, with which those are delighted by a society of impurity. But this Plato, as I have already commemorated in the second book (Chapter 14), Labeo places among the demigods. This Labeo thinks that evil deities are to be appeased by bloody victims and supplications of this kind, but the good by games and such things as pertain, as it were, to joy. What is it, then, that the demigod Plato dares so constantly to take away those delights, because he judges them base, not from demigods, but from gods, and those good? Which gods surely refute the sentiment of Labeo: for they showed themselves in Latinius not only as lascivious and playful, but also as savage and terrible. Let the Platonists therefore explain these things to us, who think that all gods according

to the sentiment of their author are good and honest and companions of the virtues of the wise, and hold it a crime to think otherwise of any of the gods. We explain, they say. Let us therefore listen attentively.

CHAPTER XIV.

Concerning the opinion of those who said that rational souls are of three kinds, that is, in the celestial gods, in the aerial demons, and in terrestrial men.

1. Of all animals, they say, in which there is a rational soul, there is a tripartite division, into gods, men, demons. The gods hold the highest place, men the lowest, demons the middle. For the seat of the gods is in heaven, of men on earth, in the air of demons. As they have diverse dignity of places, so also of natures. Therefore the gods are more powerful than men and demons; but men are constituted below the gods and demons, as by the order of elements, so by the difference of merits. The demons therefore being middle, just as they are to be postponed to the gods, below whom they dwell, so they are to be preferred to men, above whom they are. For they have immortality of bodies in common with the gods, but passions of minds with men. Wherefore it is no wonder, they say, if they are even delighted with the obscenities of games and the fictions of poets; since they are captured by human affections, from which the gods are far distant and in all ways alien. From which it is gathered, that Plato by detesting and prohibiting poetic fictions,

did not deprive the gods, who are all good and sublime, of the pleasure of scenic games, but the demons.

2. If these things are so, which although they are found among others also, yet Apuleius the Platonist of Madaura wrote one book concerning this matter alone, the title of which he wished to be "On the God of Socrates": where he discusses and explains from what kind of deities Socrates had one joined and reconciled to him by a certain friendship, by whom he is recorded to have been accustomed to be admonished, so that he might desist from acting, when that which he wished to act was not going to happen prosperously. For he says most openly, and asserts most copiously, that he was not a God, but a demon, treating in a diligent disputation that sentiment of Plato concerning the sublimity of the gods and the humility of men and the mediacy of demons. If these things therefore are so, in what way did Plato dare, even if not from the gods, whom he removed from all human contagion, certainly from the demons themselves, to take away theatrical pleasures by expelling the poets from the city, unless because by this pact he admonished the human mind, although still placed in these moribund members, to contemn the impure commands of demons for the splendor of honesty, and to detest their immundicity? For if Plato most honestly argued and prohibited these things, surely the demons most basely demanded and commanded them. Either therefore Apuleius is deceived, and Socrates did not have

a friend from that kind of deities; or Plato feels contrary things between themselves, now honoring demons, now removing their delights from a well-mannered city; or the friendship of a demon is not to be congratulated to Socrates, concerning which even Apuleius himself was so far ashamed, that he prefixed "On the God of Socrates" to the book, which according to his own disputation, in which he so diligently and copiously discerns the gods from the demons, he ought not to have called "On the God," but "On the Demon of Socrates." But he preferred to place this in the disputation itself, than in the title of the book. For so through sound doctrine, which has shone upon human things, all or almost all abhor the name of demons, so that whoever before the disputation of Apuleius, in which the dignity of demons is commended, should read the title of the book, "On the Demon of Socrates," would by no means feel that that man had been sane. But what did even Apuleius himself find to praise in demons, besides the subtlety and firmness of bodies, and the higher place of habitation? For concerning their morals, when he spoke generally of all, he not only said nothing good, but even very much evil. Finally, having read that book, absolutely no one wonders that they even wished to have scenic turpitude in divine things, and, while they wish themselves to be thought gods, they could be delighted with the crimes of gods, and that whatever in their sacred rites is either laughed at by obscene solemnity or shuddered at by base cruelty, agrees with their affections.

CHAPTER XV.

That neither on account of aerial bodies, nor on account of higher habitations, do demons excel men.

1. Wherefore far be it that a truly religious mind, subject to the true God, considering these things, should therefore think that demons are better than itself, because they have better bodies. Otherwise it would prefer many beasts to itself, which surpass us both in keenness of senses, and in easiest and swiftest motion, and in strength of powers, and in most aged firmness of bodies. Who of men will be equaled to eagles and vultures in seeing? who to dogs in smelling? who to hares, stags, and all birds in swiftness? who to lions and elephants in being very strong? who to serpents in living long, which even by putting off their skin are recorded to put off old age and return to youth? But as we are better than all these by reasoning and understanding, so also we ought to be better than demons by living well and honestly. For on this account also divine providence has given certain better gifts of bodies to those whom it is clear we are more powerful than, so that that by which we are set before them might be commended to us to be cultivated with much greater care than the body; and we might learn to contemn that same corporal excellence, which we should know demons to have, in comparison with the goodness of life, by which we are set before them, we being also to have immortality of bodies, not such as the eternity of

punishments may torture, but such as purity of minds may precede.

2. Now indeed to be so moved concerning the altitude of the place, because demons dwell in the air, but we on earth, that from this we should think they are to be set before us, is altogether ridiculous. For by this pact we set all winged creatures before us. But indeed winged creatures, when they are fatigued with flying, or have the body to be refreshed with aliments, seek the earth again, either for rest or for pasture; which demons, they say, do not do. Does it please them, then, that winged creatures excel us, but demons even excel winged creatures? But if it is most demented to think this, there is no reason why we should judge demons worthy on account of the habitation of the higher element, so that we ought to subject ourselves to them with a religious affection. For as it could happen that aerial birds should not only not be preferred to us terrestrial beings, but even be subjected on account of the dignity of the rational soul which is in us; so it could happen that demons, although they are more aerial, are not therefore better than us terrestrial beings, because air is higher than earth; but therefore men are to be preferred to them, since by no means is the despair of those to be compared to the hope of pious men. For even that reason of Plato, by which he weaves together and orders the four elements by proportion, thus inserting the two middle ones, air and water, between the two extremes, the most mobile fire and the immobile earth, so that as much as air is

to waters and air is to fire, so also the waters are higher than the lands; sufficiently admonishes us not to estimate the merits of animals according to the grades of the elements. And indeed Apuleius himself with the rest calls man a terrestrial animal, who nevertheless is far set before aquatic animals, although Plato sets the waters themselves before the lands: so that we may understand that the same order is not to be held, when the merits of souls are discussed, which seems to be the order in the grades of bodies; but that it can happen that a better soul inhabits a lower body, and a worse one a higher.

CHAPTER XVI.

What the Platonist Apuleius thought concerning the manners and actions of demons.

Therefore, when the same Platonist spoke concerning the manners of demons, he said that they are agitated by the same perturbations of the mind as men, irritated by injuries, placated by services and gifts, delighted by honors, entertained by various rites of sacrifices, and if anything in them should be neglected, they are moved (On the God of Socrates). Among other things he also says that to them belong the divinations of augurs, haruspices, prophets, and dreams; from these also are the miracles of magicians (Ibid.). But defining them briefly he says, demons are in genus animals, in mind passive, in reason rational, in body aerial, in time eternal: and of these five, the three former they have

which we have, the fourth is their own, the fifth they have in common with the gods (Ibid.). But I see that of the three superior which they have with us, two they also have with the gods. For he says that the gods are also animals, who, distributing to each his own elements, placed us in terrestrial animals with the rest which live and feel on earth, in aquatic ones fish and other swimming things, in aerial ones demons, in ethereal ones gods (Ibid.). And through this, because demons in genus are animals, it is common not only to them with men, but also with gods and cattle: because in mind rational, with gods and men; because in time eternal, with gods alone; because in mind passive, with men alone; because in body aerial, they alone are so.

Therefore, that in genus they are animals, is no great thing; because this also cattle are: that in mind rational, is not above us; because we also are: that in time eternal, what good is it, if not happy? For temporal happiness is better than a miserable eternity. That in mind passive, how is it above us; when we also are this, nor would it be so, unless we were miserable? That in body aerial, of how much is it to be esteemed, when to every body the nature of the soul, of whatever kind, is preferred; and therefore the worship of religion, which is owed from the soul, is by no means owed to that thing which is lower than the soul? Furthermore, if among those things which he says are of the demons, he should number virtue, wisdom, happiness, and should say that they have these eternal and common with the gods,

certainly he would say something to be desired and highly valued: nor yet for these should we owe them worship as God, but rather Him from whom we should know they had received these. How much less now are aerial animals worthy of divine honor, rational to this end, that they may be able to be miserable, passive to this end, that they may be miserable, eternal to this end, that they may not be able to end their misery?

CHAPTER XVII.

Whether it be worthy that those spirits be worshiped by man, from whose vices he ought to be liberated.

1. Wherefore, that I may omit other things, and treat this alone, which he said demons have in common with us, that is, passions of the mind, if all four elements are full of their own animals, the immortal ones fire and air, the mortal ones water and earth; I ask why the minds of demons are agitated by the eddies and tempests of passions? For it is a perturbation, which in Greek is called pathos: whence he wished to call them passive in mind; because the word passion should be said from the word pathos, a motion of the mind against reason. Why therefore are those things in the minds of demons, which are not in cattle? Because, if anything similar appears in cattle, it is not a perturbation; because it is not against reason, which cattle lack. But in men that there should be these perturbations, folly or misery causes this. For we are not yet blessed in that perfection of wisdom, which is promised

to us in the end when liberated from this mortality. But they say the gods do not suffer these perturbations, because they are not only eternal, but also blessed. For they record that they also have the same rational souls, but most pure from every stain and pestilence. Wherefore if the gods are not perturbed for this reason, that they are blessed animals, not miserable; and for this reason cattle are not perturbed, that they are animals which can neither be blessed nor miserable: it remains that demons, like men, are therefore perturbed, because they are animals not blessed, but miserable.

2. [XVII.] By what insipience, therefore, or rather madness, are we subjected to demons through any religion, when through true religion we are liberated from that vitiosity by which we are similar to them? For when demons, which even this Apuleius, although he spares them very much and judges them worthy of divine honors, is nevertheless compelled to confess, are instigated by anger; true religion commands us that we should not be instigated by anger, but rather resist it. When demons are invited by gifts, true religion commands us that we should not favor anyone by the acceptance of gifts. When demons are soothed by honors, true religion commands us that we should in no way be moved by such things. When demons are haters of some men, and lovers of others, not by a prudent and tranquil judgment, but by a mind, as he himself calls it, passive; true religion commands us that we should also love our enemies (Matt. v. 44).

Finally, all motion of the heart and tossing of the mind, and all eddies and tempests of the mind, by which he asserts that demons boil and fluctuate, true religion commands us to lay aside. What cause is there, therefore, unless folly and miserable error, that you should make yourself humble by venerating him to whom you would desire to be dissimilar by living; and should worship by religion him whom you would not wish to imitate, when the sum of religion is to imitate whom you worship!

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of what kind that religion is, in which it is taught that men, that they may be commended to good gods, ought to use demons as advocates.

In vain, therefore, did Apuleius, and whoever think thus, defer this honor to them, so constituting them in the middle in the air, between the ethereal heaven and the earth, that, since no god mixes with man (Words of Apuleius), which they record Plato to have said, these should carry to the gods the prayers of men, and from thence bring back to men what they ask after they have obtained it. For they who believed these things thought it unworthy that men should be mixed with gods and gods with men: but worthy that demons should be mixed both with gods and men, who might report what was asked from here, and bring back what was granted from there: so that, forsooth, a chaste man, and one alien to the crimes of magical arts, should employ

those patrons through whom the gods may hear him, who love those things which he, by not loving, becomes more worthy of, whom they ought to hear more easily and more willingly. For they love theatrical turpitudes, which chastity does not love: they love in the mischiefs of magicians a thousand arts of hurting (Virgil, Aeneid, Book 7, line 338), which innocence does not love. Therefore both chastity and innocence, if they wish to obtain anything from the gods, will not be able by their own merits, unless their enemies intervene. There is no reason why he should attempt to justify these poetic fictions and theatrical mockeries. We have against these things their teacher and Plato, of so great authority among them: if human shame so ill deserves of itself, that it not only loves base things, but even thinks them grateful to divinity.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the impiety of the magical art, which relies on the patronage of malignant spirits.

Furthermore, against magical arts, of which some most unhappy and most impious men even like to boast, shall I not cite the public light itself as a witness? For why are these things so heavily punished by the severity of the laws, if they are works of deities to be worshiped? Did Christians, perhaps, institute those laws by which magical arts are punished? According to what other sense, unless that it is no doubt that these mischiefs are pernicious to the human race, does

the most famous poet say, Testor, chara, deos, et te, germana, tuumque Dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artes? (Virgil, Aeneid, Book 4, lines 492, 493.) That also, which he says in another place of these arts, Atque satas alio vidi traducere messes; (Eclogue 8, line 99); for the reason that by this pestiferous and wicked doctrine the fruits of another's labor are reported to be transferred to other lands: does not Cicero record that it was written in the Twelve Tables, that is, the most ancient laws of the Romans, that a punishment was established for him who should do this? Finally, was Apuleius himself accused of magical arts before Christian judges? If he had known those arts, certainly objected to him, to be divine and pious, and congruent with the works of divine powers, he ought not only to have confessed them, but even to have professed them, rather blaming the laws by which these things were prohibited and thought worthy of condemnation, which ought to be held as wonderful and venerable. For thus either he would persuade the judges of his opinion, or, if they should be wise according to iniquitous laws, and should punish him with death for preaching and praising such things, the demons would repay him worthy gifts for his soul, for the sake of preaching whose divine works he would not fear human life being taken from him. Just as our martyrs, when the Christian religion was objected to them as a crime, by which they knew they would be made safe and most glorious for eternity, did not choose to evade temporal punishments by denying it; but rather by confessing,

professing, preaching, and for this faithfully and bravely enduring all things, and dying with a pious security, they compelled the laws by which it was prohibited to blush, and caused them to be changed. But of this Platonist philosopher there exists a most copious and eloquent oration, by which he defends himself from the crime of magical arts being alien to him, and he does not wish to seem innocent otherwise than by denying those things which cannot be committed by an innocent man. But all the miracles of magicians, whom he rightly perceives are to be condemned, are done by the doctrines and works of demons; whom he may see why he thinks they are to be honored, asserting that they are necessary for carrying our prayers to the gods, whose works we ought to avoid if we wish our prayers to reach the true God. Then I ask, what kind of prayers of men does he think are reported to the good gods through demons, magical ones or lawful ones? If magical, they do not want such; if lawful, they do not want them through such. But if a penitent sinner pours out prayers, especially if he has admitted anything magical; does he then at last receive pardon by those interceding, by whose impelling or favoring he laments that he fell into fault? Or do the demons themselves, that they may be able to merit indulgence for the penitent, first do penance because they deceived them? No one ever said this of demons: because if it were so, by no means would they dare to seek divine honors for themselves, who by repenting should

desire to arrive at the grace of pardon. For there is detestable pride, here is miserable humility.

CHAPTER XX.

Whether it is to be believed that the good gods mix more willingly with demons than with men.

At indeed an urgent and most narrow cause compels demons to act as mediators between gods and men, that they may offer from men things desired, and bring back from gods things obtained. What cause, pray, is this, and how great a necessity? Because no God, they say, mixes with man. Excellent, then, is the holiness of God, who does not mix with a suppliant man, and mixes with an arrogant demon; does not mix with a penitent man, and mixes with a deceiving demon; does not mix with a man flying for refuge to divinity, and mixes with a demon feigning divinity; does not mix with a man seeking indulgence, and mixes with a demon persuading to wickedness; does not mix with a man who, through philosophical books, expels poets from a well-instituted city, and mixes with a demon who, through the princes and pontiffs of the city, requires the mockeries of poets through scenic games; does not mix with a man prohibiting the feigning of crimes of the gods, and mixes with a demon delighting himself with false crimes of the gods; does not mix with a man punishing the crimes of magicians by just laws, and mixes with a demon teaching and fulfilling magical arts; does not mix with a man fleeing the imitation of

a demon, and mixes with a demon lying in wait for the deception of a man!

CHAPTER XXI.

Whether the gods use demons as messengers and interpreters, and whether they are either ignorant of their being deceived by them, or willing to be so.

1. But doubtless there is a great necessity for this so great absurdity and unworthiness, because, forsooth, it would escape the ethereal gods caring for human things what terrestrial men were doing, unless the aerial demons reported it; since the ether is far from the earth and suspended on high, but the air is contiguous to both ether and earth. O wonderful wisdom! What else do these men think concerning the gods, whom they all wish to be the best, unless that they both care for human things, lest they should seem unworthy of worship, and on account of the distance of the elements are ignorant of human things, so that demons are believed to be necessary, and on this account they themselves also are thought to be worshiped, through whom the gods may be able both to learn what is done in human affairs and where it is necessary to help men? If this is so, a demon is better known to these good gods through a neighboring body than a man through a good mind. O much to be lamented necessity, or rather to be mocked or detested vanity, lest there should be a vain divinity! For if the gods can see our mind by a mind free from the obstacle of the body, they do not for this

need demons as messengers: but if the ethereal gods perceive through their own body corporal indications of minds, such as are the countenance, speech, motion, and from thence gather what the demons also report, they can also be deceived by the lies of demons. Furthermore, if the divinity of the gods cannot be deceived by demons, what we do cannot be ignored by that same divinity.

2. I would wish that these men would tell me, whether the demons reported to the gods that the poetic fictions concerning the crimes of the gods displeased Plato, and concealed that they pleased themselves; or whether they concealed both, and preferred that the gods should be ignorant of this whole matter; or whether they indicated both, both the religious prudence of Plato toward the gods, and their own injurious lust against the gods; or whether they wished the opinion of Plato, by which he would not have the gods defamed by the impious license of poets with false crimes, to be unknown to the gods, but were not ashamed or afraid to betray their own wickedness, by which they love the scenic games, in which those disgraces of the gods are celebrated. Whichever of these four which I have proposed by questioning they may choose, and in whichever of them they may choose, let them attend to how much evil they think concerning the good gods. For if they choose the first, they will confess that it was not permitted to the good gods to dwell with the good Plato, when he prohibited their injuries, and that they dwelt

with the evil demons, when they exulted in their injuries; since the good gods would not know a good man placed far from them except through evil demons, whom they could not know though near. But if they choose the second, and say that both were concealed by the demons, so that the gods were altogether ignorant of both the most religious law of Plato and the sacrilegious delight of the demons; what can the gods usefully know in human affairs through the intermediary demons, when they are ignorant of those things which are decreed in honor of the good gods by the religion of good men against the lust of evil demons? But if they choose the third, and should answer that not only the opinion of Plato prohibiting the injuries of the gods, but also the wickedness of the demons exulting in the injuries of the gods, became known to the gods through the same demons as messengers; is this to report, or to insult? And the gods so hear both, so know both, that not only do they not drive from their access the malignant demons desiring and doing things contrary to the dignity of the gods and the religion of Plato, but even through those evil neighbors they transmit gifts to the good Plato who is far off. For thus a series of elements, as if chained, has bound them together, that they can be joined to those by whom they are criminated; to him by whom they are defended, they cannot: knowing both, but not being able to transmute the weights of air and earth. Now what remains, if they choose the fourth, is worse than the rest. For who would bear it, if the demons reported

to the gods the criminous fictions of the poets concerning the immortal gods and the unworthy mockeries of the theaters, and their own most ardent cupidity and most sweet pleasure in all these things, and were silent that Plato by philosophical gravity judged that all these things should be removed from the best republic; so that now the good gods are compelled through such messengers to know the evils of the worst, and not their own, but those of the same messengers, and are not permitted to know the goods of the philosophers contrary to these, when the former are to the injury, the latter to the honor of the same gods?

CHAPTER XXII.

Of rejecting the worship of demons, against Apuleius.

Because, therefore, none of those four is to be chosen, lest in any of them one should think so ill of the gods; it remains that by no means is it to be believed, which Apuleius strives to persuade, and whoever other philosophers are of the same opinion, that demons are so mediators between gods and men as messengers and interpreters, who from here carry our petitions, and from there bring back the aids of the gods: but that they are spirits most desirous of hurting, altogether alien from justice, swollen with pride, livid with envy, cunning in fallacy: who indeed dwell in this air, because cast down from the sublimity of the higher heaven, by the merit of an irreversible transgression they are predamned in this as it

were a prison congruous to themselves; nor yet because the place of the air is above the lands and waters, therefore are they also superior in merits to men, who surpass them not by a terrestrial body, but by a pious mind, with the true God chosen for help, most easily. But clearly they dominate over many unworthy of the participation of true religion, as if over captives and subjects: to the greatest part of whom, by wonderful and fallacious signs either of deeds or of predictions, they have persuaded themselves to be gods. But to some, who were looking into their vices somewhat more attentively and diligently, they could not persuade that they are gods, and they feigned themselves to be messengers between gods and men and impetrators of benefits: if yet at least men did not think that honor should be deferred to them, who did not believe them to be gods, because they saw them to be evil; and they wished all gods to be good, yet they did not dare to say they were altogether unworthy of divine honor; especially lest they should offend the peoples, by whom they saw them to be served by inveterate superstition through so many sacrifices and temples.

CHAPTER XXIII.

What Hermes Trismegistus thought concerning idolatry, and whence he could know that Egyptian superstitions were to be taken away.

1. For Hermes the Egyptian, whom they call Trismegistus, thought and wrote different things

concerning them. For Apuleius indeed denies that those are gods: but when he says that they are so conversant in a certain mediation between men and gods, that they seem necessary to men with the gods themselves, he does not separate their worship from the religion of the higher gods. But that Egyptian says that some gods were made by the supreme God, others by men. He who hears this, as it is put by me, thinks it is said of images, because they are the works of the hands of men: but he asserts that visible and tangible images are as it were the bodies of the gods; and that there are in them certain invited spirits, who are able to do something, either for hurting, or for fulfilling some of their desires, by whom divine honors and services of worship are deferred to them. To couple these invisible spirits, therefore, by a certain art to visible things of corporal matter, that they may be as it were animated bodies, images dedicated and subjected to those spirits, this he says is to make gods, and that men received this great and wonderful power of making gods. I will put the words of this Egyptian, as they have been translated into our language. And since, he says, speech is enjoined to us concerning the cognation and consortium of men and gods, know the power of man, O Asclepius, and his strength. The Lord, he says, and Father, or what is supreme, God, as he is the maker of the celestial gods, so man is the fashioner of the gods who are in the temples, content with human proximity. And a little after: So humanity, he says, always mindful of its nature and origin, perseveres in

that imitation of divinity; that as the Father and Lord, that they might be like Himself, made eternal gods, so humanity should figure its gods from the similitude of its own countenance. Here when Asclepius, to whom he was especially speaking, had answered and said to him, Dost thou mean statues, O Trismegistus? then he, Statues, he said, O Asclepius, dost thou see how far thou thyself dost distrust? statues animated, full of sense and spirit, and doing so great and such things; statues prescient of future things, and predicting them by lot, by prophet, by dreams, and by many other things; making infirmities for men, and curing them, sadness and joy according to merits. Or art thou ignorant, O Asclepius, that Egypt is the image of heaven; or, what is truer, the translation or descent of all things which are governed and exercised in heaven; and if it is to be said, more truly our earth is the temple of the whole world? And yet, since it becomes a prudent man to foreknow all things, it is not lawful for you to be ignorant of this: A future time is, in which it may appear that the Egyptians in vain with a pious mind served divinity with sedulous religion, and all their holy veneration will fail falling into irritation.

Then with many words Hermes pursues this place, in which he seems to predict this time, in which the Christian religion, as much as it is truer and holier, so much more vehemently and more freely subverts all fallacious fictions; so that by the grace of the truest Savior it may liberate man from those gods whom man makes, and subject him to that God by whom man was made. But

Hermes, when he predicts these things, speaks as a friend to the same mockeries of demons, nor does he evidently express the Christian name; but as if those things were taken away and deleted, by the observation of which the celestial similitude was guarded in Egypt, so deploring these future things, he testifies with a mournful prediction as it were. For he was of those of whom the Apostle says, that knowing God, they did not glorify Him as God, or give thanks; but they became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened: for saying themselves to be wise, they were made fools; and they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of an image of a corruptible man (Rom. i. 21-23): and other things, which it is long to commemorate. For he says many such things concerning the one true God the fabricator of the world, as truth has: and I know not how by that darkening of the heart he slides down to those things, so that he would have men always subjected to the gods whom he confesses to be made by men, and laments that these things will be taken away in a future time. As if anything were more unhappy than man, over whom his own fictions dominate: since it is easier that by worshiping as gods the things which he made, he should not even himself be man, than that through his worship those things can be gods which man made. For it happens more quickly that man placed in honor not understanding is compared to the cattle (Psalm xlviii. 13), than that the work of man should be preferred to the work of God made to His image,

that is, to man himself. Wherefore man rightly fails from Him who made him, when he prefers to himself what he himself made.

3. These vain, deceptive, pernicious, sacrilegious things Hermes the Egyptian, because he knew the time was coming in which they would be taken away, grieved: but he grieved as impudently as he knew imprudently. For the Holy Spirit had not revealed these things to him, as to the holy Prophets, who foreseeing these things said with exultation: If man shall make gods, and behold they are not gods (Jerem. xvi. 20). And in another place: It shall be in that day, saith the Lord, I will exterminate the names of the images from the earth, and there shall no more be a memory of them (Zech. xiii. 2). But properly concerning Egypt, what pertains to this matter, thus holy Isaiah prophesies: And the manufactured things of Egypt shall be moved from His face, and their heart shall be overcome in them (Isai. xix. 1): and other things of this kind. Of which kind those also were, who rejoiced that what they knew was coming, had come: such as Simeon, such as Anna, who soon recognized the born Jesus; such as Elizabeth, who recognized Him even conceived in the Spirit (Luke ii. 25-38; i. 41-45): such as Peter, saying by the Father revealing, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God (Matt. xvi. 16). But to this Egyptian those spirits had indicated the future times of their own perdition, who also to the Lord present in the flesh said trembling, What hast Thou come before the time to destroy us (Matt. viii. 29)? whether because it was sudden to them,

which they thought would be indeed, but later; or because they called their own perdition this very thing, by which it came to pass that being known they were spurned. And this was before the time, that is, before the time of judgment, in which they are to be punished with eternal damnation with all men also who are detained in their society: as religion speaks, which neither deceives nor is deceived; not as this man as it were blown about by every wind of doctrine from here and there (Ephes. iv. 14), and mixing true things with false, grieves as for a perishing religion which afterwards he confesses to be error.

CHAPTER XXIV

How Hermes openly confessed the error of his ancestors, which he nevertheless grieved was to be destroyed.

1. For after many things he returns to this very point, so as to speak again concerning the gods whom men have made, speaking thus: "But now concerning such things let such things be enough said. Again," he says, "let us return to man and reason, from which divine gift man is called a rational animal. For the things which have been said concerning man are less to be wondered at, although they are wonderful. For the admiration of all wonders has surpassed this, that man could find out the divine nature, and make it. Since therefore our ancestors erred much concerning the reason of the gods, being incredulous, and not attending to divine worship and religion, they found out the art by which

they might make gods. To which invention they joined a virtue convenient from the nature of the world; and mixing it, since they could not make souls, evoking the souls of demons or of angels, they placed them in holy and divine images by mysteries, through which the idols might have powers of both doing well and doing ill" (Page 99). I know not whether the demons themselves when adjured would so confess, as this man has confessed. "Since," he says, "our ancestors erred much concerning the reason of the gods, being incredulous, and not attending to divine worship and religion, they found out the art by which they might make gods." Did he say they had erred even moderately, so that they found this art of making gods; or was he content to say, "They erred," unless he added and said, "They erred much"? This much error therefore and incredulity of those not attending to divine worship and religion, found out the art by which it might make gods. And yet what much error and incredulity and aversion of the mind from divine worship and religion found out, namely, that man by art should make gods, this the wise man grieves for as divine religion to be taken away at a certain future time. See if he is not compelled both by a divine power to betray the past error of his ancestors, and by a diabolical power to grieve for the future punishment of demons. For if their ancestors, by erring much concerning the reason of the gods by incredulity and aversion of the mind from divine worship and religion, found out the art by which they might make gods; what wonder is it, if this de-

testable art, whatever it made being turned away from divine religion, is taken away by divine religion, when truth amends error, faith refutes incredulity, and conversion corrects aversion?

2. For if with the causes silent he had said that his ancestors had found out the art by which they made gods; it was our part indeed, if we knew anything right and pious, to attend and see that they would by no means have arrived at this art, by which man makes gods, if they did not wander from the truth, if they believed those things which are worthy of God, if they turned their mind to divine worship and religion. And yet if we said the causes of this art were the much error of men and incredulity and the aversion of a wandering and unfaithful mind from divine religion, the impudence of those resisting the truth would have to be borne in some way: but when he himself, who wonders at the power of this art in man above all other things, by which it is granted to him to make gods, and grieves that the time is coming when all these fictions of gods instituted by men are commanded to be taken away even by laws; yet he confesses and expresses the causes why they arrived at these things, saying that his ancestors by much error and incredulity, and by not attending the mind to divine worship and religion, found out this art by which they might make gods: what ought we to say or rather what to do, except to give as many thanks as we can to the Lord our God, who took away these things by contrary causes than they were instituted? For what the multitude of error instituted, the way

of truth took away; what incredulity instituted, faith took away; what aversion from the worship of divine religion instituted, conversion to the one true holy God took away: nor in Egypt alone, which alone in that man the spirit of demons laments, but in all the earth which sings to the Lord a new song; as the truly sacred and truly prophetic Letters foretold, where it is written, "Sing to the Lord a new song; sing to the Lord, all the earth" (Psalm xcv. 1). For the title of this psalm is, "When the house was being built after the captivity." For the house to the Lord is being built, the City of God, which is the holy Church, in all the earth, after that captivity, by which those men, of whom as of living stones believing in God the house is built (1 Peter ii. 5), the demons were possessing as captives. For not because man made gods, therefore he who had made them was not possessed by them, when he was translated into their society by worshiping: a society, I say, not of stupid idols, but of crafty demons. For what are idols, except what the same Scripture says, "They have eyes, and see not" (Psalm cxiii. 5): and whatever such thing had to be said concerning materials though skillfully fashioned, yet lacking life and sense? But the unclean spirits bound to the same images by that nefarious art, had miserably captivated the souls of their worshipers by reducing them into their own society. Whence the Apostle says: "We know that an idol is nothing; but what the Gentiles immolate, they immolate to demons, and not to God: I do not wish you to become associates of demons" (1 Cor.

x. 20). After this captivity, therefore, by which men were held by malignant demons, the house of God is built in all the earth: whence that psalm received its title, where it is said, "Sing to the Lord a new song; sing to the Lord, all the earth. Sing to the Lord, and bless His name; announce well day from day His salvation. Announce among the nations His glory, in all peoples His wonders. Since the Lord is great, and exceedingly to be praised, He is terrible above all gods. Because all the gods of the Gentiles are demons, but the Lord made the heavens" (Psalm xcv. 1-5).

3. He therefore who grieved that the time was coming when the worship of idols would be taken away, and over those who worshiped them the domination of demons, being instigated by an evil spirit, always wished this captivity to remain, which being passed the Psalm sings that the house is being built in all the earth. Hermes was foretelling those things by grieving; the Prophet was foretelling these by rejoicing. And because the Spirit is victor, who was singing these things through the holy Prophets; even Hermes himself was compelled in wonderful ways to confess that those things which he did not wish and grieved to be taken away, were instituted not by the prudent and faithful and religious, but by the erring and incredulous and those turned away from the worship of divine religion. Who although he calls them gods, yet when he says they were made by such men as we certainly ought not to be, whether he will or no, he shows they are not to be worshiped by

those who are not such as they were by whom they were made; that is, by the prudent, faithful, religious: at the same time also demonstrating that those very men who made them, brought it upon themselves that they should have as gods those who were not gods. For that prophetic word is true, "If man shall make gods, and behold they are not gods" (Jerem. xvi. 20). When, therefore, Hermes had called such gods, the gods of such men, made by art; that is, when he called demons bound by some art or other to idols, by the bonds of their own lusts, gods made by men, he did not however give to them what the Platonic Apuleius gave (concerning which we have already said enough, and have shown how inconvenient and absurd it is), namely, that they themselves should be interpreters and intercessors between the gods whom God made and the men whom the same God made; bringing prayers from here, reporting gifts from there. For it is too foolish to believe that the gods whom men have made prevail more with the gods whom God has made, than the men themselves prevail, whom the same God Himself has made. For a demon bound to an image by an impious art by a man, has been made a god; but to such a man, not to every man. Of what kind therefore is that god, whom a man would not make unless erring and incredulous and turned away from the true God? Furthermore, if the demons who are worshiped in temples, being placed in images by some art or other, that is, in visible idols, by those men who by this art made gods, when they wandered

and were turned away from divine worship and religion, are not messengers nor interpreters between men and gods, both on account of their own worst and most base manners, and because men, although erring and incredulous and turned away from divine worship and religion, are without doubt better than those whom they themselves have made gods by art: it remains that what they can do, they can do as demons, either by providing benefits as being more harmful because more deceiving; or by openly doing evil. Nor yet any of these things, except when and as much as they are permitted by the high and secret providence of God: but not as being middles between men and gods they may prevail much among men through the friendship of the gods. For these can by no means be friends to the good gods, whom we call holy Angels and rational creatures of the holy celestial habitation, whether Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers; from whom they are as far distant in the affection of the mind, as vices are far distant from virtues, and malice from goodness.

CHAPTER XXV

Of those things which can be common to holy Angels and men.

In no way therefore is one to go around through the mediation of demons as it were to the benevolence or beneficence of the gods, or rather of the good Angels; but through the similitude of a good will, by which we are with them,

and live with them, and worship with them the God whom they worship, although we cannot see them with carnal eyes: but in as much as we are miserable by the dissimilitude of will and the fragility of infirmity, in so much we are far from them by merit of life, not by place of body. For it is not because we dwell on earth in the condition of the flesh, but if by the uncleanness of the heart we savor earthly things, that we are not joined to them. But when we are healed, so that we may be such as they are, we meanwhile approach them by faith, if we believe that we are made blessed by Him by whom they also were made, even they themselves favoring us.

CHAPTER XXVI

That all the religion of the Pagans was fulfilled around dead men.

1. Certainly it is to be observed how that Egyptian, when he grieved that the time was coming when those things would be taken away from Egypt, which he confesses were instituted by those erring much and incredulous, and turned away from the worship of divine religion, says among other things: "Then this most holy land, the seat of shrines and temples, will be most full of sepulchers and of the dead." As if indeed, if those things were not taken away, men were not to die, or the dead were to be placed elsewhere than in the earth: and certainly the more time and days revolved, the greater would be the number of sepulchers, on account of the greater number

of the dead. But he seems to grieve for this, that the memories of our martyrs would succeed to their temples and shrines: so that namely those who read these things with a mind turned away and perverted from us, may think that by the Pagans gods were worshiped in temples, but by us the dead are worshiped in sepulchers. For impious men offend with such great blindness against mountains as it were, and do not wish to see things striking their eyes, so that they do not attend that in all the letters of the Pagans either there are not found, or there are scarcely found gods, who were not men, and divine honors were deferred to the dead. I omit what Varro says, that all the dead are estimated by them to be Manes gods, and he proves it by those sacred things which are exhibited to almost all the dead, where he also commemorates funeral games, as if this were the greatest indication of divinity, that games are not accustomed to be celebrated except to deities.

2. Hermes himself, concerning whom we are now treating, in that same book where as if by foretelling future things deploring he says, "Then this most holy land, the seat of shrines and temples, will be most full of sepulchers and of the dead"; testifies that the gods of Egypt were dead men. For when he had said that his ancestors, erring much concerning the reason of the gods, being incredulous and not attending to divine worship and religion, found out the art by which they might make gods; "To which invention," he says, "they joined a virtue conve-

nient from the nature of the world, and mixing it, since they could not make souls, evoking the souls of demons or of angels, they placed them in holy and divine images by mysteries, through which the idols might have powers of both doing well and doing ill": then he follows as if to prove this by examples, and says, "For your grandfather, O Asclepius, the first inventor of medicine, to whom a temple has been consecrated on the mountain of Libya near the shore of the Crocodiles, in which lies his mundane man, that is, his body: for the rest, or rather the whole, if the whole man is in the sense of life, has returned better to heaven, even now providing all helps to infirm men by his deity now; which before he used to provide by the art of medicine." Behold he said a dead man is worshiped for a god in that place where he had his sepulcher: false and deceiving in this, that he returned to heaven. Adding then another: "Hermes," he says, "to whom the ancestral name is mine, does he not consisting in his cognominal fatherland, help and preserve all mortals coming from everywhere?" For this Hermes the elder, that is, Mercury, whom he says was his grandfather, is said to be in Hermopolis, that is, in the city of his name. Behold he says two gods were men, Aesculapius and Mercury. But concerning Aesculapius both the Greeks and Latins feel the same; but Mercury many do not think to have been mortal, whom however this man testifies was his grandfather. But forsooth that one is another, this one is another, although they are called by

the same name. I do not fight much, let that one be another, this one another: but even this one, like Aesculapius, a god from a man according to the testimony of so great a man among his own, this Trismegistus, his grandson.

3. He adds further, and says: "But how many benefits do we know the propitious Isis, the wife of Osiris, provides, and to how many she is harmful when angry?" Then to show that the gods whom men make by that art are of this kind: whence he gives it to be understood that he thinks demons have existed from the souls of dead men, whom he says were placed in idols by the art which men erring much, incredulous and irreligious, found out, because these who made such gods certainly could not make souls: when he had said concerning Isis, what I have commemorated, "to how many she is harmful when angry", he added following, "For it is easy for terrestrial and mundane gods to be angry, as being those who are made and composed by men from both natures." He says from both natures, from soul and body: so that for the soul there is the demon, for the body the idol. "Whence it happened," he says, "that these were called by the Egyptians holy animals, and that the souls of those whose living ones were consecrated are worshiped through their individual cities, so that they are inhabited by their laws, and called by their names." Where is that mournful complaint as it were, that the most holy land of Egypt, the seat of shrines and temples, would be most full of sepulchers and of the dead? Indeed the deceiv-

ing spirit, by whose instinct Hermes said those things, was compelled through him himself to confess that even then that land was most full of sepulchers and of the dead, whom they were worshiping as gods. But the grief of demons was speaking through him, who were mourning that their future punishments were imminent at the memories of the holy martyrs. For in many such places they are tortured and confess, and are ejected from the possessed bodies of men.

CHAPTER XXVII

Of the manner of honor which Christians bestow upon the martyrs.

1. Nor yet do we constitute temples, priesthoods, sacred things and sacrifices to the same martyrs: because not they, but their God is God to us. We honor indeed their memories as of holy men of God, who even unto the death of their bodies fought for the truth, so that the true religion might become known, the false and fictitious things having been convicted: which even if any were previously feeling, they were repressing by fearing. But who has heard at any time any of the faithful, the priest standing at the altar even built over the holy body of a martyr for the honor and worship of God, say in the prayers, "I offer sacrifice to you, Peter, or Paul, or Cipher"; since at their memories it is offered to God, who made them both men and martyrs, and associated them with His holy Angels in celestial honor; so that by that celebrity we may both give thanks

to the true God for their victories, and we may be exhorted to the imitation of such crowns and palms, the same God being invoked for help from the renovation of their memory? Whatever obsequies of religious men therefore are applied in the places of the martyrs, are ornaments of memories, not sacred things or sacrifices of the dead as of gods. Whoever also bring their feasts there, which indeed is not done by the better Christians, and in most lands there is no such custom; yet whoever do this, which when they have placed them, they pray, and take them away that they may eat, or also bestow them upon the indigent, they wish them to be sanctified to themselves through the merits of the martyrs in the name of the Lord of the martyrs. But that these are not sacrifices of the martyrs he knows who knows the one [sacrifice], which is also offered there, the Sacrifice of the Christians.

2. We therefore worship our martyrs neither with divine honors, nor with human crimes, as they worship their gods: nor do we offer sacrifices to them, nor do we convert their shames into their sacred things. For concerning Isis the wife of Osiris, the Egyptian goddess, and concerning their parents, who are all written to have been kings, to which her parents when she was sacrificing, she found a crop of barley, and from there showed the ears to her husband the king and to his counselor Mercury, whence they would have her to be the same also as Ceres; what and how great evils, not by poets, but were committed to memory by their mystic letters, as, the priest

Leon betraying it, Alexander writes to his mother Olympias, let those read who wish or can, and let those who have read recall; and let them see to what dead men, or from what deeds of theirs as if gods, sacred things were instituted. Far be it that they should dare to compare them in any part, although they have them as gods, to our holy martyrs, whom however we do not have as gods. For thus we do not constitute priests, nor do we offer sacrifices to our martyrs; because it is incongruous, undue, illicit, and due only to the one God: so that we delight them neither with their own crimes, nor with most base games, where either they celebrate the flagitious deeds of their gods, if, when they were men, they committed such things; or fictitious delights of noxious demons, if they were not men. Of this kind of demons Socrates would not have a god, if he had a God: but perhaps to a man alien and innocent of that art of making gods, those who wished to excel in the same art imported such a god. What therefore more? That these spirits are not to be worshiped on account of the blessed life which is to be in the future after death, no one even moderately prudent doubts. But perhaps they are going to say, that all gods indeed are good, but of demons some are evil, others good: and they will think that those through whom we may arrive at the eternally blessed life are to be worshiped, whom they think to be good. What kind of thing that is, is now to be seen in the following volume.

BOOK NINE

After he has spoken in the preceding book concerning the rejection of the worship of demons, since they betray themselves as evil spirits by so many arguments; in this book now Augustine meets those who bring a difference of demons, some evil, others good: which difference having been exploded by himself, he proves that to no demon at all, but to Christ alone, the office of mediator of men to beatitude can be competent.

CHAPTER I

To what point the preceding disputation has arrived, and what is to be discussed concerning the remaining question.

Some have thought that there are both good and evil gods: but others feeling better things concerning the gods, attributed so much honor and praise to them, that they dared to believe no god to be evil. But those who said that some gods were good, some evil, also called demons by the name of gods: although [they called] also gods, but more rarely, by the name of demons; so that they confess Jupiter himself, whom they wish to be the king and prince of the others, to have been called a demon by Homer. But these, who assert all gods to be nothing but good, and far more excellent by merit than those men who are reported

good, are moved by the deeds of demons, which they cannot deny, and thinking those things can in no way be committed by gods, whom they wish to be all good, they are compelled to apply a difference between gods and demons; so that whatever deservedly displeases them in the works or depraved affections, by which the occult spirits manifest their power, they believe that to be of demons, not of gods. But because they think the same demons are so constituted as middles between men and gods, as if no god were mixed with man so that they might carry from here the things desired, from there report the things obtained; and the Platonists, the chief and most noble of philosophers, feel this, with whom as with the more excellent it has pleased to examine this question, whether the worship of many gods profits for the attaining of the blessed life which is to be after death: in the preceding book we sought, in what way demons, who rejoice in such things as good and prudent men are averse to and damn, that is, sacrilegious, flagitious, criminal fictions of the poets, not concerning any man, but concerning the gods themselves, and the sceler-ate and to-be-punished violence of the magical arts, can as being closer and more friendly to the good gods reconcile good men; and it has been found that this can be by no reason.

CHAPTER II

Whether among the demons, to whom the gods are superior, there is any part of good ones, by whose protection the human soul can arrive at true beatitude.

Accordingly this book, as we promised at the end of that one, ought to contain a disputation concerning the difference (if they wish any to be), not of the gods among themselves, whom they call all good; nor of the difference of gods and demons, of whom they separate those far and wide from men, these they place between gods and men; but concerning the difference of the demons themselves, which pertains to the present question.

[II.] For it is usual among most to say that some demons are good, others evil: which whether it be even the opinion of the Platonists, or of any others, its discussion is by no means to be neglected, lest anyone should think that good demons as it were are to be followed by himself, through whom as middles, while he affects and studies to be reconciled to the gods whom he believes to be all good, so that he may be as it were with them after death, being entangled in the fallacy and deceived by the deceit of malignant spirits, he should wander far from the true God, with whom alone, and in whom alone, and of whom alone, the human soul, that is, the rational and intellectual, is blessed.

CHAPTER III.

What Apuleius ascribes to demons; to whom, while he does not withdraw reason, he assigns nothing of virtue.

What, therefore, is the difference between good and evil demons? Since the Platonist Apuleius, in discussing them universally, and

saying so much concerning their aerial bodies, was silent concerning the virtues of their minds, with which they would be endowed if they were good. He was silent, therefore, concerning the cause of beatitude; but the indication of misery he could not keep silent, confessing that their mind, by which he asserted they were rational, was not even imbued and fortified with virtue, so as not to yield at all to the irrational passions of the soul, but was itself also, as is the custom of foolish minds, agitated in a certain way by stormy perturbations. For his words concerning this matter are these: "From this number of demons for the most part," he says, "poets are accustomed, by no means far from the truth, to feign gods as haters and lovers of certain men; to prosper and exalt these, but on the contrary to oppose and afflict those;" Therefore also to pity, and to be indignant, and to be distressed, and to rejoice, and to suffer every face of the human mind, and with a similar motion of the heart and sea of the mind, to fluctuate through all the tides of thoughts. All which "turbid storms and tempests are exiled far from the tranquility of the celestial gods" (Apuleius in his book On the God of Socrates). Is there in these words any doubt that he said not some inferior parts of the souls, but the very minds of the demons, by which they are rational animals, were disturbed like a stormy sea by the tempest of passions? so that they are not even to be compared to wise men, who resist perturbations of souls of this kind, from which human infirmity is not immune, even when they

suffer them by the condition of this life, with an unperturbed mind, not yielding to them for approving or perpetrating anything that deviates from the path of wisdom and the law of justice: but similar to foolish and unjust mortals, not in bodies but in morals (that I may not say worse, in that they are older and incurable by due punishment), they also fluctuate in the sea of the mind itself, as he called it; nor do they consist in any part of the soul in truth and virtue, by which turbulent and depraved affections are resisted.

CHAPTER IV.

What is the opinion of the Peripatetics and Stoics concerning the perturbations that happen to the soul.

1. There are two opinions of philosophers concerning these motions of the soul, which the Greeks call pathē, but some of our own, as Cicero does (On the Ends, book 3, chap. 20; Tusculan Disputations, book 3, chap. 4; book 4, chaps. 5, 6, and elsewhere), call perturbations, some call affections or affects, but some indeed, as this one from the Greek more expressively, call passions. Some philosophers say that these perturbations, or affections, or passions, even happen to the wise man, but moderated and subjected to reason, so that the domination of the mind imposes laws on them, as it were, by which they may be reduced to a necessary measure. Those who feel this are Platonists or Aristotelians, since Aristotle, who founded the Peripatetic sect, was a disciple of Plato. But to others, such as the Stoics,

it does not please that any passions of this kind whatsoever should fall upon the wise man. But Cicero, in the books on the Ends of Goods and Evils, convicts these, that is the Stoics, of contending with words rather than things against the Platonists or Peripatetics: since the Stoics do not wish to call them goods, but commodities of the body and external things; because they wish no good of man to be except virtue, as the art of living well, which is only in the soul. But these others call these things goods simply and from the common custom of speaking; but in comparison of virtue, by which one lives rightly, small and slight. From which it happens, that whatever they may be called by both, whether goods or commodities, they are weighed with an equal estimation, nor are the Stoics delighted in this question, except by the novelty of words. It seems to me therefore even in this, where it is asked whether the passions of the soul happen to the wise man, or whether he is entirely alien from them, that they make a controversy of words rather than of things. For I think that even they themselves feel nothing else here than the Platonists and Peripatetics, as far as pertains to the force of things, not to the sound of vocables.

2. For that I may omit other things by which I might show it, lest I make it long, I will say one thing which is most evident. In the books which have the title of Attic Nights, A. Gellius, a man of most elegant eloquence, and of much and fluent knowledge, writes that he once sailed with a certain noble Stoic philosopher. This philosopher,

as A. Gellius relates more broadly and copiously (Attic Nights, book 19, chap. 1), which I will touch upon briefly, when that ship was tossed most dangerously by a horrible sky and sea, turned pale with the force of fear. This was noticed by those who were present, although in the vicinity of death, most curiously attentive whether the philosopher was disturbed in mind. Then, the storm being over, as soon as security provided a place for talking or even for chattering, a certain one of those whom that ship carried, a rich and luxurious Asiatic, calls upon the philosopher, mocking that he had been afraid and had turned pale, since he himself had remained intrepid in the destruction that was impending. But he related the answer of Aristippus the Socratic, who when in a similar case he had heard the same words from a similar man, answered that the other had not been solicitous for the soul of a most worthless knave, as was due, but he himself had had cause to fear for the soul of Aristippus. This rich man being repelled by this response, afterwards A. Gellius asked of the philosopher, not with a mind of harassing but of learning, what that reason of his fear was. Who, that he might teach a man diligently kindled with the study of knowing, brought out immediately from his small bundle a book of the Stoic Epictetus, in which those things were written which agreed with the decrees of Zeno and Chrysippus, whom we know to have been the princes of the Stoics. In that book A. Gellius says he read that this was pleasing to the Stoics: that the visions of the

mind, which they call phantasies, it is not in our power whether and when they occur to the mind; when they come from terrible and formidable things, it is necessary that they move even the mind of the wise man; so that for a little while he either trembles with fear, or is contracted with sadness, as these passions prevent the office of the mind and reason: nor yet for all that is an opinion of evil formed in the mind, nor are these approved, and consented to. For they wish this to be in our power, and they think this to interest between the mind of the wise man and the fool, that the mind of the fool yields to the same passions, and accommodates the assent of the mind; but that of the wise man, although he suffers them by necessity, yet retains concerning those things which he ought rationally to seek or flee, a true and stable opinion with an unshaken mind. These things as I was able, not indeed more commodiously than A. Gellius, but certainly more briefly, and, as I think, more plainly have I set forth, which he commemorates that he read in the book of Epictetus, that he said and felt from the decrees of the Stoics.

3. Which if they are so, either nothing, or almost nothing differs between the opinion of the Stoics and of other philosophers concerning the passions and perturbations of souls: for both defend the mind and reason of the wise man from their domination. And for this reason perhaps the Stoics say that they do not fall upon the wise man, because they by no means obscure his wisdom by any error, or subvert it by any stain, by

which he is certainly wise. But they happen to the soul of the wise man, with the serenity of wisdom safe, on account of those things which they call commodities or incommodities, although they do not wish to call them goods or evils. For certainly if that philosopher had weighed as nothing those things which he felt he was about to lose in the shipwreck, such as is this life and health of the body; he would not have so greatly dreaded that danger, as to be betrayed even by the testimony of pallor. Nevertheless both could he suffer that perturbation, and hold fixed in his mind the opinion, that that life and health of the body, whose loss the immensity of the storm threatened, were not goods which made those good in whom they were, as justice does. But that they say those things are not even to be called goods, but commodities; it is to be deputed to a contest of words, not to an examination of things. For what does it matter, whether they are more aptly called goods, or commodities; as long as nevertheless, lest he be deprived of these, the Stoic no less than the Peripatetic trembles and turns pale; not by calling them equally, but by estimating them equally? Both indeed, if they should be urged to a disgrace or a crime by the dangers of these goods or commodities, so that they could not retain them otherwise, say that they prefer to lose these things by which the nature of the body is held safe and sound, than to commit those things by which justice is violated. Thus the mind, where that opinion is fixed, permits no perturbations, even if they happen to the inferior parts of the

soul, to prevail in itself against reason: nay rather it itself dominates them, and by not consenting to them, but rather by resisting them, exercises the kingdom of virtue. Such a one Virgil also describes Aeneas, where he says: "His mind remains unmoved, the tears roll down in vain" (Aeneid, book 4, verse 449).

CHAPTER V.

That the passions, which affect Christian souls, do not lead into vice, but exercise virtue.

It is not now necessary to show copiously and diligently what the divine Scripture, in which Christian erudition is contained, teaches concerning these passions. For it subjects that very mind to God to be ruled and helped, and the passions to the mind to be so moderated and bridled, that they may be converted into the uses of justice. In short, in our discipline it is not so much asked whether a pious soul is angry, but why it is angry; nor whether it is sad, but whence it is sad; nor whether it fears, but what it fears. For to be angry with a sinner so that he may be corrected; to be saddened for the afflicted so that he may be liberated; to fear for one in danger lest he perish; I know not whether anyone of sound consideration would reprehend. For even mercy the Stoics are accustomed to blame: but how much more honestly was that Stoic perturbed by the mercy of a man to be liberated, than by the fear of a shipwreck! Far better and more humanely, and more accommodately to the senses

of the pious, spoke Cicero in the praise of Caesar, where he says: "None of your virtues is either more admirable or more grateful than mercy" (Oration for Q. Ligarius, chap. 12). But what is mercy, except a certain compassion in our heart of another's misery, by which certainly, if we are able, we are compelled to succor? But this motion serves reason, when mercy is so provided that justice is preserved, whether when it is given to the indigent, or when it is forgotten to the penitent. This Cicero, an excellent speaker, did not hesitate to call a virtue, which the Stoics are not ashamed to number among the vices: who nevertheless, as the book of the most noble Stoic Epictetus taught, from the decrees of Zeno and Chrysippus, who held the first places of this sect, admit passions of this kind into the mind of the wise man, whom they wish to be free from all vices. Whence it becomes a consequence, that they do not think these very things to be vices, when they happen to the wise man in such a way that they can do nothing against the virtue of the mind and reason, and one is the same opinion of the Peripatetics, or even of the Platonists, and of the Stoics themselves: but, as Tully says, a controversy of a word has for a long time tormented the little Greeks more desirous of contention than of truth (On the Orator, book I, c. 11, § 47). But still it may be deservedly asked, whether it pertains to the infirmity of the present life, to suffer affects of this kind even in any good offices: but that the holy Angels both punish without anger those whom they receive to be punished by the

eternal law of God, and succor the miserable without compassion of misery, and help those whom they love when in danger without fear; and yet the names of these passions are usurped even in them by the custom of human speech, on account of a certain similarity of works, not on account of the infirmity of affections: just as God himself according to the Scriptures is angry, and yet is not perturbed by any passion. For this word has usurped the effect of vengeance, not his turbulent affect.

CHAPTER VI.

By what passions the demons are agitated, according to the confession of Apuleius, by whose aid he asserts men are helped with the gods.

The question concerning the holy angels being deferred for the time being, let us see how the Platonists say that the demons, constituted as mediators between the gods and men, fluctuate in these tides of passions. For if they suffered motions of this kind while their mind was free from them and dominating them, Apuleius would not say that they fluctuate with a similar motion of the heart and a sea of the mind through all the surges of thoughts (De deo Socratis). Therefore, their very mind, that is, the superior part of the soul by which they are rational, in which virtue and wisdom would reside if they had any, would dominate the turbulent passions of the inferior parts of the soul by ruling and moderating them; their very mind itself, I say, as this Platonist

confesses, fluctuates in a sea of perturbations. The mind of demons is therefore subject to the passions of lusts, fears, angers, and others of this kind. What part in them, then, is free and possessed of wisdom, by which they might please the gods and provide for men toward the likeness of good morals; when their mind, subjugated and oppressed by the vices of passions, directs whatever reason it naturally possesses to deceiving and tricking all the more sharply, the more the desire of harming possesses it?

CHAPTER VII.

That the Platonists assert the gods are defamed by the figments of poets concerning the contest of contrary pursuits, since these parts belong to demons, not to gods.

But if anyone says that it is not from the number of all, but from the number of evil demons, whom the poets, not far from the truth, feign to be gods who are haters and lovers of certain men: for these Apuleius said fluctuate in a sea of the mind through all the surges of thoughts: how shall we be able to understand this, when, while he was saying this, he was describing not of some, that is, the evil ones, but the middle nature of all demons on account of their aerial bodies, between the gods and men? For he says that the poets feign this, that from the number of those demons they make gods, and impose the names of gods upon them, and distribute from these friends and enemies to whichever men they wish with the unpunished license of a feigned song;

although they maintain that the gods are remote from these morals of demons, both by their celestial place and by the opulence of their beatitude (De deo Socratis). This, therefore, is the fiction of the poets, to say they are gods who are not gods, and that they contend among themselves under the names of gods for the sake of men, whom they love or hate for the sake of their parties. But he says that this fiction is not far from the truth; since, although called by the names of gods those who are not gods, yet such demons are described as they actually are. Finally, he says that from here is that Homeric Minerva, who intervened in the midst of the Greek assemblies to restrain Achilles (Ibid.). That she was Minerva, therefore, he wishes to be a poetic figment; because he thinks Minerva is a goddess, and places her among the gods, whom he believes to be all good and blessed, in the high ethereal seat, far from the association of mortals. But that it was some demon favoring the Greeks and contrary to the Trojans, just as another was a helper of the Trojans against the Greeks, whom the same poet commemorates by the name of Venus or Mars, whom this man places in celestial habitations not doing such things; and that these demons contended among themselves for those whom they loved, against those whom they hated, he confessed that the poets said this not far from the truth. For they said these things concerning those whom he testifies fluctuate with a motion of the heart and a sea of the mind similar to men through all the surges of thoughts, so that they

could exercise loves and hatreds, not for justice, but as the people similar to them do in hunters and charioteers, according to the pursuits of their parties, for some against others. For the Platonist philosopher seems to have taken care of this, lest, when these things were sung by the poets, they should be believed to be done, not by the middle demons, but by the gods themselves, whose names the poets put by feigning.

CHAPTER VIII.

The definition of Apuleius the Platonist concerning the celestial gods, the aerial demons, and the terrestrial men.

What of that very definition of demons, is it not to be somewhat considered (where certainly he included all by defining them), when he says that demons are animals in genus, passive in soul, rational in mind, aerial in body, eternal in time (Ibid.)? In these five things commemorated, he said nothing at all by which demons would seem to have that in common even with good men which was not in evil ones. For when he included men themselves by describing them somewhat more extensively, speaking of them in their place as of the lowest and terrestrial, after he had first spoken of the celestial gods; so that, having commended the two last parts from the highest and the lowest, he might speak in the third place of the middle demons: "Therefore men," he says, "famous for reason, powerful in speech, with immortal souls, with moribund members, with light and anxious minds, with

brute and obnoxious bodies, with dissimilar morals, with similar errors, with pervicacious audacity, with pertinacious hope, with vain labor, with falling fortune, individually mortal, yet all perpetual in their universal genus, changeable by the offspring to be supplied in turn, with flying time, with slow wisdom, with swift death, with a querulous life, inhabit the lands" (De deo Socratis). When he said so many things here which pertain to most men, did he even keep silent about that which he knew belonged to few, when he said "slow wisdom"? which if he had omitted, he would by no means have correctly terminated the human genus with such intent diligence of this description. But when he commended the excellence of the gods, he affirmed that beatitude itself, to which men wish to arrive through wisdom, excels in them. Therefore, if he wished some demons to be understood as good, he would also put something in the description of them from which they might be thought to have in common either some part of beatitude with the gods, or some kind of wisdom with men. But now he commemorated no good of theirs by which the good are discerned from the evil. Although he also spared expressing their malice more freely, not so much lest he should offend them, as lest he should offend their worshippers, among whom he was speaking: yet he signified to the prudent what they ought to think of them; since he separated the gods, whom he wished to be believed all good and blessed, from their passions and, as he says himself, disturbances

(turbellis) in every way, joining them only by the eternity of their bodies; most openly inculcating that demons are similar in soul not to the gods, but to men: and this not by the good of wisdom, of which even men can be participants; but by the perturbation of passions, which dominates the foolish and the evil, but is so ruled by the wise and the good that they prefer not to have it than to conquer it. For if he wished demons to be understood to have with the gods an eternity not of bodies but of souls, he would certainly not separate men from the fellowship of this thing: because he feels, no doubt as a Platonist, that souls are eternal even for men. Therefore, when he described this genus of living beings, he said men are with immortal souls and moribund members. And through this, if men do not have a common eternity with the gods for the reason that they are mortal in body: therefore demons have it because they are immortal in body.

CHAPTER IX.

Whether the friendship of the celestial gods can be provided for man through the intercession of demons.

What kind of mediators, then, are they between men and gods, through whom men may seek the friendships of the gods, who have this worse in common with men which is better in a living being, that is, the soul; and have this better in common with the gods which is worse in a living being, that is, the body? For since a living being, that is, an animal, consists of soul and

body, of which two the soul is certainly better than the body; even if vicious and weak, it is surely better than the body, even the healthiest and firmest; because its nature is more excellent and is not placed after the body by the stain of vices; just as gold, even if dirty, is estimated more dearly than silver or lead, however pure: these mediators of gods and men, through whose interposition human things are joined to divine, have an eternal body with the gods, but a vicious soul with men; as if religion, by which they wish men to be joined to the gods through demons, were constituted in the body, not in the soul. What wickedness or punishment, finally, has suspended these false and fallacious mediators as if head downward, so that they have the inferior part of the animal, that is, the body, with the superior beings, but the superior part, that is, the soul, with the inferior beings, and being joined with the celestial gods in the serving part, they are miserable with terrestrial men in the dominating part? For the body is indeed a servant, as Sallust also says: "We make use rather of the empire of the mind and the service of the body." And he added: "One we have in common with the gods, the other with the beasts" (Sallust in Catil., chap. 1): because he was speaking of men, to whom, as to the beasts, the body is mortal. But these ones, whom the philosophers have provided as mediators for us between ourselves and the gods, can indeed say of the soul and the body: "One we have in common with the gods, the other with men": but, as I said, being as it

were bound and suspended in perversion, having a servant body with the blessed gods, and a master soul with miserable men, they are exalted in the inferior part and dejected in the superior. Whence also, even if anyone should think on this account that they have eternity with the gods, because their souls are dissolved from the body by no death, as happens with terrestrial animals: not even thus is their body to be thought of as an eternal vehicle of the honored, but as an eternal bond of the damned.

CHAPTER X.

That according to the opinion of Plotinus, men are less miserable in a mortal body than demons in an eternal one.

Plotinus certainly, in times near to our memory, is praised for having understood Plato more excellently than others. He, when treating of human souls, said: "The merciful Father made mortal bonds for them" (Enneads IV, book 3, chap. 12). Thus he thought that this very fact that men are mortal in body pertains to the mercy of God the Father, lest they should be held forever by the misery of this life. From this mercy the iniquity of the demons was judged unworthy, which, in the misery of a passive soul, received not a mortal body like men, but an eternal one. They would indeed be happier than men if they had a mortal body with them, and a blessed soul with the gods. But they would be equal to men if, with a miserable soul, they had at least deserved to have a mortal body with them; provided that they

acquired something of piety, so that they might rest from their hardships even in death. But now not only are they not happier than men with their miserable soul, but they are even more miserable because of the perpetual bond of the body. For he did not wish it to be understood that they become gods from being demons by profiting from some discipline of piety and wisdom, since he most openly said that demons are eternal.

CHAPTER XI.

Concerning the opinion of the Platonists, in which they think that the souls of men are demons after their bodies.

He also says that the souls of men are demons, and that from men are made Lares if they are of good merit; Lemures or Larvae if of evil merit; but that they are called Manes gods if it is uncertain whether they are of good or evil merits. In which opinion, what a whirlpool they open for following lost morals, who does not see if he attends even a little? Since however wicked men have been, while they think they become either Larvae or Manes gods, they become so much the worse the more they are desirous of harming: so that they even think themselves invited by certain sacrifices as if to divine honors after death, in order to harm: for he says that Larvae are noxious demons made from men. But this is another question. Furthermore, he maintains that the blessed are called in Greek eudaemones, because they are good souls (animi), that is, good

demons; confirming that the souls of men are also demons.

CHAPTER XII.

Concerning the three contraries by which, according to the Platonists, the nature of demons and men is distinguished.

But now we are dealing with those whom he described in their own nature between the gods and men as animals in genus, rational in mind, passive in soul, aerial in body, eternal in time. For when he had first separated the gods in the high heaven and men on the lowest earth, disjoined in places and in the dignity of their nature, he thus concluded: "You have," he says, "meanwhile two kinds of animals; gods differing very much from men in the sublimity of their place, in the perpetuity of their life, in the perfection of their nature; with no close communication between them, since such an interval of height divides the highest habitations from the lowest; and the life there is eternal and unfailing, but here falling and cut short; and those intellects are sublimated to beatitude, but these are debased to miseries" (De deo Socratis). Here I see three contraries commemorated concerning the two last parts of nature, that is, the highest and the lowest. For the three laudable things which he proposed concerning the gods, he repeated the same in other words, so that he might render three other adverse things from men. These three of the gods are: sublimity of place, perpetuity of life, perfection of nature. These he repeated in

other words so that he might oppose to them the three contraries of the human condition: "Since," he says, "such an interval of height divides the highest habitations from the lowest," because he had said sublimity of place. "And the life there," he says, "is eternal and unfailing, but here falling and cut short," because he had said perpetuity of life. "And those intellects," he says, "are sublimated to beatitude, but these are debased to miseries," because he had said perfection of nature. Three things, therefore, were placed by him for the gods, that is, sublime place, eternity, beatitude: and three things contrary to these for men, that is, lowest place, mortality, misery.

CHAPTER XIII.

How the demons, if they are neither blessed with the gods nor miserable with men, are mediators between both parts without the communion of either.

1. Among these three things of gods and men, since he placed the demons as mediators, there is no controversy concerning place: for between the sublime and the lowest, a middle place is most aptly held and spoken of. The other two pairs remain, to which more attentive care must be applied, as to how they may either be shown to be alien to demons, or so distributed to them as mediation seems to require. But they cannot be alien to them. For we cannot correctly say that, just as we say a middle place is neither the highest nor the lowest, so demons, since they are rational animals, are neither blessed nor mis-

erable, as are shrubs or cattle, which are expert of neither sense nor reason. Therefore, those in whose minds reason resides must necessarily be either miserable or blessed. Likewise, we cannot correctly say that demons are neither mortal nor eternal. For all living things either live forever or end their life in death. But now this man has said that demons are eternal in time. What remains, then, except that these mediators have one from the two highest things, and the other from the two lowest? For if they have both from the lowest, or both from the highest, they will not be mediators, but they will either recoil or lean toward one or the other part. Since, therefore, as has been demonstrated, they cannot lack both of these two, they will be mediated by accepting one from each part. And through this, because they cannot have from the lowest things eternity, which is not there, they have this one from the highest; and therefore there is nothing else to complete their mediation, which they might have from the lowest, except misery.

2. [XIII.] There is therefore, according to the Platonists, for the sublime gods either a blessed eternity or an eternal beatitude; for infirm men either a mortal misery or a miserable mortality: but for the middle demons either a miserable eternity or an eternal misery. For even in those five things which he placed in the definition of demons, he did not show them to be mediators as he promised; since he said they have three in common with us, that they are animals in genus, rational in mind, and passive in soul; but with the

gods one, that they are eternal in time; and one of their own, that they are aerial in body. How then are they mediators, when they have one with the highest and three with the lowest? Who does not see, mediation being left behind, how much they are inclined and depressed toward the lowest things? But clearly they can also be found to be mediators there in such a way that they have one thing of their own, which is the aerial body, just as those of the highest and lowest have each their own, the gods an ethereal body, and men a terrestrial one; but two things are common to all, that they are animals in genus and rational in mind. For he himself, when speaking of gods and men, said: "You have two kinds of animals." And these are not accustomed to maintain that the gods are anything but rational in mind. Two remain, that they are passive in soul and eternal in time: of which they have one with the lowest, the other with the highest, so that the mediation, balanced by a proportional reason, is neither lifted up to the highest nor depressed to the lowest. That very thing is the miserable eternity or eternal misery of the demons. For he who said "passive in soul" would also have said "miserable," had he not been ashamed before their worshippers. Furthermore, because the world is not ruled by fortuitous rashness, as even they themselves confess, but by the providence of the highest God, there would never be an eternal misery for them, unless there were a great malice.

3. If, therefore, the blessed are correctly called eudaemones, those demons whom they have

placed in the middle between men and gods are not eudaemones. Where, then, is the place of good demons, who, being above men and below the gods, provide aid to the former and service to the latter? For if they are good and eternal, they are surely also blessed. But eternal beatitude does not permit them to be mediators, because it compares them much to the gods and separates them much from men. Whence in vain will they attempt to show how good demons, if they are both immortal and blessed, are correctly constituted as mediators between the immortal and blessed gods and mortal and miserable men. For since they have both things with the gods, namely beatitude and immortality, but none of these with miserable and mortal men; how are they not rather remote from men and joined to the gods, than constituted as mediators between both? For they would then be mediators, if they themselves also had two things of their own, common not with two of either side, but with one of each: just as man is a certain middle thing, but between the beasts and the angels; so that, because a beast is an irrational and mortal animal, while an angel is a rational and immortal one, man would be a mediator, inferior to angels and superior to beasts, having mortality with the beasts and reason with the angels, being a rational mortal animal. So, therefore, when we seek a mediator between the blessed immortals and the miserable mortals, we ought to find this: that which is either mortal and blessed, or immortal and miserable.

CHAPTER XIV.

Whether men, since they are mortal, can be happy with true beatitude.

Whether a man can be both blessed and mortal is a great question among men. For some have inspected their condition more humbly and denied that man can be capable of beatitude as long as he lives mortally: but others have extolled themselves and dared to say that those possessed of wisdom can be blessed though mortal. But if this is so, why are they not rather constituted as mediators between the miserable mortals and the blessed immortals, having beatitude with the blessed immortals and mortality with the miserable mortals? For surely if they are blessed, they envy no one (for what is more miserable than envy?); and therefore they provide for miserable mortals, as much as they can, for the attainment of beatitude; so that they may also be able to be immortal after death and be joined to the immortal and blessed angels.

CHAPTER XV.

Concerning the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus.

1. If, however, as is argued with much more credibility and probability, all men, as long as they are mortal, must also be miserable, a mediator must be sought who is not only man, but also God; so that the blessed mortality of this mediator, by intervening, may lead men from mortal

misery to blessed immortality. It was necessary that He should neither fail to become mortal, nor remain mortal. Indeed, He was made mortal, not by any weakening of the divinity of the Word, but by the assumption of the infirmity of the flesh: but He did not remain mortal in that same flesh, which He raised from the dead: since the very fruit of His mediation is that those for whose liberation He became mediator should not remain in perpetual death, even of the flesh. Therefore, it was necessary for the mediator between us and God to have a passing mortality and a permanent beatitude: so that through that which passes, He might be suited to those who are to die; and to that which remains, He might transfer them from among the dead. The good angels, therefore, cannot be mediators between miserable mortals and blessed immortals, because they themselves are also both blessed and immortal: but the evil angels can be mediators because they are immortal with the former and miserable with the latter. Contrary to these is the good Mediator, who, in opposition to their immortality and misery, chose both to be mortal for a time and was able to persist as blessed in eternity: and thus, by the humility of His death and the benignity of His beatitude, He destroyed in those whose hearts He cleansed through faith in Him, those proud immortals and harmful wretches, so that they might not seduce them to misery by the boast of immortality, and He liberated them from their most foul domination.

2. Therefore, since mortal and miserable man is far separated from the immortal and blessed, what mediator should he choose, through whom he may be joined to immortality and beatitude? That which might delight in the immortality of demons is miserable: that which might offend in the mortality of Christ no longer exists. There, therefore, eternal misery is to be avoided; here death is not to be feared, which could not be eternal, and eternal beatitude is to be loved. For the immortal and miserable mediator interposes himself for this purpose: that he may not allow a passage to blessed immortality, because that which hinders persists, that is, misery itself; but the mortal and blessed mediator interposed himself for this purpose: that when mortality was passed, He might make mortals immortal from among the dead, which He showed by rising in Himself, and make the miserable blessed, from which state He Himself never departed. The one, then, is an evil mediator, who separates friends; the other a good one, who reconciles enemies. And therefore there are many separating mediators, because the multitude which is blessed becomes blessed by the participation of the one God; by the privation of which participation the miserable multitude of evil angels, which opposes itself as a hindrance rather than interposes as an aid to beatitude, even by its very multitude clamors, as it were, so that one may not be able to reach that one beatific good, to which we needed not many, but one mediator to be led; and this is He by whose participation we are blessed, that

is, the uncreated Word of God, through whom all things were made. Yet He is not mediator because He is the Word: for the Word, being supremely immortal and supremely blessed, is far from miserable mortals; but He is mediator in that He is man: thereby showing, indeed, that for that good which is not only blessed but also beatific, other mediators ought not to be sought, through whom we might think that stages of arrival must be constructed by us; because the blessed and beatific God, having become a partaker of our humanity, has provided a short way to partake of His divinity. For in liberating us from mortality and misery, He does not lead us to the immortal and blessed angels in such a way that by their participation we also become immortal and blessed; but to that Trinity, by whose participation the angels also are blessed. Therefore, when in the form of a servant (Phil. 2:7), that He might be the mediator, He chose to be below the angels, in the form of God He remained above the angels: the same one being the way of life in the lower regions who is life in the higher.

CHAPTER XVI.

Whether the Platonists reasonably defined that the celestial gods, declining earthly contagions, do not mix with men, for whom the demons act as supporters for friendship with the gods.

For it is not true, what the same Platonist says Plato said, 'No god mixes with man.' And this he calls the chief proof of their sublimity: that

they are not contaminated by any contact with men (Apuleius, on the god of Socrates). Therefore he confesses that the demons are contaminated: and therefore they cannot cleanse those by whom they are contaminated, and all become equally unclean: both the demons by contact with men, and men by the worship of demons. Or, if demons can both be touched and mixed with men, and yet not be contaminated, they are surely better than the gods: because the latter, if they were mixed, would be contaminated. For this is said to be the chief property of the gods, that human contact cannot contaminate them, separated as they are in their sublimity. He asserts that the supreme God, the creator of all things, whom we call the true God, is proclaimed by Plato in such a way that He alone cannot be comprehended even in the least by any speech, due to the poverty of human discourse; and that barely to wise men, when they have removed themselves from the body as much as possible with the vigor of the mind, does the understanding of this God come, and even then at times as a white light flashing with a most rapid coruscation in the deepest darkness (On the god of Socrates). If, then, the truly supreme God is present above all things by a certain intelligible and ineffable presence to the minds of wise men when they have removed themselves as much as possible from the body —even if only at times, even if only as a white light flashing like a most rapid coruscation—and cannot be contaminated by them; what is the reason that these gods are constituted far off in a

sublime place, so that they might not be contaminated by human contact? As if, indeed, it were not enough to see those ethereal bodies, by whose light the earth is sufficiently illuminated. Moreover, if the stars are not contaminated when they are seen—all of which he calls visible gods—neither are the demons contaminated by the sight of men, even though they are seen from close at hand. Or perhaps they would be contaminated by human voices, who are not contaminated by the sharpness of the eyes; and is it for this reason that they have demons as mediators, through whom the voices of men may be reported to them from whom they are far distant, so that they may remain most uncontaminated? What shall I say now of the other senses? For neither could the gods be contaminated by smelling if they were present, nor can the demons when they are present, by the vapors of living human bodies, if they are not contaminated by such great cadaverous odors of sacrifices. As for the sense of taste, they are urged by no necessity of refreshing their mortality to seek food from men, driven by hunger. Touch, indeed, is in their power. For although 'contact' seems to be named chiefly from that sense, they could nevertheless, if they wished, mix with men so far as to see and be seen, to hear and be heard: but what necessity is there for touching? for neither would men dare to desire it when they enjoyed the sight or speech of the gods or of good demons: and if curiosity should progress so far that they wished it, how could anyone touch a god or demon against his will,

when one cannot touch even a sparrow unless it is caught?

2. By seeing, therefore, and presenting themselves to sight, and by speaking and hearing, the gods could mix corporally with men. But if demons mix in this way, as I have said, and are not contaminated, while the gods would be contaminated if they mixed, they are saying that demons are incontaminable and gods are contaminable. But if the demons also are contaminated, what benefit do they confer on men for a blessed life after death, whom they, being contaminated themselves, cannot cleanse so that they may join them, being clean, to the uncontaminated gods, between whom and men they have been constituted as mediators? Or if they do not confer this benefit upon them, of what use to men is the friendly mediation of demons? Is it so that after death men may not pass to the gods through the demons, but that both may live together contaminated, and thereby neither be blessed? Unless perhaps someone should say that, after the manner of sponges or suchlike things, the demons cleanse their friends so that they themselves become as much filthier as men become cleaner by their wiping, as it were. If this is so, the gods mix with more contaminated demons, who, lest they be contaminated, avoided the proximity and contact of men. Or perhaps the gods can cleanse the demons contaminated by men, and not be contaminated by them, and yet they could not do the same for men? Who would think such things, unless one whom the most

fallacious demons have deceived? What of the fact that if seeing and being seen contaminates, the gods are seen by men—those whom he calls visible gods, the brightest lights of the world and the other stars; and the demons are safer from this contamination of men, who cannot be seen unless they wish? Or if it is not being seen, but seeing, that contaminates, let them deny that men are seen by those brightest lights of the world, whom they suppose to be gods, when they extend their rays even to the earth. Yet their rays, diffused through whatever foul things, are not contaminated: and would the gods be contaminated if they mixed with men, even if contact were necessary for helping? For the earth is touched by the rays of the sun and moon, and it does not contaminate this light.

CHAPTER XVII.

That to attain the blessed life, which consists in the participation of the supreme good, man needs not such a mediator as a demon, but such as Christ alone is.

I wonder very much that such learned men, who judged that all corporeal and sensible things are to be postponed to the incorporeal and intelligible when the blessed life is in question, should make mention of corporeal contacts. Where is that saying of Plotinus, where he says: 'We must fly, then, to our most beloved fatherland, and there is the father, and there all things'? 'What fleet, then, or what flight?', he says, 'To become like God' (Ennead 1, lib. 6, cap. 8; lib. 2, cap. 3). If,

then, the more like God one becomes, the nearer he is to Him, there is no other distance from Him than unlikeness to Him. Moreover, the soul of man is as much more unlike that incorporeal, eternal, and unchangeable being, as it is more desirous of temporal and changeable things. [XVII.] That this may be healed—since mortal and unclean things which are at the lowest cannot agree with the immortal purity which is at the highest—a mediator is indeed needed; yet not such a one as has indeed an immortal body near to the highest beings, but a morbid mind like the lowest, by which disease he would rather envy us lest we be healed than help us that we might be healed: but such a one as, being adapted to us at the lowest by the mortality of the body, yet through the immortal righteousness of the spirit—by which He remained at the highest, not by distance of place but by excellence of likeness—might afford us truly divine aid for our cleansing and liberation. Far be it from this truly uncontaminable God to fear contamination from the man with whom He was clothed, or from the men among whom He lived as a man. For these two things, meanwhile, which He wholesomely showed by His incarnation, are not small: that neither can true divinity be contaminated by flesh, nor are demons for that reason to be thought better than us because they do not have flesh. This is He, as the holy Scripture proclaims Him, 'the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus' (1 Tim. 2:5), of whose divinity, by which He is always equal to the Father, and of His humanity, by which He

was made like to us, this is not the place to speak adequately according to our ability.

CHAPTER XVIII.

That the fallacy of demons, while promising a way to God through their intercession, strives for this: to turn men away from the way of truth.

But those false and fallacious mediators, the demons, who, although they appear miserable and malignant in many effects through the impurity of their spirit, yet through the intervals of corporeal places and through the lightness of their aerial bodies strive to call us away and turn us aside from the progress of our souls, do not provide a way to God; but hinder the way from being kept. Since even in that corporeal way, which is most false and full of error, along which righteousness does not travel—for we ought to ascend to God not by corporeal height, but by spiritual, that is, incorporeal likeness—nevertheless, in that corporeal way which the friends of demons ordain through the degrees of the elements, having constituted aerial demons as mediators between the ethereal gods and earthly men, they suppose the gods to have this chief property, that because of this interval of places they are not contaminated by human contact. Thus they believe that demons are rather contaminated by men than men cleansed by demons, and that the gods themselves could have been contaminated had they not been protected by the height of their place. Who is so unhappy as to

think he can be cleansed by this way, where men who contaminate, contaminated demons, and contaminable gods are proclaimed; and does not rather choose the way where the contaminating demons are more avoided, and men are cleansed from contamination by the uncontaminable God to enter into the society of the uncontaminated angels?

CHAPTER XIX.

That the appellation of demons is no longer assumed by their own worshippers in the significance of anything good.

But lest we should also seem to strive about words, since some of these, as I might say, demon-worshippers, among whom is Labeo, assert that the same beings are called angels by others whom they themselves call demons, I see that I must now say something about the good angels, whom they do not deny to exist, but prefer to call good demons rather than angels. But we, according to the language of Scripture, by which we are Christians, read of angels partly good and partly evil, but never of good demons: but wherever this name is found in those writings, whether they are called daemones or daemonia, none but malignant spirits are signified. And this custom of speaking has been followed by the people everywhere to such an extent that even among those who are called Pagans, and who contend that many gods and demons ought to be worshipped, there is hardly anyone so literate and learned who would dare to say in praise, even to his

own servant: 'You have a demon'; but whoever he might wish to say this to, he could not doubt that it would be taken in no other way than as a wish to curse. What reason, then, compels us that, after offending so many ears—indeed, now almost all—which have become accustomed to hearing this word in no other than a bad sense, we should be forced to explain what we have said, when we could avoid that very offense which might be caused by the name of demons by using the name of angels?

CHAPTER XX.

On the quality of knowledge which makes demons proud.

Although even the origin of this name itself, if we look into the divine Books, offers something most worthy of knowledge. For they are called 'daemones', since it is a Greek word, being named on account of their knowledge. But the Apostle, speaking by the Holy Spirit, says: 'Knowledge puffs up, but charity edifies' (1 Cor. 8:1). Which is rightly understood in no other way than that knowledge is profitable then, when charity is present; but without this it puffs up, that is, it raises one up into the pride of a most empty and, as it were, windy vanity. There is, then, in the demons knowledge without charity, and for this reason they are so puffed up, that is, so proud, that they have used their best efforts to have divine honors and the service of religion, which they know to be due to the true God, exhibited to themselves, and they still do so as much as they can and among

whom they can. Furthermore, against the pride of the demons, by which the human race was possessed according to its merits, the souls of men, puffed up with the impurity of pride, do not know what great power the humility of God has, which appeared in the form of a servant; being like the demons in pride, but not in knowledge.

CHAPTER XXI.

In what manner the Lord willed to become known to the demons.

The demons themselves also know this in such a way that they said to the Lord Himself, clothed in the infirmity of the flesh: 'What have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us before the time?' (Mark 1:24; and Matt. 8:29). It is clear from these words that there was in them as much knowledge as there was a lack of charity. For they dreaded their punishment from Him, they did not love righteousness in Him. He became known to them as much as He willed: and He willed as much as was fitting. But He became known, not as to the holy angels, who enjoy His participated eternity according to what He is as the Word of God; but as He needed to become known for the purpose of terrifying those from whose somewhat tyrannical power He was to deliver those predestined for His kingdom and glory, which is always true and truly eternal. He became known to the demons, therefore, not through that which is eternal life, and the unchangeable light that illuminates the

pious, for the vision of which hearts are cleansed by the faith that is in Him; but through certain temporal effects of His power and most hidden signs of His presence, which could be conspicuous to the angelic senses even of malignant spirits rather than to the infirmity of men. Finally, when He judged that those signs should be somewhat suppressed, and He lay hid a little more deeply, the prince of demons doubted about Him and tempted Him, exploring whether He were the Christ, as much as He Himself permitted Himself to be tempted, so that He might adapt the man whom He bore to the example for our imitation. But after that temptation, when angels, as it is written, ministered to Him (Matt. 4:3-11)—good and holy ones, indeed, and therefore to be feared and dreaded by unclean spirits—He became more and more known to the demons for how great He was, so that no one dared to resist Him when He commanded, although in Him the infirmity of the flesh seemed contemptible.

CHAPTER XXII.

What is the difference between the knowledge of the holy angels and the knowledge of demons.

To these good angels, therefore, all knowledge of corporeal and temporal things, with which the demons are puffed up, is vile: not because they are ignorant of them, but because the charity of God, by which they are sanctified, is dear to them; in comparison with whose beauty, which is not only incorporeal but also unchangeable and inef-

fable, with the holy love of which they burn, they despise all things which are below and are not what He is, and they despise themselves among them, so that they may fully enjoy being good through that Good from which they are good. And therefore they know even these temporal and changeable things more certainly; because they behold their principal causes in the Word of God, through whom the world was made: by which causes some things are approved, others rejected, and all things ordered. But demons do not contemplate the eternal and, as it were, cardinal causes of the times in the Wisdom of God; but through a greater experience of certain signs hidden from us, they foresee many more future things than men do. They also sometimes announce beforehand their own arrangements. Finally, the former are often deceived, the latter never at all. For it is one thing to conjecture temporal things from temporal and changeable from changeable, and to insert into them the temporal and changeable mode of their own will and faculty—which is permitted to demons with a certain reason; it is another thing to foresee the changes of times in the eternal and unchangeable laws of God, which live in His Wisdom, and to know the will of God, which is the most certain and powerful of all, through the participation of His Spirit; which has been given to the holy angels with right discretion. Therefore they are not only eternal, but also blessed. And the Good by which they are blessed is God to them, by

whom they were created. Indeed, they enjoy His participation and contemplation unswervingly.

CHAPTER XXIII.

That the name of gods is falsely ascribed to the gods of the Gentiles, which nevertheless is common both to holy angels and to just men according to the authority of the divine Scriptures.

1. If the Platonists prefer to call these beings gods rather than demons, and to number them among those whom their author and master Plato writes were created as gods by the supreme God (in the Timaeus), let them say what they wish; for we must not labor with them over a controversy of words. For if they call them immortal in such a way that they were nevertheless made by the supreme God, and are blessed not of themselves, but by adhering to Him by whom they were made, they are saying what we say, by whatever name they call them. And that this is the opinion of the Platonists, whether of all or of the better ones, can be found in their writings. For even concerning the name itself, by which they call immortal and blessed creatures of this kind gods, there is almost no dissension between us and them, because in our sacred Letters it is read: 'The Lord God of gods has spoken' (Ps. 49:1); and elsewhere: 'Give thanks to the God of gods' (Ps. 135:2). And elsewhere: 'A great King above all gods' (Ps. 94:3). And where it is written: 'He is terrible above all gods', it is shown subsequently why it was said. For it follows: 'For all the gods

of the nations are demons, but the Lord made the heavens' (Ps. 95:4, 5). He said, therefore, 'above all gods', but 'of the nations', that is, those whom the nations hold for gods, which are demons; therefore He is 'terrible', under which terror they said to the Lord: 'Art thou come to destroy us?' (Mark 1:24). But where it is said, 'God of gods', it cannot be understood as 'God of demons'; and as for 'a great King above all gods', far be it that it should be said 'a great King above all demons'. But the same Scripture also calls men in the people of God gods. 'I said,' it says, 'Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High' (Ps. 81:6). Therefore He can be understood as the God of these gods, who is called 'the God of gods'; and as the great King over these gods, who is called 'a great King above all gods'.

2. Nevertheless, when it is asked of us: if men are called gods because they are in the people of God, whom God addresses through angels or men, how much more are those immortals worthy of that name, who enjoy that beatitude to which men desire to attain by worshipping God? what shall we answer, but that it is not in vain that in the holy Scriptures men are more expressly called gods than those immortal and blessed beings to whom it is promised that we shall be equal in the resurrection; lest, indeed, because of their excellence, faithless infirmity should dare to constitute any of them as a god for us? Which in the case of a man is easy to avoid. And men in the people of God ought to have been more evidently called gods, so that they might

become certain and confident that He is their God, who is called 'the God of gods'; because, although those immortal and blessed beings who are in the heavens are called gods, they are not nevertheless called 'gods of gods', that is, gods of the men constituted in the people of God, to whom it was said: 'I said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High'. Hence it is what the Apostle says: 'Though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many, and lords many,) but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him' (1 Cor. 8:5, 6).

3. There is therefore no need to dispute much about the name, since the matter itself is so clear as to be far from any doubt. But that which we say, that from the number of those immortal and blessed beings, Angels were sent to announce the will of God to men, does not please them, because they believe that this ministry is performed not by those whom they call gods, that is, the immortal and blessed, but by demons, whom they dare to call only immortal, but not also blessed; or at least so immortal and blessed that they are nevertheless good demons, not gods placed on high and removed from human contact. Although it may seem to be a controversy over a name, yet the name of demons is so detestable that we ought by all means to keep ourselves and the holy Angels removed from it. Now, therefore, let this book be closed in such a way that we may know that the

immortal and blessed beings—whatever they may be called—who were nevertheless made and created, are not mediators for bringing wretched mortals to immortal beatitude, from which they are separated by both differences. But those who are mediators by having immortality in common with the higher beings and misery with the lower, because they are wretched by reason of their malice, can rather envy us for the beatitude they do not possess than provide it to us. Hence the friends of the demons have nothing worthy to bring to us as a reason why we should worship them as helpers, whom we ought rather to avoid as deceivers. But as for those whom they think should be worshipped as good, and therefore not only immortal but also blessed, under the name of gods, with rites and sacrifices for the sake of attaining a blessed life after death—whoever they may be and whatever name they deserve—we shall diligently discuss in the following book, with God's help, that they wish no one to be worshipped by such religious service except the one God, by whom they were created and by whose participation they are blessed.

BOOK TEN.

In which Augustine teaches that the good Angels do not wish divine honor, which is called the worship of latria and is performed by sacrifices, to be rendered except to the one God, whom they also serve. He then disputes concerning the principle and the way of purging and liberating the soul against Porphyry.

CHAPTER I. — That true beatitude, whether to Angels or to men, is bestowed through one God, as even the Platonists have defined: but it must be asked whether these beings, whom for this very reason they think should be worshipped, wish sacrifices to be offered to one God only, or also to themselves.

1. It is the certain opinion of all who can use reason in any way, that all men wish to be blessed. But as for who they are, or how they become so, while the infirmity of mortals inquires, many and great controversies have been stirred up, in which philosophers have worn out their studies and leisure; to bring these forward and discuss them is both long and unnecessary. For if the reader remembers what we did in the eighth book in selecting the philosophers with whom this question concerning the blessed life, which is to be in the future after death, should be treated—whether we can attain to it by serving

one true God, who is also the maker of the gods, or many gods with religion and sacrifices—he does not expect the same things to be repeated here, especially since he can assist his memory by rereading, if by chance he has forgotten. For we chose the Platonists as the most noble of all philosophers, because, just as they were able to understand that the immortal and rational or intellectual soul of man cannot be blessed except by participating in the light of that God by whom both it and the world were made; so they deny that anyone will attain that which all men desire, that is, the blessed life, who has not adhered with the purity of chaste love to that one best Being, who is the unchangeable God. But because they also, either yielding to the vanity and error of the peoples, or, as the Apostle says, 'becoming vain in their thoughts' (Rom. 1:21), thought that many gods should be worshipped, or wished it to be so thought, so that some of them even judged that divine honors of rites and sacrifices should be deferred to demons, to whom we have already responded in no small part: now we must see and discuss, as far as God grants, how the immortal and blessed beings constituted in celestial seats, dominions, principalities, powers—whom they call gods, and among whom they name some as good demons or, with us, as Angels—are to be believed to wish religion and piety to be observed by us; that is, to speak more clearly, whether it pleases them that we perform rites and sacrifice to them also, or only to their God, who is also

ours, or whether we should consecrate some of our things or our very selves by religious rites.

2. For this is the worship due to divinity or, to speak more expressly, to deity; for the sake of signifying which by a single word, since no sufficiently suitable Latin one occurs to me, I explain by the Greek what I mean to say whenever it is necessary. For our writers, wherever it is placed in the holy Scriptures, have interpreted *latreia* as Service. But that service which is due to men, according to which the Apostle commands that servants should be subject to their masters (Eph. 6:5), is usually called by another name in Greek; but *latreia*, according to the custom with which those who composed the divine oracles for us spoke, is either always, or so frequently as to be almost always, called that service which pertains to the worship of God. Accordingly, if only "Worship" (*cultus*) itself is said, it does not seem to be due to God alone. For we are said to worship (*colere*) even men, whom we frequent with either honorable remembrance or presence. Nor is it only those things to which we subject ourselves with religious humility, but even certain things which are subjected to us, that are said to be worshipped. For from this word both farmers (*agricolae*) and tillers (*coloni*) and inhabitants (*incolae*) are named; and they call the gods themselves "heaven-dwellers" (*caelicolae*) for no other reason than that they inhabit (*colant*) heaven—not certainly by venerating it, but by inhabiting it, as if they were certain "tillers" (*coloni*) of heaven; not as those are

called *coloni* who owe their condition to their native soil for the sake of agriculture under the dominion of owners; but as a certain great author of Latin eloquence says: "An ancient city there was, which Tyrian *coloni* held". For from inhabiting (*incolendo*) he called them *coloni*, not from agriculture. Hence also cities founded by older cities as if by swarms of people are called colonies (*coloniae*). And through this, while it is altogether most true that worship (*cultum*) indeed is not due except to God by a certain proper notion of this word, yet because the worship (*cultus*) of other things is also spoken of, the worship due to God cannot be signified in Latin by a single word.

3. For even Religion itself, although it may seem to signify more distinctly not just any worship, but the worship of God—whence our writers have interpreted by this name that which in Greek is called *thrēskeia*—yet because by Latin custom of speaking, not only of the unlearned but even of the most learned, religion is said to be shown towards human kinship and affinities and all kinds of necessities, the ambiguity is not avoided by that term when the question turns upon the worship of the deity, so that we might be able to say confidently that religion is nothing else than the worship of God; since this word seems to be taken away from signifying the observance of human relationship in an unusual manner.

Piety also is properly understood as the worship of God, which the Greeks call *eusebeia*.

This, however, is also said to be shown towards parents. But by the custom of the common people, this name is also frequent in works of mercy; which I think has happened because God especially commands these to be done, and testifies that they please Him either instead of sacrifices or above sacrifices. From this custom of speaking it has come about that God Himself is called pious; whom certainly the Greeks call by no usage of their speech *eusebein*, although their common people also usurp *eusebeia* for mercy. Whence in certain places of the Scriptures, so that a more certain distinction might appear, they preferred to say not *eusebeia*, which resonates from "good worship," but *theosebeia*, which resonates from the "worship of God." However, we cannot express either of these in a single word. Therefore, that which is called *latreia* in Greek, and is interpreted in Latin as Service, but that by which we worship God; or that which is called *thrēskeia* in Greek, and in Latin is called Religion, but that which we have towards God; or that which they call *theosebeia*, but we cannot express in one word, but can call the Worship of God; this we say is due only to that God who is the true God, and who makes His worshippers gods (Ps. 81:6; John 10:34, 35). Whoever, therefore, are immortal and blessed in the celestial habitations, if they do not love us nor wish us to be blessed, are certainly not to be worshipped. But if they love us and wish us to be blessed, they surely wish it from that source

whence they themselves are: or are they blessed from one source and we from another?

CHAPTER II.

What Plotinus the Platonist thought concerning the supernal illumination.

But we have no conflict with these more excellent philosophers in this question. For they saw, and have most copiously committed to their writings in many ways, that they become blessed from the same source as we—by the presentation of a certain intelligible light, which is God to them, and is something other than they, by which they are enlightened so that they may be bright, and by participation in which they exist as perfect and blessed beings. Often and much Plotinus asserts, explaining the sense of Plato, that not even that which they believe to be the soul of the universe is blessed from any other source than ours is; and that this is a light which it itself is not, but by which it was created, and by whose intelligible illumination it intelligibly shines. He even gives a similitude to those incorporeal things from these celestial, conspicuous, and large bodies, as if that were the sun and it were the moon. For they think that the moon is illuminated by the presentation of the sun. Therefore that great Platonist says that the rational soul (or rather it should be called intellectual, in which genus he also understands the souls of the immortal and blessed beings to be, who he does not doubt dwell in celestial seats) has no nature above it

except that of God, who fabricated the world, by whom it also was made; nor is blessed life and the light of the intelligence of truth provided to those supernal beings from any other source than whence it is provided to us; agreeing with the Gospel, where it is read: "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John; this man came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into this world." In which difference it is sufficiently shown that the rational or intellectual soul, such as it was in John, cannot be a light to itself, but shines by participation in another true light. This John himself also confesses, where bearing witness to Him he says: "Of His fullness have we all received" (John 1:6-9, 16).

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the true worship of God, from which the Platonists, although they understood the creator of the universe, deviated by worshipping angels, whether good or evil, with divine honor.

Since these things are so, if the Platonists, or whoever else have thought these things, when they knew God, had glorified Him as God and given thanks, they would not have become vain in their thoughts, nor would they have partly become the authors of the errors of the peoples, and partly not dared to resist them; surely they would have confessed that both for those immortal and

blessed beings and for us mortals and wretched ones, so that we may be able to be immortal and blessed, one God of gods is to be worshipped, who is both ours and theirs.

Now, therefore, to one who knows how to love himself, when he is commanded concerning loving his neighbor as himself, what else is commanded but that he should commend to him, as much as he can, the love of God? 2. To Him we owe that service which is called *latreia* in Greek, whether in certain sacraments or in ourselves. For we all together are His temple, and each of us are temples (1 Cor. 3:16, 17); because He deigns to inhabit both the concord of all and each individual. He is not greater in all than in individuals; since He is neither extended by mass nor diminished by partition. When our heart is lifted up to Him, it is His altar; we appease Him with His Only-begotten as priest; we slay bloody victims to Him when we fight for His truth even unto blood; we burn the sweetest incense to Him when we are on fire with pious and holy love in His sight; to Him we vow and return His gifts in us and our very selves; to Him we dedicate and consecrate the memory of His benefits on solemn feasts and appointed days, lest ungrateful oblivion should creep in through the lapse of time; to Him we sacrifice the victim of humility and praise on the altar of the heart with the fire of fervent charity. For the sake of seeing Him, as He can be seen, and adhering to Him, we are cleansed from every stain of sins and evil desires, and are consecrated in His name. For He Himself is the fountain

of our beatitude, He is the end of every appetite. Choosing Him, or rather re-choosing Him—for we had lost Him through neglect—re-choosing Him, therefore, from which also Religion is said to be derived, we tend towards Him with love, so that by arriving we may find rest: therefore blessed, because perfected by that end. For our good, concerning whose end there is great contention among philosophers, is nothing other than to adhere to Him: by whose one incorporeal embrace, if it may be so said, the intellectual soul is filled and made fruitful with true virtues. We are commanded to love this good with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our strength. To this good we ought both to be led by those by whom we are loved, and to lead those whom we love. Thus are fulfilled those two precepts on which the whole Law and the Prophets depend: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind"; and, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Matt. 22:37-40). For that man might know how to love himself, an end was established for him to which he should refer all things that he did, so that he might be blessed. For he who loves himself wishes for nothing else than to be blessed. And this end is to adhere to God (Ps. 72:28). This is the worship of God, this is true religion, this is right piety, this is the service due only to God. Whatever immortal power, therefore, endowed with however much virtue, if it loves us as itself, it wishes us to be subject to Him, to whom it also being subject is blessed. If, therefore, it

does not worship God, it is wretched because it is deprived of God; but if it worships God, it does not wish itself to be worshipped instead of God. For it rather supports that divine sentence and favors the powers of love by which it is written: "He that sacrificeth to gods shall be rooted out, save unto the Lord only" (Exod. 22:20).

CHAPTER IV.

That sacrifice is due to the one true God.

For, to be silent for now about other things that pertain to the service of religion by which God is worshipped, there is certainly no man who would dare to say that sacrifice is due except to God. Finally, many things were usurped from divine worship to be deferred to human honors, whether by excessive humility or by pestilential adulation; yet in such a way that those to whom they were deferred were held to be men, who are said to be worshipped and venerated; but if much is added to them, even to be adored: but who has thought that sacrifice should be offered except to him whom he either knew, or thought, or feigned to be God? Furthermore, how ancient the worship of God in sacrificing is, those two brothers Cain and Abel sufficiently indicate, of whom God rejected the sacrifice of the elder, and looked upon that of the younger.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the sacrifices which God does not require, but wished to be observed for the sake of signifying those which He does require.

But who is so foolish as to think that the things which are offered in sacrifices are necessary for any uses of God? Since divine Scripture testifies this in many places, lest we make it long, it will suffice to commemorate that brief word from the Psalm: "I said to the Lord, Thou art my God; for Thou hast no need of my goods" (Ps. 16:2). Therefore God is to be believed to have no need not only of a beast, or any other corruptible and earthly thing, but not even of the justice of man; and that the whole of what God is rightly worshipped for profits man, not God. For neither would anyone say that he has profited a fountain if he drinks, or the light if he sees. Nor is it to be understood otherwise that such sacrifices were made by the ancient fathers in victims of cattle, which the people of God now read of but do not perform, than that by those things were signified those things which are done in us, to this end that we may adhere to God and consult for our neighbor for the same end. Therefore a visible sacrifice is a sacrament, that is, a sacred sign, of an invisible sacrifice. Whence that penitent in the prophet, or the prophet himself seeking to have God propitious to his sins: "If Thou hadst desired sacrifice," he says, "I would indeed have given it; Thou wilt not be delighted with burnt offerings. A sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit; a contrite and humbled heart God will not despise" (Ps. 51:18, 19). Let us behold how, where he said that

God does not wish sacrifice, there he showed that God does wish sacrifice. Therefore He does not wish the sacrifice of a slaughtered beast, but He wishes the sacrifice of a contrite heart. By that, therefore, which he says He does not wish, this is signified which he subjoined that He does wish. Thus, therefore, he said that God does not wish those things, in the way they are believed by fools to be wished by Him, as if for the sake of His own pleasure. For if He did not wish those sacrifices which He does wish—of which this is one, a heart contrite and humbled by the grief of repenting—to be signified by those sacrifices which He was thought to desire as if they were delectable to Him, He would not indeed have commanded concerning the offering of these in the old Law. And therefore they were to be changed at a certain and opportune time, lest they should be believed to be desirable to God Himself, or at least acceptable in us, and not rather the things which were signified by them. Hence also in another place of another psalm: "If I shall be hungry," He says, "I will not tell thee; for the world is mine, and the fullness thereof. Shall I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?" (Ps. 50:12, 13); as if He were saying, "Surely if they were necessary to me, I would not ask them of thee, which I have in my power." Then subjoining what those signify: "Offer to God," He says, "the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows to the Most High. And call upon me in the day of tribulation, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me" (Ibid., 14, 15). Likewise in another prophet: "Wherewith," he

says, "shall I lay hold of the Lord, and lay hold of my high God? Shall I lay hold of Him in burnt offerings, in calves of a year old? if the Lord shall be well pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of fat goats? if I shall give my first-born for my impiety, the fruit of my womb for the sin of my soul? if it has been announced to thee, O man, what is good, or what the Lord requires of thee, but to do judgment, and to love mercy, and to be prepared to go with the Lord thy God?" (Micah 6:6-8). And in the words of this prophet both are distinguished, and it is sufficiently declared that God does not require those sacrifices for their own sake, by which are signified these sacrifices which God does require. In the Epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews, it says: "To do good and to be communicators forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased" (Heb. 13:16). And through this, where it is written, "I will have mercy rather than sacrifice" (Hos. 6:6); nothing else ought to be understood than that sacrifice is preferred to sacrifice: since that which is called sacrifice by all is a sign of the true sacrifice. But furthermore mercy is the true sacrifice: whence it is said what I commemorated a little before, "For with such sacrifices God is well pleased." Whatever things, therefore, are read to have been divinely commanded in many ways concerning sacrifices in the ministry of the tabernacle or the temple, are referred to signifying the love of God and neighbor. "For on these two precepts," as it is written, "dependeth the whole Law and the Prophets" (Matt. 22:40).

CHAPTER VII.

That such is the love of the holy Angels toward us, that they wish us to be the worshippers not of themselves, but of the one true God.

Deservedly those constituted in celestial seats, immortal and blessed, who together rejoice in the participation of their Creator, by whose eternity they are firm, by whose truth they are certain, by whose gift they are holy; since they mercifully love us, mortal and miserable, that we may be immortal and blessed, they do not wish us to sacrifice to them, but to Him of whom they know that they themselves are a sacrifice with us. For with them we are one City of God, to which it is said in the Psalm, "Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God" (Ps. 87:3): a part of which is on pilgrimage in us, and a part assists in them. For from that supernal city, where the will of God is an intelligible and immutable law—from that supernal court, as it were (for care is taken there for us)—that holy Scripture, ministered to us through Angels, has descended, where it is read: "He that sacrificeth to gods shall be rooted out, save only to the Lord" (Exod. 22:20). To this Scripture, to this law, to such precepts, such great miracles have been attested, that it sufficiently appears to whom those immortal and blessed ones wish us to sacrifice, who wish us to be this which they are to themselves.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the miracles which God, for the corroboration of the faith of the pious, even through the ministry of Angels, has deigned to apply to His promises.

For if I should commemorate things too ancient, I shall seem to revolve longer than is sufficient what miracles have been done attesting the promises of God, by which thousands of years ago He foretold to Abraham that in his seed all nations were to have a blessing (Gen. 18:18). For who would not wonder that a sterile wife bore a son to the same Abraham at that time of old age in which one even fruitful could no longer bear (Gen. 21:2); and that in the sacrifice of the same Abraham a flame from heaven ran between the divided victims (Gen. 15:17); and that the celestial burning of Sodom was foretold to the same Abraham by Angels, whom he had received as guests similar to men, and through whom he had held the promises of God concerning the offspring to come (Gen. 18:20, 14); and the burning itself now being imminent, the wonderful liberation from Sodom of Lot, his brother's son, through the same Angels; whose wife, looking back on the way, and suddenly turned into salt (Gen. 19:17, 26), admonished by a great sacrament that no one on the way of his liberation ought to desire past things? Truly, what and how great are those things which were already wonderfully done through Moses for the people of God for eridicating them from the yoke of servitude in Egypt, where the magicians of Pharaoh, that is, of the king of Egypt, who was depressing that people with domination, were permitted to do

certain wonderful things to this end, that they might be more wonderfully conquered? For they did them by venefices and magical incantations, to which the evil angels, that is, demons, are devoted: but Moses, as much more powerfully as more justly in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth, with the Angels serving, easily surpassed them (Exod. 7-8). Finally, with the magicians failing in the third plague, ten plagues were completed through Moses by a great disposition of mysteries; by which the hard hearts of Pharaoh and the Egyptians yielded for dismissing the people of God (Exod. 8-12). And soon he repented, and when they tried to follow the departing Hebrews, with the sea divided for them passing through the dry land, they were covered and overwhelmed by the wave returning into itself from here and there (Exod. 14). What shall I say of those miracles which, when the same people were being led in the desert, increased by stupendous divinity; that the waters which could not be drunk, with wood cast into them as God had commanded, were freed from bitterness and satiated the thirsty (Exod. 15:23-25): that manna came from heaven for the hungry; and when a measure had been established for those collecting it, whatever more anyone had collected rotted with worms arising; but before the day of the sabbath a double amount was collected, because it was not lawful to collect on the sabbath, and it was violated by no rot: that for those desiring to eat flesh, which seemed to be able to suffice for no such great people,

the camp was filled with winged creatures, and the ardor of cupidity was extinguished by the loathing of satiety (Exod. 16; Num. 11:31-34): that the enemies meeting them and prohibiting passage and fighting, with Moses praying and his hands extended in the figure of a cross, were prostrated with no one of the Hebrews falling (Exod. 17:8-16): that the seditious among the people of God, and those dividing themselves from the divinely ordained society, for a visible example of invisible punishment, were submerged alive by the earth opening (Num. 16:23-34): that the rock struck with a rod poured forth abundant streams for so great a multitude (Exod. 17:6, 7; Num. 20:8-11): that the deadly bites of serpents, a most just punishment for sins, were healed by the brazen serpent exalted on wood and looked upon, so that both the afflicted people might be succored, and death destroyed by death, it might be signaled as by the likeness of a crucified death (Num. 21:6-9)? Which serpent indeed, reserved for the memory of the fact, when afterwards the erring people had begun to worship it as if an idol, King Hezekiah, serving God with religious power, broke with great praise of piety (2 Kings 18:4).

CHAPTER IX.

Of the illicit arts concerning the worship of demons, in which Porphyry the Platonist is occupied, by some things approving, by some as if disapproving.

1. These and many other things of this kind, all of which it is too long to commemorate, were done for commending the worship of the one true God, and for prohibiting that of many and false ones. But they were done by simple faith and confidence of piety, not by incantations and songs composed by the art of a nefarious curiosity, which they who try as it were to discern these things call either magic, or by a more detestable name goetia, or by a more honorable name theurgy; and they wish some to seem laudable who are devoted to illicit arts, whom the vulgar also call maleficent (for they say these belong to goetia); but others they wish to seem laudable, to whom they depute theurgy; since both are bound to the fallacious rites of demons under the names of angels.

2. For even Porphyry promises a certain as it were purgation of the soul through theurgy, yet hesitatingly and in a somewhat shamefaced disputation; but he denies that this art affords to anyone a return to God: so that you may see him fluctuate with alternating opinions between the vice of sacrilegious curiosity and the profession of philosophy. For now he warns that this art is to be avoided as fallacious and dangerous in its very action and prohibited by laws: but now, as if yielding to its praisers, he says it is useful for cleansing the part of the soul, not indeed the intellectual part, by which the truth of intelligible things is perceived, having no similitudes of bodies; but the spiritual part, by which the images of corporal things are captured. For he says that

this part, through certain theurgic consecrations which they call teletae, becomes fit and apt for the reception of spirits and Angels, and for seeing gods. From which theurgic teletae he nevertheless confesses that no purgation approaches the intellectual soul which may make it fit for seeing its God and perceiving those things which truly are. From which it can be understood what kind of gods or what kind of vision he says is made by theurgic consecrations, in which those things are not seen which truly are. Finally, he says that the rational soul, or as he more loves to say, the intellectual soul, can escape into supernal things, even if that which is its spiritual part has been purged by no theurgic art: furthermore, however, the spiritual part is purged by a theurgist only so far that it does not from this arrive at immortality and eternity. Although therefore he distinguishes Angels from demons, discoursing that the aerial places are of demons, the ethereal or empyreal of Angels, and he admonishes that the friendship of some demon is to be used, by whose carrying up anyone can be elevated a little even from the earth after death, but he maintains that there is another way to the supernal consort of Angels: nevertheless he testifies that the society of demons is to be avoided by a somewhat express confession, where he says that the soul after death by paying penalties abhors the worship of demons by whom it was circumvented; and theurgy itself, which he commends as it were a conciliatrix of Angels and gods, he could not deny acts among such powers which either themselves

envy the purgation of the soul, or serve the arts of the envious, bringing forth a complaint of I know not what Chaldean concerning this thing: "A good man in Chaldea," he says, "complains that in a great effort for purging the soul his successes were frustrated for him, when a man powerful for the same things, touched by envy, had bound the powers adjured by sacred prayers, lest they should concede the requests." Therefore "the one bound," he says, "and the other did not loose." By which indication he said it appears that theurgy is a discipline for effecting as well good as evil both among gods and among men; and that the gods also suffer and are deduced to those perturbations and passions which Apuleius attributed commonly to demons and men, yet separating the gods from them by the height of the ethereal seat, and asserting the opinion of Plato in that distinction.

CHAPTER X.

Of theurgy, which promises a false purgation to souls by the invocation of demons.

Behold now another Platonist, whom they report more learned, Porphyry, through I know not what theurgic discipline says that even the gods themselves are bound by passions and perturbations: since they could be adjured and terrified by sacred prayers, lest they should afford purgation to the soul, and so terrified by him who was commanding evil, that they could not be loosed from that fear by him who was asking for good

through the same theurgic art, and be liberated for giving a benefit. Who would not see that all these things are the fictions of fallacious demons, unless he be their most miserable slave and alien from the grace of the true Liberator? For if these things were done among good gods, a beneficent purgator of the soul would surely avail more there than a malevolent impeder. Or if the man for whom it was being done seemed unworthy of purgation to just gods, they ought to have denied it by a free judgment, not indeed terrified by an envious one, nor, as he himself says, hindered by the fear of a more powerful deity. It is wonderful, however, that that benign Chaldean, who desired to purge the soul by theurgic rites, did not find some superior god who would either more terrify and compel the terrified gods to do good, or restrain the terrifying one from them, so that they might freely do good: if indeed sacred rites were lacking to the good theurgist by which he might first purge those gods themselves, whom he was invoking as purgators of the soul, from that plague of fear. For what cause is there why a more powerful god can be applied from whom they are terrified, and not one from whom they are purged? Or is a god found who hears the envious and strikes fear into the gods lest they do good; and no God is found who hears the benevolent and takes away fear from the gods that they may do good? O illustrious theurgy! O purgation of the soul to be preached! where impure envy commands more than pure beneficence impetrates: nay rather, the fallacy of malignant spirits to be

avoided and detested, and the salutary doctrine to be heard. For that they who operate these sordid purgations by sacrilegious rites see certain wonderfully beautiful images of either Angels or gods, as this one commemorates, as if with a purged spirit (if indeed they see even anything such), it is that which the Apostle says, that "Satan transforms himself as an angel of light" (2 Cor. 11:14). For those are the phantasms of him who, desiring to ensnare miserable souls by the fallacious rites of many and false gods, and to avert them from the true worship of the true God, by which alone they are cleansed and healed, as it has been said of Proteus, "Turns himself into all forms" (Virgil, Georgics, lib. 4, v. 411), pursuing hostilely, succoring fallaciously, hurting in both.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the letter of Porphyry to Anebo the Egyptian, in which he asks to be taught concerning the diversity of demons.

1. That Porphyry was better wise when he wrote to Anebo the Egyptian, where, similar to one consulting and asking, he both betrays the sacrilegious arts and subverts them. And there indeed he reproves all demons, whom he says because of imprudence draw a humid vapor, and therefore are not in the ether, but in the air under the moon, and in the very globe of the moon: nevertheless he does not dare to give to all demons all fallacies and malices and ineptitudes by which he is deservedly moved. For he calls some demons benign after the manner

of others, although he confesses all generally to be imprudent. But he wonders that not only are gods enticed by victims, but even compelled and forced to do what men wish: and if gods are distinguished from demons by body and incorporeality, how the sun and moon and the other visible things in heaven are to be thought to be gods, which he does not doubt to be bodies; and if they are gods, how some are said to be beneficent, others malevolent; and how they are joined to incorporeal things, since they are corporeal. He asks also as if doubting whether in those divining and doing certain wonderful things the souls are more powerful, or whether some spirits come from without through whom these things avail. And he rather conjectures that they come from without, from this that with stones and herbs applied, they both bind some and open closed doors, or wonderfully operate something of this kind. Whence he says others opine that there is a certain kind whose property it is to hear, fallacious by nature, omniform, multimodal, simulating gods and demons and the souls of the dead; and that this is what effects all these things which seem to be good or depraved; for the rest, that it assists in nothing concerning those things which are truly good, nay rather that it does not even know these things, but both counsels evil and sometimes insinuates itself and impedes the sedulous followers of virtue, and is full of temerity and fastidiousness, rejoices in smells, is captured by adulations, and other things which he does not confirm as if persuaded to himself

concerning this kind of fallacious and malignant spirits who come into the soul from without and delude human senses, whether sleeping or waking, but suspects or doubts so tenuously that he asserts others opine these things. For it was difficult for so great a philosopher either to know or confidently to argue against the whole diabolical society, which any Christian old woman does not hesitate to know and most freely detests. Unless perhaps he is ashamed to offend both Anebo himself, to whom he writes as if to a most illustrious priest of such sacred rites, and others as admirers of such works as if divine and pertaining to the worship of the gods.

2. Nevertheless he follows, and commemorates as if inquiring those things which, soberly considered, cannot be attributed except to malignant and fallacious powers. For he asks why, as if better ones were invoked, they are commanded as if by worse ones, to execute the unjust precepts of a man: why they do not hear one praying who is touched by a venereal matter, when they themselves do not delay to lead any persons to any incestuous concubitus: why they announce that their priests ought to abstain from animal food, lest they be polluted by corporeal vapors, while they themselves are enticed both by other vapors and by the smells of victims; and while the inspector is prohibited from contact with a corpse, for the most part those things are celebrated with corpses: what it is that not to a demon or some soul of the dead, but to the sun itself and the moon or any of the celestial beings, a man ob-

noxious to any vice intends threats, and terrifies them falsely, so that he may extort the truth from them. For he also threatens that he will collide the heaven, and other similar things impossible to man, so that those gods, as if most foolish boys, terrified by false and ridiculous threats, may effect what is commanded. He says also that a certain Chaeremon wrote, a man skilled in such sacred rites or rather sacrileges, that those things which are celebrated among the Egyptians by rumors, whether concerning Isis or Osiris her husband, have the greatest power of compelling the gods to do what is commanded, when he who compels by charms threatens to betray or subvert them, where he even says terribly that he will dissipate the members of Osiris if they neglect to do the commands.

Porphyry deservedly wonders at these and such like vain and insane things, that a man threatens gods, and not just any, but those celestial beings and those shining with starry light, and not without effect, but compelling with violent power, and leading them by these terrors to do what he wished: nay rather, under the appearance of wondering and requiring the causes of such things, he gives it to be understood that those spirits act these things, whose kind he described above under the opinion of others, fallacious not, as he himself put it, by nature, but by vice, who simulate gods and the souls of the dead, but demons they do not, as he himself says, simulate, but clearly are. And what seems to him to be fabricated on earth by men, by herbs and

stones and animals and certain fixed sounds and voices, and figurations and figments, with certain motions of the stars observed in the conversion of the heaven, powers suitable for following out various effects; all this belongs to those same demons, mockers of the souls subject to them, and exhibiting to themselves voluptuous mockeries from the errors of men. Either therefore Porphyry, truly doubting and inquiring these things, nevertheless commemorates those things by which they may be convinced and redargued, and shown not to belong to those powers which favor us for attaining the blessed life, but to the deceiver demons: or, that we may suspect better things of the philosopher, he wished in that way not to offend the Egyptian man devoted to such errors and opining that he knew some great things, by the proud authority as of a teacher, nor to disturb him by the altercation of one openly opposing, but as if by the humility of one seeking and desiring to learn, to turn him to thinking upon these things, and to show how much they are to be contemned or even avoided. Finally, near the end of the letter, he asks to be taught by him what is the way to beatitude from Egyptian wisdom. For the rest, those to whom conversation with the gods was for this purpose, that for the sake of finding a fugitive or purchasing a farm, or on account of marriages or trade or something of this kind, they might disquiet the divine mind, he says they seem to have cultivated wisdom in vain. Those very deities also with whom they conversed, even if they

predicted true things concerning other matters, since nevertheless they warned nothing certain nor sufficiently suitable concerning beatitude, were neither those gods nor benign demons, but either that one who is called fallacious, or altogether a human fiction.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the miracles which the true God works through the ministry of the holy Angels.

But because such and so great things are done by these arts that they exceed the whole measure of human faculty: what remains but that those things which seem to be wonderfully predicted or done as if divinely, and yet are not referred to the worship of the one God, to whom to cohere simply (as even the Platonists confess and testify in many things) is the only beatific good, should be prudently understood as the mockeries of malignant demons and seductive impediments, which are to be avoided by true piety?

Furthermore, whatever miracles, whether through Angels or in whatever way, are so done divinely that they commend the worship and religion of the one God, in whom alone is the blessed life, it is to be believed that those are truly done by those or through those who love us according to truth and piety, God Himself operating in them. For neither are they to be heard who deny that the invisible God works visible miracles; since He Himself, even according to them, made the world, which certainly they cannot

deny to be visible. Whatever wonder, therefore, happens in this world, is certainly less than this whole world, that is, heaven and earth and all things that are in them, which certainly God made. But as He Himself who made it is hidden and incomprehensible to man, so is the mode in which He made it. Therefore, although the miracles of visible natures have become common by the assiduity of seeing them; nevertheless, when we wisely behold them, they are greater than the most unusual and rarest things. For man is a greater miracle than any miracle which is done by man. Wherefore God, who made the visible heaven and earth, does not disdain to work visible miracles in heaven or on earth, by which He may excite the soul, still devoted to visible things, to the worship of Himself the invisible: but where and when He may do so, the unchangeable counsel is with Him, in whose disposition those times which are future are already made. For moving temporal things, He is not moved temporally; nor does He know things to be done otherwise than as things done; nor does He hear those invoking otherwise than as He sees those who will invoke. For even when His Angels hear, He Himself hears in them, as if in His true temple not made with hands, just as in His holy men; and His commands are done temporally, having been beheld in His eternal law.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the invisible God, who often showed Himself visible, not according to what He is, but according to what those seeing could bear.

Nor ought it to move [us] that, since He is invisible, He is mentioned to have often appeared visibly to the Fathers. For as the sound by which the sentence established in the silence of the intelligence is heard is not that which the sentence itself is; so also the species in which God was seen, being established in an invisible nature, was not what He Himself was. Nevertheless He Himself was seen in the same corporal species, just as that sentence itself is heard in the sound of the voice: nor were they ignorant that they saw the invisible God in a corporal species which He Himself was not. For Moses also spoke with the one speaking, and yet he said to Him: "If I have found grace before thee, show me thyself, that I may knowingly see thee" (Exod. XXXIII, 13). Since therefore it behooved that the law of God should be given terribly in the edicts of Angels, not to one man or to a few wise men, but to a whole nation and a vast people, great things were done before the same people on the mountain where the law was given through one, while the multitude beheld the fearful and tremendous things that were being done. For the people of Israel did not believe Moses in the same way as the Lacedaemonians believed their Lycurgus, that he had received from Jove or Apollo the laws which he founded. For when the law was given to the people, by which one God was commanded to be worshipped, in the sight of the same people,

as much as divine providence judged sufficient, He appeared by wonderful signs and motions of things, the creature serving the Creator for the giving of the same law.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of worshipping the one God, not only on account of eternal, but also on account of temporal benefits, because all things consist in the power of His providence.

But as the right education of one man, so of the human race, which pertains to the people of God, has progressed through certain articles of times as by the accesses of ages, so that there was a rise from temporal things to the grasping of eternal things, and from visible things to invisible things; so indeed that even at that time when visible rewards were divinely promised, nevertheless the one God was commended to be worshipped, lest the human mind, even for those very earthly benefits of this transitory life, should be subject to any but the true Creator and Lord of the soul. For whoever denies that all things which either Angels or men can provide for men are in the power of the one Almighty, is insane. Concerning providence certainly Plotinus the Platonist disputes, and proves that it reaches from the highest God, whose is the intelligible and ineffable beauty, even unto these earthly and lowest things, by the beauty of little flowers and leaves: all which things, being as it were added and most swiftly perishing, he confirms could not have the most becoming numbers of their forms, unless

they were formed from thence where the intelligible and unchangeable form, having all things at once, perseveres (Enneads 3 lib. 2, cap. 13). This the Lord Jesus showed there where He says: "Consider the lilies of the field, they labor not, neither do they spin. But I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. But if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven; how much more you, O ye of little faith?" (Matth. VI, 28-30). Most excellently, therefore, the human soul, still weak with earthly desires, is accustomed to expect those very things which it desires temporally, the lowest and earthly goods necessary for this transitory life, and to be contemned in comparison with the sempiternal benefits of that life, nevertheless only from the one God, so that even in the desire of those things it may not depart from His worship, to whom it may arrive by the contempt of them and by aversion from them.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the ministry of the holy Angels, by which they serve the providence of God.

Thus therefore it pleased divine providence to ordain the course of times, that, as I have said, and as is read in the Acts of the Apostles, the law was given in the edicts of Angels concerning the worship of the one true God (Acts VII, 53). In which even the person of God Himself appeared visibly, not indeed by His own substance, which

always remains invisible to corruptible eyes, but by certain signs through the creature subject to the Creator. And He spoke by the voices of the human tongue, syllable by syllable through transitory intervals of times, who in His own nature speaks not corporally, but spiritually; not sensibly, but intelligibly; not temporally, but, as I may say, eternally, neither beginning to speak nor ceasing: which His ministers and messengers, who immortally blessed enjoy His unchangeable truth, hear more sincerely with Him, not with the ear of the body, but of the mind; and what they hear to be done in ineffable ways, and to be brought even unto these visible and sensible things, they effect without hesitation and without difficulty. But this law was given by the distribution of times, which first should have, as has been said, earthly promises, by which nevertheless eternal things were signified, which many should celebrate in visible sacraments, but few should understand. Nevertheless the worship of the one God is prescribed there by the most open attestation both of voices and of all things, not of one of the crowd, but of Him who made heaven and earth, and every soul, and every spirit which is not what He Himself is. For He made, these were made: and that they may be and may be well, they have need of Him by whom they were made.

CHAPTER XVI.---Whether those angels are to be believed concerning the attainment of the blessed life who demand that they themselves be worshipped with divine honor; or those rather

who command that holy religion be served not to themselves, but to the one God.

1. Which Angels therefore do we think are to be believed concerning the blessed and sempiternal life? Whether those who wish to be worshipped with the rites of religion, demanding that sacred things and sacrifices be exhibited to them by mortals; or those who say that all this worship is due to the one God, the creator of all, and command that it be rendered to Him with true piety, in whose contemplation they themselves are blessed, and promise that we shall be so? For that vision of God is a vision of such great beauty, and most worthy of such great love, that Plotinus does not hesitate to call him most unhappy who, though provided with and abounding in any other goods whatever, is without this (Enneads 1 lib. 6, cap. 7). Since therefore some Angels excite us by wonderful signs to the worship of this one, but some to the worship of themselves by latria; and this in such a way that the former prohibit the latter from being worshipped, but the latter do not dare to prohibit Him; to which rather belief is to be given, let the Platonists answer, let any philosophers whatever answer, let the theurgists answer, or rather the periurgists: for all those arts are more worthy of this name. Finally, let men answer, if any sense of their own nature, by which they were created rational, lives in them in any part: answer, I say, whether sacrifice is to be made to gods or angels who command sacrifice to be made to themselves, or to that one to whom those command it who prohibit it both to them-

selves and to these? If neither the former nor the latter did any miracles, but only commanded, the ones indeed that sacrifice be made to themselves, the others truly forbade it but commanded it only to the one God; piety itself ought sufficiently to discern which of these descended from the pride of arrogance, which from true religion. I will say even more: if only those who seek sacrifices for themselves moved human minds by wonderful deeds, while those who prohibit this and command sacrifice to be made only to the one God did not at all deign to work these visible miracles; certainly their authority ought to be preferred not by the sense of the body, but by the reason of the mind: but since God has so acted for the commending of the elocutions of His truth, that through these immortal messengers, preaching not their own pride but His majesty, He should work greater, surer, clearer miracles, lest to the weak pious those who seek sacrifices for themselves should more easily persuade a false religion, from this that they showed certain stupendous monsters to their senses; whom at length would it please to be so foolish as not to choose the true things which he may follow, where he also finds more ample things which he may wonder at?

2. For those miracles of the gods of the gentiles which history commends—I do not mean those monstrous things which happen at intervals of times from the hidden causes of the world itself, yet established and ordained under divine providence; such as are the unusual births of animals,

and unusual appearances of things in heaven and earth, whether only terrifying or also harmful, which are said to be procured and mitigated by demonic rites by their most fallacious craftiness: but I mean those which appear evidently enough to be done by their force and power, such as that the effigies of the household gods (Penates) which Aeneas fleeing from Troy brought with him are reported to have migrated from place to place; that Tarquinius cut a whetstone with a razor; that the Epidaurian serpent adhered as a companion to Aesculapius sailing to Rome; that a ship in which the image of the Phrygian mother was carried, being rendered immobile by so great efforts of men and oxen, one little woman, having bound it with her girdle, moved and drew it for a testimony of her chastity; that a Vestal virgin, concerning whose corruption a question was being turned, having filled a sieve with water from the Tiber, and it not flowing through, took away the controversy. These therefore and other things of this kind are by no means to be compared in virtue and magnitude to those which we read were done among the people of God: how much less those which were judged by the laws of those very peoples who worshipped such gods to be prohibited and punished, namely magical or theurgic things? Most of which deceive the senses of mortals as far as appearance goes by an imaginary mockery, such as it is to bring down the moon, "until," as Lucan says, "being nearer, it foams upon the herbs placed under it" (Phars. l. 6, v. 503); but some things, even if they seem to

be equalled in work to some deeds of the pious, the end itself by which they are discerned shows ours incomparably to excel. For to the former, many are so much the less to be worshipped with sacrifices as they the more seek these: but to the latter, the one God is commended, who demonstrates that He needs no such things, both by the testifying of His Scriptures and by the subsequent removal of those same sacrifices. If therefore angels seek sacrifice for themselves, those are to be preferred to them who seek it not for themselves, but for God the creator of all, whom they serve. For hence they show with how sincere a love they love us, when through sacrifice they wish to subject us not to themselves, but to Him in whose contemplation they themselves are blessed, and that we should arrive at Him from whom they themselves have not departed. But if the angels who wish sacrifices to be made not to one, but to very many, wish them not for themselves, but for those gods of whom they are angels; even so those are to be preferred to them who are the Angels of the one God of gods, to whom they so command sacrifice to be made that they forbid it to any other; since none of those forbids it to Him, to whom alone these command it to be made. Furthermore if, as their proud fallacy more indicates, they are neither good nor the angels of good gods, but evil demons, who wish not the one only and highest God, but themselves to be worshipped with sacrifices; what greater protection is to be chosen against them than that of the one God, whom the good Angels serve, who com-

mand us to serve with sacrifice not themselves, but Him, whose sacrifice we ourselves ought to be?

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the Ark of the Testament and the miracles of signs which were divinely done for commending the authority of the Law and the promise.

Accordingly, the law of God, which was given in the edicts of Angels, in which the one God of gods was commanded to be worshipped with the religion of sacred things, and any others whatever were prohibited, was placed in the Ark, which was called the Ark of the Testimony. By which name it is sufficiently signified that God, who was worshipped through all those things, was not accustomed to be enclosed or contained in a place, since His responses and certain signs were given to human senses from the place of that Ark, but the testimonies of His will were exhibited from hence. Because also the law itself was written on stone tables, and placed in the Ark, as I have said; which in the time of the pilgrimage in the desert, with the Tabernacle which was similarly called the Tabernacle of the Testimony, the priests carried with due veneration: and there was a sign, that by day a cloud appeared, which shone like fire by night (Exod. XIII, 21), which cloud when it was moved, the camps were moved; and where it stood, the camps were placed (Id. XL, 34, 35). But testimonies of a great miracle were rendered to that law, besides those

which I have said, and besides the voices which were uttered from the place of that Ark. For when the same Ark crossed the Jordan as they were entering the land of promise, the river stopping from the upper part, and flowing away from the lower part, provided a dry place for the crossing both to it and to the people (Joshua III, 16, 17). Then of the city which first occurred as hostile, worshipping very many gods after the manner of the Gentiles, the same Ark having been carried around seven times, the walls suddenly fell, attacked by no hand, struck by no ram (Id. VI, 20). After these things also when they were already in the land of promise, and the same Ark had been captured by enemies on account of their sins, those who had taken it placed it honorably in the temple of their god, whom they worshipped above the rest, and departing they closed it, and having opened it the next day, they found the image to which they supplicated collapsed and deformedly broken. Then they themselves being driven by prodigies, and more deformedly punished, restored the Ark of the divine testimony to the people from whom they had taken it. But what kind of restoration was that? They placed it on a cart, and joined to it young cows from whom they had taken away their sucking calves, and let them go where they would, desiring even from hence to explore the divine power. But they, without a human leader and director, pertinaciously walking the way to the Hebrews, and not recalled by the lowing of their hungry offspring, brought back a great sacrament to their worship-

pers (I Sam. IV-VI). These and such like are small to God, but great for salubriously terrifying and educating mortals. For if the philosophers, and especially the Platonists, are praised for having been wiser than the rest, as I commemorated a little before, because they taught that divine providence administers even these weak and earthly things, by the testimony of the numerous beauties which are produced not only in the bodies of animals, but even in herbs and grass: how much more evidently do these things attest to divinity, which happen at the hour of His preaching, where that religion is commended which forbids sacrifice to all celestial, terrestrial, and infernal beings, commanding it to the one God only, who alone, being loved and loving, makes men blessed, and predefining the commanded times of those sacrifices, and predicting that they were to be changed for the better through a better priest, He testifies that He does not seek those things, but signifies other better things through them; not that He Himself may be sublimated by these honors, but that we may be excited to worship Him, and to cohere to Him, being kindled by the fire of His love, which is good for us, not for Him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Against those who deny that belief is to be given to the ecclesiastical Books concerning the miracles by which the people of God was educated.

Will some one say that those are false miracles, and were not done, but mendaciously written? Whoever says this, if he denies that belief is to be given to any letters at all concerning these things, can also say that no gods care for mortal things. For they have not persuaded themselves to be worshipped otherwise than by the effects of wonderful works, of which also the history of the gentiles is a witness, whose gods were able to show themselves wonderful rather than to show themselves useful. Whence in this work of ours, of which we have now this tenth book in our hands, we have not undertaken to refel those who either deny that there is any divine power, or contend that it does not care for human things; but those who prefer their own gods to our God, the founder of the holy and most glorious city, being ignorant that He Himself is also the invisible and unchangeable founder of this visible and mutable world, and the most true bestower of the blessed life, not from those things which He founded, but from Himself. For His most true prophet says: "But it is good for me to cohere to God" (Psal. LXXII, 28). For concerning the end of good it is sought among philosophers, to the attainment of which all duties are to be referred. Nor did that man say: "But it is good for me to abound in riches"; or to be distinguished by purple and sceptre, or to excel by a diadem; or, what some even of the philosophers did not blush to say: "Bodily pleasure is my good"; or, what those who seemed better said more excellently: "The virtue of my mind is my good": but, "It is good

for me," he says, "to cohere to God." This He had taught him, to whom alone sacrifice was to be made, as His holy Angels also warned even by the attestation of miracles. Whence even he himself had been made His sacrifice, by whose intelligible fire he was seized and burned, and was borne by holy desire into His ineffable and incorporeal embrace. Furthermore, if the worshippers of many gods (whatever they may judge their gods to be) believe that miracles have been done by them, either in the history of civil affairs, or in magical books, or (which they think more honorable) theurgic ones; what cause is there why they should not wish to believe those things have been done in those Letters to which so much greater faith is due, as He is great above all, to whom alone they prescribe sacrifice to be made?

CHAPTER XIX.

What is the rationale of visible sacrifice, which true religion teaches is to be offered to the one true and invisible God.

But those who think that these visible sacrifices are suitable to other gods, but to Him as invisible, invisible ones, and greater to the greater, and better to the better, such as are the duties of a pure mind and a good will; certainly they are ignorant that these are so signs of those, as sounding words are signs of things. Wherefore, as when praying and praising we direct signifying voices to Him, to whom we offer the things themselves in the heart which we signify: so when sacrificing we should know that a visible sacrifice

is to be offered to no other than Him whose invisible sacrifice we ourselves ought to be in our hearts. Then all the Angels and superior Virtues, and those more powerful by goodness and piety itself, favor us and rejoice with us, and assist us unto this very thing according to their powers. But if we should wish to exhibit these things to them, they do not willingly receive them, and when they are so sent to men that their presence is felt, they most openly forbid it. There are examples in the holy Letters. Some thought that honor was to be deferred to Angels, either by adoring or by sacrificing, which is due to God, and they were prohibited by their admonition, and commanded to defer this to Him, to whom alone they knew it was lawful (Judges XIII, 16; Rev. XXII, 8, 9). Even holy men of God have imitated the holy Angels. For Paul and Barnabas in Lycaonia, a certain miracle of healing having been done, were thought to be gods, and the Lycaonians wished to immolate victims to them; which removing from themselves by humble piety, they announced to them the God in whom they should believe (Acts XIV). Nor for any other reason do those fallacious ones proudly demand this for themselves, except because they know it is due to the true God. For they do not truly, as Porphyry says and some think, rejoice in the smells of corpses, but in divine honors. For they have a great abundance of smells everywhere, and if they wished for more, they could exhibit them to themselves. Those spirits therefore who arrogate divinity to themselves, are delighted not by the smoke of any body

whatever, but by the mind of the supplicant, whom they may dominate as deceived and subjected, intercluding the way to the true God, lest man should be His sacrifice while he is sacrificed to any one besides Him.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the supreme and true sacrifice, which the Mediator of God and men himself was made.

Whence that true Mediator, in as much as taking the form of a servant (formam servi) he was made the mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, although in the form of God (forma Dei) he receives sacrifice with the Father, with whom he is also one God, yet in the form of a servant he chose rather to be a sacrifice than to receive it, lest even by this occasion anyone should think that sacrifice ought to be offered to any creature whatever. By this he is both the priest, himself offering, and himself the oblation. Of which thing he willed the daily sacrifice of the Church to be the sacrament: which, since it is the body of that same Head, learns to offer itself through him. Of this true sacrifice the manifold and various signs were the ancient sacrifices of the saints, since this one thing was figured through many, as if one thing were said by many words, so that it might be commended much without distaste. To this supreme and true sacrifice all false sacrifices have given way.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the mode of power given to demons for glorifying the saints through the tolerance of passions, who overcame the aerial spirits not by appeasing them, but by remaining in God.

Moreover, at moderate and predefined times, power is also permitted to demons, so that, having excited the men whom they possess, they may tyrannically exercise enmities against the City of God (civitas Dei), and take sacrifices for themselves not only from those who offer them and expect them from those who are willing, but even violently extort them from the unwilling by persecuting them; it is found not only not to be pernicious, but even useful to the Church, so that the number of martyrs (martyrum) may be fulfilled: whom the City of God holds as citizens all the more illustrious and honored, the more strongly they fight even unto blood against the sin of impiety. These, if the ecclesiastical custom of speaking permitted, we would call our Heroes much more elegantly. For this name is said to be drawn from Juno, because in Greek Juno is called Hera (Ἥρα); and therefore I know not what son of hers, according to the fables of the Greeks, was named a Hero: this fable signifying as it were something mystical, because the air is assigned to Juno, where they will have the heroes to dwell with the demons, by which name they call the souls of the deceased of some merit. But on the contrary our martyrs would be called heroes, if, as I said, the use of ecclesiastical speech admitted it; not that they had society with demons in the air, but because they overcame the same

demons, that is, the aerial powers; and in them Juno herself, whatever she is thought to signify, who is introduced not altogether inconveniently by the poets as an enemy to virtues, and envious of brave men seeking heaven. But again Virgil unhappily succumbs and gives way to her, so that when with him she says, 'I am conquered by Aeneas!' she advises Aeneas himself through Helenus as if by religious counsel, and says, 'To Juno sing vows willingly, and overcome the powerful mistress with suppliant gifts.' From which opinion Porphyry, although not from his own sentiment but from that of others, says that a good god or genius does not come into a man, unless the evil one has been first appeased: as if evil deities were stronger among them than good ones; since indeed the evil ones impede the aids of the good ones, unless being appeased they give them place, and the good ones cannot profit the unwilling evil ones; but the evil ones can harm, while the good ones are not strong enough to resist them. That is not the way of the true and truly holy religion: not thus do our martyrs conquer Juno, that is, the aerial powers envious of the virtues of the pious. Not at all, if it could be said customarily, do our heroes overcome Hera with suppliant gifts, but with divine virtues. For Scipio Africanus was more conveniently named because he conquered Africa by virtue, than if he had appeased the enemies with gifts so that they might spare him.

CHAPTER XXII.

Whence the power over demons is to the saints, and whence the true purgation of the heart.

By true piety, the men of God eject the aerial power, which is an enemy and contrary to piety, by exorcising it, not by appeasing it; and they overcome all the temptations of its adversity by praying, not to it, but to their God against it. For it does not overcome or subjugate anyone except by the society of sin. In his name, therefore, is it conquered, who assumed man and acted without sin, so that in the priest and sacrifice themselves there might be the remission of sins, that is, through the Mediator of God and men (Mediator Dei et hominum), the man Christ Jesus, through whom, the purgation of sins being made, we are reconciled to God. For it is only by sins that men are separated from God, of which in this life our purgation is made not by our virtue, but by divine mercy; through his indulgence, not through our power. Because even that virtue, however small, which is called ours, is granted to us by his goodness. We would attribute much to ourselves in this flesh, unless we lived under pardon until its deposition. Therefore, grace was provided to us through the Mediator, so that, being polluted by the flesh of sin, we might be cleansed by the likeness of the flesh of sin. By this grace of God, by which he shows his great mercy toward us, we are both ruled in this life by faith, and after this life we shall be led to the fullest perfection by the very sight of the immutable truth.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the principles in which the Platonists profess the purgation of the soul to be.

Porphyry also says that it was responded by divine oracles that we are not purged by the teletae of the moon and sun: so that from this it might be shown that by the teletae of no gods can a man be purged. For whose teletae purge, if those of the moon and sun do not purge, whom they hold as chief among the celestial gods? Finally, he says it was expressed by the same oracle that the principles (principia) are able to purge; lest perhaps when it had been said that the teletae of the sun and moon do not purge, the teletae of some other god from the crowd should be believed to be valid for purging. But what he says are the principles as a Platonist, we know. For he says there is God the Father and God the Son, whom in Greek he calls the paternal intellect or paternal mind: but concerning the Holy Spirit, he says either nothing, or nothing plainly: although whom else he says to be the medium of these, I do not understand. For if he wished the nature of the soul to be understood as the third, just as Plotinus where he disputes concerning the three principal substances, he certainly would not say the medium of these, that is, the medium of the Father and the Son. For Plotinus postpones the nature of the soul to the paternal intellect: but this man, when he says the medium, does not postpone it, but interposes it. And doubtless he said this as he could, or as he willed, which we say of the Holy Spirit, that He is the Spirit not of the Father only, nor of the Son only, but of both. For

philosophers speak with free words, nor in things most difficult to be understood do they dread the offense of religious ears. But to us it is right to speak according to a certain rule, lest the license of words should generate an impious opinion even concerning the things which are signified by them.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the one true principle, which alone purges and renews human nature.

And so we do not say two or three principles when we speak of God, just as it is not permitted to us to say two gods or three: although speaking of each one, whether of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, we also confess each single one to be God; nor yet do we say what the Sabellian (Sabelliani) heretics say, that the Father is the same who is also the Son, and the Holy Spirit the same who is both Father and Son; but that the Father is the Father of the Son, and the Son the Son of the Father, and the Holy Spirit of the Father and the Son is neither Father nor Son. It was therefore truly said that man is not purged except by the principle, although principles have been spoken of by them in the plural. But Porphyry, subjected to the envious powers, of whom he was both ashamed and whom he feared to freely rebuke, did not want to understand that the Lord Christ is the principle, by whose incarnation we are purged. For he despised Him in that very flesh which He assumed for the sacrifice of

our purgation; certainly not understanding that great sacrament by that pride which He, the true and benign Mediator (Mediator), cast down by His humility, showing himself in that mortality to mortals, which the malignant and fallacious mediators, not having it, more proudly extolled, and promised a deceptive aid to wretched men as if they were immortals to mortals. Therefore, the good and true Mediator showed that sin is the evil, not the substance or nature of the flesh; which, with the soul of man, could both be received without sin, and be held, and be laid down in death, and be changed for the better in the resurrection: nor that death itself, although it was the punishment of sin, which however He Himself paid for us without sin, was to be avoided by sinning; but rather, if opportunity is given, to be endured for justice. For he could loose sins by dying for this reason, because He also died, and not for His own sin. This Platonist did not know Him to be the principle; for he would have known the purgatory. For neither is the flesh the principle, nor the human soul; but the Word through which all things were made. Therefore the flesh does not cleanse by itself, but through the Word by which it was assumed, when the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us. For speaking mystically of His flesh to be eaten, when those who did not understand went away offended, saying, 'This is a hard saying, who can hear it?' He answered the others remaining, 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth, but the flesh profiteth nothing.' The principle, therefore, having assumed soul and flesh,

cleanses both the soul and the flesh of believers. Therefore to the Jews asking who he was, he answered that he was the principle. Which certainly we, carnal, weak, obnoxious to sins, and involved in the darkness of ignorance, could in no way perceive, unless we were cleansed and healed by Him, through that which we were and were not. For we were men, but we were not just: but in His incarnation human nature was, but it was just, not sinful. This is the mediation, by which a hand was stretched out to the fallen and prostrate: this is the seed disposed through Angels, in whose edicts also the law was given, by which both the one God was commanded to be worshipped, and this Mediator to come was promised.

CHAPTER XXV.

That all the saints both under the time of the Law, and under previous ages, were justified in the sacrament and faith of Christ.

By the faith of this sacrament (sacramenti) even the ancient just were able to be cleansed by living piously, not only before the law was given to the Hebrew people (for neither was God the preacher nor Angels wanting to them), but also in the times of the law itself, although it seemed to have carnal promises in figures of spiritual things, for which reason it is called the Old Testament (vetus Testamentum). For the Prophets were also there then, through whom, as through Angels, the same promise was preached: and from their number was he, whose so great

and divine a sentiment concerning the end of the human good I commemorated a little before: 'But for me to adhere to God is good.' In which psalm certainly the distinction of the two Testaments, which are called Old and New (vetus et novum), is sufficiently declared. For on account of the carnal and earthly promises, when he perceived them to abound in the impious, he says his feet were almost moved, and his steps were poured out almost into a fall, as if he had served God in vain, when he perceived those who contemned Him to flourish with that felicity which he expected from Him; and that he had labored in the investigation of this matter, wishing to apprehend why it was so, until he entered into the sanctuary of God, and understood in the last things of those who seemed happy to him while erring. Then he understood that in that in which they extolled themselves, as he says, they were cast down, and failed and perished on account of their iniquities; and all that summit of temporal felicity became to them just as the dream of one waking, who suddenly finds himself destitute of those deceptive joys which he was dreaming. And since in this earth or earthly city (civitate terrena) they seemed great to themselves, 'Lord,' he says, 'in thy city thou shalt bring their image to nothing.' Which nevertheless it was useful for this man to seek even those earthly things only from the one true God, in whose power are all things, he sufficiently shows, where he says: 'I was made as a beast before thee, and I am always with thee.' He said 'as a beast,' certainly not

understanding. For I ought to have desired those things from thee, which cannot be common to me with the impious; not those which when I saw them to abound with them, I thought that I had served thee in vain, when they also had these things, who were unwilling to serve thee. Nevertheless 'I am always with thee,' who even in the desire of such things did not seek other gods. And by this follows: 'Thou hast held the hand of my right hand, and in thy will thou hast led me, and with glory thou hast assumed me': as if to the left all those things belong, which when he had seen them to abound among the impious, he almost collapsed. 'For what is to me,' he says, 'in heaven? and from thee what have I willed upon earth?' He reproved himself, and justly was he displeased with himself: because when he had so great a good in heaven (which he understood afterward), he sought a transitory, fragile, and in a certain way muddy felicity from his God on earth. 'My heart and my flesh have failed,' he says, 'God of my heart': by a good failure certainly from lower things to the supernal. Whence in another psalm it is said: 'My soul longeth and faileth for the courts of the Lord.' Likewise in another: 'My soul has failed for thy salvation.' Yet when he had spoken of both, that is, of the heart and flesh failing, he did not add, God of my heart and flesh; but, 'God of my heart.' For by the heart the flesh is cleansed. Whence the Lord says: 'Cleanse those things which are within, and those which are without shall be clean.' Then he says that God himself is his part, not something from him,

but himself: 'God,' he says, 'of my heart, and God my part for ever': because among many things which are chosen by men, he himself pleased him to be chosen. 'Because behold,' he says, 'those who make themselves far from thee shall perish: thou hast destroyed everyone who commits fornication from thee'; that is, who wishes to be the brothel of many gods. Whence follows that for which also the rest from the same psalm seemed to be said: 'But for me to adhere to God is good': not to go far, not to commit fornication through many things. Moreover, to adhere to God will then be perfect, when all that which is to be liberated, shall have been liberated. But now that which follows is done: 'To place my hope in God. For hope which is seen is not hope: for what a man sees, why does he hope for?' says the Apostle. 'But if we hope for what we do not see, we wait through patience.' But now constituted in this hope let us do what follows, and let us also be according to our measure angels of God, that is his messengers, announcing his will, and praising his glory and grace. Whence when he had said, 'To place my hope in God': 'that I may announce,' he says, 'all thy praises in the gates of the daughter of Sion.' This is the most glorious City of God (civitas Dei); she knows and worships one God: the holy Angels announced her, who invited us to her society, and willed us to be their citizens in her; whom it does not please that we should worship them as our gods, but with them their and our God; nor should we sacrifice to them, but with themselves be a sacrifice to God.

No one therefore doubting, who considers these things with the malignant obstitancy laid aside, all the immortal blessed, who do not envy us (for neither, if they envied, would they be blessed), but rather love us, that we also may be blessed with them; they favor us more, they help us more, when we worship one God with them, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, than if we were to worship them themselves through sacrifices.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the inconsistency of Porphyry fluctuating between the confession of the true God and the worship of demons.

I know not how (as it seems to me) Porphyry was ashamed before his theurgist friends. For he was wise in these things after a fashion, but he did not freely defend himself against the worship of many gods. For he said that there are some angels who, descending downward, announce divine things to theurgic men; and others who on earth declare those things which are the Father's, and His height and depth. Is it therefore to be believed that these angels, whose ministry is to declare the will of the Father, wish us to be subjected to any but Him whose will they announce to us? Whence that same Platonist most excellently admonishes that they are rather to be imitated than invoked. Therefore we ought not to fear lest we should offend the immortal and blessed ones subjected to the one God by not sacrificing to them. For what they know to be due only to the one true God, by

adhering to whom they themselves are blessed, they undoubtedly wish to be exhibited to themselves neither through any signifying figure, nor through the thing itself which is signified by the sacraments. This is the arrogance of proud and wretched demons, from whom the piety of those subjected to God, and blessed by nothing else than by coexisting with Him, is far different. To the perceiving of which good it behooves that they also favor us with sincere benignity, nor should they arrogate to themselves that by which we should be subjected to them; but they should announce Him under whom we may be associated with them in peace. Why do you still tremble, O philosopher, to have a free voice against powers envious both of true virtues and of the gifts of the true God? Already you have distinguished the angels who announce the will of the Father from those angels who descend to theurgic men, led down by I know not what art. Why do you still honor them, so that you say they pronounce divine things? What divine things, finally, do they pronounce, who do not announce the will of the Father? Surely they are those whom an envious man has bound with sacred prayers, lest they should afford the purgation of the soul; nor could they be loosed from those bonds and restored to their own power by a good one wishing to purge, as you say. Do you still doubt that these are malignant demons; or do you perhaps pretend not to know, while you do not wish to offend the theurgists, by whom being deceived by curiosity, you learned these pernicious and

insane things as a great benefit? Do you dare to lift up into heaven this envious, I will not say power, but pestilence, and not I will say mistress, but as you confess, rather the handmaid of the envious, this air being transcended, and to place it among your starry gods, or to infame even the stars themselves with these reproaches?

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the impiety of Porphyry, by which he transcends even the error of Apuleius.

How much more humanly and tolerably did your fellow Platonist Apuleius err, who only confessed, honored them indeed, but willed or unwilled, that demons ordered from the moon and below are agitated by diseases of passions and the disturbances (turbellis) of the mind; nevertheless he separated the higher gods of heaven pertaining to the ethereal spaces, whether visible, whom he saw shining conspicuously, the sun and moon and other lights in the same place, or invisible whom he thought, from all stain of those perturbations with as much disputation as he could. But you learned this not from Plato, but from your Chaldean masters, so that you might extol human vices into the ethereal or empyrean heights of the world and the celestial firmaments, so that your gods might pronounce divine things to theurgists (theurgis): by which divine things however you make yourself higher through the intellectual life, so that to you, as a philosopher, the purgations of the theurgic art

seem in no way necessary; but nevertheless you import them to others, so that you may return this as it were a reward to your masters, that you seduce those who cannot philosophize to these things, which you confess to be useless to you as capable of higher things; so that namely whoever are removed from the virtue of philosophy, which is too arduous and of few, by your authority may inquire for theurgic men, by whom they may be purged, not indeed in the intellectual soul (anima intellectualis), but at least in the spiritual soul (anima spiritualis); and since the multitude of those whom it irks to philosophize is incomparably greater, more are forced to come to your secret and illicit masters than to the Platonic schools. For this the most unclean demons, pretending themselves to be ethereal gods, whose preacher and angel you have become, promised to you; that being purged in the spiritual soul by the theurgic art, they do not indeed return to the Father, but shall dwell above the aerial regions among the ethereal gods. The multitude of men does not hear those things, for whose sake Christ (Christus) came to liberate them from the dominion of demons. For in Him they have a most merciful purgation both of their mind and spirit and body. For this reason indeed He assumed the whole man without sin, so that He might heal the whole of which man consists from the plague of sins. Whom I wish you also had known, and had committed yourself more safely to Him to be healed, than either to your virtue, which is human, fragile and weak, or to

your most pernicious curiosity. For He would not have deceived you, whom your oracles, as you yourself write, confessed to be holy and immortal. Of whom even the most noble poet said poetically indeed, because in the adumbrated person of another, yet truly if you refer it to Him: 'With thee as leader, if any vestiges of our crime remain, they shall be made void and loose the lands from perpetual fear.' For he said those things, which even of those profiting much in the virtue of justice can, on account of the infirmity of this life, although not crimes, nevertheless vestiges of crimes remain, which are not healed except by that Savior, of whom this verse was expressed. For Virgil indicates that he did not say this of himself in almost the fourth verse of the Eclogue itself, where he says: 'The last age of the Cumaean song has already come.' Whence it appears unhesitatingly that this was said by the Cumaean Sibyl. But those theurgists, or rather demons, feigning the species and figures of gods, defile rather than purge the human spirit by the falsehood of phantasms and the deceptive mockings of vain forms. For how should they purge the spirit of a man, who have an unclean one of their own? Otherwise in no way would they be bound by the songs of an envious man, and they would either press by fear, or deny by a similar envy, that same empty benefit which they seemed about to afford. It suffices that by theurgic purgation, you say neither the intellectual soul, that is our mind, can be purged, and you confess that the spiritual itself, that is the part of our soul inferior

to the mind, which you assert can be purged by such an art, nevertheless cannot be made immortal and eternal by this art. But Christ promises eternal life: whence the world, although you are stomachful, yet wondering and stupified, runs together to Him. What does it profit that you could not deny that men err in the theurgic discipline, and deceive very many through a blind and foolish opinion, and that it is a most certain error to run to princes and angels by acting and supplicating; and again, as if lest you should seem to have lost your labor by learning these things, you send men to theurgists, so that through them the spiritual soul of those may be purged, who do not live according to the intellectual soul?

CHAPTER XXVIII.

By what persuasions the blinded Porphyry could not recognize the true wisdom, which is Christ.

You send men, therefore, into a most certain error. Nor are you ashamed of this great evil, although you profess yourself a lover of virtue and wisdom. If you had loved her truly and faithfully, you would have known Christ (Christus), the power of God and the wisdom of God, nor would you have recoiled from His most salutary humility, puffed up with the tumor of vain knowledge. Yet you confess that even the spiritual soul (anima spiritualis) can be purged by the virtue of continence without theurgic arts and without rites (teletae), in learning which you have labored in vain. Sometimes you even

say that rites do not elevate the soul after death; so that now they do not even seem to profit anything after the end of this life even that same soul which you call spiritual: and yet you turn these things in many ways and repeat them, for no other purpose, as I think, except that you may appear as if skilled in such things also, and may please the curious of illicit arts, or may yourself make them curious towards them. But it is well that you say this art is to be feared either by the dangers of the laws, or of the action itself. And I wish that at least the wretched would hear this from you, and depart thence, lest they be absorbed there, or not approach there at all. You say certainly that ignorance and on its account many vices are purged by no rites, but by the paternal mind (patrikos nous) alone, that is, the paternal mind or intellect, which is conscious of the paternal will. But you do not believe this to be Christ; for you despise Him on account of the body received from a woman and on account of the reproach of the cross, suitable indeed, with high wisdom, having spurned and cast away the lowest things, to pluck from the higher. But He fulfills what the holy Prophets truly predicted of Him: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and I will reject the prudence of the prudent" (Isai. XXIX, 14). For He does not destroy and reject His own in them, which He Himself gave; but that which those who do not have His own arrogate to themselves. Whence having commemorated that prophetic testimony, the Apostle follows and says: "Where is the wise? where is the scribe?

where is the searcher of this world?" Has not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For since in the wisdom of God the world did not know God through wisdom, it pleased God through the foolishness of preaching (stultitia praedicationis) to save those who believe, For indeed the Jews seek signs, and the Greeks seek wisdom: but we," he says, "preach Christ crucified; to the Jews indeed a scandal, but to the Gentiles foolishness; but to the called themselves, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God: because the foolish thing of God is wiser than men, and the weak thing of God is stronger than men" (I Cor. I, 19-25). This as it were foolish and weak thing those wise and strong through their own virtue despise. But this is grace (gratia), which heals the weak, not proudly boasting their own false beatitude, but rather humbly confessing their true misery.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ (Jesus Christus), which the impiety of the Platonists blushes to confess.

1. You preach the Father and His Son, whom you call the paternal intellect or mind; and the medium of these, whom we think you call the Holy Spirit (Spiritus sanctus), and after your manner you call them three gods. In which, although you use undisciplined words, you see nevertheless in some way and as if through certain shadows of a thin imagination, where one must strive: but the incarnation (incarnatio) of

the unchangeable Son of God, by which we are saved, so that we may be able to come to those things which we believe, or understand from however small a part, you do not wish to recognize. And so you see in some way, although from afar, although with dim sight, the fatherland in which one must remain; but the way by which one must go, you do not hold. Yet you confess grace (gratia), since indeed you say it is granted to a few to arrive at God through the virtue of intelligence. For you do not say, It pleased a few; or, A few willed: but when you say it is granted, without doubt you confess the grace of God, not the sufficiency of man. You even use this word more openly where, following the opinion of Plato, you yourself do not doubt that in this life a man can in no way arrive at the perfection of wisdom, nevertheless to those living according to the intellect all that is lacking can be completed after this life by the providence (providentia) of God and grace. Oh, if you had known the grace of God through Jesus Christ (Jesus Christus) our Lord, and had been able to see that His incarnation itself, by which He assumed the soul and body of man, is the highest example of grace. But what shall I do? I know I speak in vain to a dead man: but as far as it pertains to you; but as far as it pertains to those who esteem you highly, and love you either with some kind of love of wisdom, or with a curiosity for arts which you ought not to have learned, whom I rather address in your compellation, perhaps not in vain. The grace of God could not be more graciously commended than that the only

Son of God Himself, remaining inchangeably in Himself, should put on man, and give the hope of His love to men, through the medium of man, by whom He might be come to by men, who was so far away, immortal from mortals, unchangeable from changeables, just from the impious, blessed from the wretched. And because He naturally implanted in us that we should desire to be blessed and immortal, remaining blessed and assuming the mortal, so that He might bestow upon us what we love, by enduring He taught us to despise what we fear.

2. But so that you might be able to acquiesce in this truth, there was need of humility, which can with great difficulty be persuaded to your neck. For what incredible thing is said, especially to you who savor such things, by which you ought to admonish yourselves to believe this; what, I say, is said to you that is incredible, when God is said to have assumed a human soul and body? You certainly attribute so much to the intellectual soul (anima intellectualis), which soul is indeed human, that you say it can become consubstantial (consubstantialis) with that paternal mind, whom you confess to be the Son of God. What, therefore, is incredible, if some one intellectual soul was assumed in a certain ineffable and singular way for the salvation of many? But that a body coheres to a soul, so that there may be a whole and full man, we know by the testimony of our own nature itself. Which, unless it were most usual, would surely be more incredible: for indeed it is more easily to be received into faith,

although human to divine, although changeable to unchangeable, yet spirit to spirit, or, to use the words which you have in use, incorporeal to incorporeal, than a body to the incorporeal. Or perhaps the unusual birth of a body from a virgin offends you? Nor ought this to offend, but rather rather it ought to lead to the undertaking of piety, because the wonderful was born wonderfully. Or indeed that He conveyed into the heights that same body laid down by death, and changed for the better by resurrection (resurrectio), now incorruptible (incorruptibilis) and not mortal? You perhaps refuse to believe this, beholding Porphyry in these very books, from which I have set down many things, which he wrote concerning the return of the soul, so frequently commanding that every body is to be fled, so that the soul may be able to remain blessed with God. But he himself rather feeling those things was to be corrected, especially since you savor such incredible things concerning the soul of this visible world and of so vast a corporeal mass. For with Plato as your author (In Timaeo), you say that the world is an animal, and a most blessed animal, which you wish also to be everlasting. How, therefore, shall it never be loosed from the body, nor ever lack beatitude, if that the soul may be blessed, every body is to be fled? That sun also and the other stars, you confess not only in your books to be bodies, which all men with you do not hesitate both to behold and to say: but also with a higher skill, as you think, you hold these to be most blessed animals, and everlasting with

these bodies. What is it, therefore, that when the Christian faith (fides christiana) is persuaded to you, then you forget, or feign that you are ignorant of, what you are accustomed to dispute or teach? What is the cause why, on account of your opinions, which you yourselves oppose, you do not wish to be Christians, except because Christ came humbly, and you are proud? Of what sort the bodies of the saints shall be in the future resurrection, it can sometimes be more scrupulously disputed among the most learned of the Christian Scriptures (Scripturarum): nevertheless that they shall be everlasting we least doubt; and that they shall be such as Christ demonstrated an example by His own resurrection. But of whatever sort they be, since they are preached to be altogether incorruptible and immortal, and in no way hindering the contemplation of the soul, by which it is fixed in God; and you also say that there are in the celestial regions immortal bodies of the immortally blessed: what is it that you think that every body is to be fled so that we may be blessed, so that you may seem as if reasonably to flee the Christian faith; unless because it is that which I say again, Christ is humble, you are proud? Or perhaps it shames you to be corrected? And this vice is not except of the proud. It shames, namely, learned men from the disciples of Plato to become disciples of Christ (Christi), who taught a fisherman by His Spirit to know and to say: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word: this was in the beginning with God. All things were

made by Him, and without Him was nothing made. That which was made, in Him was life; and the life was the light of men, and the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it." Which beginning of the holy Gospel, whose name is According to John (Joannem), a certain Platonist, as we used to hear from the holy old man Simplicianus, who afterwards presided as bishop (episcopus) over the Church of Milan (Mediolanensis Ecclesia), used to say was to be written in golden letters, and proposed in the most eminent places through all the Churches. But therefore that God and teacher became cheap to the proud, because "the Word was made flesh (caro factum est), and dwelt among us" (John I, 1-5, 14): so that it is a small thing to the wretched that they are sick, unless they extol themselves even in that very sickness, and blush at the medicine by which they could be healed. For they do not do this so that they may be raised up, but so that by falling they may be more heavily afflicted.

CHAPTER XXX.

How many things of the Platonic dogma Porphyry refuted, and by dissenting corrected.

If after Plato it is thought unworthy to amend anything, why did Porphyry himself amend some and not small things? For it is most certain that Plato wrote that the souls of men after death are revolved even into the bodies of beasts. This opinion the teacher of Porphyry, Plotinus, also held (Enneadis 3, lib. 4, cap. 2): yet it rightly dis-

pleased Porphyry. He thought indeed that human souls return into human bodies, not their own which they had dismissed, but other new ones. He was ashamed, namely, to believe that, lest perhaps a mother revolved into a mule should carry her son: and he was not ashamed to believe this, where a mother revolved into a girl should perhaps marry her son. How much more honorably is that believed which the holy and veracious Angels taught, which the Prophets spoke being acted upon by the Spirit of God, which He Himself whom the sent messengers predicted as the coming Savior, which the sent Apostles who filled the orb of the lands with the Gospel? How much more honorably, I say, is it believed that souls return once to their own bodies, than to return so many times to diverse ones? Nevertheless, as I said, Porphyry was corrected in great part in this opinion, so that he felt at least that human souls can be thrust down into humans alone; but he did not hesitate at all to overturn the belluine prisons. He says also that God gave the soul to the world for this purpose, that knowing the evils of matter, it might run back to the Father, nor ever now be held by the polluted contagion of such things. Where although he savors something inconveniently (for it was rather given to the body that it might do good things; for it would not learn evils if it did not do them), yet in that he amended the opinion of other Platonists, and not in a small matter, because he confessed that a soul cleansed from all evils and constituted with the Father, would never now suffer the evils

of this world. By which opinion he surely took away what is especially held to be Platonic, that as the dead are always made from the living, so the living from the dead (Plato in Phaedone): and he showed that to be false which Virgil seems to have said Platonically, that cleansed souls sent to the Elysian fields (campos Elysios) (by which name as if through a fable the joys of the blessed seem to be signified), are called forth to the river Lethe (fluvius Letheus), that is to the oblivion of past things: "Namely that unmindful they may revisit the convex heights, and again begin to wish to return into bodies" (Aeneid. lib. 6, vers. 750, 751.) Rightly did this displease Porphyry: since in truth it is foolish to believe that from that life, which cannot be most blessed unless it shall be most certain of its own eternity, souls should desire the stain of corruptible bodies, and thence return to these things, as if the highest purgation acts for this, that defilement be sought. For if that they are perfectly cleansed effects this, that they forget all evils, but the oblivion of evils makes the desire of bodies, where they may again be implicated in evils: surely the highest felicity will be the cause of infelicity: and the perfection of wisdom the cause of foolishness; and the highest cleansing the cause of uncleanness. Nor will the soul be blessed there by truth, however long it shall be, where it behooves it to be deceived so that it may be blessed. For it will not be blessed unless secure. But that it may be secure, it will falsely think that it will always be blessed: since sometimes it will also be wretched.

To whom therefore falsehood shall be the cause of rejoicing, how shall it rejoice concerning the truth? Porphyry saw this, and for this reason said that the cleansed soul returns to the Father, lest it should ever now be held by the polluted contagion of evils.

[XXXI.] Falsely therefore by certain Platonists was that circle believed as if necessary, of departing from the same and returning to the same. Which even if it were true, what would it profit to know this, unless perhaps thence the Platonists dared to prefer themselves to us, because we should not know that in this life now, which they themselves most purged and most wise were to not know in another better life, and were to be blessed by believing a falsehood? But if it is most absurd and most foolish to say this, surely the opinion of Porphyry is to be preferred to those who suspected the circles of souls (circuli animarum) by always alternating beatitude and misery. But if it is so, behold a Platonist dissents for the better from Plato: behold he saw what that one did not see, nor after such and so great a master did he flee correction, but preferred truth to man.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Against the argument of the Platonists, by which they assert the human soul to be coeternal with God.

Why therefore do we not rather believe the divinity concerning these things, which we cannot investigate by human genius, which says that

the soul itself is also not coeternal (coaeterna) with God, but created, which was not? For so that the Platonists might not wish to believe this, they surely seemed to themselves to bring this suitable cause, because unless it had always been before, it could not thereafter be everlasting. Although both concerning the world and concerning those gods whom Plato writes were made by God in the world (In Timaeo), he says most openly that they began to be and have a beginning (initium), yet he maintains that they shall not have an end (finem), but shall remain in eternity through the most powerful will of the Creator (Conditor). But how they understand this, they have found, namely that this is not of time, but a beginning of substitution. For just as," they say, "if a foot (pes) had always been from eternity in the dust (pulvere), a footprint (vestigium) would always be under it; which footprint however no one would doubt was made by the one treading (calcante), nor would one be prior to the other, although one was made by the other: so," they say, "both the world and the gods created in it, both always were, He who made them always existing, and yet they were made." Should it therefore be said that if the soul always was, its misery also always was? Furthermore, if something in it, which was not from eternity, began to be from time, why could it not be, that it itself was from time, which before was not? Then its beatitude also after the experience of evils firmer and about to remain without end, as this one confesses, without doubt began from time,

and yet it shall always be, when before it was not. That whole argumentation therefore is dissolved, by which it is thought that nothing can be without end of time (finis temporis), except that which does not have a beginning of time (initium temporis). For the beatitude of the soul has been found, which since it shall have had a beginning of time, shall not have an end of time. Wherefore let human infirmity yield to divine authority, and let us believe those blessed and immortal ones concerning true religion, who do not seek honor for themselves, which they know to be owed to their God, who is also ours; nor do they command that we make sacrifice, except to Him alone, of whom we also with them, as I have often said and it is often to be said, ought to be a sacrifice, to be offered through that priest, who in the man whom He assumed, according to which He also willed to be a priest, deigned to become a sacrifice for us even unto death.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the universal way of the soul to be liberated, which Porphyry by seeking badly did not find, and which Christian grace (gratia) alone has opened.

1. This is the religion (religio) which contains the universal way (universalis via) of the soul to be liberated; since none can be liberated except by this. For this is in a certain way the royal way (regalis via), which alone leads to the kingdom, not wavering with temporal height, but secure with the firmness of eternity. But when Porphyry

says in the first book near the end of the Return of the Soul, that a certain one sect has not yet been received which contains the universal way of the soul to be liberated, either from some most true philosophy, or from the customs and discipline of the Indians (Indorum), or the induction of the Chaldeans (Chaldaeorum), or any other way, and that that same way had not yet been brought to his knowledge by historical cognition (historialis cognitio); without doubt he confesses that there is some one, but that it had not yet come to his knowledge. Thus whatever he had most studiously learned concerning the liberation of the soul, and seemed to himself, or rather to others, to know and hold, was not sufficient for him. For he felt that he still lacked some most excellent authority, which it would be necessary to follow concerning so great a matter. But when he says that even from some most true philosophy a sect which contains the universal way of the soul to be liberated had not yet arrived at his knowledge; he shows sufficiently, as I think, either that that philosophy in which he himself philosophized is not the most true, or that such a way is not contained in it. And how now can that be most true, in which this way is not contained? For what other way is universal for the liberation of the soul, except that by which all souls are liberated, and through this without it no soul is liberated? But when he adds and says, "Either from the customs and discipline of the Indians, or from the induction of the Chaldeans, or by any other way"; he testifies with a most manifest

voice that neither in those things which he had learned from the Indians, nor in those which he had from the Chaldeans, is this universal way of the soul to be liberated contained; and indeed he could not be silent that he had taken from the Chaldeans divine oracles, of which he makes assiduous commemoration. What universal way therefore of liberating the soul does he wish to be understood as not yet received, either from some most true philosophy, or from the doctrines of those nations which were held as if great in divine matters, because curiosity for knowing and worshipping whatever angels had more weight among them, and not yet brought to his knowledge by historical cognition? What is that universal way, except that which was not proper to each nation of its own, but which should be common to all nations, divinely imparted? Which certainly this man endowed with no mediocre genius does not doubt to be. Since indeed he does not believe that divine providence (providentia) could have left the human race without this universal way of liberating the soul. For he does not say that it is not, but that this so great good and so great help has not yet been received, has not yet been brought to his knowledge: nor is it a wonder. For Porphyry was among human affairs at that time when this universal way of liberating the soul, which is no other than the Christian religion, was permitted to be attacked by the worshippers of idols and demons and by earthly kings, for the sake of asserting and consecrating the number of martyrs (martyrum), that is, witnesses

of the truth, through whom it might be shown that all corporeal evils are to be tolerated for the faith of piety and the commendation of the truth. Porphyry therefore saw these things, and that through such persecutions that way would quickly perish, and for that reason he thought it was not the universal way itself of liberating the soul, not understanding that this which moved him, and which he feared to endure in its election, rather pertained to its confirmation and more robust commendation.

2. This is therefore the universal way (universalis via) of the soul to be liberated, that is, granted to all nations by divine commiseration (divina miseratio); the knowledge of which surely has already come to whomsoever, and is to come to whomsoever, nor ought it, nor shall it be necessary to be said to it, Why now? and why late? since the counsel of the Sender is not penetrable by human genius. Which this one also felt when he said that this gift of God was not yet received, and had not yet been brought to his knowledge. For he did not therefore judge it not to be true, because it had not yet been received into his faith, or had not yet arrived at his knowledge. This is, I say, the universal way of believers to be liberated, concerning which faithful Abraham received the divine oracle: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed" (Gen. XXII, 18). Who was indeed a Chaldean by nation, but so that he might perceive such promises, and from him should be propagated the seed disposed through Angels in the hand of the Mediator (Me-

diatoris) (Galat. III, 19), in whom should be that universal way of the soul to be liberated, that is, given to all nations, he was commanded to depart from his land and from his kindred and from his father's house (Gen. XII, 1). Then he first, having been liberated from the superstitions of the Chaldeans, worshipped by following the one true God, whom he faithfully believed promising these things. This is the universal way concerning which it was said in the holy prophecy: "God be merciful to us, and bless us; cause His face to shine upon us, and be merciful to us: that we may know Thy way upon earth, Thy salvation among all nations" (Psal. LXVI, 2 and 3). Whence so long after, having assumed flesh from the seed of Abraham, the Savior (Salvator) Himself says of Himself: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life" (John XIV, 6). This is the universal way concerning which it was prophesied so long before: "It shall be in the last days that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be manifest, prepared on the top of the mountains, and shall be extolled above the hills; and all nations shall come to it, and many nations shall enter, and shall say: Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will announce to us His way, and we will enter into it. For out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Isai. II, 2 and 3). This way therefore is not of one nation, but of all nations. And the law and the word of the Lord did not remain in Sion and Jerusalem; but proceeded thence, so that it might diffuse itself

through all things. Whence the Mediator Himself after His resurrection said to His trembling disciples: "It behooved those things to be fulfilled which were written in the Law, and the Prophets, and the Psalms concerning me. Then He opened their sense, so that they might understand the Scriptures (Scripturas), and said to them, That it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead on the third day, and that penance and remission of sins should be preached in His name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem" (Luke XXIV, 44-47). This is therefore the universal way of the soul to be liberated, which the holy Angels and holy Prophets first signified in a few men where they could find the grace of God, and especially in the Hebrew nation (Hebraea gente), whose very republic was in some way sacred (sacrata respublica), in the prophesying and preannouncing of the city of God (civitatis Dei) to be gathered out of all nations, and by the tabernacle and temple and priesthood and sacrifices, and predicted by certain manifest utterances, most of them mystical; but the Mediator Himself present in the flesh, and His blessed Apostles now revealing more openly the grace of the New Testament (novum Testamentum), indicated those things which were signified somewhat more hiddenly in the former times, according to the distribution of the ages of the human race; as it pleased the wise God to ordain it, the signs of the wonderful divine works, of which I have already set down a few above, attesting. For not only did angelic visions appear, and only the words of celestial ministers

sound: but also by men acting by the word of God of simple piety, unclean spirits (spiritus immundi) were driven out from the bodies and senses of men; the vices and languors of the body were healed; wild animals of the lands and waters, birds of the heaven, woods, elements, stars, did the divine commands, the infernal regions yielded, the dead lived again: except the proper and singular miracles of the Savior Himself, especially of birth and resurrection; in one of which He demonstrated only the sacrament (sacramentum) of maternal virginity, but in the other an example also of those who are to rise again in the end. This way cleanses the whole man, and prepares the mortal for immortality from all the parts of which he consists. For lest one purgation should be sought for that part which Porphyry calls intellectual, another for that which he calls spiritual, and another for the body itself, for that reason the most true and most powerful cleanser and savior (mundator atque salvator) assumed the whole. Besides this way, which was never lacking to the human race, partly when these things to come are pre-announced, partly when they are announced as done, no one has been liberated, no one is liberated, no one shall be liberated.

3. But as to Porphyry saying that the universal way (universalis via) of the soul to be liberated had not yet been brought to his knowledge by historical cognition (historialis cognitione): what can be found either more illustrious than this history, which has obtained the universal orb

with such a height of authority, or more faithful, in which past things are so narrated that future things are also predicted; many of which we see fulfilled, from which we may without doubt hope that those which remain are to be fulfilled? For Porphyry, or any Platonists whatsoever, cannot even in this way as if of earthly things and pertaining to this mortal life, despise divination and prediction: which they rightly do in other prophecies (vaticinationibus) and divinations of any modes or arts whatsoever. For they deny that these are to be weighed either of great men, or as great: and rightly. For they are made either by the presension of inferior causes, just as by the art of medicine many things are foreseen as about to happen to health by certain antecedent signs; or unclean demons pre-announce their own disposed deeds, whose right both in the minds and desires of the iniquitous to deeds congruent to each they in a certain way claim for themselves, and in the lowest matter of human fragility. Not such things did holy men, walking in that universal way of souls to be liberated, care to prophesy as if great: although even those things did not escape them, and were often predicted by them, for the sake of making faith in those things which could not be intimated to the senses of mortals, nor brought to experience with quick facility. But there were other things truly great and divine, which, as much as was given, the will of God being known, they announced as to come. Christ (Christus) indeed about to come in the flesh, and those things which in Him were so clearly

perfected and fulfilled in His name, the penance of men and the conversion of wills (conversio voluntatum) to God, the remission of sins, the grace of justice, the faith of the pious and through the universal orb the multitude of believers in the true divinity, the subversion of the worship of images and demons and the exercise from temptations, the purgation of those profiting and liberation from every evil, the day of judgment (judicii dies), the resurrection of the dead, the eternal damnation of the society of the impious (societatis impiorum), and the eternal kingdom of the most glorious city of God (civitatis Dei) immortally enjoying His sight, were predicted and promised in the Scriptures (Scripturis) of this way: so many of which we behold fulfilled, that with right piety we trust the rest to be about to be. The rectitude of this way even to the seeing of God and cohering to Him in eternity, in the truth of the holy Scriptures, by which it is preached and asserted, whosoever do not believe, and for this reason neither understand, can attack, but they cannot conquer.

4. Wherefore in these ten books, although less than the intention of some expected of us, yet we have satisfied the study of certain ones, as much as the true God and Lord deigned to help, by refuting the contradictions of the impious, who prefer their own gods to the Creator (Conditori) of the holy city, concerning which we have instituted to dispute. Of which ten books the five former ones were written against those who think gods are to be worshipped on account of the

goods of this life; but the five latter ones against those who think the worship of gods is to be maintained on account of the life which is to be after death. Thereafter, therefore, as we promised in the first book, I shall expedite, as much as I shall be divinely helped, what I think is to be said concerning the origin (exortu) and progress (procursu) and deserved ends (debitis finibus) of the two cities, which we said are in this world entangled and mutually mixed.

BOOK ELEVENTH.

The second part of this work begins, which is concerning the origin (exortu), progress (procursu), and deserved ends (debitis finibus) of the two cities, the earthly and the celestial. In this first book Augustine demonstrates how the beginnings (exordia) of those same cities preceded in the distinction of the good and evil angels, and on that occasion he treats of the constitution of the world, which is described in the Holy Scriptures (sacris Litteris) at the beginning of the book of Genesis.

CHAPTER FIRST.

Of that part of the work in which the beginnings and ends of the two cities, that is, the celestial and the earthly, begin to be demonstrated.

We call that the City of God (civitatem Dei) whose witness is that Scripture which, not by fortuitous motions of minds, but clearly by the highest disposition of providence (providentiae) above all the writings of all nations, has subjected to itself all kinds of human geniuses, excelling by divine authority. For there it is written: Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God (Psal. LXXXVI, 3). And in another psalm it is read: Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city

of our God, in His holy mountain, spreading the exultations of the universal earth. And a little after in the same psalm: As we have heard, so also have we seen, in the city of the Lord of virtues, in the city of our God; God has founded it forever (Psal. XLVII, 2, 3, 9). Likewise in another: The impetus of the river gladdens the city of God, the Most High has sanctified His tabernacle; God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved (Psal. XLV, 5 and 6). By these and such-like testimonies, which it is too long to commemorate all, we have learned that there is a certain city of God, whose citizens we desire to be with that love which its Creator (Conditor) has inspired in us. To this Creator of the holy city, the citizens of the earthly city (terrenae civitatis) prefer their own gods, being ignorant that He is the God of gods, not of false gods, that is, of the impious and proud, who, being deprived of His unchangeable and common light to all, and for this reason reduced to a certain indigent power, pursue in a manner their own private powers, and seek divine honors from their deceived subjects; but of the pious and holy gods, who delight rather to subject themselves to one than many to themselves, and rather to worship God than to be worshipped for God. But to the enemies of this holy city, in the ten former books, as much as we were able, our Lord and King helping us, we have replied. Now truly, recognizing what is already expected of me, and not unmindful of my debt, I shall approach, relying everywhere on the assistance of that same Lord and King of ours, to dispute, as far as I shall

be able, concerning the origin (exortu), progress (excursu), and deserved ends (debitis finibus) of the two cities, namely, the earthly and the celestial, which we have said are in this world interim entangled in a manner and mutually mixed; and first I shall tell how the beginnings (exordia) of these two cities preceded in the diversity of the Angels.

CHAPTER II.

Of the knowing of God, to whose knowledge no one of men reaches, except through the Mediator of God and men, the man Jesus Christ.

It is a great and very rare thing to exceed by the intention of the mind the universal creature, corporeal and incorporeal, considered and found mutable, and to reach to the unchangeable substance of God, and there to learn from Him that the whole nature which is not what He is, none made except Himself. For thus God speaks with man not through some corporeal creature, sounding in corporeal ears, so that between the one sounding and the one hearing the aerial spaces are beaten; nor through that kind of spiritual creature which is figured with likenesses of bodies, as in dreams or in any other such manner; for even thus He speaks as it were to the ears of the body, because He speaks as it were through the body and as it were with an interval of corporeal places interposed; for such visions are very similar to bodies: but He speaks by truth itself, if any one be fit for hearing with

the mind, not with the body. For He speaks so to that part of man which is better in man than the rest of the things of which man consists, and than which God alone is better. For since man is most rightly understood, or if this cannot be, at least is believed to have been made in the image of God; surely by that part of himself he is nearer to the superior God, by which he surpasses his own inferior parts, which he has in common even with the beasts. But because the mind itself, in which reason and intelligence are naturally present, is invalid through certain dark and old vices, not only for adhering in enjoying, but even for bearing the unchangeable light, until being renewed and healed from day to day it becomes capable of so great happiness, it had first to be imbued and purged by faith. In order that it might walk more confidently in it toward the truth, the truth itself, God the Son of God, having assumed man, not having consumed God, constituted and founded that same faith, so that the journey to the God of man might be for man through the man-God. For this is the mediator (mediator) of God and men, the man Christ Jesus. For by this he is mediator, by which he is man; by this also he is the way (via). Because if between him who tends and that toward which he tends, there is a middle way, there is hope of reaching: but if it be lacking, or it be unknown by where one must go, what does it profit to know where one must go? But the only most fortified way against all errors is that the very same one be God and man: whither we go, God; by which we go, man.

CHAPTER III.

Of the authority of the canonical Scripture founded by the divine Spirit.

He, having spoken first through the Prophets, then through Himself, afterwards through the Apostles, as much as He judged to be sufficient, also founded the Scripture which is named canonical, of most eminent authority, in which we have faith concerning those things which it is not expedient to be ignorant of, nor are we fit to know through ourselves. For if those things can be known by us as witnesses which are not remote from our senses, whether interior or even exterior (whence also they are called present, because they are as at hand to the senses as that is at hand to the eyes which is before the face); surely concerning those things which are remote from our senses, since they cannot be known by our own testifying, we seek other witnesses for them, and we believe those from whose senses we do not believe them to be or to have been remote. As therefore in visible things, which we have not seen, we believe those who have seen; so in those things which are perceived by the mind, if they also are remote from our senses, it behooves us to believe those who either saw them disposed in that incorporeal light, or see them in it likewise.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the condition of the world, that it is neither untemporal, nor ordained by a new counsel of God, as if He afterwards willed what He previously did not will.

1. Of all visible things the greatest is the world; of all invisible things the greatest is God. But we behold that the world is, we believe that God is. But that God made the world, we believe none more safely than God Himself. Where have we heard Him? Nowhere better for the time being than in the Holy Scriptures (Scripturis sanctis), where His prophet said: In the beginning God made heaven and earth (Gen. I, 1). Was that prophet there when God made heaven and earth? No: but there was the Wisdom of God, through which all things were made, which transfers itself also into holy souls, constitutes the friends of God and Prophets (Sap. VII, 27), and narrates His works to them inwardly without noise. To them also the Angels of God speak, who always see the face of the Father (Matth. XVIII, 10), and announce His will to whom it is fit. Of these that prophet was one, who said and wrote: In the beginning God made heaven and earth. Who is so fit a witness through whom God is to be believed, that by the same Spirit of God, by which he knew these things revealed to himself, he also predicted our very future faith so long before.

2. But why did it please the eternal God then to make heaven and earth, which He had not made before? Those who say this, if they wish the world to seem eternal without any beginning, and therefore not even made by God, are too much turned away from the truth, and are insane with the lethal disease of impiety. For, the prophetic voices excepted, the world itself, by its most orderly mutability and mobility and

by the most beautiful appearance of all visible things, proclaims in a manner silently both that it has been made, and that it could not have been made except by a God ineffably and invisibly great and ineffably and invisibly beautiful. But those who indeed confess that it was made by God, but yet do not wish it to have a beginning of time, but of its creation, so that in a certain scarcely intelligible manner it has always been made, do indeed say something whence they seem to themselves to defend God as if from fortuitous temerity, lest it be believed that it suddenly came into His mind, what had never come before, to make the world, and that a new will happened to Him, whereas in nothing is He at all changeable: but I do not see how that reason can subsist for them in other things, and especially in the soul, which if they contend to be co-eternal with God, they will in no way be able to explain whence a new misery happened to it, which never before through eternity. For if they shall have said that its misery and blessedness have always alternated, it is necessary that they say they will also always alternate: whence that absurdity will follow them, that even when it is called blessed, it is certainly not blessed in this, if it foresees its future misery and baseness; but if it does not foresee it, nor thinks it will be base and miserable, but estimates itself always blessed, it would be blessed by a false opinion: than which nothing more foolish can be said. But if they think that always indeed through infinite ages backwards the misery of the soul has alternated with

blessedness, but now already for the rest when it shall have been liberated, it is not to return to misery, nevertheless they are convinced that it was never truly blessed, but thereafter begins to be by a certain new and not fallacious blessedness; and by this they will confess that something new happens to it, and this great and illustrious, which had never happened backwards through eternity. The cause of which novelty if they shall deny God had in His eternal counsel, at the same time they will deny Him to be the author of its blessedness; which is of unspeakable impiety: but if they shall say that He Himself thought it out by a new counsel, that for the rest the soul be blessed forever, how will they show Him alien from that mutability which is displeasing to them also? Furthermore, if they confess it created in time, but in no further time to perish, as a number, to have a beginning but not to have an end, and therefore having once experienced miseries, if it shall have been liberated from them, never to be miserable afterwards, they will certainly not doubt that this happens while the unchangeableness of the counsel of God remains. If therefore they believe this, let them believe also that the world could have been made in time, and yet not therefore that God changed His eternal counsel and will in making it.

CHAPTER V.

That one must no more think concerning infinite spaces of times before the world, than concerning infinite spaces of places.

Then it must be seen by those who consent that God is the founder of the world, and yet ask what we may answer concerning the time of the world, what they themselves answer concerning the place of the world. For thus it is asked why it was made then rather and not before, just as it can be asked why here rather where it is and not elsewhere. For if they think of infinite spaces of time before the world, in which it does not seem to them that God could have ceased from work, let them similarly think of infinite spaces of places outside the world, in which if any one should say that the Omnipotent could not have been vacant, will it not be a consequence that they are forced to dream of innumerable worlds with Epicurus? only with this difference, that he asserts those to be begotten and dissolved by fortuitous motions of atoms, but these are about to say they were made by the work of God, if they should not will Him to be vacant through the interminable immensity of places lying open everywhere outside the world, nor that those same worlds can be dissolved by any cause, which they also feel concerning this one? For we deal with these who both feel with us that God is incorporeal and the creator of all natures which are not what He is; but others it is too unworthy to admit to this dispute of religion: especially because among those who think that the obsequiousness of sacrifices is to be rendered to many gods, these have surpassed the other philosophers in nobility and authority, for no other reason except that, although by a long interval, nevertheless they

are nearer to the truth than the rest. Or perhaps they are about to say that the substance of God, which they neither include, nor determine, nor distend in place, but confess it, as it is worthy to feel concerning God, whole everywhere by His incorporeal presence, is absent from such great spaces of places outside the world, and occupied only in one, and in comparison of that infinity so exiguous place, in which the world is? I do not suppose them to be about to proceed into these vaniloquies. Since therefore they say that one world, indeed of huge corporeal mass, yet finite and determined in its own place, and made by the operation of God: what they answer concerning the infinite places outside the world, why in them God ceases from work; let them answer that to themselves concerning the infinite times before the world, why in them God ceased from work. And just as it is not a consequence that God constituted the world rather by chance than by divine reason, not in another, but in this place in which it is, since equally with infinite places lying open everywhere it could be chosen here by no more excellent merit, although no human can comprehend that same divine reason by which it was done: so it is not a consequence that we estimate anything fortuitous to have happened to God, because He founded the world in that rather than in a former time, since equally former times would have passed through infinite space backward, nor would there have been any difference whence a time would be preferred to a time for choosing. But if they say that the thoughts of

men are vain by which infinite places are imagined, since there is no place except the world; it is answered to them, in that way men vainly think of past times of God's vacation, since there is no time before the world.

CHAPTER VI.

That there is one principle of the creation of the world and of times, nor is one preceded by the other.

For if eternity and time are rightly discerned, because time is not without some mobile mutability, whereas in eternity there is no mutation; who does not see that times would not have been, unless a creature were made, which would change something by some motion; from which motion and mutation, when one thing and another, which cannot be together, yield and succeed, time would follow in shorter or more prolonged intervals of delays? Since therefore God, in whose eternity there is no mutation at all, is the creator and ordainer of times, I do not see how He may be said to have created the world after spaces of times; unless it be said that before the world there had already been some creature by whose motions the times might run. Furthermore, if the Holy Scriptures (Litterae sacrae), which are most truthful, say thus, that in the beginning God made heaven and earth (Gen. I, 1), so that He be understood to have made nothing before, because He would rather be said to have made this in the beginning if He had made anything before the rest of all the things which He

made; without doubt the world was not made in time, but with time. For what is made in time is made both after some and before some time; after that which is past, before that which is future: but no past could be, because there was no creature by whose mutable motions it might be carried on. But the world was made with time, if in its condition mutable motion was made, as also that order of the first six or seven days seems to have itself, in which both morning and evening are named, until all things which God made in these days are perfected on the sixth day, and on the seventh the vacation of God is commended in a great mystery. What kind of days these may be, is either very difficult for us or even impossible to think; how much more to say?

CHAPTER VII.

Of the quality of the first days, which are handed down to have had evening and morning before the sun was made.

For we see that these known days do not have evening except from the setting of the sun, nor morning except from the rising of the sun: but the first three of those days were passed without the sun, which is reported to have been made on the fourth day. And at first indeed light was made by the word of God, and God is narrated to have separated between it and the darkness, and to have called that same light day, but the darkness night (Gen. I, 4): but what kind of light that may be, and by what alternating motion; and what kind of evening and morning it made, is remote

from our senses; nor can it be understood by us as it is, which nevertheless is to be believed without any hesitation. For either it is some corporeal light, whether in the superior parts of the world far from our sights, or whence the sun was afterwards kindled: or by the name of light is signified the holy city (sancta civitas), in the holy Angels and blessed spirits, concerning which the Apostle says: Which is above is Jerusalem, our eternal mother in the heavens (Galat. IV, 26). For he says also in another place: For all you are children of light, and children of the day; we are not of the night nor of darkness (I Thess. V, 5). If yet we may be able to understand to some extent congruently both the evening of this day and the morning. Because the knowledge of the creature in comparison of the knowledge of the Creator in a manner grows toward evening: and likewise it grows light and becomes morning when it itself is referred to the praise and love of the Creator; nor is it turned into night where the Creator is not left by the love of the creature. Finally, Scripture when it numbered those days in order, nowhere interposed the word of night. For it does not say anywhere: There was made night; but: There was made evening, and there was made morning, one day (Gen. I, 5). Thus the second day, and the rest. For the knowledge of the creature in itself is more discolored, so to speak, than when it is known in the Wisdom of God, as it were in the art by which it was made. Therefore evening can more congruently be said than night: which yet, as I said, when it is referred to praising and loving

the Creator, recurs into morning. And when it does this in the knowledge of itself, it is one day: when in the knowledge of the firmament, which between the lower and upper waters was called heaven, the second day: when in the knowledge of the earth and the sea and of all things growing, which are continued by roots to the earth, the third day: when in the knowledge of the luminaries, the greater and the lesser, and of all the stars, the fourth day: when in the knowledge of all animals swimming and flying from the waters, the fifth day: when in the knowledge of all terrestrial animals and of man himself, the sixth day.

CHAPTER VIII.

What and of what kind the rest of God is to be understood, by which He rested on the seventh day after the works of six days.

But when on the seventh day God rests from all His works, and sanctifies it; it is by no means to be accepted childishly, as if God had labored in working, who spoke, and they were made (Psal. CXLVIII, 5), by an intelligible and everlasting word, not by a soundable and temporal one. But the rest of God signifies the rest of those who rest in God; just as the joy of a house signifies the joy of those who rejoice in the house, even if not the house itself, but some other thing makes them joyful. How much more, if the same house by its beauty should make the inhabitants joyful, so that it be called joyful not only by that manner of speaking by which we signify that which is contained by that which contains it; as, the theaters

applaud, the meadows low, when in the former men applaud, in the latter oxen low: but also by that by which it is signified through the efficient that which is effected; as a joyful letter is said, signifying the joy of those whom, in reading, it makes joyful? Most conveniently therefore when the prophetic authority narrates that God rested, the rest of those who rest in Him is signified, and whom He Himself makes to rest. This also is promised by prophecy to the men to whom it speaks, and for whom certainly it was written, that they also themselves, after the good works which God works in them and through them, if they shall have approached Him first in this life in a manner through faith, will have everlasting rest in Him. For this was also figured by the vacation of the sabbath (sabbati) by the precept of the law in the ancient people of God, concerning which I think it is to be discussed more diligently in its place.

CHAPTER IX.

What is to be felt concerning the condition of the Angels according to the divine testimonies.

Now, since I have begun to speak of the origin of the holy city, and I thought that what pertains to the holy Angels should be discussed first, who are a great part of this city, and all the more blessed because they have never been on pilgrimage, I will endeavor to explain, as far as shall seem sufficient, by God's granting, what divine testimonies are available from this source.

Where the Holy Scriptures speak of the constitution of the world, it is not clearly stated whether or in what order the Angels were created: but if they have not been passed over, they are signified either by the name of heaven, where it is said, "In the beginning God made heaven and earth" (Gen. 1:1); or rather by that light of which I speak. For I do not think they were passed over, because it is written that God rested on the seventh day from all His works which He made; since the book itself began thus: "In the beginning God made heaven and earth," so that before heaven and earth He seems to have made nothing else. Therefore, since He began with heaven and earth, and the earth itself which He first made, as the Scripture subsequently declares, was invisible and unformed, and light not yet having been made, darkness was certainly over the abyss, that is, over a certain indistinct confusion of earth and water (for where light is not, darkness must of necessity be); then all things were arranged by creating, which are narrated as being completed through six days: how could the Angels be passed over, as if they were not among the works of God, from which He rested on the seventh day?

Moreover, that the Angels are a work of God, although not passed over here, is nonetheless not clearly expressed; but elsewhere Holy Scripture testifies to this with a very clear voice. For also in the hymn of the three men in the furnace, when it had been said beforehand, "Bless the Lord, all you works of the Lord," in the enumeration of those same works, the Angels were also named

(Dan. 3:57, 58). And in the Psalm it is sung: Praise the Lord from the heavens, praise Him in the heights. Praise Him, all His Angels; praise Him, all His Virtues. Praise Him, sun and moon; praise Him, all stars and light. Praise Him, heavens of heavens; and the waters that are above the heavens, let them praise the name of the Lord. For He spoke, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created (Ps. 148:1-5). Here also it is most clearly said by divine authority that the Angels were made by God, since when they are mentioned among other celestial things, it is added for all: "He spoke, and they were made." Who, then, will dare to think that the Angels were made after all those things which were enumerated in the six days? But even if anyone is so foolish, that Scripture of equal authority refutes that vanity, where God says, "When the stars were made, all my Angels praised me with a great voice" (Job 38:7, LXX). Therefore the Angels already existed when the stars were made. But they were made on the fourth day. Shall we then say they were made on the third day? Far from it. For it is clear what was done on that day. For the earth was separated from the waters, and those two elements took distinct species of their own kind, and the earth produced whatever adheres to it by its roots. Was it on the second? Not even this: for then the firmament was made between the upper and lower waters, and was called heaven; in which firmament the stars were made on the fourth day.

Undoubtedly, therefore, if the Angels pertain to the works of God of those days, they are that light which received the name of day, whose unity, that it might be commended, was not called the first day, but one day. Nor is the second day, or the third, or the others different: but the same one was repeated to fulfill the number six or seven, on account of a sixfold or sevenfold knowledge; sixfold, namely, of the works which God made, and sevenfold of the rest of God. For when God said, "Let there be light, and there was light," if the creation of the Angels is rightly understood in this light, they were surely made partakers of the eternal light, which is the unchangeable Wisdom of God itself, through which all things were made, whom we call the only-begotten Son of God; so that being illuminated by that light by which they were created, they might become light, and be called day by participation in the unchangeable light and day, which is the Word of God, through which both they and all things were made. For the "true Light, which illuminates every man coming into this world" (John 1:9), this illuminates also every pure angel, that he may be light not in himself, but in God: from whom if the angel is turned away, he becomes impure; as are all who are called impure spirits, and no longer light in the Lord, but in themselves darkness, deprived of participation in the eternal light. For there is no nature of evil; but the loss of good has received the name of evil.

CHAPTER X.

Of the simple and unchangeable Trinity, of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God: in whom quality is not one thing, and substance another.

1. There is, therefore, only one simple good, and for this reason alone unchangeable, which is God. By this good all good things were created, but not simple, and for this reason changeable. Created indeed, I say, that is made, not begotten. For that which is begotten of the simple good is equally simple, and is the same as that from which it was begotten; which two we call the Father and the Son; and both of these with the Holy Spirit are one God: which Spirit of the Father and of the Son is called the Holy Spirit by a certain proper notion of this name in the Holy Scriptures. But He is other than the Father and the Son, because He is neither the Father nor the Son: but I said "other" (Alius), not "another thing" (Aliud); because this also is equally simple and equally the unchangeable and coeternal good. And this Trinity is one God: nor is it not simple because it is a Trinity. For we do not call this nature of good simple because the Father alone is in it, or the Son alone, or the Holy Spirit alone; or indeed that this is only a Trinity of name without the subsistence of persons, as the Sabellian heretics thought; but it is called simple for this reason, that what it has, this it is, except for what each person is said to be relatively to another. For certainly the Father has a Son, yet He is not Himself the Son; and the Son has a Father, yet He is not Himself the Father. Therefore, in what He is called in respect to Himself, and not to another, He is what He has: as He

is called "living" in respect to Himself, certainly by having life, and He Himself is that same life.

2. For this reason, therefore, a nature is called simple, to which it is not something to have what it can either lose; or where the possessor is one thing, and what it possesses another; as a vessel possesses some liquid, or a body color, or the air light or heat, or the soul wisdom. For none of these is that which it possesses: for neither is the vessel the liquid, nor the body the color, nor the air light or heat, nor is the soul wisdom. Hence it is that they can also be deprived of the things they possess, and be turned and changed into other habits or qualities, so that the vessel may be emptied of the humor with which it is full, and the body may lose its color, and the air may grow dark or cold, and the soul may become foolish.

But even if there were an incorruptible body, such as is promised to the saints in the resurrection, it has indeed the inamissible quality of that very incorruption, but while the corporal substance remains, it is not the same thing as that incorruption itself. For that incorruption is also whole through each part of the body, and is not greater in one place, and smaller in another; for no part is more incorrupt than another: but the body itself is greater in the whole than in a part; and when one part in it is larger, and another smaller, the one which is larger is not more incorrupt than that which is smaller. Therefore, the body is one thing, which is not whole everywhere in itself; and incorruption is another, which is whole everywhere in it; because every part of the

incorruptible body, even though unequal to the rest, is equally incorrupt. For example, because a finger is smaller than the whole hand, the hand is not for that reason more incorrupt than the finger. Thus, although the hand and finger are unequal, the incorruptibility of the hand and finger is nonetheless equal. And through this, although incorruptibility is inseparable from an incorruptible body, the substance by which it is called a body is nonetheless one thing, and its quality by which it is called incorruptible is another. And therefore, even so, it is not that which it possesses. The soul itself also, even if it were always wise, as it will be when it shall be delivered for eternity, will nonetheless be wise by participation in the unchangeable wisdom, which is not what the soul itself is. For if the air should never be deserted by the infused light, it is not for that reason that it is not one thing itself, and the light by which it is illuminated another. Nor would I say this as if the air were the soul, which some have thought who could not conceive of an incorporeal nature. But these things have, even in great disparity, a certain similitude to those others, so that it may not inconveniently be said that the incorporeal soul is illuminated by the incorporeal light of the simple wisdom of God, just as the body of the air is illuminated by corporal light; and as the air grows dark when deserted by that light (for the darkness of any corporal places is nothing else than air lacking light), so the soul grows dark when deprived of the light of wisdom.

3. According to this, therefore, those things are called simple which are principally and truly divine, because in them quality is not one thing and substance another, nor are they divine, or wise, or blessed by participation in others. Moreover, the Spirit of wisdom is called manifold in the Holy Scriptures (Wisdom 7:22), because it has many things in itself: but what it has, these it also is, and all those things are one. For there are not many wisdoms, but one wisdom, in which are certain immense and infinite treasures of intelligible things, in which are all the invisible and unchangeable reasons of things, even of visible and changeable things, which were made through it. Since God did not make anything being ignorant of it, which cannot even be rightly said of any human craftsman; furthermore, if He made all things knowing them, He certainly made those things which He knew. From which there occurs to the mind something wonderful, yet nonetheless true: that this world could not be known to us unless it existed; but to God, unless it were known, it could not exist.

CHAPTER XI.

Whether it is to be believed that those spirits also who did not stand in the truth were partakers of that beatitude which the holy Angels have always had from their beginning.

Since these things are so, those spirits whom we call Angels were in no way darkness first according to any space of time; but as soon as they were made, they were made light: yet

not only were they so created that they should exist in some way, and live in some way; but also illuminated, that they might live wisely and blessedly. From this illumination certain angels being turned away, did not obtain the excellence of a wise and blessed life, which without doubt is nothing but eternal and certain and secure of its own eternity: but they nonetheless possess rational life, although foolish, so that they cannot lose it, even if they wished. But as to how far they were partakers of that wisdom before they sinned, who can define? Yet how shall we say that they were equal in participation of it to those who are therefore truly and fully blessed, because they are in no way deceived concerning the eternity of their beatitude? For if they had been equal in it, these also would have remained equally blessed in its eternity, because equally certain. For life, however long it may be, cannot truly be called eternal life if it is to have an end: since life is named only from living, but eternal from having no end. Wherefore, although not everything that is eternal is immediately blessed (for penal fire is also called eternal); yet if a truly and perfectly blessed life is nothing but eternal, the life of these was not such, as it was at some time to cease, and therefore not eternal, whether they knew it, or, not knowing, thought otherwise: because fear to those who knew, and error to those who knew not, certainly did not allow them to be blessed. But if they so knew not this as not to trust in false or uncertain things, but were moved toward neither part with a firm assent as to whether their

good was to be everlasting or at some time to have an end, that very hesitation concerning so great a happiness did not possess that fullness of the blessed life which we believe to be in the holy Angels. For we do not so contract the name of the blessed life into certain narrowness of meaning that we say God alone is blessed; who nonetheless is so truly blessed that there cannot be a greater beatitude: in comparison with whom, what or how much is it that the Angels are blessed with their own supreme beatitude, as great as can be in Angels?

CHAPTER XII.

Of the comparison of the beatitude of the righteous, not yet holding the reward of the divine promise, and of the first men in paradise before sin.

Nor do we think that only they, as pertains to the rational or intellectual creature, are to be called blessed. For who would dare to deny that those first men in paradise were blessed before sin, although they were uncertain how long their beatitude would be, or whether it would be eternal (but it would have been eternal, unless they had sinned); when today we do not impudently call those blessed whom we see leading this life justly and piously with the hope of future immortality without a crime devastating the conscience, easily obtaining divine mercy for the sins of this infirmity. Who, although they are certain of the reward of their perseverance, are nonetheless found uncertain of their perseverance itself.

For what man knows that he will persevere in the action and progress of justice even unto the end, unless he be made certain by some revelation from Him who, by a just and hidden judgment, does not instruct all on this matter, but deceives no one? Therefore, as much as pertains to the delight of present good, the first man in paradise was more blessed than any righteous man in this mortal infirmity: but as much as pertains to the hope of the future, any man in whatever torments of body is more blessed, to whom it is manifest, not by opinion, but by certain truth, that he shall have without end a society of Angels free from all molestation in participation of the most high God, than was that man uncertain of his fall in that great happiness of paradise.

CHAPTER XIII.---Whether all the Angels were so created in one happiness, that neither those who fell could know they would fall, and those who stood received prescience of their perseverance after the ruin of those who fell.

Wherefore it now occurs without difficulty to anyone that by both joined together that beatitude is effected which the intellectual nature desires with a right purpose; that is, both that it should enjoy the unchangeable good, which is God, without any molestation, and that it should not hesitate with any doubt, nor be deceived by any error, that it is to remain in it for eternity. That the Angels of light have this we believe with a pious faith: that the sinful angels, who were deprived of that light by their own depravity, did not have this even before they fell, we gather by

consequent reason; yet that they had some beatitude, even if not prescient, if they led a life before sin, is certainly to be believed. Or if it seems hard to believe that when the Angels were made, some were so made that they did not receive prescience either of their perseverance or of their fall, but others so that they knew the eternity of their beatitude by a most certain truth; but that all were created of equal happiness from the beginning, and so remained until those who are now evil should have fallen from that light of goodness by their own will: without doubt it is much harder now to think that the holy Angels are uncertain of their own eternal beatitude, and that they are ignorant of themselves, which we have been able to know concerning them through the Holy Scriptures. For what Catholic Christian is ignorant that no new devil will ever further arise from the good Angels; just as this one will never further return to the society of the good Angels? For the Truth in the Gospel promises to the holy and faithful that they shall be equal to the Angels of God (Matt. 22:30): to whom it is also promised that they shall go into eternal life (Matt. 25:46). Furthermore, if we are certain that we shall never fall from that immortal happiness, but they are not certain; we shall already be superior to them, not equal. But because Truth in no way deceives, and we shall be equal to them, certainly they also are certain of their own eternal happiness. Of which those others were not certain; for their happiness was not eternal, of which they could be certain, as it was to have an end: it remains

that either they were unequal, or if they were equal, that after the ruin of those, certain knowledge of their own everlasting happiness came to the others. Unless perhaps someone should say that what the Lord said of the devil in the Gospel, "He was a murderer from the beginning, and stood not in the truth" (John 8:44); is to be so understood that he was not only a murderer from the beginning, that is, from the beginning of the human race, from the time indeed when man was made whom he could kill by deceiving: but also that from the beginning of his own condition he stood not in the truth; and therefore was never blessed with the holy Angels, refusing to be subject to his Creator, and having rejoiced by pride in his own private power as it were, and through this being false and deceitful; because he never escapes the power of the Omnipotent, and he who through pious subjection would not hold what truly is, affects through proud elation to simulate what is not: so that thus also may be understood what the blessed Apostle John says, "From the beginning the devil sins" (1 John 3:8); that is, from the time he was created, he refused justice, which only a pious and God-subjected will can have. Whoever acquiesces in this opinion does not think with those heretics, that is, the Manichaeans, and if there be any other pests who think so, that the devil has a certain proper nature of evil, as if from a certain contrary principle: who are so foolish in their great vanity, that although they hold these evangelical words in authority with us, they do not attend that the Lord did not

say, "He was alien from the truth"; but, "He stood not in the truth": where He wished a fall from the truth to be understood: in which certainly if he had stood, having been made a partaker of it, he would remain blessed with the holy Angels.

CHAPTER XIV.

By what kind of speech it is said of the devil, that he stood not in the truth, because truth is not in him.

Moreover, He added an indication, as if we had asked whence it is shown that he stood not in the truth, and said, "Because there is no truth in him." But truth would be in him, if he had stood in it. But it was said in a less common way of speaking. For it seems thus to sound, "He stood not in the truth, because there is no truth in him" (John 8:44), as if the cause why he stood not in the truth were that there is no truth in him: whereas rather the cause why there is no truth in him is that he stood not in the truth. This way of speaking is also in the Psalm: "I have cried, because Thou hast heard me, O God" (Ps. 17:6); whereas it seems it should have been said, "Thou hast heard me, O God, because I have cried." But when he had said, "I have cried," as if it were asked of him whence he showed that he had cried, he shows the disposition of his cry from the effect of God's hearing; as if he should say: From this I show that I have cried, because Thou hast heard me.

CHAPTER XV.

What is to be felt concerning that which is written, "From the beginning the devil sins."

That also which John says of the devil, "From the beginning the devil sins" (1 John 3:8), they do not understand that if it is natural, it is in no way a sin. But what is answered to the prophetic testimonies, whether that which Isaiah says, noting the devil under the figured person of the prince of Babylon, "How is Lucifer fallen, who did rise in the morning" (Isa. 14:12)? or that which Ezekiel says, "Thou hast been in the delights of the paradise of God, thou art adorned with every precious stone"? where it is understood that he was at some time without sin. For it is said to him more expressly a little after: "Thou hast walked in thy days without fault" (Ezek. 28:13, 14). Which things, if they cannot be more conveniently understood otherwise, it behooves us also to take that which was said, "He stood not in the truth," as meaning that he was in the truth, but did not remain in it. And that "from the beginning the devil sins," he is not to be thought to sin from the beginning from which he was created; but from the beginning of sin, because sin began to be from his own pride. Nor is that which is written in the book of Job, when the discourse was concerning the devil, "This is the beginning of the Lord's creation, which He made to be mocked by His Angels" (Job 40:14, LXX); with which the Psalm also seems to agree, where it is read: "This dragon which Thou hast formed to mock him" (Ps. 104:26); to be so understood that we should think him created such from the beginning that

he should be mocked by the Angels, but that he was ordained to this penalty after sin. His beginning, therefore, is a creation of the Lord: for there is no nature even in the last and lowest little beasts which He did not constitute, from whom is all mode, all species, all order, without which nothing of things can be found or thought: how much more the angelic creature, which precedes all other things which God made in the dignity of its nature?

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the degrees and differences of creatures, that the use of utility sells one way, and the order of reason another.

For in these things which exist in any way, and are not what God is from whom they were made, living things are preferred to non-living things; as those which have the power of procreating or even of desiring are preferred to those which lack that motion. And among those which live, sentient things are preferred to non-sentient things, as animals to trees. And among those which feel, intelligent things are preferred to non-intelligent things, as men to cattle. And among those which understand, immortal things are preferred to mortal things, as Angels to men. But these are preferred by the order of nature: but there is one and another mode of estimation for each one's use, by which it happens that we prefer certain things lacking sense to certain sentient things, to such an extent that if the power were ours, we would wish to take them away altogether

from the nature of things, either being ignorant of what place they have in it, or even if we know, postponing them to our own conveniences. For who would not rather have bread in his house than mice, or coins than fleas? But what wonder, when even by the estimation of men themselves, whose nature is certainly of such great dignity, a horse is often purchased more dearly than a slave, or a gem than a maid-servant? Thus, in the freedom of judging, the reason of the observer differs greatly from the necessity of the indigent, or the pleasure of the desirer, since reason considers what each thing weighs by itself in the degrees of things, but necessity thinks what it expects for what purpose; and reason seeks what appears true to the light of the mind, but pleasure looks for what is pleasant to the senses of the body. But a certain weight, as it were, of will and love prevails so much in rational natures, that although by the order of nature Angels are preferred to men, yet by the law of justice good men are preferred to evil angels.

CHAPTER XVII.

That the vice of malice is not a nature, but against nature; for which the Creator is not the cause of sinning, but the will.

Therefore, on account of the nature, not on account of the malice of the devil, we understand that it was rightly said, "This is the beginning of the Lord's creation" (Job 40:14, LXX): because without doubt where there would be a vice of malice, a non-vitiated nature preceded. But vice

is so against nature that it cannot but harm nature. Therefore, it would not be a vice to recede from God, unless it more properly belonged to the nature, of which it is the vice, to be with God. Wherefore even an evil will is a great testimony to a good nature. But as God is the best creator of good natures, so is He the most just orderer of evil wills; so that when those use good natures badly, He Himself uses even evil wills well. Therefore He made it so that the devil, good by His institution, but evil by his own will, being ordained in the lower parts, should be mocked by His Angels, that is, that his temptations should profit the saints, whom he desires they should harm. And since God, when He created him, was certainly not ignorant of his future malignity, and foresaw what good things He Himself would make out of his evils: therefore the Psalm says, "This dragon, which Thou hast formed to mock him" (Ps. 104:26), so that in that very thing that He formed him, although good by His goodness, He may be understood already by His prescience to have prepared how He would use him even when evil.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the beauty of the universe, which by the ordinance of God becomes more brilliant even from the opposition of contraries.

For neither would God create any, I do not say of Angels, but even of men, whom He had foreknown would be evil, unless He likewise knew to what uses of good He would apply them,

and thus would grace the order of the ages like a most beautiful poem with certain as it were antitheses. For what are called antitheses are most becoming in the ornaments of elocution, which in Latin are called opposites (opposita), or what is more expressively called, contraposits (contraposita). There is not among us a custom of this word, though nevertheless the Latin speech uses these same ornaments of locution, indeed the languages of all nations. By these antitheses also the apostle Paul, in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, explains that passage sweetly, where he says: "By the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by glory and dishonor, by evil report and good report; as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things" (2 Cor. 6:7-10). As therefore these contraries opposed to contraries render the beauty of speech; so by a certain eloquence, not of words, but of things, the beauty of the age is composed by the opposition of contraries. This is most openly placed in the book of Ecclesiasticus, in this manner: "Good is set against evil, and life against death: so is the sinner against the godly. And so look upon all the works of the Most High, two and two, one against another" (Ecclus. 33:15).

CHAPTER XIX.

What should be thought concerning that which is written: "God divided between the light and the darkness."

Therefore, although the obscurity of the divine word is useful even for this, that it brings forth many sentences of truth and leads them into the light of knowledge, while one understands it thus, and another thus; yet so that what is understood in an obscure place may be asserted either by the attestation of manifest things, or by other places not at all doubtful; whether when many things are treated, that also is arrived at which he who wrote felt; or whether that indeed lies hidden, but on the occasion of treating the profound obscurity certain other true things are said: it does not seem to me an absurd sentence from the works of God, if when that first light was made, the Angels are understood to be created, and that a distinction was made between the holy Angels and the unclean ones, where it was said: "And God divided between the light and the darkness; and God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night." For only He could discern those things, who was able even before they fell to foreknow those who would fall, and who, deprived of the light of truth, would remain in dark pride. For between that day and night most known to us, that is between this light and these darknesses, He commanded that the most common luminaries of heaven should divide, in order that they might divide: "Let there be," He said, "luminaries in the firmament of heaven, that they may shine upon the earth, and divide between the day and the night." And a

little after: "And God made," He said, "two great luminaries; the greater luminary to rule the day, and the lesser luminary to rule the night; and the stars: and God set them in the firmament of heaven, to shine upon the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and to divide between the light and the darkness" (Gen. 1:4, 5, 14, 16-18). But between that light, which is the holy society of Angels shining intelligibly by the illustration of truth, and the darkness contrary to it, that is, the most foul minds of the evil angels turned away from the light of justice, He alone could divide, to whom even the future evil, not of nature, but of the will, could not be hidden or uncertain.

CHAPTER XX.

Concerning that which was said after the discretion of light and darkness: "And God saw the light, that it was good."

Finally, neither is that to be passed over in silence, that where God said, "Let there be light, and there was light," it was immediately subjoined, "And God saw the light, because it is good": not after He separated between the light and the darkness, and called the light Day and the darkness Night, lest together with the light He should seem to have rendered the testimony of His pleasure even to such darkness. For where the darknesses are blameless, between which and this light conspicuous to these eyes the luminaries of heaven divide, it is not brought in before, but after: "And God saw that it was good." "And He set them," it says, "in the firmament of

heaven, to shine upon the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and to separate between the light and the darkness. And God saw that it was good." For both pleased Him, because both are without sin. But where God said, "Let there be light, and there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good"; and afterwards it is brought in, "And God separated between the light and the darkness; and God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night" (Gen. 1:3-5, 17, 18): it was not added in this place, "And God saw that it was good"; lest both should be called good, when one of these was evil, by its own vice, not by nature. And therefore only the light there pleased the Creator: but the angelic darkness, although it had to be ordered, was not however to be approved.

CHAPTER XXI.

Concerning the eternal and unchangeable knowledge and will of God, by which all things which He made always pleased Him to be made, just as they were made.

For what else is to be understood in that which is said through all things, "God saw that it was good," except the approval of the work made according to the art, which is the Wisdom of God? But God did not learn that it was good only when it was made, so that none of those things would have been made if it had been unknown to Him. While therefore He sees that it is good, which unless He had seen before it was made, it would certainly not have been made; He teaches

that it is good, He does not learn it. And Plato indeed dared to say more, namely, that God was elated with joy when the university of the world was perfected (In Timaeus). Where he himself was not so foolish as to think that God was made more blessed by the novelty of His work: but he wished to show thus, that the work already made had pleased its artificer, which had pleased Him to be made in His art; not that in any way the knowledge of God is varied, so that those things which are not yet, those which already are, and those which have been, produce different effects in it. For He does not in our manner either look forward to what is future, or behold what is present, or look back upon what is past; but in another way far and deeply different from the custom of our thoughts. For He does not see by a thought changed from this to that, but sees altogether unchangeably; so that those things indeed which are done temporally, both those future are not yet, and those present already are, and those past already are not, but He Himself comprehends all these in a stable and sempiternal presence: nor otherwise with eyes, otherwise with mind; for He does not consist of soul and body: nor otherwise now, otherwise before, and otherwise after; since His knowledge also is not changed, as ours is, by the variety of the three times, namely, of the present and the past or future: with whom there is no change, nor shadow of movement (James 1:17). For neither does His intention pass from thought to thought, in whose incorporeal intuition all things which He knows

are present together: since He knows times in such a way by no temporal notions of His own, just as He moves temporal things by no temporal motions of His own. There, therefore, He saw that what He made was good, where He saw that it was good to make it. Nor because He saw it made did He double His knowledge, or increase it in any part, as if He were of less knowledge before He made what He saw: who would not work so perfectly, unless with so perfect knowledge, to which nothing would be added from His works. Wherefore, if it were only to be insinuated to us who made the light, it would suffice to say, God made the light. But if not only who made it, but also through what He made it; it would be enough to be thus enunciated, "And God said, Let there be light, and there was light"; so that we might know not only that God, but also through the Word He made the light. But because three certain things were especially necessary to be intimated to us concerning the creature: who made it, through what He made it, why He made it: "God said," it says, "Let there be light, and there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good." If therefore we ask who made it, it is "God." If through what He made it, "He said, Let it be, and it was made." If why He made it, "Because it is good." Nor is there an author more excellent than God, nor an art more efficacious than the Word of God, nor a cause better than that good should be created by a good God. This cause also Plato says is the most just for founding the world, that good works should be made by a good God

(In Timaeus): whether he read these things, or by chance learned them from those who had read them; or by a most sharp genius he beheld the invisible things of God, understood through those things which were made, or he himself learned from those who had beheld these things.

CHAPTER XXII.

Concerning those to whom in the university of things well founded by a good Creator certain things are displeasing, and who think that there is some evil nature.

However, this cause, that is, the goodness of God for creating good things; this cause, I say, so just and suitable, which when diligently considered and piously thought upon terminates all the controversies of those seeking the origin of the world, certain heretics have not seen: because many things offend their needy and fragile mortality, already coming from just punishment, while they do not agree with it; such as fire, or cold, or a wild beast, or anything of this kind. Nor do they attend to how they flourish in their own places and natures, and are disposed in a beautiful order; and how much beauty they confer upon the university of things according to their portions, as if into a common republic, or attribute of convenience to ourselves, if we use them congruously and knowingly; so that even poisons themselves, which by incongruity are pernicious, when congruously applied are turned into salutary medicines: and how, on the contrary, even these things in which they are de-

lighted, such as food and drink and this light, are felt to be noxious by immoderate and inopportune use. Whence divine providence admonishes us, not to foolishly blame things, but to diligently inquire into the utility of things; and where our genius or infirmity fails, thus to believe it hidden, just as there were certain things which we could scarcely find out: because even that very hiding of utility is either an exercise of humility, or a wearing down of elation; since altogether no nature is an evil, and this name is nothing but a privation of good: but from earthly things even to celestial, and from visible even to invisible things, some goods are better than others; unequal for this purpose, that all might exist. But God is so great an artificer in great things, that He is not less in small things: which small things are not to be measured by their own greatness (for there is none), but by the wisdom of the artificer: as in the appearance of a visible man, if one eyebrow be shaved, how almost nothing is taken from the body, and how much is taken from its beauty; since it does not consist in mass, but in the parity and dimension of the members. Nor indeed is it much to be wondered at, that those who think that there is some evil nature arisen and propagated from a certain contrary principle of its own, are unwilling to accept this cause of the creation of things, that a good God should found good things; believing that He was rather led by an extreme necessity to these mundane efforts for repelling the evil rebelling against Him, and mixed His own good nature for coercing and

overcoming the evil, which polluted most basely and captivated most cruelly and oppressed with great labor He scarcely cleanses and liberates, yet not the whole of it; but that part of it which could not be purged from that defilement, will be the covering and bond of the enemy conquered and shut in. But the Manichaeans would not thus dote, or rather be insane, if they believed the nature of God to be, as it is, unchangeable and altogether incorruptible, whom no thing can harm: but should feel with Christian sanity that the soul, which could be changed for the worse by the will and corrupted by sin, and thus be deprived of the light of inchangeable truth, is not a part of God, nor of that nature which is God's, but was founded by Him far unequal to the Creator.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Concerning the error in which the doctrine of Origen is blamed.

1. But it is much more to be wondered at, that even certain ones, who believe with us that there is one principle of all things, and that no nature, which is not what God is, can exist except from that founder; yet they were unwilling to believe that cause of the fabrication of the world so good and simple well and simply, namely, that a good God should found good things, and that there should be after God things which were not what God is, yet good things which none but a good God would make. But they say that souls, not indeed parts of God, but made by God, sinned

by receding from the Creator; and by diverse progressions for the diversity of sins, from the heavens even to the earths, they merited diverse bodies as it were chains: and that this is the world, and that this was the cause of making the world, not that good things should be founded, but that evil things should be coerced. Hence Origen is justly blamed. For in the books which he calls Peri Archōn, that is, of Principles, he felt this, he wrote this. Where more than can be said, I wonder that a man so learned and exercised in ecclesiastical letters did not attend, first to how contrary this was to the intention of this Scripture of such great authority, which subjoining through all the works of God, "And God saw that it was good"; and all things being completed bringing in, "And God saw all things which He made, and behold, they were very good" (Gen. 1): he wished no other cause of making the world to be understood, except that good things should be made by a good God. Where if no one had sinned, the world would be adorned and full only of good natures: and because sin has happened, all things are not therefore filled with sins, since a far greater number of good ones in the celestial parts keep the order of their nature. Nor does an evil will, because it was unwilling to keep the order of nature, therefore escape the laws of a just God ordering all things well. Since just as a painting with black color, placed in its own place, so the university of things, if anyone could behold it, is beautiful even with sinners, although their own

deformity makes them foul when considered by themselves.

2. Then Origen ought to have seen, and whoever thus think, if this opinion were true, that the world was made for this purpose, that souls should receive bodies like workhouses in which they should be penally shut up for the merits of their sins, the superior and lighter ones those who sinned less, but the inferior and heavier ones those who sinned more; that the demons, than whom nothing is worse, ought to have had earthy bodies, than which nothing is lower and heavier, rather than even evil men. But now, that we might understand that the merits of souls are not to be weighed by the qualities of bodies, the worst demon is aerial, but man, although now evil, is of far less and milder malice, and certainly before sin however received a clay body. But what more foolish thing can be said, than that concerning this sun, that it should be one in one world, the artificer God did not consult for the decor of beauty, or even for the safety of corporal things, but this rather happened because one soul had so sinned that it merited to be shut up in such a body? And by this if it had happened, that not one, but two; indeed not two, but ten, or a hundred, had similarly and equally sinned, this world would have a hundred suns. Which that it should not happen, was not consulted by the admirable provision of the worker for the safety and decor of corporal things; but it happened rather by so great a progression of one soul sinning, that it alone merited such a

body. Clearly not of souls, concerning which they know not what they speak, but of those very ones who think such things, the progression much far from the truth and merit is to be coerced. These three things therefore which I commended above, when they are required in each creature, who made it, through what He made it, why He made it, that it should be answered, God, through the Word, Because it is good, whether by a mystical height the Trinity itself is intimated to us, that is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; or whether something occurs, which in this place of the Scriptures prohibits that it should be taken so, is a question of much speech, nor is it to be urged that we should explain everything in one volume.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Concerning the divine Trinity, which has scattered the indications of its significance through all its works.

We believe, and hold, and faithfully preach, that the Father generated the Word, that is Wisdom, through which all things were made, the only-begotten Son, one of one, eternal of coeternal, supremely good of equally good; and that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of both the Father and the Son, and Himself consubstantial and coeternal with both: and that this whole is both a Trinity because of the property of the persons, and one God because of the inseparable divinity, just as one omnipotent because of the inseparable omnipotence: yet so that even when inquiry is made

concerning each, each one of them is answered to be both God and omnipotent; but when concerning all together, not three gods or three omnipotents, but one God omnipotent; so great is the inseparable unity there in the three, which thus willed itself to be preached. But whether the Holy Spirit of the good Father and the good Son, because He is common to both, can be rightly called the goodness of both, I do not dare to precipitate a rash sentence: nevertheless I shall have dared more easily to call Him the sanctity of both, not as a quality of both, but Himself also a substance, and the third person in the Trinity. For to this I am more probably led by the fact that, since both the Father is spirit and the Son is spirit, and the Father is holy and the Son is holy, He is however properly called the Holy Spirit, as the substantial and consubstantial sanctity of both. But if the divine goodness is nothing else than sanctity, certainly that also is a diligence of reason, not an audacity of presumption, that in the works of God, by a certain secret mode of speaking by which our intention may be exercised, the same Trinity should be understood to be insinuated to us, in each creature: who made it, through what He made it, on account of what He made it. For the Father of the Word is understood, who said, "Let it be." But what was made by His speaking, was without doubt made through the Word. But in that which is said, "God saw that it was good," it is sufficiently signified that God made what was made by no necessity, by no indigence of any utility of His own, but by goodness alone,

that is, because it is good: which therefore is said after it was made, that the thing which was made might be indicated to agree with the goodness on account of which it was made. Which goodness if the Holy Spirit is rightly understood, the whole Trinity is intimated to us in its works. Thence is both the origin, and the information, and the beatitude of the holy city, which is above among the holy Angels. For if it be asked whence it is, God founded it: if whence it is wise, it is illuminated by God: if whence it is happy, it enjoys God: subsisting it is modified, contemplating it is illustrated, inhering it is gladdened; it is, it sees, it loves; in the eternity of God it flourishes, in the truth of God it shines, in the goodness of God it rejoices.

CHAPTER XXV.

Concerning the tripartite discipline of the whole of philosophy.

As far as it is given to be understood, hence the philosophers willed that the discipline of wisdom should be tripartite; indeed they were able to observe that it was tripartite (for they themselves did not institute that it should be so, but rather found it to be so): of which one part would be called physics, the second logic, the third ethics. The Latin names of these have already been frequent in the letters of many, so that they were called natural, rational, and moral: which we also briefly touched upon in the eighth book (Chap. 4 ff.). Not that it is consequent,

that these men thought anything concerning the Trinity according to God in these three. Although Plato is said to have been the first to find and commend that distribution, to whom no author of all natures but God was seen, nor any giver of intelligence, nor inspirer of love, by which one lives well and blessedly. But certainly when different men feel different things concerning the nature of things, and concerning the reason of searching out the truth, and concerning the end of good to which we ought to refer all that we do: yet in these three great and general questions all their intention is turned. So when in each of them what each one follows is a manifold discrepancy of opinions, yet that there is some cause of nature, form of science, sum of life, no one hesitates. There are also three things which are beheld in each human artificer, that he may effect something: nature, doctrine, use: nature is to be judged by genius, doctrine by science, use by fruit. Nor am I ignorant that properly fruit is of the one enjoying, use of the one using; and this seems to be the difference, that we are said to enjoy that thing which delights us by itself, not to be referred to another; but to use that thing which we seek on account of another. Whence temporal things are more to be used than enjoyed, that we may merit to enjoy eternal ones. Not like the perverse, who wish to enjoy a coin, but to use God; since they do not expend the coin on account of God, but worship God on account of the coin. Nevertheless, in that mode of speaking which custom has more obtained, we both use fruits and enjoy

uses. For even fruits are now properly called of the fields, which certainly we all use temporally. In this manner therefore I should call "use" in those three which I reminded were to be beheld in man, which are nature, doctrine, use. From these, for the purpose of obtaining a blessed life, a tripartite discipline was found by philosophers, as I said: natural on account of nature, rational on account of doctrine, moral on account of use. If therefore our nature were from ourselves, certainly we should also have generated our own wisdom, nor should we care to perceive it by doctrine, that is by learning from elsewhere; and our love proceeding from ourselves, and referred to us, would suffice for living blessedly, nor would it need any other good which we might enjoy: but now because our nature, that it might be, has God as its author; without doubt that we may know true things, we ought to have Him as our teacher; and Him also that we may be blessed, as the bestower of intimate sweetness.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Concerning the image of the supreme Trinity, which is found according to a certain mode in the nature even of a man not yet beatified.

And we indeed in ourselves, although not equal, indeed very far distant, and not coeternal, and to say the whole more briefly, not of the same substance of which God is, yet that than which nothing is closer to God by nature in the things made by Him, we recognize the image of

God, that is of that supreme Trinity, yet to be perfected by reformation, so that it may be even closest in similitude. For we both are, and we know that we are, and we love this, to be and to know. But in these three which I have said, no plausible falsehood disturbs us. For we do not touch those things, as we do those which are without, by any sense of the body, as we feel colors by seeing, sounds by hearing, odors by smelling, savors by tasting, hard and soft things by handling, of which sensible things also we turn over in thought images most like to them, no longer corporeal, we hold them in memory, and through them we are excited into the desires of those things: but without any delusory imagination of phantasies or phantasms, it is most certain to me that I am, and that I know and love this. I fear no arguments of the Academics in these truths, saying: "What if you are deceived?" For if I am deceived, I am. For he who is not, certainly cannot even be deceived: and by this I am, if I am deceived. Because therefore I am if I am deceived, how am I deceived that I am, when it is certain that I am, if I am deceived? Since therefore I should be he who was deceived, even if I were deceived; without doubt in that which I know myself to be, I am not deceived. But it is consequent, that also in that which I know myself to know, I am not deceived. For as I know that I am, so I also know this very thing, that I know. And when I love those two, I join to those things which I know the same love as a certain third thing, and not of unequal estimation. For neither

am I deceived that I love, when in those things which I love I am not deceived: although even if those things were false, it would be true that I loved false things. For in what way should I be rightly reprehended and rightly prohibited from the love of false things, if it were false that I loved them? But since those things are both true and certain, who would doubt that of them, when they are loved, even the love itself is true and certain? Furthermore, there is no one who does not wish to be, just as there is no one who does not wish to be happy. For how can he be happy, if he be nothing?

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning essence and knowledge, and the love of both.

1. But indeed by a certain natural force being itself is so pleasant, that not for any other reason even those who are miserable are unwilling to perish, and when they feel themselves to be miserable, they do not wish themselves to be taken away from things, but rather their misery to be taken away. Even to those who both appear most miserable to themselves, and plainly are, and are judged miserable not only by the wise, because they are fools, but also by those who think themselves happy, because they are poor and beggars, if anyone should give immortality, by which even that misery itself should not die, proposed to them that if they were unwilling to be always in the same misery, they would be nothing and nowhere in the future, but would perish in every

way, they would certainly exult with joy, and would thus always choose to be, rather than not to be at all. The most known sense of those people is a witness of this thing. For whence do they fear to die, and prefer to live in that tribulation, than to end it by death, unless because it sufficiently appears how much nature flees from not being? And therefore when they know themselves to be about to die, they desire this mercy to be bestowed upon them as a great benefit, that they may live somewhat longer in the same misery, and die later. Without doubt therefore they indicate with how much congratulation they would receive even such an immortality which would have no end of beggary. What? Do not all animals even irrational, to whom it is not given to think these things, from the immense dragons even to the tiny little worms, indicate that they wish to be, and on account of this flee destruction by all the movements they can? What? Do not the groves and all the shrubs, to which there is no sense for avoiding destruction by manifest motion, fix their roots deeper in the earth, that they may send forth a safe germ of their top into the airs, whence they may draw nourishment, and thus in a certain way conserve their own being? Finally, even bodies themselves, to which there is not only no sense, but not even any at least seminal life, nevertheless so either leap forth into the supernal parts, or descend into the lowest, or are balanced in the middle, that they may guard their essence, where they can be according to nature.

2. But now how much knowledge is loved, and how much human nature is unwilling to be deceived, can be understood even from this, that each one of sound mind prefers to lament rather than to rejoice in madness. Which great and wonderful force is in no mortal animals except man; although to some of them for beholding this light the sense of the eyes is much sharper than to us: but they cannot touch that incorporeal light by which our mind is in a certain way irradiated, so that we may be able to judge rightly concerning all these things. For in as much as we receive it, in so much are we able to do that. Nevertheless there is in the senses of irrational animals, even if knowledge in no way, yet certainly a certain similitude of knowledge. But the rest of corporeal things, not because they feel, but because they are felt, are called sensible. Of which in the shrubs this is similar to the senses, that they are nourished and beget. Nevertheless both these and all corporeal things have causes lying hidden in nature; but they offer their forms, by which the structure of this visible world is beautiful, to be felt by the senses, so that for that which they cannot know, they seem as it were to wish to become known. But to know them by the sense of the body we so receive, that we do not judge concerning them by the sense of the body. For we have another sense of the interior man far more excellent than this, by which we feel just and unjust things: just things, through an intelligible species; unjust things, through the privation of it. To the office of this sense neither the sharpness

of the pupil, nor the opening of the ear, nor the breathing-holes of the nostrils, nor the taste of the throat, nor any corporeal touch approaches. There I am certain both that I am and that I know this, and I love these and am similarly certain that I love them.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Whether we ought also to love the very love by which we love both to be and to know, so that we may approach more closely to the image of the divine Trinity.

But concerning those two things, namely essence and knowledge, how much they are loved in us, and in what manner even in other things which are below, a certain similitude of them is found, although differing, we have said enough, as far as the reason of this undertaken work seemed to demand: but concerning the love by which they are loved, whether even love itself is loved, has not been said. But it is loved: and from here we prove it, that in men who are more rightly loved, it is itself loved more. For neither is a man rightly called good who knows what is good, but he who loves it. Why do we not also feel in our own selves that we love love itself, by which we love whatever good we love? For there is also a love by which that is loved which ought not to be loved: and he hates this love in himself who loves that by which that is loved which ought to be loved. For both can be in one man, and this is good for man, that as that one increases by which we live well, this one may

decrease by which we live poorly, until all that we live may be healed to perfection and be changed into good. For if we were beasts, we would love the carnal life and that which is according to its sense; and that would be our sufficient good, and according to this when it was well with us, we would seek nothing else. Likewise if we were trees, we could indeed love nothing by any feeling motion, nevertheless we would seem as it were to desire that by which we might be more fertile and more abundantly fruitful. If we were stones, or waves, or wind, or flame, or anything of the sort, without any sense indeed and life, yet there would not be lacking to us as it were a certain appetite of our places and order. For as it were the loves of bodies are the moments of their weights, whether they strive downward by gravity, or upward by levity. For so the body is borne by weight, as the soul is borne by love, wherever it is borne. Since therefore we are men, created to the image of our Creator, whose is true eternity, eternal truth, eternal and true charity, and is itself the eternal and true and dear Trinity, neither confused nor separated; in those things indeed which are below us, since even they themselves would in no way exist, nor be contained by any species, nor desire or hold any order, unless they had been made by Him who supremely is, who is supremely wise, who is supremely good: as if running through all things which He made with wonderful stability, let us collect as it were certain of His footsteps impressed more in some places, less in others; but beholding His image in

our very selves, as that younger evangelical son having returned to ourselves let us arise, that we may return to Him from whom we had departed by sinning. There our being will have no death, there our knowing will have no error, there our loving will have no offense. But now although we hold these three of ours as certain, and do not believe them on the testimony of others, but we ourselves feel them present, and discern them with a most true interior sight, yet as long as we cannot know through ourselves how they shall be in the future, or whether they shall never be lacking, and whither they shall arrive if they are acted well, but whither if poorly, we either seek or have other witnesses for this; concerning whose faith why there ought to be no doubt, this is not the place, but there will be a later place for discussing more diligently. But in this book concerning the City of God, which does not sojourn in the mortality of this life, but is always immortal in the heavens, that is, concerning the holy Angels cohering to God, who neither ever were nor ever shall be deserters, between whom and those who deserting the eternal light became darkness, we have already said that God first divided, let us explain as we are able, He helping what we have begun.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Concerning the knowledge of the holy Angels, by which they have known the Trinity in His very deity, and by which they behold the causes of works first in the art of the worker, than in the works of the artificer themselves.

For those holy Angels do not learn God through sounding words; but through the very presence of immutable truth, that is, His only-begotten Word: and they so know both the Word Himself and the Father and their Holy Spirit; and that it is an inseparable Trinity, and that the individual persons in it are one substance; and yet that all are not three gods, but one God, so that these things are more known to them than we are known to ourselves. They also know the creature itself better there, that is in the wisdom of God, as if in the art by which it was made, than in the creature itself: and through this they know even themselves better there than in themselves, yet nevertheless also in themselves. For they were made, and they are something other than He who made them. There therefore as if in the daytime knowledge, but in themselves as if in the evening knowledge, just as we have said above. For it differs much whether something is known in that reason according to which it was made, or in itself. Just as the rectitude of lines or the truth of figures is known in one way when it is beheld understood, in another way when it is written in the dust; and justice in one way in immutable truth, in another way in the soul of the just. So then the other things, such as the firmament between the superior and inferior waters, which was called heaven; such as the gathering of the waters below and the baring of the earth, and the institution of herbs and of trees; such as the condition of the sun and the moon and the stars; such as from the waters the animals, namely of the birds and of

the fishes and of the swimming monsters; such as of whatever things walking and creeping on the earth, and of man himself, who should excel all things on the earth. All these things are known in one way in the Word of God by the Angels, where they have their causes and reasons, that is according to which they were made, remaining immutably, in another way in themselves; there with a clearer knowledge, here with a more obscure one, as it were of the art and of the works: which works nevertheless when they are referred to the praise and veneration of the Creator Himself, as it were it becomes light in the morning in the minds of those contemplating.

CHAPTER XXX.

Concerning the perfection of the number six, which is the first to be completed by the quantity of its own parts.

But these things are narrated as perfected in six days, on account of the perfection of the number six, the same day being repeated six times: not because a delay of times was necessary for God, as if He who could not have created all things at once, which thereafter the times would go through with congruent motions; but because the perfection of works was signified through the number six. For the number six is the first to be completed by its own parts, that is, by its sixth part, and third, and half, which are one, and two, and three: which brought into a sum, become six. But in this consideration of numbers those parts are to be understood which it can be said

what fraction they are: such as the half, third, fourth, and thereafter named from some number. For neither, for the sake of example, because in the number nine four is some part of it, can it therefore be said what fraction of it it is: but one can be, for it is the ninth of it; and three can be, for it is the third of it. But those two parts of it joined together, namely the ninth and the third, that is, one and three, are far from its whole sum, which is nine. And likewise in the number ten the number four is some part of it; but what fraction it is cannot be said: but one can be; for it is the tenth part of it. It has also a fifth, which are two: it has also a half, which are five. But these three parts of it, tenth and fifth and half, that is one and two and five, brought together do not complete ten: for they are eight. But the parts of the number twelve brought into a sum, exceed it: for it has a twelfth, which is one; it has a sixth, which are two; it has a fourth, which are three; it has a third which are four; it has also a half, which are six: but one and two and three and four and six, become not twelve, but more, that is, sixteen. I thought this should be briefly commemorated for commending the perfection of the number six, which is the first, as I said, to be perfected itself by its parts redacted into a sum: in which God perfected His works. Whence the reason of number is not to be despised, which in many places of the holy Scriptures, how greatly it is to be esteemed, shines forth to those diligently beholding. Nor in the praises of God was it said in vain, Thou hast

disposed all things in measure and number and weight (Wisd. XI, 21).

CHAPTER XXXI.

Concerning the seventh day, in which fullness and rest are commended.

But on the seventh day, that is, on the same day repeated seven times, which number itself is also perfect for another reason, the rest of God is commended, in which first the sound of sanctification is heard. Thus God was unwilling to sanctify that day in any of His works, but in His own rest, which has no evening: for neither is there any creature, so that it itself known in one way in the Word of God, in another way in itself, may make one as it were daytime, another as it were evening knowledge. Moreover, many more things can indeed be said concerning the perfection of the number seven: but even this book is already prolix; and I fear lest, an occasion having been found, we may seem to wish to boast of our little knowledge more lightly than usefully. Therefore a reason of moderation and gravity is to be held, lest perchance when we speak much concerning number, we be judged to neglect measure and weight. Therefore let it be enough to warn of this, that the first whole odd number is three, the first whole even four: from which two the number seven consists. Therefore it is often put for the whole, such as is: The just man shall fall seven times, and shall rise again (Prov. XXIV, 16): that is, as often as he shall fall, he shall

not perish. Which he wished to be understood not concerning iniquities, but concerning tribulations leading to humility. And, Seven times in a day will I praise thee (Psal. CXVIII, 164). Which elsewhere is said in another way: His praise shall be always in my mouth (Psal. XXXIII, 2). And many things of this sort are found in the divine authorities, in which the number seven, as I said, is accustomed to be put for the whole of any thing. On account of this the Holy Spirit is often signified by the same number, concerning whom the Lord says: He shall teach you all truth (John XVI, 13). There is the rest of God, by which it is rested in God. For in the whole, that is in full perfection, is rest; but in part is labor. Therefore we labor, as long as we know in part; but when that which is perfect has come, that which is in part shall be evacuated (I Cor. XIII, 9, 10). Hence it is that we also search these Scriptures with labor. But the holy Angels, for whose society and congregation we sigh in this most laborious pilgrimage, as they have the eternity of remaining, so they have the facility of knowing and the felicity of resting. For they help us without difficulty; since they do not labor in pure and free spiritual movements.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Concerning the opinion of those who wish the creation of the Angels to be earlier than that of the world.

But lest anyone should contend, and say that the holy Angels were not signified in that which

is written, Let there be light, and there was light; but should either think or teach that some corporeal light was then first made: but that the Angels were made before, not only before the firmament, which made between the waters and the waters was called heaven, but before that which was said, In the beginning God made heaven and earth: and that that which was said, In the beginning, was not so said as if this were made first, since He made the Angels before; but because He made all things in wisdom, which is His Word, and the Scripture named it the beginning; just as He Himself in the Gospel to the Jews asking who He was, answered that He was the beginning (John VIII, 25). I will not bring back a contention from the contrary, especially because this delights me very much, that even in the highest origin of the holy book of Genesis the Trinity is commended. For when it is said thus, In the beginning God made heaven and earth, so that the Father is understood to have made in the Son, as the Psalm attests, where it is read: How magnified are thy works, O Lord! thou hast made all things in wisdom (Psal. CIII, 24): most conveniently a little after the Holy Spirit is also commemorated. For when it had been said, what kind of earth God made first, or what mass or matter of the future construction of the world He called by the name of heaven and earth, by subjoining and adding, But the earth was invisible and uncomposed, and darkness was upon the abyss: presently that the commemoration of the Trinity might be completed, And the spirit,

it says, of God was borne over the water (Gen. I, 1-3). Therefore let each one accept as he will, that which is so profound, that it can generate many opinions for the exercise of those reading, not wandering from the rule of faith: provided however that no one doubt that the holy Angels are in the sublime seats, not indeed coeternal with God, but nevertheless secure and certain of their own everlasting and true happiness. Teaching that His little ones pertain to their society, the Lord not only said that, They shall be equal to the Angels of God (Matth. XXII, 30): but He also showed by what contemplation they enjoy, where He says, See that you do not despise one of these little ones: for I say to you that their Angels in the heavens always see the face of my Father, who is in the heavens (Id. XVIII, 10).

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of the two diverse and disparate societies of Angels, which are not incongruously understood to be called by the names of light and darkness.

But that certain angels have sinned, and were thrust down into the lowest parts of this world, which is for them as it were a prison, until the future ultimate damnation on the day of judgment, the apostle Peter most clearly shows, saying, that God did not spare the angels that sinned, but delivering them into the prisons of the darkness of hell, handed them over to be reserved for punishment in judgment (II Pet. II, 4). Among these, therefore, and those, who would doubt that God

divided either by foreknowledge or by work? and who would contradict that those are worthily called light? since even we, still living in faith, and still hoping for their equality, although not yet holding it, are already called light by the Apostle: For you were, he says, formerly darkness, but now light in the Lord (Ephes. V, 8). But these deserters, that they are most clearly called darkness, those certainly perceive who either understand or believe that they are worse than faithless men. Wherefore, although another light is to be understood in this place of this book, where we read, God said, Let there be light, and light was made; and other darkness was signified in that which is written, God divided between the light and the darkness (Gen. I, 3, 4): we nevertheless have thought that these two angelic societies, one enjoying God, the other swelling with pride: one to which it is said, Adore Him, all His Angels (Psal. XCVI, 8); another whose prince says, All these things I will give to you, if falling down you will adore me (Matth. IV, 9): one burning with the holy love of God, the other smoking with the foul love of its own loftiness: and since, as it is written, God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble (James IV, 6; I Pet. V, 5), the former dwelling in the heavens of heavens, the latter cast down from there, raising a tumult in this lowest airy heaven: the former tranquil with luminous piety, the latter turbulent with dark desires: the former mercifully helping by the nod of God, justly taking vengeance; the latter seething with its own pride of subjugating and with the lust for harm-

ing: the former, so that it may consult as much as it wishes, a minister to the goodness of God; the latter, lest it may harm as much as it wishes, bridled by the power of God: the former mocking the latter, so that it profits unwillingly by its persecutions; the latter envying the former, when it gathers its pilgrims: we therefore have judged that these two angelic societies, disparate and contrary to each other, one both good by nature and upright by will; but the other good by nature, but perverse by will, declared by other more manifest testimonies of the divine Scriptures, were also signified in this book, whose name is Genesis, by the terms of light and darkness, even if he who wrote in this place perhaps felt otherwise, the obscurity of this sentence has not been fruitlessly treated: because even if we have not been able to track down the will of the author of this book, we have not wandered from the rule of faith, which is sufficiently known to the faithful through other sacred Letters of the same authority. For although the corporal works of God are commemorated here, they undoubtedly have some likeness of spiritual things, according to which the Apostle says: For you are all sons of light and sons of the day; we are not of the night, nor of darkness (I Thess. V, 5). If, however, he who wrote also felt this, our intention reaches a more perfect end of the discussion: so that the man of God of such eminent and divine wisdom, or rather through him the Spirit of God in commemorating the works of God, all of which He says were perfected on the sixth day, may in no way be

believed to have passed over the Angels: whether it be written, In the beginning, because He made them first; or what is more conveniently understood, In the beginning, because He made them in the only-begotten Word, God made heaven and earth in the beginning: by which names the universal creature was signified, either spiritual and corporal, which is more credible; or the two great parts of the world, in which all things that have been created are contained, so that first He might propose the whole of it, and then follow out its parts according to the mystic number of the days.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of that which some think, that in the condition of the firmament the Angels were signified by the name of the divided waters, and that some think the waters were not created.

Although some have thought that by the name of waters the peoples of the Angels were in some way signified; and that this is what was said, Let a firmament be made between water and water (Gen. I, 6): so that above the firmament the Angels are understood, but below either these visible waters, or the multitude of evil angels, or the nations of all men. Which if it is so, it does not appear there where the Angels were made, but where they were divided. Although some also deny that the waters were made by God, which is of the most perverse and impious vanity, because it is nowhere written, God said, Let waters be made. Which they can say with similar vanity

even of the earth: for it is nowhere read, God said, Let the earth be made. But, they say, it is written, In the beginning God made heaven and earth. There, therefore, water also is to be understood: for both are comprehended by one name. For the sea is His, as is read in the Psalm, and He made it, and His hands formed the dry land (Psal. XCIV, 5). But these who in the name of the waters which are above the heavens wish the Angels to be understood, are moved by the weights of the elements, and therefore they do not think that the fluid and heavy nature of the waters could have been constituted in the higher places of the world: who according to their own reasons if they themselves could make a man, would not put in his head the phlegm, which in Greek is called φλέγμα, and as it were in the elements of our body holds the place of waters. For there is the seat of the phlegm, according to the work of God certainly most fitly: but according to the conjecture of those men so absurdly, that if we did not know this, and it were similarly written in this book, that God placed a fluid and cold humor, and by this heavy, in the part of the human body higher than all others, these weighers of elements would by no means believe it; and if they were subject to the authority of the same Scripture, they would judge that something else was to be understood from this. But since, if we should diligently scrutinize and treat each thing that is written in that divine book about the constitution of the world, much would have to be said, and we would have to digress far from the

purpose of the instituted work; and already about these two societies of Angels diverse and contrary to each other, in which are certain beginnings of two cities even in human affairs, about which I have instituted to speak next, we have disputed as much as seemed to be enough, let us at length close this book also.

BOOK TWELVE.

In which Augustine first indeed inquires concerning the Angels, whence namely some have a good will, others a evil one, and what was the cause of the happiness of the good, what the cause of the misery of the evil angels.

But afterwards he treats of the institution of man, and teaches that he was created not from eternity, but in time, and by no other author than God.

CHAPTER FIRST.

Of the one nature of the good and evil angels.

1. Before I speak of the institution of man, where the rise of the two cities will appear as far as pertains to the kind of rational mortals, as it already seems to have appeared in the Angels in the previous book; I see that certain things are first to be said by me about the Angels themselves, by which it may be demonstrated, as much as it can be by us, how not inconvenient nor incongruous it is said to be that there is a society of men and Angels: so that there may be said to be not four, namely two of Angels and as many of men, but rather two cities, that is societies, worthily; one

constituted in the good, the other in the evil, not only of Angels, but also of men.

2. That the contrary appetites of the good and evil angels have arisen not from different natures and principles, since God the good author and founder of all substances created both, but from wills and desires, it is not right to doubt; while some constantly persist in the good common to all, which is God Himself to them, and in His eternity, truth, and charity; others delighted rather by their own power, as if they were their own good to themselves, flowed down from the superior common beatific good of all to their own; and having the pride of elation for the most excellent eternity, the craftiness of vanity for the most certain truth, the studies of parties for individual charity, they became proud, deceitful, and envious. The cause of their happiness, therefore, is to adhere to God. Wherefore the cause of the misery of those others is to be understood from the contrary, which is, not to adhere to God. For which reason, if when it is asked why those are happy, it is rightly answered, because they adhere to God; and when it is asked why these are miserable, it is rightly answered, because they do not adhere to God: there is no good for a rational or intellectual creature by which it may be happy, except God. Thus although not every creature can be happy (for beasts, wood, stones, and if there is anything of this kind, do not obtain or take this gift), yet that which can, can not from itself, because it was created out of nothing; but from Him by whom it was created. For by attaining this

it is happy, by losing which it is miserable. But He who is happy not by another, but by Himself as good, cannot therefore be miserable himself, because He cannot lose Himself.

3. We say therefore that the unchangeable good is not, except the one true blessed God: but those things which He made are indeed good, because from Him; nevertheless they are changeable, because they were made not of Him, but of nothing. Although therefore they are not the highest; to which God is a greater good: yet those changeable goods are great which can adhere so that they may be happy, to the unchangeable good; which is so far their good, that without it they must of necessity be miserable. Nor for that reason are the rest in this universe of creatures better, because they cannot be miserable. For it is not to be said that the other members of our body are therefore better than the eyes, because they cannot be blind. But just as the sensing nature even when it grieves is better than a stone which can in no way grieve: so the rational nature is more excellent even when miserable, than that which is void of reason or sense, and therefore misery does not fall upon it. Which since it is so, for this nature, which was created in such excellence, that although it is itself changeable, yet by inhearing in the unchangeable good, that is the supreme God, it may attain happiness, nor may it fulfill its indigence except by being certainly happy, and for its fulfillment nothing suffices except God, surely not to adhere to Him is a vice. Moreover every vice harms nature, and

for this reason is against nature. From that nature therefore which adheres to God, this one does not differ by nature, but by vice: by which vice nevertheless the nature itself is shown to be very great and much to be praised. For of whose vice it is rightly blamed, undoubtedly the nature is praised. For the right blame of a vice is, that by it a laudable nature is dishonored. Just as therefore when blindness is said to be a vice of the eyes, it is shown by that, that sight pertains to the nature of the eyes; and when deafness is said to be a vice of the ears, it is demonstrated that hearing pertains to their nature: so when it is said to be a vice of the angelic creature, that it does not adhere to God, from here it is most clearly declared, that it is suitable for its nature to adhere to God. Furthermore how great a praise it is to adhere to God, so that it may live for Him, from Him be wise, in Him rejoice, and enjoy so great a good without death, without error, without molestation, who could worthily think, or speak? Wherefore also by the vice of the evil angels, by which they do not adhere to God, since every vice harms nature, it is sufficiently manifested that God created so good a nature of theirs, for which it is harmful not to be with God.

CHAPTER II.

That no essence is contrary to God, because from Him who supremely is and always is, all this that is not seems to be different.

These things have been said, lest anyone, when we speak of the apostate angels, should think that they could have had another nature as if from another principle, and that God was not the author of their nature. Each person will be free from the impiety of this error so much more expeditiously and easily, the more clearly he can understand what God said through the angel, when He sent Moses to the children of Israel: "I am who I am" (Exod. III, 14). For since God is the supreme essence, that is, supremely is, and therefore is unchangeable; to the things which He created out of nothing, He gave being, but not supreme being, as He Himself is; and to some He gave more being, to others less; and thus He ordered natures by degrees of essences. For just as from that which is "to be wise" (sapere), wisdom (sapientia) is named; so from that which is "to be" (esse), essence (essentia) is named: a new name indeed, which the ancient authors of the Latin language did not use, but already used in our times, lest our language should also lack what the Greeks call ousia. For this word was expressed word for word, so that it might be called essence. And by this, to that nature which supremely is, by whose making are whatever things are, there is no contrary nature, except that which is not. For to that which is, "not to be" is contrary. And therefore to God, that is to the supreme essence, and the author of all essences of whatever kind, no essence is contrary.

CHAPTER III.

Of the enemies of God, not by nature, but by a contrary will, which, while it harms them, certainly harms a good nature: because if a vice does not harm, it is not a vice.

Moreover, those are called in the Scriptures enemies of God, who oppose His empire not by nature, but by vices: being able to harm Him in nothing, but themselves. For they are enemies by the will of resisting, not by the power of hurting. For God is unchangeable, and in every way incorruptible. Therefore the vice by which they resist God, who are called His enemies, is an evil not to God, but to themselves. Nor for any other reason, except because it corrupts the good of nature in them. Therefore nature is not contrary to God, but vice is. Because what is evil is contrary to good; and who would deny that God is supremely good? Vice, therefore, is contrary to God, as evil to good. Furthermore, the nature which it vitiates is also good; hence it is also certainly contrary to this good: but to God only as evil to good; but to the nature which it vitiates, it is not only an evil, but also harmful. For no evils are harmful to God, but to changeable and corruptible natures, which are nevertheless good by the testimony of their own vices. For if they were not good, vices could not harm them. For what do they do by harming them, except take away integrity, beauty, health, virtue, and whatever good of nature is accustomed to be withdrawn or diminished through vice? But if it is altogether absent, it does not harm by taking away any good, and for this reason it is not even a vice. For it cannot be a vice and not harm. From which it is gathered,

that although vice cannot harm the unchangeable good, it nevertheless cannot harm except a good: because it is not present except where it harms. This can also be said in this way: that vice can neither be in the supreme good, nor except in some good. Therefore only goods can be anywhere, and only evils nowhere: since even those natures which have been vitiated from the vice of an evil will, in so far as they are vicious, are evil; but in so far as they are natures, they are good. And when a vicious nature is in punishments, besides that it is a nature, this also is a good there, that it is not unpunished. For this is just, and every just thing is undoubtedly good. For no one pays penalties for natural vices, but for voluntary ones. For even that vice which, strengthened by custom or excessive progress, has grown as if naturally, took its beginning from the will. For we are now speaking of the vices of that nature in which there is a mind capable of intelligible light, by which the just is discerned from the unjust.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the nature of irrational things, or those lacking life, which in its own kind and order does not disagree with the beauty of the universe.

For the rest, it is ridiculous to think that the vices of cattle and trees, and of other changeable and mortal things, lacking either intellect, or sense, or life altogether, by which their dissoluble nature is corrupted, are damnable: since these creatures received that mode by the nod of the

Creator, so that by giving way and succeeding they might fulfill the lowest beauty of times in their own kind, suitable to the parts of this world. For neither were earthly things to be made equal to heavenly ones, nor for that reason ought these to have been lacking to the universe, because those others are better. When therefore in these places, where it was fitting for such things to be, some things arise as others fail, and the lesser succumb to the greater, and the overcome are turned into the qualities of the surmounting, it is the order of passing things. The beauty of which order does not delight us for this reason, because being woven into a part of it according to the condition of our mortality, we cannot perceive the whole, with which the particles that offend us agree aptly and decently enough. Whence for us, in whom we are less fit to contemplate it, the providence of the Creator is most rightly commanded to be believed, lest we should dare to reprehend the work of so great an artisan in anything by the vanity of human temerity. Although also the vices of earthly things, neither voluntary nor penal, commend the natures themselves, of which there is none at all of which God is not the author and founder, if we attend prudently, by the same reason: because also in them it displeases us that this should be taken away through vice, which pleases in nature: except because to men even the natures themselves for the most part displease, when they become harmful to them, not considering them, but their own utility; like those animals by whose abundance

the pride of the Egyptians was scourged. But in this way they can also find fault with the sun; since some who sin, or do not pay their debts, are ordered by judges to be placed in the sun. Therefore nature, considered not from our convenience or inconvenience, but through itself, gives glory to its artisan. So also the nature of eternal fire is without any doubt laudable, although it will be penal for the damned impious. For what is more beautiful than a flaming, vigorous, shining fire? what more useful than its heating, curing, and cooking? although nothing is more troublesome than its burning. The same thing therefore, applied otherwise, is pernicious, which, when suitably employed, is found to be most convenient. For who suffices to explain its utilities in the whole world with words? Nor are they to be heard who praise the light in fire, but find fault with the heat: evidently not from its own nature, but from their own convenience or inconvenience. For they wish to see, but do not wish to burn. But they attend little to the fact that this same light, which certainly pleases them, harms weak eyes through inconvenience; and in that heat, which displeases them, some animals live healthfully through convenience.

CHAPTER V.

That the Creator is laudable in every species and mode of nature.

Therefore all natures, since they are, and for that reason have their own mode, their own

species, and a certain peace of their own with themselves, are certainly good. And when they are there where they ought to be according to the order of nature, they preserve their own being as much as they have received. And those which have not received to be always, are changed for the better or the worse according to the use and motion of things to which they are subjected by the law of the Creator, tending by divine providence to that end which the reason for governing the universe includes: so that not even such great corruption as leads changeable and mortal natures as far as destruction, so makes that not to be which was, that what ought to be should not consequently be made from it. Which things since they are so, God, who supremely is, and for this reason every essence which is not supremely was made by Him (because that which was made of nothing ought not to be equal to Him); nor could it in any way be, if it had not been made by Him: is neither to be blamed by the offense of any vices, and is to be praised by the consideration of all natures.

CHAPTER VI.

What is the cause of the beatitude of the good angels, and what is the cause of the misery of the evil angels.

Therefore the most true cause of the beatitude of the good angels is found to be this: that they adhere to Him who supremely is. But when the cause of the misery of the evil angels is sought, this occurs deservedly: that, turned away from

Him who supremely is, they were turned to themselves, who are not supremely: and what else is this vice called but pride? For "the beginning of all sin is pride" (Ecclus. X, 15). They were unwilling, therefore, to keep their strength for Him (Psalm LVIII, 10): and they who would have been more if they had adhered to Him who supremely is; by preferring themselves to Him, they preferred that which is less. This was the first defect and the first indigence and the first vice of that nature, which was so created that it should not be supremely, and yet to have beatitude, it might enjoy Him who supremely is, from whom being turned away, it was not indeed nothing, but yet was less, and for this reason became miserable.

If, furthermore, the efficient cause of this evil will be sought, nothing is found. For what is it that makes a will evil, when it is the will itself that makes the evil work? And by this an evil will is the efficient cause of an evil work, but of an evil will there is no efficient cause. Since if any thing is, either it has or it has not some will: if it has, certainly it has either a good one or an evil one: if a good one, who would be so foolish as to say that a good will makes an evil will? For if it be so, a good will will be the cause of sin: than which nothing can be thought more absurd. But if that thing which is thought to make an evil will, itself also has an evil will; I ask consequently about that one also which made it: and that there may be some limit to inquiring, I inquire for the cause of the first evil will. For that

is not the first evil will which an evil will made: but that is the first which no will made. For if one preceded from which it was made, that is prior which made the other. If it is answered that no thing made it, and therefore it always was; I ask whether it was in any nature. For if it was in none, it was not at all: but if it was in some, it vitiated and corrupted it, and was harmful to it, and for this reason deprived it of good. and therefore in an evil nature an evil will could not be; but in a good one, though changeable, which this vice could harm. For if it did not harm, it was certainly not a vice: and for this reason it is not to be called an evil will. Furthermore, if it harmed, it harmed by taking away or diminishing good. Therefore an eternal evil will could not be in that thing in which a natural good had preceded, which an evil will by harming could take away. If therefore it was not eternal, I ask who made it. It remains to be said, that some thing made the evil will in which there was no will. I ask whether this thing be superior, or inferior, or equal. But if it be superior, it is certainly better: how therefore can it be the cause of no will, and not rather of a good will? The same is certainly true of an equal. For two things, as long as they are equally of a good will, one does not make an evil will in the other. It remains that an inferior thing, which has no will, made an evil will for the angelic nature, which first sinned. But even the inferior thing itself, whatever it is, even down to the lowest earth, since it is nature and essence, is undoubtedly good, having its own mode and

species in its own kind and order. How therefore is a good thing the efficient cause of an evil will? how, I say, is good the cause of evil? For when the will, leaving what is superior, turns itself to inferior things, it becomes evil: not because that is evil to which it turns; but because the turning itself is perverted. Therefore an inferior thing did not make the evil will; but the thing itself which was made, desired the inferior thing wickedly and inordinately. For if any two persons equally affected in mind and body see the beauty of one body, which being seen one of them is moved to enjoy it illicitly, while the other perseveres stable in a modest will; what do we think is the cause, that in the one an evil will is made, in the other it is not? What thing made it in him in whom it was made? For not that beauty of the body; for it did not make it in both: since it occurred to the sight of both not differently. Is the flesh of the beholder the cause? Why not also of the other? Or is it the mind? Why not of both? For we said before that both were equally affected in mind and body. Or is it to be said that one of them was tempted by the hidden suggestion of a malignant spirit? as if he did not consent to the same suggestion and whatever persuasion by his own will. We ask, therefore, what thing made in him this consent, this evil will which he applied to the evil persuader. For that this impediment also may be removed from this question, if both be tempted by the same temptation, and one yield to it and consent, while the other persevere the same as he was; what else appears, except that one

willed, the other did not will to fall from chastity? Whence, except from his own will, where there had been the same affection of body and mind in both? The same beauty was seen equally by the eyes of both, the same hidden temptation pressed upon both equally: wishing to know, therefore, what thing made an evil will in one of them, if they look well, nothing occurs. For if we say that he himself made it, what was he himself before the evil will except a good nature, whose author is God, who is the unchangeable good? He therefore who says that he who consented to the tempter and persuader (to whom the other did not consent) to use illicitly the beautiful body which was present for both equally to see, when before that vision and temptation both were alike in mind and body, made for himself an evil will, because certainly he was good before the evil will; let him ask why he made it, whether because he is a nature, or because he was made of nothing: and he will find that an evil will begins to be not from that which is nature, but from that which nature was made out of nothing. For if nature is the cause of an evil will, what else are we compelled to say, except that evil is made by good, and that good is the cause of evil? since an evil will is made from a good nature. Whence can this be, that a good nature, although changeable, before it has an evil will, should make something of evil, that is, the evil will itself?

CHAPTER VII.

That the efficient cause of an evil will is not to be sought.

Let no one therefore seek the efficient cause of an evil will: for it is not efficient, but deficient; because neither is that an effect, but a defect. For to fail from that which supremely is, to that which is less, this is to begin to have an evil will. Furthermore, to wish to find the causes of these failures, since they are not efficient, as I said, but deficient, is such as if anyone wished to see darkness, or to hear silence: both of which are nevertheless known to us; the former only through the eyes, the latter only through the ears; certainly not in species, but in the privation of species. Let no one therefore seek to know from me what I know that I do not know, unless perhaps that he may learn not to know what must be known to be unable to be known. For those things which are known not in species, but in the privation of it, if it can be said or understood, are in a certain way known by not knowing, so that by knowing they are not known. For when the sharp sight of even the bodily eye runs through bodily species, nowhere does it see darkness, except where it has begun not to see. So also it pertains to no other sense, but to the ears alone to perceive silence: which nevertheless is in no way perceived except by not hearing. So our mind indeed beholds intelligible species by understanding; but where they fail, it learns by not knowing. For "who understands sins?" (Psalm XVIII, 13).

CHAPTER VIII.

Of perverse love, by which the will fails from the unchangeable good to the changeable good.

This I know, that the nature of God can never, nowhere, and in no part fail; and that those things can fail which were made out of nothing. Which, however, the more they are and do good (for then they do something), have efficient causes: but in so far as they fail and from this do evil (for what do they then do but vain things?), they have deficient causes. And likewise I know that in whom an evil will comes to be, it comes to be in him for this reason, that if he were unwilling, it would not happen: and therefore not necessary, but voluntary failures are followed by a just punishment. For the failure is not toward evil things, but evilly; that is, not toward evil natures, but for this reason evilly, because it is against the order of natures, from that which supremely is to that which is less. For avarice is not a vice of gold, but of a man perversely loving gold, having abandoned justice, which ought incomparably to have been preferred to gold. Nor is luxury a vice of beautiful and pleasant bodies, but of a soul perversely loving bodily pleasures, having neglected temperance, by which we are coadapted to things spiritually more beautiful and incorruptibly more pleasant. Nor is boastfulness a vice of human praise, but of a soul perversely loving to be praised by men, having spurned the testimony of conscience. Nor is pride a vice of him who gives power, or even of power itself, but of a soul perversely loving its own power, while the more powerful just one is despised. And through this, he who perversely loves the good of any nature, even if he obtains it, himself becomes evil

in the good, and wretched, being deprived of a better thing.

CHAPTER IX.

Whether the holy angels, who have God as the creator of their nature, have the same as the author of their good will through the Holy Spirit with charity shed abroad in them.

Since, therefore, there is no natural, or, if it can be said, essential efficient cause of an evil will; for from it indeed begins the evil of mutable spirits, by which the good of nature is diminished and depraved, nor does any other thing make such a will but the failure by which God is deserted, of which failure the cause also certainly fails: if we should say that there is no efficient cause even of a good will, we must beware lest the good will of the good angels be believed not to have been made, but to be coeternal with God. Since, therefore, they themselves were made, how shall it be said that that will was not made? Furthermore, because it was made, was it made with them, or were they without it at first? But if it was made with them, there is no doubt that it was made by Him by whom they also were; and as soon as they were made, they adhered to Him by whom they were made, with the love with which they were made. And by this are these separated from the society of those others, because these remained in the same good will, while those were changed by failing from it, namely, by an evil will, by this very thing that they failed from the good: from which they would not have failed, if indeed they

had been unwilling. But if the good angels were at first without a good will, and they themselves made it in themselves without God working it; therefore they were made better by themselves than by Him. Far be it. For what were they without a good will, except evil? Or if not evil for this reason, because an evil will was not in them (for they had not failed from that which they had not yet begun to have), certainly they were not yet such, not yet so good, as they began to be with a good will. Or if they could not make themselves better than He had made them, than whom no one makes anything better; surely they could not have a good will, by which they would be better, unless the assistance of the Creator were working it. And since their good will acted so that they should be turned not to themselves, who were less, but to Him who supremely is, and by adhering to Him they should be more, and by participation in Him they should live wisely and blessedly; what else is shown but that any good will would have been destitute and remained in desire alone, unless He who had made a good nature out of nothing capable of Himself, should from Himself make it better by filling it, first making it more eager by exciting it?

2. For this also must be discussed: if the good angels themselves made the good will in themselves, whether they made it by some will, or by none. If by none, surely they did not make it. If by some, whether an evil or a good one. If an evil one, how could an evil will be the effecter of a good will? If a good one, then they already

had it. And who had made that one, but He who created them with a good will, that is, with a chaste love, by which they might adhere to Him, at once building their nature and bestowing grace upon them? Whence it is to be believed that without a good will, that is, the love of God, the holy angels have never been. But those who, though they were created good, yet are evil by their own evil will, which a good nature did not make, except when it failed from the good of its own accord, so that the cause of evil is not good, but a failure from the good; either they received a smaller grace of divine love than those who persisted in the same; or if both were created equally good, while these were falling by an evil will, those, more amply aided, arrived at that fullness of beatitude, whence they might be most certain that they would never fall: as we have already discussed in the book which this one follows (Chapter XIII). It must be confessed, therefore, with the due praise of the Creator, that it does not pertain to holy men alone, but it can also be said of the holy angels, that the charity of God is shed abroad in them through the Holy Spirit, who is given to them (Rom. V, 5); and that it is not only the good of men, but first and primarily of the angels, which is written: "But for me to adhere to God is good" (Psalm LXXII, 28). To those to whom this good is common, they have both with Him to whom they adhere and among themselves a holy society, and they are one City of God, and the same is His living sacrifice and His living temple. Whose part, which is gathered from mortal men

to be joined to the immortal angels, and now travels mortally on earth, or rests in those who have departed by death in the secret receptacles and seats of souls—how it arose by the creation of the same God, as was said of the angels, I see must now be told. For from one man, whom God first established, the human race took its beginning, according to the faith of the Holy Scripture, which has not undeservedly a wonderful authority in the whole world, and among all nations, which it predicted would believe in it, among other true things which it said, with true divinity.

CHAPTER X.

Of the falsity of that history which ascribes many thousands of years to past times.

1. Let us, therefore, omit the conjectures of men who know not what they say concerning the nature or institution of the human race. For some, as they have believed concerning the world itself, think that men have always existed. Whence also Apuleius says, when he was describing this genus of living beings: "Individually mortal, yet as a whole in their entire genus perpetual" (In the book on the god of Socrates). And when it has been said to them, if the human race has always been, in what way is their history true, narrating who were the inventors of which things, who were the first institutors of the liberal disciplines and other arts, or by whom first this or that region and part of the earth, this and that island began to be inhabited: they respond that by

floods and conflagrations through certain intervals of time not indeed all things, but most things of the earth are so devastated, that men are reduced to a small few, from whose progeny again the pristine multitude is repaired, and thus again and again repaired and instituted as if for the first time, whereas rather those things are restored which had been interrupted and extinguished by those excessive devastations; otherwise a man could not exist at all except from a man. But they say what they think, not what they know.

2. They are also deceived by certain most lying writings, which they claim contain many thousands of years in the history of times: whereas from the Sacred Writings we compute not yet a full six thousand years from the institution of man. Whence, lest I dispute at length how the vanity of those writings, in which many more thousands of years are related, may be refuted, and no suitable authority for this matter be found in them; that letter of Alexander the Great to his mother Olympias, which he wrote suggesting the narrative of a certain Egyptian priest, which he brought forth from writings which were held as sacred among them, containing kingdoms which Greek history also knows: in which the kingdom of the Assyrians in the same letter of Alexander exceeds five thousand years; but in Greek history it has nearly one thousand and three hundred from the reign of Belus himself, whom that Egyptian also places at the beginning of the same kingdom. But the empire of the Persians and Macedonians up to Alexander himself, to whom

he was speaking, he established at more than eight thousand years: whereas among the Greeks the Macedonians up to the death of Alexander are found to be four hundred and eighty-five; and of the Persians, until they were finished by the victory of Alexander himself, two hundred and thirty-three are computed. These numbers of years, therefore, are far smaller than those of the Egyptians, nor would they be equaled by them, even if they were computed three times as much. For the Egyptians are said to have formerly had such brief years, that they were finished in four months. Whence a fuller and truer year, such as is now both to us and to them, comprised three of their ancient years. But not even thus, as I said, does Greek history agree with the Egyptian in the number of times. And therefore credit is rather to be given to the Greek: because it does not exceed the truth of the years which are contained in our Writings, which are truly sacred. Furthermore, if this letter of Alexander, which is most widely known, differs much in the spaces of times from the probable credit of things; how much less is credit to be given to those writings which they have wished to bring forth full of fabulous, as it were, antiquities against the authority of the most well-known and divine books, which predicted that the whole world would believe in them, and in which the whole world, as was predicted by them, has believed; which show that they have narrated the past truly, from those things which they foretold as future, when they are fulfilled with such great truth?

CHAPTER XI.

Of those who indeed do not think this world is sempiternal, but either think there are innumerable worlds, or that this same one, by a certain conclusion of ages, is always born and resolved.

But others who do not think this world is sempiternal, whether they think it is not the only one, but innumerable, or indeed that it is the only one, but innumerably arises and falls at certain intervals of ages; must necessarily confess that the genus of men existed before men were begetting. For neither as by floods and conflagrations of lands, which they do not think happen to the entire world at once, and therefore they contend that a few men always remain from whom the pristine multitude is repaired, so can these also think that some of the men are left in the world when the world perishes: but as they think the world itself is reborn from its own matter, so in it from its elements they think the human race, and then from parents the progeny of mortals, like that of other animals, to pullulate.

CHAPTER XII.

What must be answered to those who complain that the first condition of man was late.

But as for what we answered, when the question was turned to the origin of the world, to those who do not want to believe that it was not always, but began to be, as Plato also most clearly confesses (In Timaeus), although he is believed

by some to have thought contrary to what he says: this I would also answer concerning the first condition of man, on account of those who are similarly moved, why man was not created through innumerable and infinite past times, and was established so late, that there are less than six thousand years from the time he is found in the sacred Writings to have begun to be. For if the brevity of the time offends them, because so few years seem to them since man was instituted in our authorities; let them consider that nothing is long-lasting in which there is something actor, and that all defined spaces of ages, if compared to interminable eternity, are not to be thought of as small, but as nothing. And through this, if not five or six, but even sixty thousand, or six hundred, or sixty times, or six hundred times, or six hundred times a million years were said; or likewise if this sum were multiplied as many times, where we would now have no name for the number, since God made man; it could similarly be asked why He did not make him before. For God's cessation from the creation of man backward, eternal without beginning, is so great, that if any great and ineffable numerosity of times be compared to it, which nevertheless is concluded by the end of a certain space, it ought not even to seem as great as if we should compare the shortest drop of moisture to the universal sea, even as much as the Ocean flows around: since of these two, one indeed is very small, the other incomparably great, but both are finite; but that space of time which proceeds from some beginning and is co-

erced by some term, by whatever magnitude it is stretched, compared to that which has no beginning, I know not whether it is to be accounted as very small, or rather as nothing.

For from here if from the end even the shortest moments be subtracted one by one, the number decreasing, although so huge that it finds no name in returning backward; just as if you subtract the days of a man from that in which he now lives, back to that in which he was born: eventually that subtraction will be led to the beginning. But if they be subtracted backward in the space which began from no exordium, I do not say one by one the minute moments, or the quantities of hours or days or months or even years; but spaces as great as that sum of years comprises, which already cannot be said by any computers, which nevertheless is consumed by the subtraction of moments little by little; and if these so great spaces be subtracted, not once and again and more often, but always: what happens, what is done, when one never arrives at the beginning, which is altogether none? Wherefore, what we now ask after five thousand and some years, posterity could also require with the same curiosity even after six hundred thousand times six hundred years, if this mortality of men should persist in arising and falling, and in unlearned infirmity. Those who were before us, in the very recent times of man's creation, could also move this question. Finally, the first man himself, either on the day after, or on the same day after he was made, could inquire why he was not made before.

And whenever before he had been made, that controversy concerning the beginning of temporal things would find not other and other forces then and now, or even later.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the revolution of ages, by which some philosophers believed that all things, being concluded within a certain end, would always return into the same order and the same species.

1. Moreover, the philosophers of this world thought they could not or ought not otherwise to dissolve this, unless they introduced circuits of times, by which they asserted that the same things were always renewed and repeated in the nature of things, and so hereafter would be the volumes of coming and passing ages without cessation: whether these circuits were made in a permanent world, or the world rising and falling at certain intervals should always exhibit the same things as if new, which have passed and are to come. From which mockery they certainly cannot liberate the immortal soul, even when it has perceived wisdom, going without cessation to a false beatitude, and returning without cessation to a true misery. For how is it true beatitude, concerning whose eternity one is never confident, while the soul either most unlearnedly in truth does not know the coming misery, or most unhappily in beatitude dreads it? Or if, never again to return to miseries, it goes from these to beatitude; there is made, therefore, something

new in time, which has no end of time. Why not therefore also the world? why not also man made in the world? so that those I know not what false circuits, found by false and fallacious wise men, may be avoided in sound doctrine by the path of a straight journey.

2. For some also want it to be understood that what is read in the book of Solomon, which is called Ecclesiastes, What is it that has been? The same that shall be. And what is it that has been done? The same that shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun. Who may speak and say, Behold, this is new? It has already been in the ages that were before us (Eccl. I, 9, 10); on account of these circuits returning into the same things and recalling all things into the same, they want it to be understood as said: but he said this either concerning those things of which he was speaking above, that is, concerning other generations passing away and others coming, concerning the turnings of the sun, concerning the fallings of torrents; or certainly concerning the genera of all things which arise and fall. For there were men before us, and they are with us, and they shall be after us; so also each living thing, or groves. Even monsters themselves, which are born unusually, although they differ among themselves, and some of them are narrated as having been made once, yet according to that which they are generally miracles and monsters, they both have been and shall be; nor is it recent and new for a monster to be born under the sun. Although some have understood these words as if the wise

man had wished it to be understood that all things were already made in the predestination of God, and therefore nothing is new under the sun. But far be it from the right faith that we should believe those circuits to be signified by these words of Solomon, by which they think the same volumes of times and temporal things are so repeated, that, for example, just as in this age the philosopher Plato taught his disciples in the city of Athens, and in that school which is called the Academy, so through innumerable past ages, at very long intervals indeed, but yet certain, both the same Plato and the same city and the same school and the same disciples were repeated, and are to be repeated through innumerable ages hereafter: far be it, I say, that we should believe these things. For Christ died once for our sins; but rising from the dead He dies no more, and death shall have no more dominion over Him (Rom. VI, 9): and we after the resurrection shall always be with the Lord (I Thess. IV, 16), to whom we now say, what the sacred Psalm admonishes: "Thou, Lord, shalt keep us, and shalt preserve us from this generation forever." But I think what follows fits these people sufficiently: "The wicked walk in a circuit" (Psalm XI, 8, 9): not because their life is to return through the circles which they imagine; but because such is now the way of their error, that is, false doctrine.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the temporal condition of the human race, which God established neither by a new counsel, nor by a mutable will.

What wonder is it, then, if those wandering in these circuits find neither entrance nor exit? Because they know neither by what beginning the human race and this mortality of ours was begun, nor by what end it may be closed; since indeed they cannot penetrate the height of God: because although He Himself is eternal and without beginning, yet from some beginning He started times, and man, whom He had never made before, He made in time, yet not by a new and sudden, but by an immutable and eternal counsel. Who may avail to investigate this uninvestigable height, and to scrutinize this inscrutable one, according to which God established temporal man, before whom no man ever was, in time by no mutable will, and multiplied the human race from one? Since indeed the Psalm itself, when it had premised and said, "Thou, Lord, shalt keep us, and shalt preserve us from this generation forever;" and then had struck back at those in whose foolish and impious doctrine no eternity of liberation and beatitude of the soul is preserved, immediately subjoining, "The wicked walk in a circuit:" as if it were said to Him, What then do Thou believe, feel, understand? must it be thought that it suddenly pleased God to make man, whom He had never before made in infinite backward eternity, to whom nothing new can happen, in whom there is not anything mutable? immediately responded, speaking to God Himself, "According to Thy height Thou hast multiplied the sons of men" (Ibid.). Let men feel what they think, he says, and let them imagine

and dispute what pleases them: "According to Thy height," which no man can know, "Thou hast multiplied the sons of men." For it is exceedingly high both that God was always, and that He willed to make temporal man first from some time, whom He had never made, nor changed his counsel and will.

CHAPTER XVI.

How the eternal life promised by God to man before eternal times is to be understood.

I confess I am ignorant what ages passed before the human race was established; yet I do not doubt that nothing created is at all coeternal with the Creator. The Apostle also speaks of eternal times, and those not future, but, what is more wonderful, past. For he says: "In hope of eternal life, which God, who does not lie, promised before eternal times; but in His own times has manifested His Word" (Tit. 1:2, 3). Behold, he said that there were eternal times in the past, which yet were not coeternal with God. If indeed He was not only before eternal times, but also promised eternal life, which He manifested in His own times, that is, in suitable ones, what else than His Word? For this is eternal life. But how did He promise, since He promised to men, who were not yet before eternal times; unless because in His own eternity, and in His very Word coeternal with Him, it was already fixed by predestination, what was to be in its own time?

CHAPTER XVII.---What sound faith defends concerning the immutable counsel or will of God, against the reasonings of those who will that the works of God, repeated from eternity, should always return through the same circuits of ages.

1. I do not doubt this also, that before the first man was created, there never was any man; neither that same one, revolved by I know not what circuits, I know not how many times, nor any other similar in nature. Nor do the arguments of philosophers deter me from this faith, of which that is thought to be most acute, which they say, that no infinite things can be comprehended by any knowledge: and for this reason, they say, God has with Himself all finite reasons of all finite things which He makes. But His goodness is never to be believed to have been empty, lest His operation be temporal, whose cessation backward was eternal, as if He had repented of His prior vacation without beginning, and for that reason had undertaken the beginning of His work. And therefore it is necessary, they say, that the same things be always repeated, and always being about to be repeated pass away: either the world remaining changeably, which although it never was not and yet was made without beginning of time; or its rise and fall also always repeated by those circuits, and always about to be repeated: lest, forsooth, if the works of God are said to have begun for the first time at some point, He be believed to have in a manner condemned His prior vacation without beginning as inert and lazy, and for that reason displeasing to Him, and for this

reason changed it. But if He is asserted to have always worked temporal things, but some after others, and so at some time even to have arrived at making man, whom He had never made before: He may seem to have made what He made not by knowledge, by which they think any infinite things cannot be comprehended, but as if for the hour, just as it came into His mind, by some fortuitous inconstancy. Furthermore, if those circuits be admitted, they say, by which either the world remaining, or itself also inserting its revolvable rises and falls in the same circuits, the same temporal things are repeated, neither lazy leisure, especially of so long a duration without beginning, is attributed to God, nor improvident temerity of His works. Because if the same things are not repeated, they cannot, varied by infinite diversity, be comprehended by any knowledge or prescience of His.

2. These argumentations, by which the impious endeavor to turn our simple piety from the right path, that we may walk with them in a circuit, if reason could not refute, faith ought to deride. To this is added, that by the help of the Lord our God, manifest reason shatters these voluble circles which opinion feigns. For in this these men err most of all, so as to prefer walking in a false circuit rather than in the true and straight path, because they measure the divine mind, altogether immutable, capable of any infinity, and numbering all innumerable things without alternation of thought, by their own human, mutable, and narrow mind. And it happens to them what

the Apostle says: "For comparing themselves with themselves, they do not understand" (2 Cor. 10:12). For because whatever new thing comes into their mind to be done, they do by a new counsel (for they bear mutable minds); surely thinking not of God, whom they cannot conceive, but of themselves for Him, they compare not Him but themselves, nor to Him, but to themselves. But it is not lawful for us to believe that God is affected otherwise when He is at vacation, otherwise when He works: because He is not to be said to be affected, as if something should happen in His nature which was not before. For he who is affected suffers, and everything that suffers anything is mutable. Therefore, let not laziness, sloth, or inertia be thought of in His vacation; just as in His work let not labor, effort, or industry be thought of. He knows how to act while resting, and to rest while acting. He can apply to a new work a counsel not new, but sempiternal; nor did He begin to do what He had not done by repenting because He had previously ceased. But even if He previously ceased and subsequently worked (which I know not how it can be understood by man), this which is called prior and posterior was undoubtedly in things not existing before and existing afterward. But in Him not one preceding will changed or took away another subsequent one, but by one and the same sempiternal and immutable will He caused that the things which He established should first not be, as long as they were not, and that they should afterward be, when they began to be: hence showing perhaps

wonderfully to those who can see such things, how He did not need them, but established them by gratuitous goodness, since without them from eternity lacking beginning He remained in no less beatitude.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Against those who say that things which are infinite cannot be comprehended even by the knowledge of God.

But that other thing which they say, that things which are infinite cannot be comprehended even by the knowledge of God; it remains for them to dare to say, and to immerse themselves in this deep abyss of impiety, that God does not know all numbers. For that they are infinite is most certain: since in whatever number you think a limit is to be made, that same one can be increased, I do not say by adding one, but however great it may be and containing however vast a multitude in the very reason and science of numbers, it can be not only doubled but even multiplied. Indeed, each number is so terminated by its own properties that none of them can be equal to any other. Therefore, they are both disparate among themselves and diverse, and each individual one is finite, and all are infinite. Does God, then, for the sake of infinitude, not know all numbers; and does the knowledge of God reach to a certain sum of numbers and ignore the rest? Who, even the most demented, would say this? Nor will those dare to despise numbers, and say they do not pertain to God's knowledge,

among whom Plato commends God with great authority as fashioning the world by numbers (In Timaeus): and among us it is read as said to God, "Thou hast disposed all things in measure, and number, and weight" (Wisd. 11:21)? Of whom the prophet also says, "Who brings forth the age by number" (Isa. 40:26, sec. LXX). And the Savior in the Gospel says, "All the hairs of your head are numbered" (Matt. 10:30). Far be it, then, that we should doubt that every number is known to Him, "of whose understanding," as is sung in the Psalm, "there is no number" (Ps. 147:5). Therefore, the infinitude of number, although there is no number of infinite numbers, is yet not incomprehensible to Him of whose understanding there is no number. Wherefore, if whatever is comprehended by knowledge is finished by the comprehension of the knower; surely even all infinitude is in a certain ineffable way finite to God, because it is not incomprehensible to His knowledge. Wherefore, if the infinitude of numbers cannot be infinite to the knowledge of God, by which it is comprehended; who, pray, are we mannikins, who presume to fix limits to His knowledge, saying that unless the same temporal things are repeated in the same circuits of times, God cannot either foreknow all things that He made so as to make them, or know them when He has made them? whose wisdom, simply multiplex and uniformly multiform, comprehends all incomprehensible things with such incomprehensible comprehension, that if He always willed to make any new and dissimilar things conse-

quent upon the preceding, He could not have them inordinate and unforeseen; nor would He foresee them from a near time, but would contain them in eternal prescience.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the ages of ages.

Whether He so does, and those which are called ages of ages are coupled together in continued connection, yet one after another, proceeding in an ordered dissimilarity, those at least who are liberated from misery remaining without end in their blessed immortality; or whether the ages of ages are so called that ages remaining in the unshaken stability of the wisdom of God are understood as the efficient causes of these which pass away with time, I do not dare to define. For perhaps it can be said "age" for what are "ages"; so that nothing else is asserted by "age of age" than "ages of ages": just as nothing else is said by "heaven of heaven" than "heavens of heavens." For God called the firmament heaven, above which are the waters (Gen. 1:8), and yet the Psalm says, "And let the waters which are above the heavens praise the name of the Lord" (Ps. 148:4). Which, then, of these two it is, or whether besides these two something else can be understood of the ages of ages, is a most profound question: nor does it hinder what we are now doing, if it be deferred undiscussed for a while; whether we are able to define anything in it, or whether the more diligent treatment itself makes us more cautious,

lest in such obscurity of things we should dare to affirm anything rashly. For now we are disputing against the opinion by which those circuits are asserted, by which it is thought necessary that the same things be always repeated through intervals of times. But whichever of those opinions concerning the ages of ages be true, it pertains nothing to these circuits: because whether there be ages of ages, not the same ones repeated, but one from another proceeding in a most orderly connection, the beatitude of those liberated remaining most certain without any recourse of miseries; or whether the ages of ages be the eternal ones of temporal things as if ruling over subjects, those circuits revolving the same things have no place, which the eternal life of the saints especially refutes (Matt. 25:46).

CHAPTER XX.

Of the impiety of those who assert that souls, partakers of supreme and true beatitude, will again and again through circuits of times return to the same miseries and labors.

For what ears of the pious would bear that, after a life measured out by so many and such great calamities (if indeed that is to be called life, which is rather death, so heavy that the death which liberates from it is feared through love of this death), after so great evils and so many and horrendous ones, at length some time through true religion and wisdom expiated and finished, one should so arrive at the sight of God, and so become blessed by the contemplation of incorpo-

real light through participation in His immutable immortality, for the attainment of which we burn with love, that it must sometime be deserted, and those who desert it, cast down from that eternity, truth, and felicity, be involved in Tartarean mortality, base folly, and execrable miseries, where God is lost, where truth is held in hatred, where through unclean wickednesses beatitude is sought; and this likewise and likewise without any end of priors and posteriors by certain intervals and dimensions of ages done and to be done; and this for the sake of this, that his works may be known to God, the defined circuits always going and returning through our false beatitudes and true miseries, alternate indeed, but sempiternal by incessant revolution; since He can neither rest from doing, nor can He, in knowing, search out those things which are infinite? Who would hear these things? Who would believe them? Who would bear them? Which if they were true, not only would they be more prudently kept silent, but also (that I may say how I am able what I wish) more learnedly not known. For if we shall not have these things there in memory, and therefore we shall be blessed, why is our misery burdened further here through the knowledge of them? But if we are necessarily to know them there, let us at least not know them here, that here the expectation may be happier than the attainment of the supreme good there: when here eternal life is expected to be obtained; but there a blessed life, but not eternal, is known sometime to be lost.

But if they say that no one can arrive at that beatitude unless he has known in the instruction of this life these circuits where beatitude and misery alternately succeed; how then do they confess that by how much more each one shall have loved God, by so much more easily he will arrive at beatitude, who teach those things by which love itself may grow cold? For who would not love Him more remissly and tepidly, whom he thinks he must necessarily desert, and think against His truth and wisdom, and this when he shall have arrived at the full knowledge of Him according to his capacity by the perfection of beatitude; when not even a human friend can anyone love faithfully, to whom he knows he will be an enemy? But far be it that those things be true which threaten us with a true misery never to be finished, but by interpositions of false beatitude often and without end to be broken. For what is more false and fallacious than that beatitude, where we either do not know that we shall be miserable in so great a light of truth, or we fear it in the supreme citadel of felicity? For if we are to be ignorant of the coming calamity, our misery is more skilled here, where we know the coming beatitude. But if the imminent slaughter will not be hidden from us there, the miserable soul passes through times more blessedly by which, having been passed through, it may be raised to beatitude, than the blessed soul by which, having been passed through, it may be revolved into misery. And thus the hope of our unhappiness is happy, and of our happiness unhappy. Whence

it happens, that because here we suffer present evils, there we fear imminent ones, we can always be more truly miserable than ever blessed.

3. But since these things are false, piety crying out and truth convicting them (for that true felicity is truly promised to us, of which there will be a certain security to be always retained, and to be broken by no infelicity); following the right way, which is Christ to us, with Him as leader and savior let us avert the journey of faith and the mind from the vain and inept circuit of the impious. For if concerning these circuits and the goings and returnings of souls alternating without cessation Porphyry the Platonist was unwilling to follow the opinion of his own [sect], whether moved by the vanity of the thing itself, or now revering Christian times; and as I have commemorated in the tenth book (ch. 30), he preferred to say that the soul was delivered to the world for the sake of knowing evils, that having been liberated and purged from them, when it shall have returned to the Father, it may suffer nothing such further: how much more ought we to detest and avoid that falsehood inimical to the Christian faith? But these circuits having been evacuated and frustrated, no necessity compels us to think for that reason that the human race has no beginning of time from which it began to be, because through I know not what circuits there is nothing new in things which has not also been before at certain intervals of times, and is to be hereafter. For if the soul is liberated, not to return to miseries, as it was never before liberated, there is done in

it something which was never before done, and this indeed a very great thing, that is, an eternal felicity which never ends. But if in an immortal nature so great a novelty is done, repeated by no circuit, to be repeated by none, why is it contended that it cannot be done in mortal things? If they say that a novelty of beatitude is not done in the soul, since it returns to that in which it always was, certainly the liberation itself becomes new, when it is liberated from misery in which it never was, and that very novelty of misery was done in it which never was. But if this novelty does not come into the order of things which are governed by divine providence, but happens rather by chance, where are those determined and measured circuits in which no new things are done, but the same things which were are repeated? But if also this novelty is not excluded from the ordination of providence, whether it was given to the soul, or it fell, new things can be done which were neither done before, nor yet are alien to the order of things. And if the soul could by imprudence make for itself a new misery, which was not unforeseen by divine providence, so as to include this also in the order of things, and not without foresight liberate it from this; with what temerity of human vanity, at length, do we dare to deny that the divinity can make things, new not to itself, but to the world, which it neither made before, nor ever had unforeseen? But if they say that liberated souls indeed will not return to misery, but when this is done, nothing new is done in things, since always others and others

have been liberated, and are liberated, and will be liberated: let them certainly concede this, if it is so, that new souls are made, for whom there is both a new misery and a new liberation. For if they say that they are ancient, and sempiternal backwards, from which daily new men are made, from whose bodies, if they have lived wisely, they are so liberated that they are never revolved to miseries, they are consequently going to say that they are infinite. For however great a finite number of souls had been, it would not be able to suffice for infinite ages backwards, so that from it men should always be made, whose souls were always to be liberated from this mortality, never to return to it thereafter. Nor will they in any way explain how, in things which they wish to be finite so that they can be known to God, the number of souls is infinite.

4. Wherefore, since those circuits are now exploded, by which it was thought the soul would necessarily return to the same miseries; what remains more convenient to piety than to believe that it is not impossible for God both to make new things which He never made, and by ineffable foreknowledge not to have a changeable will? Furthermore, whether the number of liberated souls, never further to return to miseries, can be always increased, let them see who dispute so subtly concerning the restraining of the infinity of things: but we terminate our reasoning from both sides. For if it can, what cause is there that it should be denied that that could be created which had never before been created, if the num-

ber of liberated souls, which never before was, not only was made once, but will never cease to be made? But if it is necessary that there be some certain number of liberated souls which never return to misery, nor that number be further increased; even that number, without doubt, whatever it shall be, surely never was before: which certainly could not grow and arrive at the term of its quantity without some beginning; which beginning in that manner never before was. That this therefore might be, man was created, before whom there was none.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the condition of the one first man, and in him of the human race.

This most difficult question having been explained, therefore, as much as we were able, concerning the eternity of God creating new things without any novelty of will, it is not arduous to see that it was much better what was done, that from one man whom He first established, He should multiply the human race, than if He had begun it from many. For when He instituted other animals, some solitary, and as it were solitary-wandering, that is, which more desire solitude, as are eagles, kites, lions, wolves, and whatever are such; others gregarious, which prefer to live gathered together and in flocks, as are pigeons, starlings, stags, does, and others of this kind: nevertheless, He did not propagate either kind from single individuals, but commanded many to exist

at once. But man, whose nature He established as it were medium between Angels and beasts, so that, if being subject to his Creator as to a true Lord, he should keep His precept with pious obedience, he might pass into the angelic fellowship, having attained a blessed immortality without any term and without intervening death; but if, using his free will proudly and disobediently, he should offend the Lord his God, being addicted to death he should live beast-like, the slave of lust and destined to eternal punishment after death; Him He created one and single, not indeed to be left alone without human society, but that in that way the unity of society itself and the bond of concord might be more vehemently commended to him, if men were knit together not only by similarity of nature, but also by the affection of kinship; since it pleased Him to create not even the female herself to be coupled with the man as He did him, but from him, so that the whole human race might be diffused from one man.

CHAPTER XXII.---That God foreknew that the man, whom He first established, would sin; and at the same time foresaw how great a people of the pious from his race He would translate into the angelic fellowship by His grace.

Nor was God ignorant that man would sin, and being now obnoxious to death would propagate those who were to die, and that mortals would proceed to such immensity of sinning, that the beasts of their own kind, devoid of rational will, whose beginning sprouted more numerously from the waters and the lands, would live

more safely and peaceably among themselves than men, whose race is propagated from one for the sake of commending concord. For never have lions among themselves, or dragons among themselves, waged such wars as men. But He also foresaw by His grace a people of the pious to be called into adoption, and being justified by the Holy Spirit, their sins having been remitted, to be associated with the holy Angels in eternal peace, the last enemy, death, having been destroyed: to which people the consideration of this thing would be profitable, that God had instituted the human race from one man for the sake of commending to men how grateful to Him is unity even in many.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the nature of the human soul created to the image of God.

God therefore made man to His own image. For He created such a soul for him, by which through reason and intelligence he should be superior to all terrestrial and aquatic and volatile animals, which would not have a mind of this kind. And when He had formed the man from terrestrial dust, and had indwelt in him by breathing such a soul as I have said, whether one which He had already made, or rather had made by breathing, and had willed that breath which He made by breathing (for what else is it to breathe, than to make a breath?) to be the soul of man, He also made a consort for him as an aid for generating, a bone having been drawn

from his side, as God. For these things are not to be thought of by carnal custom, as we are accustomed to see artisans fabricating from whatever terrestrial matter, by corporal members, what they could by the industry of art. The hand of God is the power of God, who also works visible things invisibly. But those think these things to be fabulous rather than true, who measure the virtue and wisdom of God, by which He knows and is able even without seeds to make the seeds themselves, by these usual and daily works; but those things which were primarily instituted, since they have not known them, they think of unfaithfully: as if these very things which they have known concerning human conceptions and births, if they were narrated to the inexperienced, would not seem more incredible; although many assign even those very things more to the corporal causes of nature than to the works of the divine mind.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Whether the Angels can be called creators of any, even the least, creature.

But with those we have no business in these books, who do not believe that the divine mind makes or cares for these things. But those who believe their Plato, that not by that supreme God who fabricated the world, but by other lesser ones, whom He indeed created, all mortal animals were made by His permission or command, in which man should hold the chief place and one

kindred to the gods themselves (In the Timaeus); if they should be free from superstition, by which they seek whence they may justly seem to offer sacred rites and sacrifices as if to their founders, they will easily be free also from the error of this opinion. For it is not lawful to believe or say that the creator of any nature, however small and mortal, is anyone but God, even before it can be understood. But the Angels, whom they more willingly call gods, although they employ their operation, whether commanded or permitted, upon things which are produced in the world, nevertheless we no more call them creators of animals, than we call farmers [creators] of fruits and trees.

CHAPTER XXV.

That every nature and every species of the universal creature is formed only by the work of God.

For since there is one species which is applied from without to any corporal matter, as potters and smiths and artisans of that kind work, who also paint and fashion forms similar to the bodies of animals; but another which has efficient causes from within from the secret and hidden judgment of a living and intelligent nature, which not only makes natural species of bodies, but also the very souls of living things, while it is not [made]: let that aforementioned species be attributed to any artisans; but this other only to the one artist creator and founder God, who made the world itself and the Angels

without any world and without any Angels. For by what divine and, so to speak, effective power, which knows not to be made, but to make, the roundness of heaven and the roundness of the sun received species when the world was made; by that same divine and effective power, which knows not to be made, but to make, the roundness of the eye and the roundness of an apple, and the other natural figures which we see in any things that are born, received species, not applied from without, but by the intimate power of the Creator, who said, 'I fill heaven and earth' (Jer. 23:24): and whose wisdom it is which 'reacheth from one end to another mightily, and sweetly doth she order all things' (Wisd. 8:1). Accordingly, the Angels having been made first, what kind of ministry they provided to the Creator making other things, I know not; nor do I dare to attribute to them what perhaps they cannot, nor ought I to derogate what they can. Nevertheless, the creation and establishing of all natures, by which it comes to pass that they are entirely natures, I attribute to that God, even with them favoring [it], to whom they themselves also know they owe what they are with thanksgiving. Not only, therefore, do we not call farmers the creators of any fruits, when we read, 'Neither he that planteth is anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase' (1 Cor. 3:7): but not even the earth itself, although it seems a fertile mother of all things, which promotes those breaking forth in germs, and contains them fixed by roots, since we likewise read, 'God giveth it a

body as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed his own body' (1 Cor. 15:38). So neither ought we to call a woman the creatress of her childbed, but rather Him who said to a certain servant of His, 'Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee' (Jer. 1:5). And although the soul of a pregnant woman affected thus or thus may be able to clothe the fetus as if with some qualities, as Jacob did with the varied rods, so that cattle of varied color should be brought forth (Gen. 30:37); nevertheless, that nature which is born, she herself did not make, just as she did not make herself. Whatever corporal or seminal causes, therefore, are applied to things to be generated, whether by the operations of Angels or of men, or of any animals, or by the mixtures of males and females; whatever desires or motions also of the mother's soul may be able to sprinkle something of lineaments or colors upon the tender and soft conceptions, the natures themselves entirely, which are affected thus or thus in their own kind, none makes but the supreme God: whose hidden power penetrating all things by an uncontaminable presence makes to be whatever in any way is, in as much as it is; because unless He made it, it would not be such or such, but would not be able to be at all. Wherefore, if in that species which artisans impose from without upon corporal things, we say that the city of Rome and the city of Alexandria had for founders, not the smiths and architects, but the kings, by whose will, counsel, and command they were fabricated, the former Romulus, the latter Alexander: how much more ought we

to call none but God the founder of natures, who neither makes anything from that matter which He Himself did not make, nor has workmen except those whom He Himself created; and if He should withdraw His power, so to speak, fabricatory from things, they will so not be, as they were not before they were made? But I say before, in eternity, not in time. For who else is the creator of times, but He who made those things, by whose motions times should run?

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the opinion of the Platonists, by which they thought that the Angels indeed were established by God, but that they themselves were the founders of human bodies.

Thus indeed Plato willed that the lesser gods made by the supreme God should be the effectors of the other animals, so that they should take the immortal part from Him, but they themselves should weave the mortal part (In the Timaeus). Accordingly, he willed them not to be the creators of our souls, but of our bodies. Whence since Porphyry says that every body is to be fled from for the sake of the soul's purgation, and at the same time feels with his Plato and other Platonists that those who have lived immoderately and dishonestly return to mortal bodies for the sake of paying penalties, Plato indeed even to those of beasts, Porphyry only to those of men; it follows for them that they say those gods, whom they wish to be worshiped by us as if our parents and founders, are nothing other than the smiths of

our shackles or prisons; and not our institutors, but our inclosers and binders in woeful workhouses and most heavy bonds. Either, therefore, let the Platonists cease to threaten the penalties of souls from these bodies; or let them not preach to us that those gods are to be worshiped, whose operation in us they exhort that we, as much as we can, should flee and escape; when nevertheless both are most false. For neither do souls so pay penalties when they are revolved anew to this life; and of all living things whether in heaven or on earth, there is no founder except Him by whom heaven and earth were made. For if there is no cause of living in this body except for the sake of shameful punishments; how does the same Plato say that the world could not otherwise have been made most beautiful and best, unless it were filled with the kinds of all animals, that is, of immortal and mortal ones (In the Timaeus)? But if our institution, by which we were established even as mortals, is a divine gift; how is it a punishment to return to these bodies, that is, to divine benefits? And if God, as Plato assiduously commemorates, contained in His eternal intelligence the species of all animals, just as of the universal world, how was He not Himself the founder of all? Or would He be unwilling to be the artist of some, of the effecting of whom His ineffable and ineffably laudable mind had the art?

CHAPTER XXVII.

That in the first man arose all the plenitude of the human race, in which God foresaw what part was to be honored with reward, what damned with punishment.

1. Deservedly, therefore, true religion acknowledges and preaches Him as the founder of the universal world, and also of all animals, that is, both of souls and of bodies. Among which earthly things, man, the chief, was made one by Him to His image for that cause which I have said, and if any other greater perhaps lies hidden, but he was not left alone. For there is nothing so discordant by vice, so social by nature, as this race. Nor would human nature speak more commodiously either for cautioning lest the vice of discord should exist, or for healing it when it had existed, than by the record of that parent whom for that reason God willed to create one, from whom a multitude should be propagated, so that by this admonition a concordant unity might be preserved even in many. But that the female was made for him from his side, even from here it is sufficiently signified how dear the conjunction of husband and wife ought to be. These works of God are indeed unusual because they are the first. But those who do not believe these things ought to believe no prodigies that have been made: for neither would they themselves be called prodigies if they were brought forth by the usual course of nature. But what is brought forth in vain under so great a government of divine providence, although its cause lies hidden? A certain sacred psalm says: 'Come and behold the works of the Lord, what prodigies He hath set upon the

earth' (Ps. 46:8). Why, therefore, the female was made from the side of the man, and what this first prodigy, so to speak, prefigured, I shall say in another place, as much as God shall help me.

2. Now since this book is to be closed, let us think that in this first man, who was established first, the societies as if two cities had already arisen in the human race, not yet indeed according to evidence, but yet according to the foreknowledge of God. For from him were to be men, some to be associated with the evil angels in punishment, others with the good in reward, although by the hidden but yet just judgment of God. For since it is written, 'All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth' (Ps. 25:10): neither can His grace be unjust, nor His justice cruel.

BOOK THIRTEENTH.

In which it is taught that death in men is penal, and arose from the sin of Adam.

CHAPTER I.

Of the fall of the first man, through which mortality was contracted.

The most difficult questions concerning the rise of our age and the beginning of the human race having been dispatched, the order of things now demands from us an instituted disputation concerning the fall of the first man, or rather of the first men, and concerning the origin and propagation of human death. For God had not created men in that manner in which He created the Angels; so that even if they had sinned, they could not die at all: but in such a way that an angelic immortality and blessed eternity would follow those who performed the duty of obedience without the intervention of death; but death should punish the disobedient with a most just condemnation: which we have already said in the previous book (ch. 21).

CHAPTER II.

Of that death which can happen to the soul that is in some way always to live, and that to which the body is subject.

But concerning the kind of death itself I see that I must dispute a little more diligently. For although the human soul is truly said to be immortal, yet it also has a certain death of its own. For it is therefore called immortal because in a certain way, however small, it does not cease to live and feel; but the body is therefore mortal because it can be deserted by all life, nor does it live by itself to any extent. Death of the soul, therefore, happens when God deserts it: just as that of the body happens when the soul deserts it. Therefore, the death of both things, that is, of the whole man, is when the soul, deserted by God, deserts the body. For thus it neither lives from God, nor the body from it. But such a death of the whole man is followed by that which the authority of the divine oracles calls the second death (Rev. 2:11; 21:8). The Savior signified this where He says: "Fear Him who has power to destroy both body and soul in Gehenna" (Matt. 10:28). Since this does not happen before the soul has been so joined to the body that they are separated by no severance; it may seem wonderful how the body is said to be killed by that death by which it is not deserted by the soul, but, being animated and feeling, is tortured. For in that last and eternal punishment, concerning which we must dispute more diligently in its own place, the death of the soul is rightly said to be, because it does not live from God; but in what way the death of the body, when it lives from the soul? for it cannot otherwise feel those same

corporal torments which are to be in the future after the resurrection. Or because life of any kind is some good, but pain an evil, is the body therefore not to be said to live, in which the soul is not the cause of living, but of grieving? Thus the soul lives from God when it lives well; for it cannot live well unless God works in it what is good: but the body lives from the soul when the soul lives in the body; whether it lives itself, or does not live from God. For the life of the impious in their bodies is the life not of the souls, but of the bodies: which souls even dead, that is, deserted by God, can confer upon them by whatever small proper life of their own, from which they are also immortal, not ceasing. But in the final damnation, although man does not cease to feel, yet because the sense itself is neither sweet with pleasure, nor healthy with rest, but penal with pain, it is not undeservedly called death rather than life. But it is called the second because it is after that first one, by which the severance of the cohering natures is made, whether of God and the soul, or of the soul and the body. Concerning the first death of the body, therefore, it can be said that it is good to the good, and evil to the evil. But the second, without doubt, as it is of no good things, so it is good to no one.

CHAPTER III.

Whether death, which passed through the sin of the first men into all men, is also a penalty of sin to the saints.

But a question arises not to be dissembled, whether indeed death, by which the soul and body are separated, is good to the good. For if it is so, how can it be maintained that it is itself also the penalty of sin? For the first men, unless they had sinned, would certainly not have suffered this. In what way, therefore, can it be good to the good, which could not happen except to the evil? But again, if it could not happen except to the evil, it ought not to be good to the good, but none at all. For why should there be any penalty in those in whom there were no things to be punished? Wherefore it must be confessed that the first men were so established that, if they had not sinned, they would have experienced no kind of death: but the same first sinners were so punished with death that whatever had arisen from their stock should be held subject to the same penalty. For nothing else would be born from them than what they themselves had been. For according to the magnitude of that fault, the condemnation changed nature for the worse; so that what preceded penally in the first sinning men should also follow naturally in the rest being born. For not so is man from man, as man from dust. For dust was the matter for making man: but man the parent for begetting man. Therefore, what is earth is not this flesh; although flesh was made from earth. But what man the parent is, this also man the offspring is. In the first man, therefore, through the female, the universal human race was to pass into progeny, when that copulation of spouses received the divine sentence of

its own condemnation: and what man was made, not when he was created, but when he sinned and was punished, this he begot, as much as pertains to the origin of sin and death. For not to the infantile dullness and infirmity of mind and body, which we see in little ones, was he reduced by sin or penalty: which God willed to be as if the beginnings of cubs, whose parents He had cast down into bestial life and death; as it is written, "Man, when he was in honor, did not understand; he was compared to the unintelligent cattle, and was made like them" (Ps. 49:12). Except that we see infants even weaker in the use and movement of limbs and the sense of seeking and avoiding than are the most tender offspring of other animals: as if human power should raise itself more excellently above the rest of living things, the more it has deferred its own impetus, like an arrow when the bow is stretched, being drawn backwards. Not, therefore, to those infantile rudiments by illicit presumption and just condemnation did the first man fall or was he driven: but so far was human nature vitiated and changed in him, that he suffered a resistant disobedience of concupiscence in his members, and was bound by the necessity of dying; and thus he begot that which he was made by vice and penalty, that is, those subject to sin and death. From which bond of sin, if infants are loosed through the grace of the Mediator, they can suffer this death alone which separates the soul from the body: but they do not pass into that second

death penal without end, being liberated from the obligation of sin.

CHAPTER IV.

Why from those who have been absolved from sin through the grace of regeneration, death, that is, the penalty of sin, is not taken away.

But if anyone is moved as to why they should suffer even death itself, if it is also the penalty of sin, whose guilt is abolished through grace; already this question in another work of ours, which we wrote concerning the Baptism of infants, has been treated and solved: where it was said that the experience of separation of the soul from the body is left to this end, although the bond of crime has already been taken away; since, if the immortality of the body immediately followed the Sacrament of regeneration, faith itself would be enervated, which then is faith when that which is not yet seen in reality is expected in hope. But by the strength and contest of faith, at least in those of greater ages, the fear of death was also to be overcome, which was most prominent in the holy martyrs: of which contest indeed there would be no victory, no glory; because neither could it be a contest at all, if after the laver of regeneration the saints could no longer suffer corporal death. But with infants to be baptized, who would not rather run to the grace of Christ for this reason, lest he be loosed from the body? And thus faith would not be proved by an invisible reward; but now it would not even be faith,

by seeking and receiving immediately the reward of its own work. But now by a greater and more wonderful grace of the Savior the penalty of sin has been turned into uses of justice. For then it was said to man, "You shall die if you sin": now it is said to the martyr, "Die lest you sin." Then it was said, "If you transgress the command, you shall die the death" (Gen. 2:17): now it is said, "If you refuse death, you shall transgress the command." That which was then to be feared so that one should not sin, must now be undertaken lest one should sin. Thus by the ineffable mercy of God, even the penalty of vices passes into arms of virtue, and even the punishment of the sinner becomes the merit of the just. For then death was acquired by sinning, now justice is fulfilled by dying. But this in the holy martyrs, to whom one of the two is proposed by the persecutor, that they either desert the faith, or suffer death. For the just prefer to suffer by believing what the first unjust suffered by not believing. For unless those had sinned, they would not die: but these will sin unless they die. Those, therefore, died because they sinned: these do not sin because they die. It was brought about by the fault of those that one should come into penalty: it is brought about by the penalty of these that one should not come into fault; not because death has been made some good thing, which before was an evil; but God has bestowed so great a grace on faith that death, which is certain to be contrary to life, should become an instrument through which one should pass to life.

CHAPTER V.

That as the unjust use the law, which is good, evilly, so also the just use death, which is evil, well.

When the Apostle wished to show how much sin, grace not succoring, was able for harm, he did not hesitate to say that even the law itself by which sin is prohibited is the power of sin. "The sting of death is sin," he said; "but the power of sin is the law" (1 Cor. 15:56). Most truly indeed. For prohibition increases the desire of the illicit work, when justice is not so loved that the cupidity of sinning is conquered by its delight. But so that true justice may be loved and delight, nothing but divine grace succors. But lest for that reason the law should be thought an evil because it is called the power of sin; therefore he himself in another place, dealing with a question of this kind, says: "The law indeed is holy, and the command holy and just and good." Did that, therefore, which is good," he says, "become death to me? Far be it. But sin, so that it might appear as sin, has through that which is good worked death to me, so that it may become above measure a sinner or sin through the command" (Rom. 7:12, 13). "Above measure," he said; because transgression is also added, when with the increased lust of sinning even the law itself is contemned. Why did we think this was to be commemorated? Because, forsooth, as the law is not an evil when it increases the concupiscence of those sinning; so neither is death a good when it increases the glory of those suffering: when either that is

deserted for iniquity, and makes transgressors; or this is undertaken for truth, and makes martyrs. And by this the law indeed is good, because it is the prohibition of sin; but death evil, because it is the wages of sin: but just as the unjust use evilly not only evil things, but also good things; so the just use well not only good things, but also evil things. Hence it happens that both the evil use the law evilly, although the law is a good; and the good die well, although death is an evil.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the evil of general death, by which the society of the soul and body is separated.

Wherefore, as pertains to the death of the body, that is, the separation of the soul from the body, when those suffer it who are called dying, it is good to no one. For the power itself by which both are rent asunder has a harsh sense and is against nature, which had been joined and fastened together in the living, as long as it lingers, until all sense is taken away, which was in it from the very complex of soul and flesh. Which whole molestation sometimes one blow of the body or the snatching of the soul intercepts, nor permits it to be felt by the speed preventing it. Thus since from the perpetuated propagation of the first man death is without doubt the penalty of the one being born; yet if it is paid for piety and justice, it becomes the glory of the one being born again: and although death is the retribution of sin, sometimes it obtains that nothing

be retributed to sin. Whatever however that is in the dying, which with a grave sense takes away sense, by piously and faithfully tolerating it increases the merit of patience, it does not take away the name of penalty.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the death which those not regenerated suffer for the confession of Christ.

For whoever also, the laver of regeneration not having been perceived, die for the confession of Christ, it avails as much to them for the dismissal of sins as if they were washed in the sacred font of Baptism. For He who said, "Unless anyone be born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" (John 3:5), made these excepted by another sentence, where He said no less generally, "Whoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 10:32); and in another place, "Whoever shall lose his soul for my sake, shall find it" (Matt. 16:25). Hence it is that it is written, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints" (Ps. 116:15). For what is more precious than death, through which it is brought about that both all faults are dismissed and merits are cumulatively increased? For they are not of so great merit who, when they could not defer death, were baptized, and all sins being deleted emigrated from this life, as are these who did not defer death when they could, because they preferred to end life by confessing Christ

than to come to His Baptism by denying Him. Which certainly if they had done, even this would be dismissed to them in that laver, that they had denied Christ for fear of death; in which laver even to those was so great a crime dismissed who had killed Christ. But when, without the abundance of the grace of that Spirit who blows where He wills (John 3:8), could they so love Christ that they could not deny Him in so great a crisis of life under so great a hope of pardon? The precious death of the saints, therefore, to whom the death of Christ was premised and prorogated with so great grace that they did not hesitate to spend their own for the sake of acquiring Him, has shown that it was reduced to those uses which before had been established for the penalty of the sinner, so that from it a more abundant fruit of justice might arise. Death, therefore, ought not to seem a good for this reason, because it has been converted into so great utility not by its own force, but by divine assistance; so that what was then proposed as to be feared lest sin should be committed, is now proposed as to be undertaken so that sin may not be committed, and what has been committed may be deleted, and the due palm of justice be rendered to a great victory.

CHAPTER VIII.

That the acceptance of the first death for the sake of truth in the saints is an absolution from the second death.

For if we consider more diligently, even when anyone dies faithfully and laudably for the sake

of truth, death is avoided. For on that account something of it is undertaken, lest the whole should happen, and the second death besides, which should never end, should be added. For the separation of the soul from the body is undertaken, lest, God being separated from the soul, the soul itself should also be separated from the body, and so, the first death of the whole man being completed, the second eternal death should follow. Wherefore death indeed, as I said, when the dying suffer it, and when it acts in them so that they may die, is good to no one, but it is laudably tolerated for the sake of holding or attaining a good. But when those who are already called dead are in it, it is not absurdly said to be both evil to the evil and good to the good. For the souls of the pious, separated from the body, are at rest; but those of the impious suffer punishments: until the bodies of the former revive unto eternal life, and of the latter unto eternal death, which is called the second.

CHAPTER IX.

Whether the time of death, in which the sense of life is taken away, is to be said to be in the dying or in the dead.

But that time in which souls separated from the body are either in good or in evil, is it to be said to be after death rather, or in death? For if it is after death, it is no longer death itself, which is transacted and past, but after it the present life of the soul, whether good or evil, exists. But death was then evil to them when it was,

that is, when they suffered it, while they were dying: since a heavy and troublesome sense was in them; which evil the good use well. But death being completed, in what way is it either good or evil, which already is not? Furthermore, if we still attend more diligently, even that will not appear to be death, of which we said the sense was heavy and troublesome in the dying. For as long as they feel, they certainly still live; and if they still live, they are to be said to be before death rather than in death: because when that comes, it takes away all sense of the body, which is troublesome as it approaches. And through this, it is difficult to explain how we may call those dying who are not yet dead, but are already tossed by extreme and deadly affliction as death is imminent: even if these are rightly called dying; because when death, which already impends, has arrived, they are called not dying, but dead. No one, therefore, is dying except the living; since when one is in such extremity of life as are those whom we say are giving up the ghost, surely he who has not yet lacked a soul still lives. Therefore, the same person is at once both dying and living: but approaching death, departing from life; yet still in life, because the soul is in the body; but not yet in death, because it has not yet departed from the body. But if, when it has departed, it will not even then be in death, but rather after death; who shall say when it is in death? For neither will anyone be dying, if no one can be at once dying and living: for as long as the soul is in the body, we cannot deny him to be living. Or if he is rather to be called

dying in whose body it is already being acted that he should die, and no one can be at once living and dying; I know not when he is living.

CHAPTER X.

Of the life of mortals, which is rather to be called death than life.

For from the moment anyone begins to be in this body destined to die, it is never not being acted in it that death should come. For its mutability during the whole time of this life (if indeed it is to be called life) acts so that death is reached. For there is no one who is not nearer to it after a year than he was a year ago, and tomorrow than today, and today than yesterday, and a little after than now, and now than a little before. Since whatever time is lived, it is taken from the space of living; and daily that which remains becomes less and less: so that the time of this life is altogether nothing else than a race to death, in which no one is permitted to stand even a little while, or to go somewhat more slowly: but all are urged on with equal motion, nor are they impelled with a different approach. For he whose life was shorter did not pass his day more quickly than he whose life was longer: but since equal moments were snatched from both equally, one had it nearer, the other more remote, towards which both were running with no unequal velocity. But it is one thing to have traversed more of the way, and another to have walked more slowly. He, therefore, who spends

more extended spaces of time until death, does not proceed more slowly, but accomplishes more of the journey. Furthermore, if everyone begins to die, that is, to be in death, from the moment that death itself begins to be acted in him, that is, the withdrawal of life; because, when by withdrawing it shall have been finished, it will already be after death, not in death: surely from the moment he begins to be in this body, he is in death. For what else is acted in each day, hour, and moment, until, life being consumed, that death which was being acted is fulfilled; and the time begins to be after death, which, while life was being withdrawn, was in death? Never, therefore, is man in life, from the moment he is in this body dying rather than living, if he cannot be at once in life and in death. Or is he rather at once both in life and in death: in life, to wit, in which he lives until it is all withdrawn; but in death, by which he is already dying as life is withdrawn? For if he is not in life, what is that which is withdrawn until its perfect consumption occurs? But if he is not in death, what is the withdrawal of life itself? For not in vain, when life has been altogether withdrawn from the body, is it said to be after death, unless because it was death while it was being withdrawn. For if, that being withdrawn, man is not in death, but after death; when, unless while it is being withdrawn, will he be in death?

CHAPTER XI.

Whether anyone can be at once living and dead.

1. But if it is absurd that we should say a man, before he arrives at death, is already in death; (for whom does he approach by spending the times of his life, if he is already in it?) especially because it is too unusual that one should be said to be at once living and dying, since one cannot be at once waking and sleeping: it must be asked when he will be dying. For before death comes, he is not dying, but living: but when death has come, he will be dead, not dying. The former is still before death, the latter already after death. When, therefore, is he in death? (for then he is dying:) so that just as there are three things when we say, Before death, in death, after death; so three things may be rendered to each: Living, dying, and dead. When, therefore, he may be dying, that is, in death, where he may be neither living, which is before death, nor dead, which is after death, but dying, that is, in death, is most difficultly defined. For as long as the soul is in the body, especially if sense also be present, beyond doubt the man lives, who consists of soul and body; and through this he is to be said to be still before death, not in death: but when the soul has departed, and has taken away all sense of the body, he is already considered after death and dead. Therefore, that point between both, in which he may be dying or in death, perishes: since if he still lives, he is before death; if he has ceased to live, he is already after death. Never, therefore, is he comprehended as dying, that is, in death. Thus also in the passage of times the present is sought, and is not found: because it

is without any space through which the passage is made from the future into the past. Must it not, therefore, be seen, lest by this reasoning the death of the body be said to be nothing? For if it is, when is it, which is in no one, and in which no one can be? since if life continues, it is not yet; because this is before death, not in death: but if living has already ceased, it already is not; because this also is after death, not in death. But again, if there is no death before or after, what is that which is called before death or after death? for even this is said in vain, if death is nothing. And would that in paradise, by living well, we had acted so that in truth there would be no death. But now not only is it, but it is also so troublesome, that it can neither be explained by any speech, nor avoided by any reason.

2. Let us speak, therefore, according to custom; for we ought not to do otherwise: and let us say, "Before death," before death happens; as it is written, "Before death praise no man" (Ecclus. xi. 30). Let us say also when it has happened, "After death" of such and such a person such and such a thing was done. Let us speak also of the present time as we can, as when we speak thus: "That person dying made his will, and dying left such and such things to such and such persons": although he could not have done this at all unless he were living, and he did it rather before death, not in death. Let us speak also as the divine Scripture speaks, which does not hesitate to say that the dead also are not after death, but in death. For hence is that saying: "For in death there is

no one who is mindful of Thee" (Psalm vi. 5). For until they revive, they are rightly said to be in death; just as everyone is said to be in sleep until he awakes: although we call those placed in sleep sleeping, yet we cannot in that way call those who are already dead, dying. For they are not still dying who, as far as pertains to the death of the body, of which we are now treating, are already separated from their bodies. But this is what I said could not be explained by any speech, in what way either the dying may be said to live, or the already dead even after death may still be said to be in death. For how after death, if still in death? Especially since we do not call them dying, as we call those who are in sleep sleeping; and those who are in weakness, weak; and those who are in pain, surely suffering; and those who are in life, living: but indeed the dead, before they rise again, are said to be in death, yet they cannot be called dying. Whence I think it has happened not unseasonably nor incongruously, if not by human industry, perhaps by divine judgment, that this word which is "moritur" (he dies), the grammarians have not been able to decline in the Latin language by that rule by which other such words are declined. For from that which is "oritur" (he arises), is formed the verb of the past tense, "ortus est" (he has arisen): and if there are any similar ones, they are declined by the participles of the past tense. But from that which is "moritur", if we seek the verb of the past tense, the answer is usually given, "mortuus est", with the letter "u" doubled. For "mortuus"

is so called as "fatuus", "arduus", "conspicuus", and if there are any similar ones, which are not of the past tense, but because they are nouns, are declined without time. But that, as if to decline what cannot be declined, the noun is put for the participle of the past tense. It has happened conveniently, therefore, that, just as that which it signifies cannot be in acting, so the word itself cannot be declined in speaking. Yet it can be acted by the assistance of the grace of our Redeemer, that we may at least be able to decline the second death. For that is more grievous, and the worst of all evils, which does not occur by the separation of the soul and body, but rather by the embrace of both for eternal punishment. There, on the contrary, men will not be before death and after death, but always in death: and through this never living, never dead, but dying without end. For it will never be worse for man in death, than where death itself will be without death.

CHAPTER XII.

What death God threatened to the first humans if they should transgress His command.

When, therefore, it is asked what death God threatened to the first humans if they should transgress the command received from Him and not keep obedience; whether of the soul, or of the body, or of the whole man, or that which is called the second: the answer must be, All. For the first consists of two; the second is total from all. For as the whole earth consists of many lands, and

the universal Church consists of many churches; so the whole death consists of all. Since the first consists of two, one of the soul, the other of the body: so that the first death of the whole man exists when the soul, without God and without the body, suffers punishments for a time; but the second, where the soul without God with the body suffers eternal punishments. When, therefore, God said to that first man whom He had placed in paradise, concerning the forbidden food, "In whatever day you shall eat of it, you shall die the death" (Gen. ii. 17): that threat embraced not only the first part of the first death, where the soul is deprived of God; nor only the later part, where the body is deprived of the soul; nor only the whole first death itself, where the soul is punished being separated both from God and from the body: but whatever of death there is even to the latest, which is called the second, after which there is no other.

CHAPTER XIII.

The first punishment which the transgression of the first humans felt.

For after the transgression of the precept was made, immediately, as divine grace deserted them, they were confused by the nakedness of their bodies. Whence also with fig-leaves, which perhaps were the first things found by them in their perturbation, they covered their pudenda (Gen. iii. 7): which before were the same members, but were not shameful. They felt, therefore,

a new motion of their disobedient flesh, as if a reciprocal punishment for their own disobedience. For already indeed the soul, delighted with its own perverse liberty, and disdaining to serve God, was deprived of the former service of the body: and because it had deserted its superior Lord by its own will, it did not hold its inferior servant to its own will: nor did it have the flesh subject to it in every way, as it could always have had it, if it had itself remained subject to God. Then, therefore, the flesh began to lust against the spirit (Gal. v. 17): with which controversy we are born, drawing the origin of death, and carrying in our members and in our vitiated nature its contention or its victory from the first prevarication.

CHAPTER XIV.

What sort of man was made by God, and into what lot he fell by the decision of his own will.

For God created man upright, being the author of natures, not certainly of vices: but he, being spontaneously depraved and justly condemned, generated those who are depraved and condemned. For we all were in that one man, when we all were that one man, who fell into sin through the woman, who was made from him before sin. Not yet was there created and distributed to us individually the form in which we were each to live; but there was already the seminal nature from which we were to be propagated: which being vitiated because of sin, and bound

by the chain of death, and justly condemned, no man of any other condition could be born of man. And through this, from the evil use of free will, the series of this calamity arose, which leads the human race, with its origin depraved, as if with a corrupt root, even to the destruction of the second death, which has no end, those only being excepted who are delivered by the grace of God through a connection of miseries.

CHAPTER XV.

That Adam sinning first left God, before he was left by God; and that the first death of the soul was to depart from God.

Wherefore even if in that which was said, "You shall die the death," since it was not said "deaths," we should understand that one alone which occurs when the soul is deserted by its own life, which God is to it: (for it was not deserted so that it should desert, but it deserted so that it should be deserted: for its own will is prior to its own evil; but the will of its Creator is prior to its good, whether that He should make it which was nothing, or that He should remake it which having fallen had perished): even if, therefore, we understand that God denounced this death in that which He said, "In what day you shall eat of it, you shall die the death"; as if He were saying, "In what day you shall desert me by disobedience, I will desert you by justice": surely in that death the others also were denounced, which without doubt were to follow. For in that a disobedient motion arose in the flesh of the disobedient soul,

because of which they covered their pdf, one death was felt in which God deserted the soul. That was signified by His words, when He said to the man hiding himself with demented fear, "Adam, where are you?" (Gen. iii. 9): not indeed seeking by being ignorant, but admonishing by rebuking, that he might attend to where he was in whom God was not. But when the soul itself deserted the body corrupted by age and worn out by senility, another death came into experience, concerning which God, still punishing sin, had said to man, "Dust you are, and into dust you shall go" (Ibid. 19): so that from these two that first death, which is of the whole man, should be completed, which the second follows in the end, unless man be delivered by grace. For neither would the body which is of the earth return into the earth, except by its own death, which happens to it when it is deserted by its life, that is, the soul. Whence it is established among Christians truly holding the Catholic faith, that even the death of the body itself was inflicted on us not by the law of nature, by which God made no death for man, but by the merit of sin: since God, avenging sin, said to man, in whom we then all were, "Dust you are, and into dust you shall go."

CHAPTER XVI.—Of the philosophers who do not think the separation of the soul from the body is penal, although Plato introduces the supreme God promising to the lesser gods that they should never be stripped of their bodies.

1. But the philosophers, against whose calumnies we defend the City of God, that is, His

Church, seem to themselves wisely to mock what we say, that the separation of the soul from the body is to be reckoned among its punishments: because, forsooth, they think that its perfect beatitude happens to it then, when, being stripped of every body whatsoever, it shall have returned to God simple and alone and in a manner naked. Where, if I should find nothing in their own writings by which that opinion might be refuted, I should have to dispute more laboriously to demonstrate that it is not the body that is burdensome to the soul, but the corruptible body. Whence is that which we commemorated from our Scriptures in the preceding book: "For the corruptible body weighs down the soul" (Wisd. ix. 15). By adding "corruptible," he certainly showed that the soul was weighed down not by any body whatsoever, but by such as was made from sin and the following vengeance. Which even if he had not added, we ought to understand nothing else. But since most openly Plato preaches that the gods made by the supreme God have immortal bodies, and introduces God Himself by whom they were made promising them as a great benefit that they shall remain forever with their bodies, nor shall they be dissolved from them by any death: why is it that these, for the sake of harassing the Christian faith, feign not to know what they do know; or even choose to speak against themselves, being repugnant to themselves, while they do not cease to contradict us? Truly these are the words of Plato, as Cicero translated them into Latin, by which he

introduces the supreme God addressing the gods whom He made, and saying: "Ye who are sprung from the seed of the gods, attend to those works of which I am the parent and effector. These are indissoluble against my will: although everything bound together can be dissolved. But it is by no means the part of a good being to wish to dissolve what is bound by reason. But since ye are sprung, ye cannot indeed be immortal and indissoluble: nevertheless ye shall by no means 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 ye were bound together then when ye were being brought forth." Behold, Plato says the gods are mortal by the binding together of body and soul, and yet immortal by the will and counsel of God by whom they were made. If, therefore, it is a punishment for the soul to be bound in any body whatsoever, why is it that God, addressing them as if they were anxious lest perhaps they should die, that is, be dissolved from the body, makes them secure of their immortality; not because of their nature, which is composite, not simple, but because of His most invincible will, by which He is able to make it so that neither the things brought forth should perish, nor the things connected be dissolved, but should incorruptibly persevere?

2. And this indeed, whether Plato says what is true concerning the stars, is another question: for it is not to be immediately granted to him that those globes of light or little orbs shining

with corporeal light over the lands, whether by day or by night, live by certain souls of their own, and those intellectual and blessed, which he also instantly affirms of the whole world itself, as of one greatest animal by which all other animals were contained. But this, as I said, is another question, which we have not now undertaken to discuss. I thought this only was to be commemorated against those who glory in being called or being Platonists, by the pride of which name they blush to be Christians, lest a common name with the vulgar should make vile the small number of those clad in the pallium, a paucity the more inflated as it is the more small: and seeking what they may find fault with in Christian doctrine, they harass the eternity of bodies, as if these things were contrary to each other, that we should both seek the beatitude of the soul and wish it to be always in the body, as if bound by a calamitous chain: whereas their own author and master, Plato, says that a gift was granted by the supreme God to the gods made by Him, that they should never die, that is, never be separated from the bodies to which He has connected them.

CHAPTER XVII.

Against those who assert that earthly bodies cannot become incorruptible and eternal.

1. These also contend that terrestrial bodies cannot be everlasting, since they do not doubt that the whole earth itself is an everlasting member placed in the midst of their god, not indeed

the supreme, but yet a great one, that is, of this whole world. Since, therefore, that supreme God made for them another whom they think to be a god (as Plato in the Timaeus says), that is, this world, to be preferred to the other gods who are below him, and they think that same world to be a living creature, having, as they assert, a rational or intellectual soul included in so great a mass of his body; and since He has constituted the four elements as members of his body, placed and distributed in their own locations, the union of which they wish to be indissoluble and everlasting, lest their so great god should ever die: what cause is there why the earth should be eternal as a middle member in the body of the greater living creature, and the bodies of other terrestrial living creatures cannot be eternal if God should so will it? But to the earth, they say, earth must be restored, whence the terrestrial bodies of animals were taken: from which it results, they say, that it is necessary they should be dissolved and die, and in that manner be restored to the stable and everlasting earth whence they had been taken. If anyone should affirm this also similarly concerning fire, and say that the bodies which were taken thence to become celestial animals must be restored to the universal fire, will not the immortality which Plato promised to such gods, as if the supreme God were speaking, fall to the ground, as if by the violence of this disputation? Or does it not happen there for this reason, because God does not will it, whose will, as Plato says, no force overcomes? What therefore hinders that

God should be able to effect this also concerning terrestrial bodies, since Plato confesses that God is able to make it so that neither the things which have had an origin should perish, nor those that are joined together be dissolved, nor those that are taken from the elements be restored, and that souls constituted in bodies should never desert them, but together with them fully enjoy immortality and everlasting beatitude? Why therefore can He not bring it to pass that terrestrial things should not die? Or is God not powerful as far as Christians believe, but only as far as Platonists will? Could the philosophers forsooth know the counsel and power of God, and could the prophets not know them? when on the contrary His Spirit taught the prophets of God to announce His will, so far as He deigned; but human conjecture deceived the philosophers in their attempt to know it.

2. But they ought not to have been deceived to such an extent, not only by ignorance, but even more by obstinacy, as to contradict themselves most openly, asserting with great force of disputation that the soul, in order to be blessed, must flee not only an earthly body, but every body whatsoever; and again saying that the gods have most blessed souls, and yet bound to eternal bodies, the celestial indeed to fiery ones, and the soul of Jupiter himself, whom they wish to be this world, included in all the corporeal elements by which this whole mass rises from the earth to the heaven. For Plato opines that this soul is diffused and extended by musical numbers from

the inmost middle of the earth, which geometricians call the center, through all its parts even to the highest and extreme parts of heaven, that this world might be a greatest animal, most blessed, everlasting, whose soul should both hold the perfect happiness of wisdom and should not leave its own body; and whose body should both live forever from that soul, and should not be able to dull or retard it, although it be not simple, but compacted of so many and so great bodies. Since therefore they allow these things to their own suspicions, why do they refuse to believe that by divine will and power earthly bodies can become immortal, in which souls, separated from them by no death, and burdened by no weights of theirs, might live everlastingly and happily; which they assert their gods can do in fiery bodies, and Jupiter himself, their king, in all corporeal elements? For if every body must be fled from in order for the soul to be blessed, let their gods flee from the globes of the stars, let Jupiter flee from heaven and earth: or if they cannot, let them be judged miserable. But these men wish for neither, for they neither dare to grant to their gods separation from bodies, lest they should seem to worship mortals; nor the privation of beatitude, lest they should confess them to be unhappy. Therefore, not all bodies are to be fled from in order to attain beatitude, but those that are corruptible, troublesome, heavy, and dying; not such as the goodness of God made for the first men, but such as the punishment of sin compelled them to be.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Concerning earthly bodies, which the philosophers affirm cannot be in the celestial regions; because that which is earthly is called to the earth by its natural weight.

But it is necessary, they say, that their natural weight should either keep earthly bodies on the earth, or force them towards the earth: and therefore they cannot be in heaven. Certainly those first men were on the wooded and fruitful earth, which obtained the name of paradise: but because this also must be answered, either on account of Christ's body with which He ascended into heaven, or on account of the saints' bodies as they shall be in the future resurrection, let them look a little more closely at those same earthly weights. For if human art effects that from metals, which placed in waters are continually submerged, vessels fabricated in certain ways can even float; how much more credibly and effectively can some hidden mode of God's operation (by whose most omnipotent will Plato says that neither things born perish, nor things bound together can be dissolved, since incorporeal things are much more wonderfully coupled to corporeal than any corporeal things to any other bodies) grant to earthly masses that they be depressed by no weight to the lowest parts; and to those souls most perfectly blessed, that they may place their bodies, though earthly yet now incorruptible, where they will, and move them whither they will, with the easiest position and motion? Or indeed, if Angels should do this, and snatch up any

terrestrial animals from whence they please, and place them where they please, is it to be believed that they cannot do it without labor, or that they feel the burdens? Why therefore should we not believe that the perfect and blessed spirits of the saints can by divine gift, without any difficulty, carry their bodies where they will, and station them where they will? For although in terrestrial bodies, as we are accustomed to feel burdens in carrying them, the greater the quantity, the greater also is the weight, so that more pounds press more than fewer; nevertheless the soul carries the members of its own flesh lighter when they are robust in health, than in languor when they are thin. And while to others who carry him, a healthy and strong man is more burdensome than one who is thin and sickly; yet he himself is more agile for moving and carrying his own body when in good health he has more mass, than when in pestilence or famine he has very little strength. So much is the effect, even in having terrestrial bodies although still corruptible and mortal, not of the weight of quantity, but of the mode of temperation. And who could explain in words how great is the distance between this present health, as we call it, and future immortality? Let not the philosophers therefore refute our faith concerning the weights of bodies. For I do not wish to ask why they do not believe an earthly body can be in heaven, when the whole earth is poised upon nothing. For perhaps concerning the very middle place of the world, because into it all heavier things gather, a more plausible argumen-

tation might be held. I say this: if the lesser gods, to whom among the other terrestrial animals Plato committed the making of man also (in the Timaeus), were able, as he says, to remove from fire the quality of burning, and leave that of shining which should flash through the eyes; shall we then doubt to grant to the supreme God (to whose will and power he conceded that things which have had an origin should not die, and that things so diverse and dissimilar, that is, corporeal and incorporeal, connected to each other, can be separated by no dissolution) that from the flesh of man, to whom He gives immortality, He should take away corruption, leave the nature, retain the harmony of the figure and members, and take away the slowness of weight? But concerning the faith of the resurrection of the dead, and concerning their immortal bodies, we must discuss more diligently, if God will, at the end of this work.

CHAPTER XIX.

Against the dogmas of those who do not believe that the first men, if they had not sinned, would have been immortal.

Now let us explain what we have undertaken concerning the bodies of the first men: since neither that death, which is held to be good for the good, and is known not only to a few intelligent or believing persons but to all, by which the separation of the soul from the body is effected, by which certainly the body of the living creature, which evidently was alive, evidently dies, could have happened to them, unless the

merit of sin had followed. For although it is not lawful to doubt that the souls of the righteous and pious deceased live in rest, nevertheless it would be so much better for them to live with their bodies in good health, that even those who in every way think it most blessed to be without a body, are convinced of this their opinion by a conflicting judgment. For none of them will dare to prefer wise men, whether about to die or already dead, that is, either lacking bodies or about to leave their bodies, to the immortal gods, to whom the supreme God in Plato promises a vast gift, namely, indissoluble life, that is, an eternal fellowship with their bodies. Moreover, the same Plato thinks that it goes best with men if they have passed this life piously and justly, so that, separated from their bodies, they may be received into the bosom of those gods who never desert their bodies (in the Phaedo and Phaedrus): Namely, that being forgetful they may revisit the upper vaults, and begin again to wish to return into bodies. (Virgil, Aeneid, bk. 6, lines 750, 751). Which Virgil is praised for having said based on Platonist dogma. For in such a way he thinks that the souls of mortals can neither always be in their bodies, but are dissolved by the necessity of death; nor can they endure perpetually without bodies, but he thinks that by alternating turns living beings are incessantly made from the dead, and the dead from the living: so that the wise seem to differ from other men in this, that after death they are carried to the stars, that each may rest somewhat longer in the star suitable to him,

and from there again, having forgotten his former misery and overcome by the desire of having a body, he returns to the labors and calamities of mortals; but those who have led a foolish life are revolved soon after into bodies due to their merits, whether of men or of beasts (in the Phaedrus). In this most harsh condition, therefore, he placed even good and wise souls, to whom such bodies were not distributed as those with which they might live always and immortally, so that they can neither remain in bodies, nor can they endure without these in eternal purity. Concerning which Platonist dogma we have already said in previous books (especially in bk. 10, ch. 30) that Porphyry blushed in Christian times, and not only removed the bodies of beasts from human souls, but even wished the souls of the wise to be so liberated from corporeal bonds that, fleeing every body, they might be held blessed with the Father without end. Thus, lest he should seem to be conquered by Christ who promises perpetual life to the saints, he himself also placed purified souls in eternal happiness without any return to former miseries: and so that he might oppose Christ, by denying the resurrection of incorruptible bodies, he asserted that they would live forever not only without earthly bodies, but without any bodies at all. And yet, with this opinion whatever it was, he did not even prescribe that they should not be subject to the embodied gods by the compliance of religion. Why so, unless because, although they were associated with no body, he did not believe them to be better than

those gods? Wherefore, if these men will not dare, as I do not think they will dare, to prefer human souls to the most blessed gods, and yet constituted in eternal bodies; why does it seem absurd to them what the Christian faith preaches, that the first men were also so created that, if they had not sinned, they would be released from their bodies by no death, but gifted with immortality for the merits of preserved obedience, they would live with them forever; and that the saints in the resurrection will have such bodies, those very ones in which they labored here, that neither can any corruption or difficulty happen to their flesh, nor any pain and unhappiness to their beatitude?

CHAPTER XX.

That the flesh of the saints, which now rests in hope, is to be restored to a better quality than was that of the first men before sin.

Therefore now the souls of the deceased saints do not have a grievous death on this account, by which they have been separated from their bodies, because their flesh rests in hope, whatever insults it may seem to have received now without any sense. For they do not desire their bodies through forgetfulness, as it seemed to Plato; but rather, because they remember what has been promised to them by Him who deceives no one, who gave them security even concerning the integrity of their hairs (Luke 21:18), they desirably and patiently expect the resurrection of the bodies in which they suffered many hardships, not

being about to feel anything such in them hereafter. For if they did not hate their own flesh (Eph. 5:29), when they coerced it by spiritual right while it resisted their mind through infirmity, how much more do they love it as it is about to be spiritual itself? For just as the spirit serving the flesh is not incongruously called carnal, so the flesh serving the spirit will rightly be called spiritual; not because it will be converted into spirit, as some think from what is written: "It is sown an animal body, it shall rise a spiritual body" (1 Cor. 15:42); but because it will be subjected to the spirit with a most high and wonderful facility of obeying, even unto the most secure will of indissoluble immortality, all sense of trouble, all corruptibility and slowness being taken away. For not only will it not be such as it is now in any best health, but not even such as it was in the first men before sin. Who, although they were not about to die unless they had sinned, nevertheless used food as men, bearing earthly bodies still animal, not yet spiritual. Which, although they did not grow old with age so as to be led to death by necessity (which state was provided for them by the wonderful grace of God from the tree of life, which was in the midst of paradise together with the forbidden tree): nevertheless they also took other foods besides the one tree which had been forbidden, not because it was itself an evil, but for the sake of commending the good of pure and simple obedience, which is a great virtue of a rational creature constituted under the Lord Creator. For where no evil was touched, certainly

if the forbidden thing were touched, the sin was from disobedience alone. They were nourished, therefore, by the other things which they took, lest their animal bodies should feel any trouble from hunger and thirst: but they tasted of the tree of life for this reason, lest death should creep upon them from any quarter, or they should perish worn out by old age in the lapse of periods of time: as if the other things were for food, and that for a sacrament; so that the tree of life in the corporeal paradise may be understood to have been thus, as in the spiritual, that is, the intelligible paradise, is the Wisdom of God, of which it is written: "She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her" (Prov. 3:18).

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the paradise in which the first humans were, that something spiritual can rightly be understood by its significance, while preserving the truth of the historical narrative concerning a physical place.

Hence some refer that whole paradise itself, where the first human parents of the human race are narrated to have been by the truth of Holy Scripture, to intelligible things, and turn those trees and fruit-bearing woods into the virtues of life and morals: as if those visible and corporeal things were not, but were spoken or written in that way for the sake of signifying intelligible things. As if a physical paradise could not have existed for the reason that a spiritual one can also be understood: as if for that reason there were

not two women, Hagar and Sarah, and from them two sons of Abraham, one of the bondwoman, the other of the free, because the Apostle says that two Testaments were figured in them (Gal. 4:22-24): or for that reason water flowed from no rock when Moses struck it (Exod. 17:6; Num. 20:11), because Christ can also be understood there in a figurative significance, the same Apostle saying, "And the rock was Christ" (1 Cor. 10:4). No one therefore prohibits understanding paradise as the life of the blessed; its four rivers as the four virtues: prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice; and its trees as all useful disciplines; and the fruits of the trees as the morals of the pious; and the tree of life as wisdom itself, the mother of all goods; and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil as the experience of a transgressed commandment. For God certainly established punishment for sinners well, because justly, but man does not experience it for his own good. These things can also be understood in the Church, so that we may better receive them as prophetic indications preceding future things: namely, paradise as the Church itself, as we read of her in the Song of Solomon (Song 4:13); the four rivers of paradise as the four Gospels; the fruit-bearing trees as the saints; their fruits as their works; the tree of life as the Holy of Holies, certainly Christ; the tree of the knowledge of good and evil as the proper choice of the will. For indeed, man, having despised the divine will, cannot use himself except perniciously; and thus he learns what difference it makes whether he

cleaves to the good common to all, or is delighted by his own. For he who loves himself is given to himself, so that being filled then with fears and sorrows, he sings in the Psalm, if indeed he feels his own evils, "My soul is troubled within me" (Psalm 42:6); and being now corrected, he says: "My strength will I keep for You" (Psalm 59:9). These things, and whatever other things can more commodiously be said concerning the spiritual understanding of paradise, let them be said, with no one prohibiting; provided, however, that the truth of that history, commended by the most faithful narrative of things done, be believed.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the bodies of the saints after the resurrection, which will be so spiritual that the flesh is not turned into spirit.

Therefore, the bodies of the righteous which are to be in the resurrection will neither need any wood to prevent them from dying by any disease or old age; nor any other corporeal nourishments by which any trouble of hunger and thirst might be avoided: since they will be clothed with a certain and in every way inviolable gift of immortality, so that they may eat only if they wish, from possibility, not from necessity. This the Angels also, appearing visibly and tangibly, did, not because they needed to, but because they wished and were able, so that they might correspond to men by a certain humanity of their ministry. For it is not to be believed that the Angels ate in a phantom, when men received them in hospitality

(Gen. 18, and Tob. 11): although they seemed to those who were ignorant that they were Angels to be eating from a necessity similar to ours. Hence it is that the Angel says in the book of Tobit: "You saw me eat, but you saw it with your vision" (Tobit 12:19): that is, you thought that I took food from a necessity of refreshing my body, as you do. But if perhaps something else more credible can be disputed concerning the Angels, certainly the Christian faith does not doubt concerning the Savior Himself, that even after the resurrection, now indeed in spiritual flesh, but yet true, He took food and drink with His disciples (Luke 24). For the power, not the need, of eating and drinking will be taken away from such bodies. Hence they will also be spiritual; not because they will cease to be bodies, but because they will subsist by the vivifying spirit.

CHAPTER XXIII.

What is to be understood concerning the animal body and the spiritual body: or those who die in Adam, and those who are vivified in Christ.

1. For just as these bodies, which have a living soul but not yet a vivifying spirit, are called animal bodies; yet they are not souls, but bodies: so those are called spiritual bodies; yet far be it from us to believe that they will be spirits, but that they will have the substance of fleshly bodies, but will suffer no fleshly slowness or corruption through the vivifying spirit. Then he will no longer be an earthly, but a heavenly man: not

because the body which was made from the earth will not be the same; but because by a heavenly gift it will now be such that it may be suitable even for inhabiting heaven, its nature not being lost, but its quality changed. But the first man, of the earth, earthy (1 Cor. 15:47), was made into a living soul, not into a vivifying spirit, which was being reserved for him through the merit of obedience. Therefore his body, which needed food and drink lest it should be affected by hunger and thirst, and was prohibited from the necessity of death not by that absolute and indissoluble immortality, but by the tree of life, and was kept in the flower of youth, was not spiritual, but animal, there is no doubt: by no means, however, to die, unless he had fallen by delinquent conduct against the sentence of God predicting and threatening. And although nourishments were not denied even outside of paradise, yet being prohibited from the tree of life, he would have been handed over to time and old age to be finished, at least in that life which, although in an animal body, until it should become spiritual by the merit of obedience, he could have had perpetual in paradise, if he had not sinned. Wherefore, even if we understand that manifest death, by which the separation of the soul from the body takes place, to be signified at the same time in what God had said, "On the day you eat of it, you shall die the death" (Gen. 2:17); it ought not for that reason to seem absurd, because they were not released from the body on that very day on which they took the forbidden and deadly food.

For on that day, their nature being changed for the worse and vitiated, and by a most just separation from the tree of life, the necessity of even bodily death was made in them, with which necessity we are born. Because of which the Apostle does not say, The body indeed is to die because of sin; but he says, "The body indeed is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness." Then he adds: "But if the Spirit of Him who raised up Christ from the dead dwells in you; He who raised up Christ from the dead will also vivify your mortal bodies, through His Spirit dwelling in you" (Rom. 8:10, 11). Then, therefore, the body will be in a vivifying spirit, which now is in a living soul; and yet the Apostle says it is dead, because it is now constrained by the necessity of dying. But then it was so in a living soul, although not in a vivifying spirit, that yet it could not rightly be called dead; because unless by the perpetration of sin it could not have the necessity of dying. But when God, both by saying, "Adam, where are you?" signified the death of the soul, which was made by his deserting Him; and by saying, "Earth you are, and into earth you shall go" (Gen. 3:9, 19), signified the death of the body, which takes place when the soul departs from it: for that reason He is not to be believed to have said nothing concerning the second death, because He wished it to be hidden on account of the dispensation of the New Testament, where the second death is most openly declared; so that first this first death, which is common to all, might be shown to have come from that sin

which in one was made common to all: but the second death is certainly not common to all, on account of those "who are called according to His purpose," "whom He foreknew and predestinated," as the Apostle says, "to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brothers" (Rom. 8:28, 29), whom the grace of God through the Mediator has delivered from the second death.

2. That the first man was made in an animal body, the Apostle speaks thus. For wishing to discern this which is now animal from the spiritual which is to be in the resurrection: "It is sown," he says, "in corruption, it shall rise in incorruption; it is sown in dishonor, it shall rise in glory; it is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power; it is sown an animal body, it shall rise a spiritual body." Then that he might prove this: "If there is," he says, "an animal body, there is also a spiritual one." And that he might show what an animal body was: "So," he says, "it is written: The first man was made into a living soul." In this way, therefore, he wished to show what an animal body is, although the Scripture did not say concerning the first man, who is called Adam, when his soul was created by the breath of God, "And the man was made in an animal body"; but, "The man was made into a living soul" (Gen. 2:7). In that, therefore, which is written, "The first man was made into a living soul," the Apostle wished the animal body of man to be understood. But how the spiritual was to be understood, he showed by adding, "But the last Adam into a

vivifying spirit": undoubtedly signifying Christ, who has already risen from the dead in such a way that He can by no means die henceforth. Finally, he follows and says: "But not first what is spiritual, but what is animal; afterwards, spiritual." Where he much more openly declared that he had insinuated the animal body in that which is written, that the first man was made into a living soul: but the spiritual in that which he says, "The last Adam into a vivifying spirit." For first is the animal body, such as the first Adam had, although not to die if he had not sinned; such as we also have now, his nature having been so far changed and vitiated as was effected in him after he sinned, whence he would have now the necessity of dying; such as Christ also first deigned to have for us, not indeed from necessity, but from power: but afterwards the spiritual, such as has already preceded in Christ as in our head, but is to follow in His members at the final resurrection of the dead.

3. Then the Apostle adds the most evident difference between these two men, saying: "The first man from the earth, earthy; the second man from heaven, heavenly. Such as the earthy is, such also are the earthy: such as the heavenly is, such also are the heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, let us also bear the image of Him who is from heaven (1 Cor. 15:47-49). The Apostle so placed this that it may now indeed be done in us according to the Sacrament of regeneration; as he says elsewhere, "As many of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put

on Christ" (Gal. 3:27): but in actual fact it will then be perfected, when that which is animal in us by being born, shall have been made spiritual by rising again. For to use his words again, "By hope we were made saved" (Rom. 8:24). But we put on the image of the earthy man by the propagation of transgression and death, which generation brought upon us: but we put on the image of the heavenly man by the grace of indulgence and of perpetual life, which regeneration provides for us, only through the Mediator of God and men, the man Jesus Christ (1 Tim. 2:5): whom he wishes to be understood as the heavenly man, because He came from heaven that He might be clothed with the body of earthly mortality, which He might clothe with heavenly immortality. But he calls others heavenly for this reason, because they become His members through grace, so that with them Christ may be one, as it were head and body. This he places more evidently in the same Epistle thus: "Through man death, and through man the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be vivified" (1 Cor. 15:21 and 22). Already, certainly, in a spiritual body, which will be in a vivifying spirit. Not because all who die in Adam will be members of Christ (for of those many more will be punished with the second death forever); but for this reason it was said, "all" and "all," because just as no one dies in an animal body except in Adam, so no one is vivified in a spiritual body except in Christ. Therefore it is by no means to be thought that we are to have such a body in the

resurrection as the first man had before sin. Nor is that which was said, "Such as the earthy is, such also are the earthy," to be understood according to that which was made by the admission of sin. For it is not to be estimated that he, before he had sinned, had a spiritual body, and by the merit of sin was changed into an animal one. For that this should be thought, the words of so great a teacher are too little attended to, who says, "If there is an animal body, there is also a spiritual one; as it is written, The first man Adam was made into a living soul." Was this made after sin, when this is that first condition of man, concerning which the most blessed Apostle, to show the animal body, assumed this testimony of the Law?

CHAPTER XXIV.

How both that insufflation, in which the first man was made into a living soul, or that which the Lord made, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit," is to be taken.

1. Hence also that has seemed to some with too little consideration, in what is read, "God breathed into his face the spirit of life, and the man was made into a living soul" (Gen. 2:7), that then a soul was not first given to the first man, but that which already was in him was vivified by the Holy Spirit. For it moves them that the Lord Jesus, after He rose from the dead, breathed on them, saying to His disciples, "Receive the Holy Spirit" (John 20:22). Hence they think something similar was done as was done then: as if here also the Evangelist followed and said, And they were

made into a living soul. Which if indeed it had been said, we would understand this, that the life of souls is the Spirit of God, without whom rational souls are to be accounted dead, although bodies seem to live by their presence. But it was not so done when man was created, as the words of the book themselves testify, which are as follows: "And God formed man dust from the earth." Which some, thinking it was to be interpreted more clearly, said, "And God fashioned man from the slime of the earth." Since it had been said above, "But a fountain ascended from the earth, and watered the whole face of the earth" (Gen. 2:7, 6): so that from this the slime might seem to be understood, namely, concreted from moisture and earth. For where this was said, it immediately follows, "And God formed man dust from the earth": as the Greek codices have, from which this Scripture was translated into the Latin language. But whether He "formed" or "fashioned," whichever one would wish to say, what in Greek is said as "eplasen," it makes no difference to the matter: yet more properly it is said, "He fashioned." But the ambiguity seemed to be avoided by those who preferred to say "formed," for the reason that in the Latin language that custom obtained more, that those are said to fashion ("fingere") who compose something with a simulating lie. This man therefore formed from the dust or slime of the earth (for it was moist dust); this man, I say, that I may speak more expressly, as the Scripture has spoken, "dust from the earth," the Apostle teaches to have been made an

animal body when he received a soul. And this man was made into a living soul: that is, this formed dust was made into a living soul.

2. Already, they say, he had a soul, otherwise he would not be called a man: since a man is not the body alone, nor the soul alone, but he who consists of soul and body. This indeed is true, that the soul is not the whole man, but the better part of man; nor the whole man the body, but the inferior part of man: but when both are joined together, he has the name of man; which, however, the individual parts do not lose, even when we speak of them individually. For who is prohibited by a certain law of daily speech from saying: That man died, and is now at rest or in punishments; when this can be said of the soul alone: and, In that or that place that man was buried; when this cannot be understood except of the body alone? Or are they going to say that divine Scripture is not accustomed to speak thus? On the contrary, it so attests to us in this matter, that even when these two are joined together and the man lives, yet it calls even the individual parts by the name of man; namely, calling the soul the interior man, but the body the exterior man (2 Cor. 4:16), as if there were two men, though both together be one man. But it is to be understood according to what man is said to be in the image of God, and man earth and about to go into earth. For the former is said according to the rational soul, such as God gave to man, that is to the body of man, by blowing in, or, if it is more commodiously said, by breathing in: but the latter according to the

body, such as man God fashioned from dust, to whom the soul was given, that it might become an animal body, that is, man into a living soul.

3. Wherefore, in that which the Lord did, when He breathed, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit," He undoubtedly wished it to be understood that the Holy Spirit is not only the Spirit of the Father, but also of His only-begotten Son. For the same Spirit is of both the Father and the Son, with whom the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are the Trinity, not a creature, but the Creator. Nor was that corporeal breath proceeding from the mouth of the flesh the substance and nature of the Holy Spirit, but rather a signification by which we might understand, as I said, that the Holy Spirit is common to the Father and the Son: because they do not have separate ones for each, but one belongs to both. But this Spirit is always called in the Holy Scriptures by the Greek word "pneuma," as the Lord also called Him in this place when, signifying Him by the breath of His corporeal mouth, He gave Him to His disciples: and in all places of the divine utterances, it never occurs to me to be named otherwise. But here, where it is read: "And God fashioned man dust from the earth, and blew," or "breathed into his face the spirit of life"; the Greek does not say "pneuma," which is accustomed to be called the Holy Spirit, but "pnoe": which name is read more frequently in the creature than in the Creator: hence some Latins also, for the sake of difference, preferred to call this word not "spiritus," but "flatus" (breath). For this is in the Greek also

in that place in Isaiah, where God says, "I have made every breath" (Isa. 57:16, according to the LXX), signifying every soul without doubt. What therefore is called "pnoe" in Greek, our translators have sometimes interpreted as "flatus," sometimes "spiritus," sometimes "inspiratio," or "adspirationem," even when it is said of God: "pneuma," however, never except as "spiritus"; whether of man, of whom the Apostle says, "For who of men knows the things of a man, except the spirit of man which is in him?" (1 Cor. 2:11); or of a beast, as it is written in the book of Solomon: "Who knows if the spirit of man ascends upward into heaven, and the spirit of the beast descends downward into the earth?" (Eccl. 3:21); or this corporeal spirit, which is also called wind: for this is its name where it is sung in the Psalm, "Fire, hail, snow, ice, the spirit of the tempest" (Psalm 148:8): or now not the created, but the Creator, as is that of which the Lord says in the Gospel, "Receive the Holy Spirit"; signifying Him by the breath of His corporeal mouth. And where He says, "Go, baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 28:19): where the Trinity itself is most excellently and evidently commended. And where it is read, "God is a spirit" (John 4:24). And in very many other places of the sacred Scriptures. For in all these testimonies of the Scriptures, as far as the Greeks are concerned, we do not see "pnoe" written, but "pneuma": and as far as the Latins are concerned, not "flatus," but "spiritus." Wherefore, in that which is written, "He

breathed," or if it is to be said more properly, "He blew into his face the spirit of life"; if the Greek had placed not "pnoe," as is read there, but "pneuma," it would not even so be a consequence that we should be compelled to understand the Creator Spirit, who is properly called the Holy Spirit in the Trinity: since it is manifest that "pneuma," as has been said, is accustomed to be said not only of the Creator, but also of the creature.

4. But when it had said "spirit," they say, it would not add "of life," unless it wished the Holy Spirit to be understood there: and when it had said, "Man was made into a soul," it would not add "living," unless it signified the life of the soul which is divinely imparted to it by the gift of the Spirit of God. For since the soul lives, they say, in its own mode of its life, what need was there to add "living," unless so that that life might be understood which is given to it through the Holy Spirit? What else is this, but to contend diligently for human suspicion, and to attend negligently to the Holy Scriptures? For what great thing was it not to go further, but to read in the same book a little above, "Let the earth bring forth a living soul" (Gen. 1:24); when all terrestrial animals were created? Then with some things interposed, in the same book nevertheless, what great thing was it to notice what is written, "And all things which have the spirit of life, and everyone who was upon the dry land, died" (Gen. 7:22); when it insinuated that all things which lived on the earth perished in the flood? If therefore we find

both a "living soul" and a "spirit of life" even in beasts, as divine Scripture is accustomed to speak; and since in this place also, where it is read, "All things which have the spirit of life," the Greek said not "pneuma," but "pnoe": why do we not say, What need was there that it should add "living," since a soul cannot be unless it lives? or, What need was there that it should add "of life," when it had said "spirit"? But we understand that Scripture spoke "spirit of life" and "living soul" in its own manner, when it wished animals, that is animated bodies, to be understood, in which this clear sense of the body also would be present through the soul. But in the condition of man we forget how Scripture is accustomed to speak, when it has spoken altogether in its own manner: by which it would insinuate that man also, having received a rational soul, which it wished to be understood as created not like other flesh by the waters and the earth bringing it forth, but by God blowing; yet it was so done that he lived in an animal body, which is made by the soul living in it, just as those animals lived, concerning which it said, "Let the earth bring forth a living soul": and which likewise it says had in themselves the "spirit of life"; where even in the Greek it did not say "pneuma," but "pnoe": certainly not expressing the Holy Spirit, but their soul by such a name.

5. But indeed the breath of God, they say, is understood to have come out from the mouth of God, which if we believe to be the soul, it will be a consequence that we confess it to be of the same substance, and equal to that Wisdom

which says, "I came out of the mouth of the Most High" (Eccli. 24:5). Wisdom indeed did not say that she had been breathed out by the mouth of God, but that she had proceeded from His mouth. But just as we can make a breath when we blow, not from our nature by which we are men, but from this surrounding air, which we draw in and draw back by breathing and respiring: so almighty God, not from His own nature, nor from an underlying creature, but even out of nothing was able to make a breath, which by inserting into the body of man He is most conveniently said to have breathed or blown in, the incorporeal into the incorporeal, but the immutable into the mutable; because the uncreated created it. Nevertheless, that those who wish to speak about the Scriptures and do not notice the locutions of the Scriptures may know, not this alone is said to come out from the mouth of God which is equal and of the same nature, let them hear or read what was written when God said: "Because you are lukewarm, and neither hot nor cold, I will begin to vomit you out of my mouth" (Rev. 3:16).

6. There is therefore no cause why we should resist the Apostle speaking most openly, where discerning the animal body from the spiritual body, that is, this one in which we now are from that one in which we are to be, he says: "It is sown an animal body, it shall rise a spiritual body: if there is an animal body, there is also a spiritual one, as it is written, The first man Adam was made into a living soul, the last Adam into a vivifying spirit. But not first what is spiritual, but

what is animal; afterwards, what is spiritual. The first man from the earth, earthy; the second man from heaven, heavenly. Such as the earthy is, such also are the earthy: such as the heavenly is, such also are the heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, let us also bear the image of Him who is from heaven (1 Cor. 15:44-49). Concerning all these apostolic words we have spoken above. Therefore the animal body, in which the Apostle says the first man Adam was made, was so made, not that he could not die at all; but that he would not die, unless man had sinned. For that which by the vivifying spirit will be spiritual and immortal, will not be able to die at all. Just as the soul was created immortal, which although it may be said to be dead through sin while lacking a certain life of its own, that is, the Spirit of God, by which it could also live wisely and blessedly: nevertheless it does not cease to live with a certain, although miserable, life of its own; because it was created immortal. Just as also the deserting angels, although they are dead in a certain manner by sinning; because they deserted the fountain of life, which is God, by drinking of whom they could live wisely and blessedly: nevertheless they could not die in such a way that they should altogether cease to live and feel; since they were created immortal: and thus they will be cast into the second death after the final judgment, so that they will not lack life even there; since they will not lack sense even when they are to be in pains. But men belonging to the grace of God, citizens of the holy Angels remaining in the blessed life,

will be so clothed with spiritual bodies that they will neither sin anymore, nor die: clothed nevertheless with that immortality which, like that of the Angels, cannot be taken away even by sin; the nature of the flesh indeed remaining, but no fleshly corruptibility or slowness remaining at all.

7. But there follows a question necessarily to be treated, and to be solved with the Lord God of truth helping. If the lust of the disobedient members arose from the sin of disobedience in those first humans, when divine grace had deserted them; whence they opened their eyes to their own nakedness, that is, they noticed it more curiously, and because the impudent motion resisted the choice of the will, they covered their shameful parts: how would they have been about to propagate children, if, as they had been created, they had remained without transgression? But because both this book is to be closed, nor is so great a question to be constrained into the narrows of a discourse, let it be deferred to that which follows, by a more commodious disposition.

BOOK FOURTEENTH.

Again concerning the sin of the first man, from which Augustine teaches the cause of fleshly life and of vitiated affections to have flowed: but especially he shows the evil of shameful lust to be the reciprocal punishment of disobedience, and he inquires how, if man had not sinned, he would have been about to propagate children without lust.

CHAPTER I.

That all would have rushed into the perpetuity of the second death through the disobedience of the first man, unless the grace of God should deliver many.

We have already said in the preceding books that God willed to institute men from one man, not only to be associated by similarity of nature, but also to be bound together in a concordant unity by the bond of peace through a certain necessity of kinship; nor would this race have been about to die in each individual, unless the first two, of whom one was created from no one, the other from him, had deserved it by disobedience: by whom so great a sin was committed, that human nature was changed for the worse by it, with the obligation of sin and the necessity of death being transmitted even to posterity. More-

over, the kingdom of death has dominated over men to such an extent, that it would drive all headlong into the second death also, of which there is no end, as a due punishment, unless the undue grace of God should deliver some from there. And through this it has come to pass, that although so many and so great nations living through the orb of the lands by diverse rites and customs, are distinguished by a manifold variety of languages, arms, and garments; nevertheless no more than two certain kinds of human society should exist, which we might deservedly call two cities according to our Scriptures. For one is of men willing to live according to the flesh, the other according to the spirit, in the peace of each one's own kind; and when they attain that which they seek, living in the peace of each one's own kind.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the fleshly life, which is to be understood as arising not only from the vices of the body, but also from those of the soul.

1. First, therefore, it is to be seen what it is to live according to the flesh, and what to live according to the spirit. For whoever inspects at first glance what we have said, either not recollecting or less noticing how the holy Scriptures speak, may think that the Epicurean philosophers indeed live according to the flesh, because they placed the supreme good of man in the pleasure of the body; and if there are any others

who have thought that the good of the body, in whatever way, is the supreme good of man; and all that common crowd of theirs, who do not philosophize by some dogma or in that manner, but prone to lust, do not know how to rejoice except from pleasures which they receive through the bodily senses: but that the Stoics, who place the supreme good of man in the soul, live according to the spirit; because what else is the soul of man but spirit? But as the divine Scripture speaks, both are shown to live according to the flesh. For it calls flesh not only the body of an earthy and mortal living being: as when it says, "Not all flesh is the same flesh; but there is one flesh of man, another flesh of beast, another of birds, another of fishes" (1 Cor. 15:39): but it uses the significance of this name in many other ways, among which various modes of speech it often names even man himself, that is, the nature of man, as flesh, by a mode of speech from the part for the whole, such as is, "From the works of the law shall no flesh be justified" (Rom. 3:20). For what did it wish to be understood, but every man? Which a little after it says more openly, "In the law no one is justified" (Gal. 3:11): and to the Galatians, "Knowing that a man shall not be justified from the works of the law" (Id. 2:16). According to this is understood, "And the Word was made flesh" (John 1:14): that is, man. Not rightly receiving which, some have thought that the human soul was lacking to Christ. For as a part is taken from the whole, where the words of Mary Magdalene are read in the Gospel saying, "They have taken away my

Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him" (Id. 20:13); although she spoke only of the flesh of Christ, which she thought had been taken away from the monument where it was buried: so also from the part the whole, by naming the flesh, man is understood; as are those things which we have commemorated above.

2. Since, therefore, the divine Scripture names flesh in many ways, which it is long to investigate and collect: in order that we may be able to track down what it is to live according to the flesh (which is surely an evil, although the nature of the flesh itself is not an evil), let us diligently inspect that passage of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul which he wrote to the Galatians, where he says: "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are adulteries, fornications, uncleanness, luxury, service of idols, poisonings, enmities, contentions, emulations, animosities, dissensions, heresies, envies, drunkenness, revelings, and things like these; which I foretell to you, as I have also foretold, because those who do such things shall not possess the kingdom of God" (Gal. 5:19-21). This whole passage of the apostolic Epistle, considered as much as will seem to be sufficient for the present matter, will be able to dissolve this question, what it is to live according to the flesh. For in the works of the flesh, which he said were manifest, and which having been commemorated he condemned, we find not only those which belong to the pleasure of the flesh, such as are fornications, uncleanness, luxury, drunkenness, revelings; but even those by which

vices of the soul are shown, alien to the pleasure of the flesh. For who would not rather understand the service which is exhibited to idols, poisonings, enmities, contentions, emulations, animosities, dissensions, heresies, envies, to be vices of the soul than of the flesh? Since it can happen that on account of idolatry or the error of some heresy one may temper himself from the pleasures of the flesh: and yet even then man, although he may seem to contain and restrain the lusts of the flesh, is convicted of living according to the flesh by this apostolic authority; and in that which he abstains from the pleasures of the flesh, he is shown to do damnable works of the flesh. Who would not have enmities in the soul? or who would speak so as to say to his enemy, or to one whom he thinks an enemy: "You have a bad flesh," and not rather: "You have a bad soul against me"? Finally, as if anyone had heard "carnalities," if I may say so, he would not have doubted to attribute them to the flesh; so no one doubts that animosities belong to the soul: why therefore does the Teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth call all these and things like these works of the flesh, unless because by that mode of speech by which the whole is signified from the part, he wishes man himself to be understood by the name of flesh?

CHAPTER III.

That the cause of sin proceeded from the soul, not from the flesh, and that the corruption contracted from sin is not sin, but punishment.

1. But if anyone says that the flesh is the cause of any vices whatever in bad customs, for the reason that the soul affected by the flesh lives thus; surely he does not diligently notice the universal nature of man. For indeed "the corruptible body aggravates the soul" (Wisd. 9:15). Whence also the same Apostle, treating of this corruptible body, of which he had said a little before, "Even if our exterior man is corrupted" (2 Cor. 4:16): "We know," he says, "that if our earthly house of habitation be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, desiring to be clothed over with our habitation which is from heaven: if yet also being clothed, we be not found naked. For we who are in this habitation groan, being burdened: for that we would not be despoiled, but clothed over, that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life" (2 Cor. 5:1-4). And we are burdened, therefore, by the corruptible body, and knowing the cause of that very burdening not to be the nature and substance of the body, but its corruption, we do not wish to be despoiled of the body, but to be clothed with its immortality. For then also it will be [the body], but because it will not be corruptible, it will not burden. "The corruptible body," therefore, now "aggravates the soul, and the earthly habitation depresses the sense thinking many things" (Wisd. 9:15). Nevertheless, those who think that all the evils of the soul have happened from the body are in error.

2. For although Virgil seems to explain the Platonic opinion in brilliant verses, saying: "Fiery

is the vigor in them and a heavenly origin to the seeds, so far as noxious bodies do not retard them, and earthy joints and moribund members do not dull them"; and wishing all those four most known perturbations of the soul, desire, fear, joy, sadness, to be understood as happening from the body as the origins of all sins and vices, he subjoins and says: "Hence they fear and desire, they grieve and rejoice, nor do they look up to the breezes, closed in darkness and a blind prison": (Aeneid, Book 6, verses 730-734) nevertheless our faith has itself otherwise. For the corruption of the body, which aggravates the soul, is not the cause of the first sin, but the punishment; nor did the corruptible flesh make the sinful soul, but the sinful soul made the flesh to be corruptible. From which corruption of the flesh although certain incitements to vices exist, and the vicious desires themselves: nevertheless not all the vices of an iniquitous life are to be attributed to the flesh, lest we should purge from all these the devil, who has no flesh. For even if the devil cannot be said to be a fornicator or a drunkard, or if there is anything of this kind of evil which belongs to the pleasures of the flesh, since he is also the hidden persuader and instigator of such sins: nevertheless he is especially proud and envious. Which vitiosity so obtained him, that on account of this he was destined for eternal punishment in the prisons of this dark air. Moreover, these vices which hold the primacy in the devil, the Apostle attributes to the flesh, which it is certain the devil does not have. For he says that enmities, contentions,

emulations, animosities, envies, are works of the flesh (Gal. 5:20-21): of all which evils the head and origin is pride, which reigns without flesh in the devil. For who is more an enemy to the saints than he? who is found more contentious, more animose, and more emulous and envious against them? And since he has all these without flesh, how are those works of the flesh, unless because they are works of man, whom, as I have said, he calls by the name of flesh? For not by having flesh, which the devil does not have; but by living according to himself, that is, according to man, man was made similar to the devil: because he also willed to live according to himself, when he stood not in the truth; so that he might speak a lie not from God's, but from his own, who is not only a liar, but even the father of lies (John 8:44). For he is the first who lied, and from whom sin began, from him began to be the lie.

CHAPTER IV.

What it is to live according to man, and what to live according to God.

1. When, therefore, man lives according to man, not according to God, he is similar to the devil. Because neither was an angel to have lived according to an angel, but according to God, that he might stand in the truth, and speak the truth from His [God's], not a lie from his own. For also concerning man in another place the same Apostle says: "But if the truth of God has abounded in my lie" (Rom. 3:7). He called it "my

lie," but "the truth of God." When, therefore, man lives according to the truth, he does not live according to himself, but according to God. For it is God who said: "I am the truth" (John 14:6). But when he lives according to himself, that is, according to man, not according to God, surely he lives according to a lie: not because man himself is a lie, since God is his author and creator, who is certainly not the author and creator of a lie; but because man was so made upright, that he should live not according to himself, but according to Him by whom he was made; that is, that he should do His will rather than his own: but not to live so, as he was made to live, this is a lie. For he wishes to be blessed, even by not living so that he can be so. What is more of a lie than this will? Whence not in vain can it be said, that every sin is a lie. For sin is not committed except by that will by which we wish that it be well with us, or do not wish that it be ill with us. Therefore it is a lie, because when it is done that it may be well with us, hence rather it is ill with us; or when it is done that it may be better with us, hence rather it is worse with us. Whence is this, except because it can be well to man from God, whom he deserts by delinquenting; not from himself, according to whom he delinquents by living?

2. What, therefore, we have said, that hence there existed two diverse cities between themselves and contrary, because some lived according to the flesh, others according to the spirit; it can also be said in this way, that some live according to man, others according to God. For

most openly Paul says to the Corinthians: "For since there are emulation and contention among you, are you not carnal, and walk according to man?" (1 Cor. 3:3). Therefore what it is to walk according to man, this it is to be carnal; because by the flesh, that is by a part of man, man is understood. For he called those same ones animal [men] above, whom afterwards he called carnal, speaking thus: "For who of men," he says, "knows the things which are of man, except the spirit of man, which is in him? So also the things which are of God, no one knows except the Spirit of God. But we," he says, "have not received the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is from God, that we may know the things which have been given to us by God; which also we speak, not in the taught words of human wisdom, but in the taught words of the Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the animal man does not perceive the things which are of the Spirit of God: for it is foolishness to him" (1 Cor. 2:11-14). To such, therefore, that is to animal [men], a little after he says: "And I, brethren, could not speak to you as to spiritual, but as to carnal" (Id. 3:1). And that is understood from this same mode of speech, that is, the whole from the part. For from both the soul and from the flesh, which are parts of man, the whole can be signified, which is man; and thus the animal man is not one thing, the carnal man another; but each is the very same thing, that is, man living according to man. Just as no other thing than men are signified, whether where it is read: "From the

works of the law shall no flesh be justified" (Rom. 3:20): or what is written: "Seventy-five souls descended with Jacob into Egypt" (Gen. 46:27). For both there by "all flesh" every man, and there by "seventy-five souls" seventy-five men are understood. And what was said, "Not in the taught words of human wisdom," could have been said, "Not in the taught words of carnal wisdom": just as what was said, "You walk according to man," could have been said, "According to the flesh." But this appeared more in those things which he subjoined: "For when anyone says, I am of Paul; but another, I of Apollos: are you not men?" (1 Cor. 3:4). What he was saying, "You are animal," and "You are carnal," he said more expressively, "You are men": which is, "You live according to man, not according to God; according to whom if you lived, you would be gods."

CHAPTER V.---That the opinion of the Platonists concerning the nature of the body and soul is more tolerable than that of the Manichaeans; but even they are reproved, because they ascribe the causes of vices to the nature of the flesh.

There is no need, therefore, in our sins and vices to accuse the nature of the flesh to the injury of the Creator, which in its own kind and order is good: but having deserted the good Creator, to live according to a created good is not good; whether anyone chooses to live according to the flesh, or according to the soul, or according to the whole man, who consists of soul and flesh (whence he can be signified both by the name of the soul alone, and by the name of the flesh

alone). For he who praises the nature of the soul as if the supreme good, and accuses the nature of the flesh as if an evil, surely both carnally appetites the soul and carnally flees the flesh: since he perceives that by human vanity, not by divine truth. The Platonists indeed do not dote as the Manichaeans, so as to detest earthy bodies as if the nature of an evil; since they attribute all the elements of which this visible and tangible world is compacted, and their qualities, to God the artificer. Nevertheless, they think that souls are so affected from earthy joints and moribund members, that hence they have the diseases of desires and fears and of joy or sadness: in which four either "perturbations," as Cicero calls them (Tusc. Quaest. Book 4), or "passions," as most, expressing the Greek word from word [to word], all the vitiosity of human customs is contained. But if it is so, why is it that Aeneas in Virgil, when he had heard from his father among those below that souls would return again to bodies, wonders at this opinion, exclaiming: "O father, is it to be thought that some sublime souls go hence to heaven, and again return to sluggish bodies? What so dire a desire of light is there to the miserable ones?" (Aeneid, Book 6, verses 719-721). Could this so dire a desire from earthy joints and moribund members still be in that most preached purity of souls? Does he not assert that they are purged from all such corporeal plagues, as he says, when they again begin to wish to return into bodies? Whence it is collected, even if it were so, which is altogether most vain, the

cleaning and defiling of souls going and returning alternately and incessantly, that it could not have been truthfully said, that all the culpable and vicious motions of souls grow in them from earthy bodies: since according to them that "dire desire," as the noble speaker says, to such an extent is not from the body, that it compels the soul itself, purged from every corporeal plague and constituted outside every body, to be in the body. Whence also, they confessing, the soul is not only affected from the flesh, so that it desires, fears, rejoices, becomes sick; but even from itself it can be agitated by these motions.

CHAPTER VI.

Concerning the quality of the human will, under whose judgment the affections of the soul are held to be either depraved or upright.

It matters, moreover, of what kind the will of man is: because if it is perverse, it will have these perverse motions; but if it is upright, they will be not only inculpable, but even laudable. For the will is in all of them; rather, all are nothing else than wills. For what is desire and joy, but the will in consent to those things which we will? and what is fear and sadness, but the will in dissent from those things which we do not will? But when we consent by appetiting those things which we will, it is called desire; but when we consent by enjoying those things which we will, it is called joy. Likewise, when we dissent from that which we do not will to happen, such a will

is fear; but when we dissent from that which happens to us unwilling, such a will is sadness. And altogether according to the variety of things which are appetited and fled, as the will of man is attracted or offended, so it is changed and turned into these or those affections. Wherefore the man who lives according to God, not according to man, ought to be a lover of the good: whence it follows that he should hate evil. And since no one is evil by nature, but whoever is evil is evil by vice: he who lives according to God owes a perfect hatred (Ps. 138:22) to the evil; so that he should neither hate the man on account of the vice, nor love the vice on account of the man; but should hate the vice, and love the man. For the vice being healed, all that he ought to love, but nothing which he ought to hate, will remain.

CHAPTER VII.

That love and dilection are found indifferently both in good and in evil in the sacred Scriptures.

1. For he whose purpose is to love God, and to love his neighbor as himself not according to man but according to God; without doubt on account of this love he is said to be of a good will, which more usually in the sacred Scriptures is called charity: but it is also called love according to the same sacred Scriptures. For also the Apostle says that he who is to be chosen for ruling the people ought to be a lover of the good (1 Tim. 3:1-10). And the Lord Himself questioning the Apostle Peter, when He had said: "Do you love [*diligis*]

me more than these?" he responded: "Lord, you know that I love [*amo*] you." And again the Lord asked, not whether he loved [*amaret*], but whether he loved [*diligeret*] him: but he responded again: "Lord, you know that I love [*amo*] you." But at the third interrogation the Lord Himself also did not say: "Do you love [*diligis*] me?" but: "Do you love [*amas*] me?" where the Evangelist followed and said: "Peter was saddened, because he said to him the third time, Do you love [*amas*] me?" although the Lord said not the third time, but once: "Do you love [*amas*] me?" and twice he had said: "Do you love [*diligis*] me?" Whence we understand, that even when the Lord was saying: "Do you love [*diligis*] me?" He was saying nothing else than: "Do you love [*amas*] me?" Moreover, Peter did not change the word for this one thing, but even the third time he said: "Lord, you know all things, you know that I love [*amo*] you" (John 21:15-17).

2. I have thought this to be commemorated for the reason that some think that dilection or charity is one thing, love another. For they say that dilection is to be received in good, love in evil. But it is most certain that not even the authors of secular literature have spoken thus. But let the philosophers see whether or by what reason they discern these. Nevertheless, their books speak enough that they highly value love in good things and toward God Himself. But it had to be insinuated that the Scriptures of our religion, whose authority we place before any other writings, do

not say love is one thing, dilection or charity another. For we have already shown that love is said in good. But lest anyone should estimate that love is indeed to be said both in good and in evil, but dilection not except in good, let him attend to what is written in the Psalm: "But he who loves [*diligit*] iniquity, hates his own soul" (Ps. 10:6). And that of the Apostle John: "If anyone shall have loved [*dilexerit*] the world, the dilection of the Father is not in him" (1 John 2:15). Behold in one place dilection both in good and in evil. Moreover, lest anyone should demand love in evil (since we have already shown it in good), let him read what is written: "For men shall be lovers of themselves [*se ipsos amantes*], lovers of money" (2 Tim. 3:2). Therefore an upright will is a good love, and a perverse will is a bad love. Love, therefore, gaping to have what is loved, is desire; but having it and enjoying it, is joy: fleeing what is adverse to it, is fear: and feeling it if it should happen, is sadness. Hence these things are bad, if the love is bad; good, if it is good. What we say, let us prove from the Scriptures. The Apostle desires [*concupiscit*] to be dissolved and to be with Christ (Phil. 1:23): and: "My soul has coveted [*concupivit*] to desire your judgments"; or if it is said more fittingly: "My soul has desired to covet [*concupiscere*] your judgments" (Ps. 118:20); and: "The concupiscence of wisdom leads to a kingdom" (Wisd. 6:21). Nevertheless, the custom of speaking has obtained, that if desire [*cupiditas*] or concupiscence [*concupiscentia*] is said, nor is it added of what thing it is, it cannot be

understood except in evil. Joy is in good: "Be glad in the Lord, and exult, you just" (Ps. 31:11): and: "You have given joy in my heart" (Ps. 4:7): and: "You will fill me with joy with your countenance" (Ps. 15:11). Fear is in good in the Apostle, where he says: "With fear and trembling work out your own salvation" (Phil. 2:12): and: "Be not high-minded, but fear" (Rom. 11:20): and: "But I fear lest, as the serpent seduced Eve by his astuteness, so also your minds be corrupted from the chastity which is in Christ" (2 Cor. 11:3). Concerning sadness indeed, which Cicero rather calls sickness [*aegritudinem*], but Virgil pain [*dolorem*] where he says: "They grieve and rejoice," (but I have preferred to say sadness [*tristitiam*] for the reason that sickness or pain is more usually said in bodies), there is a more scrupulous question whether it can be found in good.

CHAPTER VIII.

Concerning the three perturbations which the Stoics willed to be in the soul of the wise man, excluding pain or sadness, which the virtue of the soul ought not to feel.

1. For those which the Greeks call *eupatheiai* [*εὐπαθείας*], and which Cicero named in Latin "constancies," the Stoics willed to be three, in place of three perturbations in the soul of the wise man: instead of desire [*cupiditate*], will [*voluntatem*]; instead of gladness [*laetitia*], joy [*gaudium*]; instead of fear [*metu*], caution [*cautionem*]: but instead of sickness [*aegritudine*] or pain [*dolore*], which we have

preferred to call sadness [*tristitiam*] for the sake of avoiding ambiguity, they denied that anything could be in the soul of the wise man. For the will, they say, appetites the good, which the wise man does; joy is concerning the good attained, which the wise man everywhere attains; caution avoids the evil, which the wise man ought to avoid: furthermore, because sadness is concerning an evil which has already happened, but they estimate that no evil can happen to the wise man, they said that nothing could be in his soul in place of it. Thus therefore they speak, so as to deny that [the acts of] willing, rejoicing, and cautioning belong to any but the wise man; but that the fool does nothing but desire, be glad, fear, and be saddened. And that those three are "constancies," but these four are "perturbations" according to Cicero, or according to most, "passions." Moreover, those three, as I said, are called in Greek *eupatheiai*; but these four, *pathe* [*πάθη*]. Whether this mode of speaking matches the holy Scriptures, when I sought as much as I could diligently, I found that which the Prophet says: "There is no rejoicing for the impious, says the Lord" (Is. 57:21, according to the LXX): as if the impious could be glad [*laetari*] rather than rejoice [*gaudere*] concerning evils; because joy [*gaudium*] is properly of the good and of the pious. Likewise that in the Gospel: "All things whatsoever you will that men should do to you, these also do you to them" (Matt. 7:12), seems so said as if no one could will [*velle*] anything badly or basely, but [only] desire [*cupere*]

it. Finally, on account of the custom of speaking, some interpreters have added "good things," and have interpreted it thus: "All good things whatsoever you will that men should do to you." For they thought it had to be cautioned against, lest anyone should will dishonest things to be done to him by men, to say nothing of more base things, certainly luxurious banquets, in which he might estimate himself about to fulfill this precept if he also should do similar things to them. But in the Greek Gospel, whence it was translated into Latin, "good things" is not read; but: "All things whatsoever you will that men should do to you, these also do you to them": I believe for the reason that in that which He said, "you will" [*vultis*], He already willed "good things" to be understood. For He did not say: "You desire" [*cupitis*].

2. Yet our speech is not always to be restrained by these proprieties, but sometimes these terms are to be used; and when we read those whose authority it is not lawful to resist, there they are to be understood where a right sense can find no other outlet; such as those things which, for the sake of example, we have commemorated partly from the Prophet, partly from the Gospel. For who does not know that the impious exult with gladness [*laetitia*]? And yet "there is no rejoicing [*gaudere*] for the impious, says the Lord." Whence [is this], unless because to rejoice is one thing when this word is placed properly and significantly? Likewise, who would deny that men are not rightly commanded that what-

soever things they desire [*cupiunt*] to be done to themselves by others, these things they also should do to them, lest they should delight one another with the baseness of illicit pleasure? And yet it is a most wholesome and most true precept: "All things whatsoever you will [*vultis*] that men should do to you, these same things do you also to them." And whence is this, unless because in this place, in a certain proper way, "will" [*voluntas*] is placed, which cannot be taken in a bad sense? But in more common speech, which the custom of discourse especially frequents, it certainly would not be said: "Be not willing [*velle*] to lie any lie" (Ecclus. 7:14), unless there were also a bad will, from whose depravity that one is distinguished which the Angels proclaimed, saying: "Peace on earth to men of good will" (Luke 2:14). For it was added redundantly, "good," if it cannot be anything but good. Moreover, what great thing would the Apostle have said in the praises of charity, that "it rejoiceth [*gaudeat*] not over iniquity" (1 Cor. 13:6), unless because malignity so rejoices? For even among the authors of secular letters, such an indifference of these words is found. For Cicero, that most ample orator, says: "I desire [*cupio*], conscript fathers, that I be clement" (Cat. 1.2). Because he placed that word in a good sense, who would exist so perversely learned as to contend that he ought not to have said "I desire" [*cupio*], but rather "I will" [*volo*]? Furthermore, in Terence, a scandalous youth burning with insane desire [*cupidine*] says: "I will [*volo*] nothing else but Philumena."

That this "will" was lust, the response which is there introduced from his elder servant sufficiently indicates. For he says to his master: "How much more satisfactory it is for you to give your effort to that by which you may remove that love from your soul, than to speak that by which your lust [*libido*] is more in vain inflamed?" (Andr. 2.1). But that they also placed "joy" [*gaudium*] in a bad sense, that very Virgilian verse is witness, where he has embraced these four perturbations with the greatest brevity: "Hence they fear and desire, they grieve and rejoice [*gaudent*]" (Aeneid 6.733). The same author also said: "The bad joys [*gaudia*] of the mind" (Ibid. 6.278, 279).

3. Accordingly, both the good and the bad will, caution, and rejoice; and that we may express the same things in other words, both the good and the bad desire, fear, and are glad: but the former well, the latter badly, according as men have either a right or a perverse will. Sadness itself also, for which the Stoics thought nothing could be found in the soul of the wise man, is found in a good [man], and especially among our [writers]. For the Apostle praises the Corinthians because they were made sad according to God. But perhaps someone will say that the Apostle congratulated them because they were made sad by repenting: which kind of sadness cannot be except of those who have sinned. For he says thus: "I see that that epistle, although it made you sad for an hour, now I rejoice, not because you were made sad, but because you were made

sad unto repentance." For you were made sad according to God, that in nothing you might suffer detriment from us." For the sadness which is according to God works repentance unto salvation not to be repented of; but the sadness of the world works death. For behold this very being made sad according to God, how much industry it accomplishes in you" (2 Cor. 7:8-11). And by this the Stoics can answer for their part, that sadness seems to be useful for this purpose, that one may repent of having sinned; but in the soul of the wise man it cannot be for this reason, because neither does sin fall upon him, of whose repentance he might be made sad, nor any other evil, which by enduring and sensing he might be sad. For they also relate of Alcibiades (if my memory of the man's name does not fail me) that when he seemed to himself happy, Socrates disputing and demonstrating to him how wretched he was because he was a fool, he wept. For him, therefore, folly was the cause even of this useful and desirable sadness, by which a man grieves that he is what he ought not to be. But the Stoics say, not that the fool, but that the wise man cannot be sad.

CHAPTER IX.

Concerning the perturbations of the soul, whose affections the life of the just has right.

1. But to these philosophers, as far as that question concerning the perturbations of the soul is concerned, we have already responded in

the ninth book of this work, showing them to be more desirous of contention than of truth, not so much concerning things as concerning words. But with us, according to the sacred Scriptures and sound doctrine, the citizens of the holy city of God, living according to God in the pilgrimage of this life, fear and desire, grieve and rejoice. And because their love is right, they have all these affections right. They fear eternal punishment, they desire eternal life: they grieve in reality, because they themselves still groan within themselves, expecting the adoption, the redemption of their body (Rom. 8:23); they rejoice in hope, because "the word will be done which is written: Death is swallowed up in victory" (1 Cor. 15:54). Likewise they fear to sin, they desire to persevere: they grieve in sins, they rejoice in good works. For that they may fear to sin, they hear: "Because iniquity shall abound, the charity of many shall grow cold" (Matt. 24:12). That they may desire to persevere, they hear what is written: "He that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved" (Id. 10:22). That they may grieve in sins, they hear: "If we shall say that we have no sin, we seduce ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (1 John 1:8). That they may rejoice in good works, they hear: "God loveth a cheerful giver" (2 Cor. 9:7). Likewise, as their infirmity or firmness has held itself, they fear to be tempted, they desire to be tempted: they grieve in temptations, they rejoice in temptations. For that they may fear to be tempted, they hear: "If any man be overtaken in any fault, you who are spiritual, instruct such a

one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted" (Gal. 6:1). But that they may desire to be tempted, they hear a certain strong man of the city of God saying: "Prove me, O Lord, and try me; burn my reins and my heart" (Psalm 26:2). That they may grieve in temptations, they see Peter weeping (Matt. 26:75): that they may rejoice in temptations, they hear James saying: "My brethren, count it all joy, when you shall fall into divers temptations" (James 1:2).

2. Not only, moreover, on account of themselves are they moved by these affections, but also on account of those whom they desire to be liberated, and whom they fear lest they perish, and for whom they grieve if they perish, and in whom they rejoice if they are liberated. For that best and strongest man, who glories in his infirmities (2 Cor. 12:5)—to commemorate him especially, we who have come into the Church of Christ from the Gentiles, the Teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth, who also labored more than all his fellow-apostles (1 Cor. 15:10), and instructed the peoples of God by more Epistles, not only those who were seen by him as present, but also those who were foreseen as future; that man, I say, the athlete of Christ, taught by Him, anointed from Him (Gal. 1:12), crucified with Him (Id. 2:19), glorious in Him, in the theatre of this world, to which he was made a spectacle both to Angels and to men (1 Cor. 4:9), lawfully fighting a great agony, and following after the palm of the supernal vocation in the things that are before (Phil. 3:14), they most willingly behold with the

eyes of faith; rejoicing with those who rejoice, weeping with those who weep (Rom. 12:15), having combats without, fears within (2 Cor. 7:5); desiring to be dissolved, and to be with Christ (Phil. 1:23); desiring to see the Romans, that he might have some fruit also in them, as also in the rest of the nations (Rom. 1:11, 13); being jealous for the Corinthians, and by that very jealousy fearing lest their minds should be seduced from the chastity which is in Christ (2 Cor. 11:2, 3); having great sadness and continual sorrow of heart concerning the Israelites (Rom. 9:2), because, being ignorant of the justice of God, and willing to establish their own, they were not subject to the justice of God (Id. 10:3); nor only announcing his sorrow, but even his mourning for certain ones who sinned before, and did not act in repentance over their uncleanness and fornications (2 Cor. 12:21).

3. These movements, these affections coming from the love of the good and from holy charity —if they are to be called vices, let us allow those things which are truly vices to be called virtues. But since these affections follow right reason when they are employed where they ought to be, who then would dare to call them diseases or vicious passions? For which reason also the Lord Himself, having deigned to lead a human life in the form of a servant, but having no sin at all, employed them where He judged they ought to be employed. For neither in Him in whom there was a true body of man and a true soul of man, was human affection false. When, therefore, these

things are reported of Him in the Gospel: that He was made sad with anger over the hardness of the heart of the Jews (Mark 3:5); that He said, "I rejoice for your sakes, that you may believe" (John 11:15); that about to raise Lazarus He also shed tears (Ibid. 35); that He desired to eat the passover with His disciples (Luke 22:15); that as His passion approached His soul was sad (Matt. 26:38), they are certainly not reported falsely. But He took up these movements into His human soul by the grace of a certain dispensation when He willed, just as when He willed He was made man.

4. Accordingly, as must be confessed, even when we have these affections as right and according to God, they belong to this life, not to that which we hope for as future, and often we yield to them even against our will. Therefore sometimes, although we are moved not by a culpable desire but by a laudable charity, even while we are unwilling, we weep. We have them, therefore, from the infirmity of the human condition: but not so the Lord Jesus, whose infirmity also was from power. But while we bear the infirmity of this life, if we have none of them at all, then rather we do not live rightly. For the Apostle vituperated and detested certain ones, whom he even said were without affection (Rom. 1:31). The sacred Psalm also blamed those of whom it says: "I looked for one that would grieve together with me, and there was none" (Psalm 68:21). For not to grieve at all while we are in this place of misery, surely, as a certain one even among the men of letters of this world felt and said, does

not happen without a great price: of inhumanity in the soul, and of stupor in the body. Wherefore that which is called *apatheia* in Greek, which if it could be expressed in Latin would be called "impassibility," if it is to be so understood (for it is accepted in the soul, not in the body) as that one lives without these affections which happen against reason and perturb the mind, it is clearly good and greatly to be desired; but even it does not belong to this life. For it is not the voice of just any men, but especially of the pious and of the very just and holy: "If we shall say that we have no sin, we seduce ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (1 John 1:8). Then, therefore, will that *apatheia* be, when there will be no sin in man. But now life is lived well enough if it is without crime: but he who thinks that he lives without sin, does not act so that he may not have sin, but so that he may not receive pardon. Furthermore, if that *apatheia* is to be called that when no affection can touch the soul at all, who would not judge this stupor to be worse than all vices? It can, therefore, not absurdly be said that perfect beatitude will be without the sting of fear and without any sadness; but who would say that love and joy will not be there, unless he were excluded in every way from the truth? But if that *apatheia* is where neither any fear terrifies nor any sorrow anguishes, it is to be shunned in this life if we wish to live rightly, that is, according to God; but in that blessed [life] which is promised as eternal, it is clearly to be hoped for.

5. For that fear of which the Apostle John says: "Fear is not in charity, but perfect charity casteth out fear, because fear hath punishment; and he that feareth is not perfect in charity" (1 John 4:18), is not fear of that kind with which the Apostle Paul was fearing lest the Corinthians should be seduced by the serpent's cunning (2 Cor. 11:3); for charity has this fear, or rather none but charity has it: but it is fear of that kind which is not in charity; concerning which the Apostle Paul himself says: "For you have not received the spirit of servitude again in fear" (Rom. 8:15). But that "chaste fear, remaining forever and ever" (Psalm 18:10), if it shall be also in the future world (for in what other way can it be understood to remain forever and ever?), is not a fear terrifying from an evil which can happen; but holding in the good which cannot be lost. For where the love of the good attained is unchangeable, surely, if it can be said, the fear of cautioning against evil is secure. For by the name of chaste fear is signified that will by which it will be necessary for us to be unwilling to sin, and not by the solicitude of infirmity, lest perchance we should sin, but by the tranquility of charity to caution against sin. Or if fear of no kind at all shall be able to be in that certain security of perpetual and happy joys; "the chaste fear of the Lord, remaining forever and ever" was said in the same way as it was said: "The patience of the poor shall not perish forever" (Psalm 9:19). For neither will patience itself be eternal, which is not necessary except where evils are to be tolerated: but that will be

eternal to which one arrives through patience. Thus perhaps chaste fear is said to remain forever and ever because that will remain to which fear itself leads.

6. Since these things are so, because a right life is to be led, by which one must arrive at the blessed life, a right life has all these affections right, and a perverse life has them perverse. But the blessed life, and the same eternal, will have love and joy not only right but also certain; but no fear and no sorrow. Whence it already appears in some way of what sort the citizens of the city of God ought to be in this pilgrimage, living according to the spirit, not according to the flesh, that is, according to God, not according to man: and of what sort they will be in that immortality whither they tend. Furthermore, the city, that is, the society of the impious, not living according to God but according to man, and in the very worship of a false divinity and contempt of the true, following the doctrines of men or of demons, is shaken by these perverse affections as by diseases and perturbations. And if it has some citizens who seem to moderate such movements and, as it were, to temper them, they are so proud and elated by impiety that the tumors in them are greater for the very reason that the sorrows are smaller. And if some, by a vanity all the more monstrous as it is rarer, should have loved this in themselves, that they should be raised and excited by no affection at all, and inclined and bent by none, they rather lose all humanity than attain true tranquility. For it is not because something

is hard that it is therefore right; or because it is stupid that it is therefore healthy.

CHAPTER X.

Whether it is to be believed that the first men established in paradise were affected by no perturbations before they transgressed.

But whether the first man or the first men (for there was the marriage of two) had those affections in an animal body before sin, such as we shall not have in a spiritual body when all sin is purged and finished, is not unmeritedly asked. For if they had them, how were they blessed in that memorable place of beatitude, that is, paradise? Who, finally, can be called absolutely blessed who is affected by fear or by sorrow? But what could those men fear or grieve for in so great an abundance of so many goods, where neither death was feared, nor any bad health of the body; nor was anything absent which a good will might attain, nor was anything present which might offend the flesh or the soul of a man living happily? Love was unperturbed toward God, and between themselves as spouses living in a faithful and sincere society, and from this love a great joy, that which was loved not ceasing for enjoyment. There was a tranquil avoidance of sin, which remaining, no evil at all from elsewhere rushed in which might make them sad. Or perhaps did they desire to touch the forbidden tree for eating, but feared to die; and by this both desire and fear already then perturbed those men even in that

place? Far be it from us to estimate that this was so, where there was no sin at all. For it is not no sin to desire those things which the law of God prohibits, and to abstain from them by fear of punishment, not by love of justice. Far be it, I say, that before all sin there should already have been such a sin there, that they should admit this concerning the tree, which the Lord says concerning the woman: "If anyone shall look upon a woman to desire her, he has already committed adultery with her in his heart" (Matt. 5:28). How happy, therefore, were the first men, and they were agitated by no perturbations of souls, and were hurt by no inconveniences of bodies: so happy would the whole human society be, if neither they had committed that evil which they also passed on to their descendants, nor anyone from their stock should commit iniquity which would receive damnation: and while this happiness remained, until through that blessing by which it was said, "Increase and multiply" (Gen. 1:28), the number of the predestined saints should be completed, another greater [happiness] would be given, which was given to the most blessed Angels: where there would already be the certain security that no one would sin, and no one would die: and such would be the life of the saints, after no experience of labor, sorrow, or death, as it will be after all these things in the incorruption of bodies restored by the resurrection of the dead.

CHAPTER XI.

Concerning the fall of the first man, in whom nature was well established, nor can it be repaired except by its Author.

1. But because God foreknew all things, and therefore could not be ignorant that man also would sin; according to that which He foreknew and disposed we ought to assert the holy city, not according to that which could not arrive at our knowledge, because it was not in the disposition of God. For neither could man by his sin perturb the divine counsel, as if he compelled God to change what He had decreed: since God by foreknowing preceded both, that is, both the man, whom He Himself created good, how bad he was going to be, and what good even so He Himself was going to make out of him. For even if God is said to change His decrees (whence in a tropical locution in the holy Scriptures it is even read that God repented [Gen. 6:6; 1 Kings 15:11]), it is said according to that which man had hoped, or the order of natural causes was bearing; not according to that which the Almighty had foreknown that He Himself was going to do. God therefore made man right, as it is written (Ecclus. 7:30): and by this of a good will. For he would not be right, not having a good will. A good will therefore is the work of God: for with it certainly man was made by Him. But the first bad will, since it preceded all bad works in man, was rather a certain defect from the work of God to its own works, than any work. And therefore bad works, because according to itself, not according to God: so that of those works as of bad fruits the will itself should be as a bad tree, or the man himself

insofar as he is of a bad will. Furthermore, a bad will, although it is not according to nature, but against nature, because it is a vice; yet it is of that nature whose vice it is, which cannot be except in a nature: but in that which He created out of nothing, not which the Creator begot from Himself, just as He begot the Word, through whom all things were made. Because even if God fashioned man from the dust of the earth; that same earth and all earthly matter is entirely from nothing, and He gave to the body a soul made out of nothing, when man was made. But to such an extent are bad things conquered by good things, that although they are permitted to be for the purpose of demonstrating how well the most provident justice of the Creator can use even them; nevertheless good things can be without bad things, as God Himself true and supreme, as every celestial invisible and visible creature above this dark air; but bad things cannot be without good things, since the natures in which they are, insofar as they are natures, are certainly good. Furthermore, evil is taken away, not by any nature which had approached or any part of it being removed, but that which had been vitiated and depraved being healed and corrected. Therefore the choice of the will is then truly free, when it does not serve vices and sins. Such was given by God: which having been lost by its own vice, cannot be restored except by Him by whom it could be given. Whence the Truth says: "If the Son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed" (John 8:36). But it is the same as if He were to say:

If the Son shall make you safe, then you shall be truly safe. For He is the liberator from the same source whence He is the savior.

2. Therefore man was living according to God in paradise, both corporal and spiritual. For neither was paradise corporal on account of the goods of the body, and not spiritual on account of the goods of the mind; or truly was it spiritual whither man might enjoy through his interior senses, and not corporal whither he might enjoy through his exterior senses. Clearly it was both on account of both. But after that proud angel, and for this reason envious, having turned through the same pride from God to himself, choosing rather to rejoice in subjects by a certain tyrannical arrogance than to be a subject, fell from the spiritual paradise (concerning whose fall and that of his companions, who from the Angels of God were made his angels, I have disputed enough, as much as I could, in the eleventh and twelfth books of this work), aiming to creep with ill-persuading craftiness into the senses of man, whom surely he envied as he stood because he himself had fallen, he chose in the corporal paradise, where with those two men, male and female, the other terrestrial animals also moved about as subjects and harmless, an animal forsooth slippery and movable with tortuous windings, suitable for his work, through which he might speak; and having that [animal] subject to himself through his angelic presence and more excellent nature by spiritual wickedness, and using it as an instrument, he spoke fallaciously to

the woman: beginning forsooth from the lower part of that human couple, so that he might arrive gradually at the whole; not thinking the man to be easily credulous, nor able to be deceived by erring, but while he yields to another's error. For just as Aaron did not consent to the erring people for the fashioning of an idol having been induced, but yielded being constrained (Exod. 32:3-5); nor is it credible that Solomon thought by error that idols ought to be served, but was compelled to those sacrileges by feminine blandishments (1 Kings 11:4): so it is to be believed that that man to his woman, one to one, man to human, spouse to spouse, for the purpose of transgressing the law of God, did not believe having been seduced as if [the serpent] spoke the truth, but obeyed a social necessity. For not in vain did the Apostle say: "And Adam was not seduced, but the woman was seduced" (1 Tim. 2:14): unless because she accepted that which the serpent spoke to her as if it were true, but he willed not to be severed from his unique consort, even in the communion of sin; nor for that reason was he less guilty, but he sinned knowingly and prudently. Whence also the Apostle does not say, "He did not sin"; but, "He was not seduced." For surely he shows him [to have sinned] where he says: "By one man sin entered into the world": and a little after more clearly, "In the likeness," he says, "of the transgression of Adam" (Rom. 5:12, 14). But he willed those to be understood as seduced who do not think that which they do to be sin: but he knew. Otherwise how will it be true, "Adam was

not seduced"? But being inexperienced in divine severity, he could be deceived in this, so as to believe that a venial [sin] had been committed. And by this in that indeed in which the woman was seduced, he was not seduced, but it deceived him how that was to be judged which he was about to say: "The woman whom thou gavest me, she gave to me, and I did eat" (Gen. 3:12). What more then? Although by believing they were not both deceived, nevertheless by sinning they were both captured and implicated in the snares of the devil.

2. Therefore, in that manifest and open sin, where that was done which God had prohibited to be done, the devil would not have captured man unless he had already begun to please himself. For hence also that delighted which was said: "You shall be as gods" (Gen. 3:5). Which they could better be by adhering to the supreme and true principle through obedience, not by existing as their own principle for themselves through pride. For created gods are gods not by their own truth, but by participation in the true God. But by desiring more, he becomes less: who, while he loves to be sufficient for himself, defects from Him who truly suffices for him. Therefore, that evil, by which man pleases himself as if he himself were also light, is turned away from that light which, if it pleases him, he himself also becomes light: that evil, I say, preceded in secret, so that this evil which was perpetrated in the open might follow. For it is true what is written: "Before ruin the heart is exalted, and before glory it is

humbled" (Prov. 16:18). That ruin indeed which happens in secret precedes the ruin which happens in the manifest, while that is not thought to be ruin. For who thinks exaltation to be ruin, when there is already a defect there, by which the Most High is abandoned? But who would not see it to be ruin when an evident and indubitable transgression of the command occurs? For this reason God prohibited that which, when it was admitted, could be defended by no imagination of justice. And I dare to say, it is useful for the proud to fall into some open and manifest sin, whence they may displease themselves, who had already fallen by pleasing themselves. For Peter displeased himself more healthfully when he wept than he pleased himself when he presumed (Matt. 26:75, 33). This also the sacred Psalm says: "Fill their faces with ignominy, and they shall seek thy name, O Lord" (Ps. 82:17): that is, so that Thou mayest please them seeking Thy name, who pleased themselves by seeking their own.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the pride of the transgression, which was itself worse than the transgression.

But there is a worse and more damnable pride, by which even in manifest sins a refuge of excuse is sought: as those first humans, of whom she said, "The serpent seduced me, and I did eat"; and he said, "The woman whom thou gavest me, she gave me from the tree, and I ate" (Gen. 3:13, 12). Nowhere here sounds a petition for

pardon, nowhere an imploration of medicine. For although these do not, like Cain, deny what they committed (Id. 4:9), yet pride still seeks to refer to another what was done wrongly: the pride of the woman to the serpent; the pride of the man to the woman. But it is an accusation rather than a true excuse where there is an open transgression of the divine command. For they did not therefore not do it because the woman committed it at the serpent's persuasion, and the man at the woman's bestowing; as if anything ought to have been preferred to God, who was either to be believed or to be yielded to.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the justice of the retribution, which the first humans received for their disobedience.

1. Because, therefore, God was contemned when commanding, He who had created, who had made according to His image, who had set [man] over the other animals, who had established him in paradise, who had provided an abundance of all things and of safety, who had not burdened him with many or great or difficult precepts, but had assisted him with one very brief and very light one for the healthfulness of obedience, by which He reminded that creature, for whom a free servitude was expedient, that He was the Lord: a just damnation followed, and such a damnation that man, who by keeping the command would have been spiritual even in the flesh, became carnal even in the mind; and he

who by his own pride had pleased himself, was given over to himself by the justice of God; yet not so that he should be in his own power in all ways, but also dissenting from himself, he should lead a hard and miserable servitude under him to whom by sinning he consented, in place of the liberty which he desired; dead in spirit by willing, and about to die in the body against his will: a deserter of eternal life, condemned even to eternal death, unless grace should deliver him. Whoever thinks this kind of damnation to be either excessive or unjust, surely knows not how to measure how great was the iniquity in sinning where there was so great a facility of not sinning. For just as the great obedience of Abraham is not without merit proclaimed, because a most difficult thing was commanded, that he should kill his son (Gen. 22:2): so in paradise the disobedience was by so much the greater as that which was commanded was of no difficulty. And just as the obedience of the second man is by so much the more commendable as He was made obedient even unto death (Phil. 2:8): so the disobedience of the first man is by so much the more detestable as he was made disobedient even unto death. For where a great penalty of disobedience is proposed, and an easy thing is commanded by the Creator, who indeed could sufficiently explain how great an evil it is not to obey in an easy matter, and under the command of so great a power, and with so great a terrifying punishment?

2. Finally, to speak briefly, in the punishment of that sin, what was retributed to disobedience

but disobedience? For what other is the misery of man but disobedience against himself, so that since he willed not what he could, he wills what he cannot? For in paradise, even if he could not do all things before sin, yet whatever he could not do, he did not will; and therefore he could do all things which he willed. But now, as we know in his offspring and as Divine Scripture testifies, "man is made like to vanity" (Ps. 143:4). For who could enumerate how many things he wills which he cannot do, while he himself, that is, his own mind, and his inferior flesh, does not obey himself, that is, his own will? For against his will, both his mind is often troubled, and his flesh suffers pain, and grows old, and dies; and whatever else we suffer, which we would not suffer against our will if our nature in every way and in all parts obeyed our will. But indeed the flesh suffers something by which it is not permitted to serve. What does it matter whence, provided that through the justice of the dominant God, to whom we as subjects refused to serve, our flesh, which had been subject, is troublesome to us by not serving; although we, by not serving God, could be troublesome to ourselves, not to Him? For He does not stand in need of our service as we stand in need of the service of the body: and therefore what we receive is our punishment, not His, for what we did. Furthermore, the pains which are called of the flesh are of the soul in the flesh, and from the flesh. For what does the flesh by itself without the soul either feel pain or desire? But that the flesh is said to desire or to

feel pain, is either the man himself, as we have discussed; or something of the soul which the passion of the flesh affects, either harsh, so as to cause pain, or gentle, so as to cause pleasure. But the pain of the flesh is only an offense of the soul from the flesh, and a certain dissension from its passion: just as the pain of the soul, which is called sadness, is a dissension from those things which happened to us against our will. But sadness is often preceded by fear, which is also in the soul, not in the flesh. But no kind of fear of the flesh, as it were, which might be felt in the flesh before the pain, precedes the pain of the flesh. But pleasure is preceded by a certain appetite which is felt in the flesh as its cupidity, such as hunger and thirst, and that which is more commonly called lust (libido) in the genitals, although this is a general term for every cupidity. For the ancients defined anger itself to be nothing else than the lust for revenging: although sometimes man, where there is no sense of vengeance, is angry even at inanimate things, so that in his anger he smashes a pen that writes poorly or breaks a reed. Truly even this, though more irrational, is still a certain lust for revenging, and some kind of shadow of retribution, as it were, that those who do evil may suffer evil. There is, therefore, a lust for revenging, which is called anger: there is a lust for having money, which is avarice: there is a lust for winning in any way, which is obstinacy: there is a lust for glorying, which is called boasting. There are many and various lusts, of which some have also their own names, but some have not.

For who could easily say what the lust for dominating is called, which nevertheless the civil wars testify to have very great power in the minds of tyrants?

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the evil of lust, whose name though it agrees with many vices, is yet properly ascribed to the obscene motions of the body.

Therefore, although there are lusts for many things, yet when lust is mentioned, and it is not added of what thing it is the lust, it is not usually accustomed to occur to the mind except that by which the obscene parts of the body are excited. But this vindicates for itself not only the whole body, nor only from without, but also from within, and moves the whole man, the affection of the mind being joined and mixed together with the appetite of the flesh, so that that pleasure follows than which none is greater among the pleasures of the body: so that at the very moment of time in which its extreme is reached, almost all the keenness and as it were the vigil of thought is overwhelmed. But who that is a friend of wisdom and of holy joys, leading a conjugal life, but, as the Apostle warned, "knowing how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honor, not in the disease of desire, as also the Gentiles who know not God" (1 Thess. 4:4, 5), would not prefer, if he could, to procreate children without this lust; so that even in this office of sowing offspring, those parts which were created for this work might

serve his mind just as the other members distributed each to its own works, being moved by the nod of the will, not incited by the heat of lust? But not even the lovers of this pleasure themselves are moved when they wish, whether for conjugal intercourse or for the impurities of flagitious acts: but sometimes that motion is importunate when no one asks, but sometimes it deserts the one who gasps for it, and while concupiscence burns in the mind, it is cold in the body: and thus in a wondrous manner lust does not serve not only the will for generating, but even the lust for lasciviousness; and while it is for the most part opposed to the mind that restrains it, sometimes it is even divided against itself, and the mind being moved in moving the body, it does not follow itself.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the nakedness of the first humans, which after sin they saw to be base and shameful.

Deservedly is there the greatest shame for this lust, deservedly also those members themselves, which it moves or does not move by a certain right of its own, as I might say, and not in every way at our arbitrament, are called shameful (pudenda), which they were not before the sin of man. For as it is written, "They were naked, and were not confounded" (Gen. 2:25): not that their nakedness was unknown to them, but base nakedness was not yet; because lust did not yet move those members beyond arbitrament, nor

did the flesh yet bear testimony in some way by its own disobedience to redargue the disobedience of man. For neither were they created blind, as the unskilful vulgar suppose: since he even saw the animals to which he imposed names (Ib. 20); and of her it is read, "The woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasing to the eyes to behold" (Ib. 3:6). Therefore their eyes were open, but to this they were not open, that is, not attentive, that they might know what was provided for them by the indument of grace, when their members knew not how to repugn the will. Which grace being removed, so that disobedience might be punished with a reciprocal penalty, there existed in the motion of the body a certain impudent novelty, whence there was indecent nakedness; and it made them attentive and rendered them confounded. Hence it is that, after they violated the command of God by open transgression, it is written of them: "And the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they sewed fig leaves, and made themselves campestria" (Ibid. 7). "Their eyes were opened," he says, "of both," not for seeing (for they saw before also); but for discerning between the good which they had lost and the evil into which they had fallen. Whence also the tree itself, for the reason that it would cause that discernment if it were touched for eating against the prohibition, received its name from that fact, so that it was called the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. For the molest of disease being experienced, the pleasantness of

health also becomes more evident. "They knew," therefore, "that they were naked": naked, to wit, of that grace by which it was brought about that no nakedness of the body confounded them with any law of sin repugning their mind. This, therefore, they knew, which they would more happily be ignorant of, if believing and obeying God they did not commit what would compel them to experience what harm infidelity and disobedience would do. Accordingly, confounded by the disobedience of their own flesh, as by a witness to the penalty of their own disobedience, "they sewed fig leaves, and made themselves campestria," that is, succinctoria (aprons) of the genitals. For some interpreters have put "succinctoria." Furthermore, "campestria" is indeed a Latin word, but so called from the fact that the youths, who exercised naked in the field (campus), covered their shameful parts: whence those who are thus succinct, the vulgar call "campestrati." That, therefore, which lust was inobediently moving against the will condemned for the fault of disobedience, modesty was shamefully covering. From this all nations, since they have been procreated from that stock, hold so firmly the ingrained custom of veiling the shameful parts, that some barbarians do not have those parts of the body naked even in the baths, but wash with their coverings. Also through the opaque solitudes of India, when some philosophize naked, whence they are named Gymnosophists, they nevertheless apply coverings to the genitals, which they lack for the rest of their members.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the shame of intercourse, not only vulgar but even conjugal.

But that work itself which is performed by such lust, not only in any kind of debaucheries, where hiding-places are required to evade human judgments; but even in the use of harlots, which the earthly city has made a licit turpitude, although that is done which no law of that city punishes, yet even permitted and unpunished lust avoids public view; and by natural modesty the very brothels have provided secrecy, and it was more easily possible for unchastity not to have the bonds of prohibition than for impudence to remove the hiding-places of that foulness. But even the base themselves call this turpitude: of which, though they be lovers, they dare not be ostentators. What? Does not conjugal intercourse itself, which according to the precepts of the matrimonial tablets is done for the cause of procreating children, although it be licit and honest, require a bedchamber remote from witnesses? Does it not send out of doors all servants, and even the groomsmen themselves, and whomever any necessity had permitted to enter, before the spouse begins even to fondle the spouse? And since, as a certain most great author of Roman eloquence says, all things rightly done wish to be placed in the light, that is, they desire to be known: this rightly done thing so desires to be known that it nevertheless blushes to be seen. For who does not know what spouses do between

themselves that children may be procreated? Since wives are taught with such celebration that this may be done: and yet when that is done whence children are born, not even the children themselves, if any have already been born thence, are permitted to be witnesses. For thus this rightly done thing desires for its knowledge the light of minds, so that nevertheless it flees from that of eyes. Whence is this, except because that is so carried on which may be becoming from nature, so that also that which may be shameful accompanies it from the penalty?

CHAPTER XIX.

That the parts of anger and lust are so viciously moved that it is necessary that they be restrained by the bridles of wisdom, which in that health of nature before sin were not there.

Hence it is that even those philosophers who approached nearer to the truth confessed that anger and lust were vicious parts of the soul, for the reason that they were moved turbidly and inordinately even to those things which wisdom does not forbid to be perpetrated; and through this they have need of a moderating mind and reason. Which third part of the soul they maintain is placed as if in a certain citadel for the purpose of ruling these; so that, with it commanding and these serving, justice may be preserved in man from every part of the soul. These parts, therefore, which they confess to be vicious even in a wise and temperate man, so that the mind by checking and restraining may curb

and recall them from those things to which they are unjustly moved, and permit them to those things which are granted by the law of wisdom; as anger for the exercise of just coercion, and lust for the office of propagating offspring: these parts, I say, were not vicious in paradise before sin. For they were not moved toward anything against the right will, whence it might be necessary to restrain them by reason as if by governing bridles. For that they are now so moved, and are modified by checking and curbing, sometimes more easily, sometimes with more difficulty, even by those who live temperately and justly and piously, is surely not health from nature, but languor from fault. But as to why modesty does not so hide the works of anger and other affections in any words and deeds as it hides the works of lust which are done by the genital members, what is the cause, unless because in the rest the will moves the members of the body, not the affections themselves, but when it has consented with them, which [will] dominates entirely in the use of them? For whoever emits a word being angry, or even strikes anyone, could not do this unless the tongue and the hand were moved, the will commanding in a certain way: which members are moved by the same will even when there is no anger. But truly lust has in a certain way so mancipated the genital parts of the body to its own right that they are not able to be moved if it be lacking, and unless it has arisen either of its own accord or being excited. This is what shames, this is what avoids the eyes of beholders by blushing:

and man more easily bears a multitude of spectators when he is unjustly angry at a man, than the sight even of one when he is justly joined with his wife.

CHAPTER XX.

On the most vain turpitude of the Cynics.

Those canine philosophers, that is, the Cynics, did not see this, proffering against human modesty what else but a canine, that is, an unclean and impudent opinion? Namely, that since what is done with a wife is just, one should not be ashamed to do it openly; nor should one avoid conjugal intercourse in any street or square. Nevertheless, natural modesty overcame the opinion of this error. For although they maintain that Diogenes sometimes did this boastfully, thinking thus that his sect would be more noble if his impudence were more signally fixed in the memory of men: yet afterwards the practice ceased to be done by the Cynics; and modesty prevailed more, so that men blushed before men, than error, so that men affected to be like dogs. Whence also I think that he, or those who are reported to have done this, rather gave to the eyes of men the movements of those lying together, while men were ignorant of what was being carried on under the cloak, than that that pleasure could have been performed while the human gaze was pressing upon them. For there the philosophers were not ashamed to seem to wish to lie together, where lust itself would be ashamed to

arise. And now we see that there are still Cynic philosophers; for these are they who are not only clothed with the cloak, but also carry a club: yet no one of them dares to do this; because if any had dared, that I may not say by the blows of those stoning them, they would certainly be overwhelmed by the spittle of those spitting on them. Therefore human nature is ashamed of this lust without any doubt, and it is rightly ashamed. For in its disobedience, which has subjected the genital members of the body to its own movements alone, and has snatched them from the power of the will, it is sufficiently shown what was retributed to man for that first disobedience: which it was fitting should appear especially in that part by which nature itself is generated, which by that first and great sin was changed for the worse: from the bond of which no one is rescued, unless that which, when all were in one, was perpetrated to the common destruction, and avenged by the justice of God, be expiated by the grace of God in individuals.

CHAPTER XXI.

On the blessing of multiplying human fecundity before sin, which transgression would not take away, and to which the disease of lust has been added.

Far be it, therefore, that we should believe that those spouses established in paradise would have fulfilled, through this lust, by which they covered those same members in blushing, what God said in His blessing: "Increase, and multiply,

and fill the earth" (Gen. I, 28). For after sin this lust arose; after sin nature, not [previously] impudent, having lost the power to which the body was in every part subject, perceived, attended to, blushed at, and covered it. That blessing of marriage indeed, that the married should increase and multiply and fill the earth, although it remained even in the delinquent; nevertheless, before they delinquented, it was given, that it might be known that the procreation of children pertained to the glory of marriage, not to the punishment of sin. But now men, surely ignorant of that happiness which was in paradise, do not think that children could have been begotten except through that which they have experienced, that is, through lust, concerning which we see that even the honesty of marriage blushes; some by no means accepting the Divine Scriptures, where it is read that after sin they were ashamed of their nakedness, and the shameful parts were covered, but unfaithfully mocking them; while others, although they accept and honor them, nevertheless do not wish that which was said, "Increase, and multiply," to be understood according to carnal fecundity; because something similar is read to have been said according to the soul, "Thou shalt multiply me in my soul by Thy virtue" (Psalm CXXXVII, 4): so that they understand what follows in Genesis, "And fill the earth, and subdue it," the earth to be the flesh, which the soul fills by its presence, and over which it especially dominates when it is multiplied in virtue. But they think that carnal offspring could

not have been born then without lust, which after sin arose, was inspected, confused, and veiled, just as they cannot now; nor would they have been in paradise, but outside, as indeed it happened. For after they were dismissed from there, they came together to beget children, and begat them.

CHAPTER XXII.

On the conjugal union primordially instituted and blessed by God.

But we by no means doubt that to increase and multiply and fill the earth, according to the blessing of God, is the gift of marriage, which God instituted from the beginning before the sin of man, by creating male and female: which sex is certainly evident in the flesh. For to this work of God the blessing itself was also subjoined. For when Scripture had said, "He made them male and female," it immediately added, "And God blessed them, saying: Increase, and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it" (Gen. I, 27, 28), and the rest. Although all these things may not inconveniently be referred also to a spiritual understanding, yet it is of great absurdity to resist that male and female were created so that by generating offspring they might increase and multiply and fill the earth, as evidently appears in the bodies of different sex; not like something similar that can be understood even in one man, because forsooth in him there is one thing which rules, another which is ruled. For not concerning

the spirit which commands and the flesh which obeys; or concerning the rational mind which rules and the irrational desire which is ruled; or concerning the contemplative virtue which excels and the active which is subjected; or concerning the intellect of the mind and the sense of the body: but openly concerning the conjugal bond, by which each sex is bound to the other in turn, the Lord, being asked whether it were lawful for any cause to dismiss a wife, because on account of the hardness of the heart of the Israelites Moses permitted a bill of divorcement to be given, answered and said: Have ye not read that He who made them from the beginning, made them male and female, and said: For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh? Therefore they are no longer two, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined, let not man separate" (Matt. XIX, 4-6). It is certain, therefore, that male and female were so primordially instituted as we now see and know two men of different sex: but that one is said, either on account of the union, or on account of the origin of the female, who was created from the male's side. For the Apostle also, through this first example which preceded by God's institution, admonishes each one that husbands should love their wives (Ephes. V, 25 and Coloss. III, 19).

CHAPTER XXIII.

Whether there would have been generation even in paradise if no one had sinned; or whether the tradition of chastity would have had to fight there against the act of lust.

1. But whoever says that they would not have had intercourse nor generated unless they had sinned, what else does he say but that the sin of man was necessary for the multitude of the saints? For if by not sinning they would have remained alone, because, as they think, they could not have generated unless they had sinned; certainly, in order that there might not be only two just men, but many, sin was necessary. But if it is absurd to believe this, that rather is to be believed: that as large a number of saints as suffices for completing that most blessed city would have existed even if no one had sinned, as large as is now collected through the grace of God from the multitude of sinners, so long as the children of this world generate and are generated (Luke XX, 34).

2. And therefore those marriages, worthy of the happiness of paradise if sin had not existed, would both beget desirable offspring and would not have shameful lust. But how that could be done, there is now no example by which it may be demonstrated. Nor yet on that account ought it to seem incredible that even that one [member] could have served the will without that lust, to which so many members now serve. Or do we indeed move hands and feet when we wish, for those things which are to be done by these members, without any resistance, with as much facility as we see both in ourselves and in

others, especially in the artisans of any corporal works, where a more agile industry has been added to the exercise of a weaker and slower nature; and do we not believe that for the work of generating children, if there had not been lust, which was retributed to the sin of disobedience, those members could similarly have served men obediently at the nod of the will as the rest? Does not Cicero, in his books on the Republic, when he disputed concerning the difference of empires, and assumed a likeness of this thing from the nature of man, say that the members of the body are commanded as if they were sons on account of the facility of obeying: but that the vicious parts of the soul are coerced as slaves by a harsher empire? And certainly by natural order the soul is set before the body, and yet the soul itself commands the body more easily than itself. Nevertheless, this lust, concerning which we now discourse, exists as the more to be blushed at, because the soul in it neither effectively commands itself so that it may not lust at all; nor in every way the body, so that the will rather than lust may move the shameful members: which if it were so, they would not be shameful. But now the soul is ashamed that it is resisted by the body, which is subject to it by a lower nature. For in other affections when it resists itself, it is therefore less ashamed, because when it is conquered by itself, it conquers itself; although inordinately and viciously, because it is from those parts which ought to be subject to reason; yet it is conquered by its own parts, and through this, as

was said, by itself. For when the soul conquers itself ordinarily, so that its irrational movements are subjected to mind and reason (if however it is also subjected to God), it is of praise and virtue. Yet it is less ashamed when the soul does not obey itself from its vicious parts, than when the body, which is another from it and is below it, and whose nature does not live without it, does not yield to it when it is willing and commanding.

3. But since other members are retained by the command of the will, without which those which are excited by lust against the will cannot fulfill that which they desire; chastity is preserved, the delight of sin being not lost, but not permitted. This resistance, this repugnance, this quarrel of the will and lust, or certainly the deficiency of lust for the sufficiency of the will, without doubt the marriages in paradise would not have had, unless culpable disobedience had been punished by penal disobedience; but those members, like all the rest, would serve the will. Thus the genital field (Virgil, Georgics, Book III, line 136), a vessel created for this work, would sow as the hand now sows the earth. And whereas now modesty resists us when we wish to dispute more diligently concerning this matter, and compels us to ask pardon with the aforementioned honor from chaste ears, there would be no cause why that should be done: but into all things which might touch the sense of the thinker concerning members of this kind, free speech would be carried without any fear of obscenity: nor would there be any words themselves which would be called ob-

scene; but whatever might be said thereof would be as honest as when we speak of other parts of the body. Whoever, therefore, approaches these writings impudently, let him flee the fault, not nature; let him denote the deeds of his own turpitude, not the words of our necessity; in which the chaste and religious reader or hearer most easily pardons me, until I refute infidelity, arguing not from the faith of things unexperienced, but from the sense of things experienced. For he reads these things without offense who does not abhor the Apostle rebuking the horrendous shameful acts of women, who "changed the natural use into that use which is against nature" (Rom. I, 26): especially because we do not now commemorate and rebuke a damnable obscenity, as he does, but in explaining, as much as we can, the effects of human generation, we nevertheless avoid, as he does, obscene words.

CHAPTER XXIV. --- That innocent men, remaining in paradise by the merit of obedience, would have used their genital members for the generation of offspring just as they used the others at the choice of the will.

1. The man, therefore, would have sown the offspring, and the woman would have received it into her genital members when there was need, and as much as there was need, the members being moved by the will, not excited by lust. For we do not move at our beck only those members which are articulated with firm bones, such as the feet and hands and fingers; but we also move those which are relaxed with soft sinews, agitat-

ing them when we wish, and extending them by stretching, and bending them by twisting, and hardening them by contracting; such as are those in the mouth and face, which the will moves as much as it can. Finally, the lungs themselves, the softest of all the viscera except the marrow, and for this reason sheltered in the hollow of the chest, serve the will for drawing and releasing the breath and for emitting or modifying the voice, like the bellows of blacksmiths or organs, for one who blows, respires, speaks, shouts, or sings. I omit the fact that it is naturally implanted in certain animals to move the covering with which their whole body is clothed only in that place where they feel something to be driven away, if they feel it anywhere; and to shake off not only settling flies but even clinging spears by a tremor of the skin. Because man cannot do this, could not the Creator therefore have given it to such living things as He willed? Thus, then, man himself could have had the obedience even of the lower members, which he lost by his own disobedience. For it was not difficult for God to create him so that in his flesh even that which now is not moved except by lust should be moved only by his will.

2. For we also know the natures of certain men to be very different from others, and wonderful for their very rarity, doing some things with their body as they wish, which others can by no means do, and which are scarcely believed when heard. For there are some who can even move their ears, either singly or both together. There are

those who, without moving the head, can bring their whole scalp down toward the forehead and move it back when they wish, as far as the hair covers it. There are those who, after swallowing incredibly many and various things, with a slight pressure on the stomach, bring forth whatever they please, perfectly intact, as if from a bag. Some so imitate and express the voices of birds, cattle, and any other men, that unless they are seen, they can by no means be distinguished. Some produce from their lower parts, without any foul smell, so many musical sounds at will that they seem to sing even from that part. I myself have known a man who was accustomed to sweat when he wished. It is well known that some weep when they wish, and pour forth tears abundantly. But that is much more incredible which many brethren have experienced in very recent memory. There was a certain priest named Restitutus in the parish of the Church of Calama, who, when it pleased him (and he was asked to do this by those who desired to know the marvelous thing in person), would withdraw himself from his senses, imitating the voices as of someone lamenting, and would lie so much like a dead man that he not only felt very little when pinched and pricked, but sometimes even when fire was applied he was burned without any sensation of pain, except afterward from the wound. That he did not move his body not by resisting, but by not feeling, was proved by the fact that no breath was found in him, as if in a dead person; nevertheless, he later reported that he heard the voices

of men, if they spoke more loudly, as if from a distance. Since, therefore, the body even now wonderfully serves some, although they lead this troublesome life in corruptible flesh, in many motions and affections beyond the usual mode of nature; what reason is there that we should not believe that before the sin of disobedience and the punishment of corruption, human members could have served the human will for the propagation of offspring without any lust? Man was thus given over to himself, because he deserted God by pleasing himself; and not obeying God, he could not obey himself either. Hence the more evident misery, in which man does not live as he wishes. For if he lived as he wished, he would think himself happy; but even so he would not be so, if he lived basely.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of true happiness, which temporal life does not obtain.

Although if we attend more diligently, no one lives as he wishes unless he is happy; and no one is happy unless he is just. But even the just man himself does not live as he wishes until he arrives where he can by no means die, be deceived, or be offended, and is certain that it will always be so. For this is what nature seeks; nor will it be fully and perfectly happy unless it has attained what it seeks. But now, what man can live as he wishes, when life itself is not in his power? For he wishes to live, but is compelled to die. How then does he live as he wishes, who does not live as long as

he wishes? But if he should wish to die, how can he live as he wishes who does not wish to live? And if he should wish to die, not because he does not wish to live, but that after death he may live better: he does not yet live as he wishes, but only when he reaches by dying that which he wishes. But behold, let him live as he wishes, since he has forced himself and commanded himself not to wish what he cannot do, and to wish what he can; as Terence says, "Since that which you wish cannot be done, wish that which can be done": is he therefore happy because he is patiently miserable? For a happy life is not possessed if it is not loved. Furthermore, if it is loved and possessed, it must necessarily be loved more excellently than all other things; since whatever else is loved must be loved for the sake of this. Furthermore, if it is loved as much as it is worthy of being loved (for he is not happy by whom the happy life itself is not loved as it is worthy), it cannot be that he who so loves it should not wish it to be eternal. Then, therefore, it will be happy when it is eternal.

CHAPTER XXVI.

That the happiness of those living in paradise could be believed to have been able to fulfill the duty of generating without a shameful appetite.

Man lived, therefore, in paradise as he wished, as long as he wished that which God had commanded: he lived enjoying God, from which good he was good: he lived without any want, having it in his power always to live so. Food was at

hand, lest he should hunger; drink, lest he should thirst; the tree of life, lest old age should dissolve him. No corruption in the body or from the body inflicted any troubles on any of his senses. No inward disease, no outward blow was feared. There was supreme health in the flesh, and entire tranquility in the soul. As in paradise there was no heat or cold, so in its inhabitant no offense to the good will arose from desire or fear. Nothing at all was sad, nothing was vainly joyful: true joy was perpetuated from God, for whom charity glowed "from a pure heart and a good conscience and faith unfeigned" (I Tim. I, 5): and between the spouses there was a faithful society of honest love, a harmonious watchfulness of mind and body, and the keeping of the commandment without labor. Weariness did not fatigue the idle, nor did sleep oppress the unwilling. In such facility of things and happiness of men, far be it from us to suspect that offspring could not have been sown without the disease of lust: but those members would have been moved by the same beck of the will as the others, and without the alluring stimulus of passion, with tranquility of mind and body, and with no corruption of integrity, the husband would have been poured into the womb of the wife.

For we should not refuse to believe simply because it cannot be proved by experience; since when those parts of the body were not driven by turbid heat, but a spontaneous power would employ them as there was need, then the male seed could have been injected into the womb of

the spouse without violating the integrity of the female genital, just as now, while the same integrity is preserved, the flow of menstrual blood can be emitted from the womb of a virgin. For by the same way could the former be injected as the latter can be ejected. For as for giving birth, not the groans of pain, but the impulse of maturity would relax the female viscera: so for begetting and conceiving, not the appetite of lust, but a voluntary use would join both natures. We are speaking now of things that cause shame; and therefore, although we may conjecture as we can what they might have been like before there was shame of them, nevertheless it is necessary that our discussion be more reined in by that modesty which recalls us than be aided by eloquence, which is scantily supplied to us. For since those who could have experienced what I say did not themselves experience it (because, sin preoccupying them, they merited exile from paradise before they could come together in the work of sowing offspring with a tranquil will), how can these things now, when they are commemorated, occur to human senses, except by the experience of turbid lust, and not by the conjecture of a placid will? Hence it is that shame impedes the speaker, even if reason does not fail the thinker. Nevertheless, to the almighty God, the highest and supremely good Creator of all natures, the helper and rewarder of good wills, but the abandoner and condemner of bad ones, and the ordainer of both, there was certainly not lacking a counsel by which He might fulfill

the certain number of citizens predestined in His wisdom even from the condemned human race for His city: discerning them not by merits, since the whole mass was condemned as if in a vitiated root, but by grace; and showing what He bestows upon them, not only from those who are liberated, but also from those who are not liberated. For not by a due but by a gratuitous goodness does each one then recognize himself rescued from evils, when he is made immune from the fellowship of those men with whom he would have had a common and just punishment. Why then should God not create those whom He foreknew would sin; since in them and from them He could show both what their fault merited and what His grace bestowed, nor would the perverse inordination of the delinquents pervert the right order of things under that Creator and Disposer?

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of sinners, both angels and men, whose perversity does not disturb the providence of God.

Therefore, sinners, both angels and men, do nothing by which the "great works of the Lord, exquisite in all His wills" (Ps. CX, 2) are impeded. Since He who providently and omnipotently distributes to each his own, knows how to use well not only the good, but also the evil. And for this reason, using well the evil angel, who was so condemned and hardened by the merit of his first bad will that he no longer had a good will, why should God not permit the first

man, who had been created upright, that is, of a good will, to be tempted by him? Since he was so instituted that if, trusting in the help of God, the good man should overcome the evil angel; but if he should proudly desert God his Creator and Helper by pleasing himself, he would be overcome: having good merit in a divinely aided upright will, but evil in a perverse will deserting God. Because even to trust in the help of God he could not indeed do without the help of God; and yet he was not for that reason without the power to withdraw from these benefits of divine grace by pleasing himself. For just as it is not in our power to live in this flesh without the aid of nourishment, but it is in our power not to live in it, as those do who kill themselves: so to live well without the help of God, even in paradise, was not in his power; but it was in his power to live ill, though with a happiness that would not remain, and a most just punishment following. Since, therefore, God was not ignorant of this future human fall, why should He not allow him to be tempted by the malignity of the envious angel? By no means being uncertain that he would be overcome; but nevertheless foreknowing that by his seed, aided by His grace, the same devil was to be overcome with greater glory for the saints. Thus it happened that nothing of the future was hidden from God, nor did He by foreknowing compel anyone to sin; and He demonstrated by consequent experience to the angelic and human rational creature what difference there was between each one's own presumption and His

protection. For who would dare to believe or say that it was not in God's power that neither angel nor man should fall? But He preferred not to take this from their power; and thus to show both how much evil their pride could do, and how much good His grace could do.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of the quality of the two cities, the earthly and the heavenly.

Accordingly, two loves have made two cities: the earthly by the love of self even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God even to the contempt of self. Finally, the former glories in itself, the latter in the Lord. For the former seeks glory from men; but to the latter, God, the witness of conscience, is the greatest glory. The former lifts up its head in its own glory; the latter says to its God, "My glory, and the lifter up of my head" (Ps. III, 4). In the former, the lust of rule dominates in its princes or in the nations it subdues; in the latter, they serve one another in charity, both the rulers by counseling and the subjects by obeying. The former loves its own strength in its potentates; the latter says to its God, "I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength" (Ps. XVII, 2). And therefore, in the former, its wise men living according to man have pursued the goods either of the body or of the mind, or of both; or those who were able to know God "did not honor Him as God, or give thanks; but they became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened." Saying that they were wise,

that is, extolling themselves in their own wisdom while pride dominated them, they became fools; and they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed beasts, and of serpents: for they were either leaders of the people or followers in adoring idols of this kind. And they worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever (Rom. I, 21-25). In the latter, however, there is no wisdom of man, but only piety, by which the true God is rightly worshipped, expecting that reward in the society of the saints, not only of men but also of angels, "that God may be all in all" (I Cor. XV, 28).

BOOK FIFTEENTH.

After having treated in the four immediately preceding books the origin of the two cities, the earthly and the heavenly, Augustine adds as many books on the progress of the same cities, and approaches that argument in such a way as to treat the principal chapters of sacred history relating to the same subject, first of all in this fifteenth book those things which are read in Genesis from Cain and Abel up to the flood.

CHAPTER I.

Of the two orders of human generation running toward diverse ends from the beginning.

1. Concerning the happiness of paradise, or paradise itself, and the life of the first men there, and their sin and punishment, many have thought many things, said many things, and committed many things to writing. We also, according to the Holy Scriptures, either what we have read in them or what we have been able to understand from them, agreeing with their authority, have spoken of these things in the preceding books. But if these things are sought more minutely, they produce multiple and manifold disputes, which must be woven into more volumes than this work and time require. Which

we do not have so large that we ought to linger in all things which idle and scrupulous men, more ready for questioning than capable of understanding, can require. Nevertheless, I think we have already done enough on the great and most difficult questions concerning the beginning either of the world, or of the soul, or of the human race itself: which we have distributed into two kinds; one of those who live according to man, the other of those who live according to God. These we also mystically call the two cities, that is, the two societies of men: of which one is predestined to reign eternally with God; the other, to undergo eternal punishment with the devil. But this is their end, of which we must speak later. Now, however, since enough has been said of their origin, whether in the angels, whose number is unknown to us, or in the two first men, it seems to me that their progress should be approached, from the time those two began to generate, until men shall cease to generate. For this whole time, or age, in which the dying give place and the nascent succeed, is the progress of those two cities of which we are disputing.

2. Cain, therefore, was born first of those two parents of the human race, belonging to the city of men; after him Abel, belonging to the city of God. For as we experience in one man what the Apostle says, that "not that which is spiritual is first, but that which is animal, and afterward that which is spiritual" (I Cor. XV, 46): whence each one, since he arises from a condemned stock, is necessarily first evil and carnal from Adam. But

if by being reborn in Christ he makes progress, he will afterward be good and spiritual: so in the whole human race, when those two cities first began to run their course by being born and dying, the first born was a citizen of this world; but the later was a pilgrim in the world, and belonging to the city of God, predestined by grace, elected by grace, a pilgrim below by grace, a citizen above by grace. For as far as he himself is concerned, he arises from the same mass which was originally all condemned; but like a potter, God (for this similitude the Apostle introduces not imprudently, but prudently) from the same mass "made one vessel unto honor, and another unto dishonor" (Rom. IX, 21). But first the vessel unto dishonor was made, and afterward the other unto honor: because also in the one man, as I have already said, that which is reprobate is first, whence we must necessarily begin, and where it is not necessary that we should remain; but afterward that which is approved, toward which we come by making progress, and in which we remain when we have arrived. Accordingly, not indeed every evil man will be good, yet no one will be good who was not evil: but the more quickly each one is changed for the better, the more he makes that which he more quickly apprehends to be named in him, and covers the former name with the later. It is written, therefore, of Cain, that he built a city (Gen. IV, 17): but Abel, like a pilgrim, did not build one. For the city of the saints is above, although it brings forth citizens here, in whom it sojourns as a pil-

grim until the time of its kingdom comes, when it will gather all rising in their bodies, when the promised kingdom shall be given to them, where they shall reign with their Prince, the King of ages, without any end of time.

CHAPTER II.

Of the sons of the flesh, and the sons of the promise.

A certain shadow of this city and a prophetic image served to signify it rather than to present it on earth, at the time when it was appropriate for it to be demonstrated; and it was even called the holy city by the merit of its signifying image, not of the expressed truth, such as it is to be. Concerning this serving image, and concerning that free city which it signifies, the Apostle thus speaks to the Galatians: "Tell me," he says, "you who wish to be under the law, have you not heard the law? For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a bondmaid, and one by a free woman. But he who was of the bondmaid was born according to the flesh; but he of the free woman, through promise: which things are an allegory. For these are two testaments; one indeed from Mount Sinai, generating unto servitude, which is Hagar. For Sinai is a mountain in Arabia, which is joined to this Jerusalem which now is: for she is in servitude with her children. But that Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written, Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for many are the children

of the desolate, more than of her who hath a husband. Now we, brethren, according to Isaac, are the children of promise. But as then he who was born according to the flesh persecuted him who was according to the spirit; so also now. But what saith the Scripture? Cast out the bondmaid and her son: for the son of the bondmaid shall not be heir with the son of the free woman. We then, brethren, are not children of the bondmaid, but of the free, with that liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free" (Galat. IV, 21-31). This form of understanding, descending from apostolic authority, opens a place for us as to how we ought to receive the Scriptures of the two Testaments, the Old and the New. For a certain part of the earthly city was made an image of the heavenly city, not signifying itself, but the other; and therefore serving. For it was instituted not for its own sake, but for the sake of signifying another; and, another signification preceding, it was itself prefigured while prefiguring. For Hagar, the bondmaid of Sarah, and her son, were a certain image of this image.

And because the shadows were to pass away when the light came, therefore the free Sarah said, who signified the free city, to which also that shadow served for the purpose of signifying in another way: "Cast out the bondmaid and her son; for the son of the bondmaid shall not be heir with my son Isaac," which, as the Apostle says, means "with the son of the free woman." We find, therefore, in the earthly city two forms: one demonstrating its own presence, the other

serving by its presence to signify the heavenly city. Now nature vitiated by sin brings forth the citizens of the earthly city; but grace liberating nature from sin brings forth the citizens of the heavenly city: whence the former are called vessels of wrath, the latter vessels of mercy (Rom. IX, 22, 23). This was signified also in the two sons of Abraham, that one, Ishmael, was born according to the flesh of the bondmaid who was called Hagar, but the other, Isaac, was born according to the promise of the free Sarah. Both indeed were of the seed of Abraham: but the one was begotten by nature demonstrating custom, but the other was given by promise signifying grace. There human use is shown, here divine benefit is commended.

CHAPTER III.

Of the sterility of Sarah, whom the grace of God made fruitful.

For Sarah was sterile, and in despair of offspring, desiring to have at least from her bondmaid what she saw she could not have from herself, she gave her to be impregnated by the man by whom she had wished to bear but could not. She therefore exacted even thus the debt from her husband, using her own right in the womb of another. Ishmael was therefore born, as men are born, by the commingling of both sexes, by the usual law of nature. Therefore it was said "according to the flesh": not that these are not the benefits of God, or that God does not work them, whose "artificer wisdom reacheth," as it is

written, "from one end to the other mightily, and ordereth all things sweetly" (Wisd. VIII, 1): but where the gift of God was to be signified, which grace would bestow freely upon men who did not deserve it, it was appropriate that a son should be given in such a way as was not due to the course of nature. For nature now denies children to such a commingling of male and female as could be that of Abraham and Sarah in that age, the sterility of the woman also being added, who could not bear even then when it was not age that was lacking to fecundity, but fecundity to age. That therefore the fruit of posterity was not due to nature so affected, signifies that the nature of the human race, vitiated by sin, and therefore justly condemned, merited nothing of true happiness in the future. Rightly, therefore, does Isaac, born through promise, signify the sons of grace, the citizens of the free city, the partners of eternal peace, where there is not the love of a proper and, as it were, private will, but rejoicing in a common and the same unchangeable good, and making one heart out of many, that is, a perfectly harmonious heart, by the obedience of charity.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the conflict or peace of the earthly city.

Furthermore, the earthly city, which will not be everlasting (for when it shall have been condemned in the final punishment, it will no longer be a city), has here its own good, in the society of which it rejoices, such as the joy from such

things can be. And since it is not such a good as to cause no distresses to its lovers, therefore this city is for the most part divided against itself by litigating, warring, and fighting, and by seeking either deadly or certainly mortal victories. For from whatever part of itself it has risen up warring against another part of itself, it seeks to be the victor of nations, although it is a captive of vices. And if indeed when it has conquered, it is more proudly extolled, it is even deadly; but if, considering its condition and the common accidents, it is more distressed by the things that can happen to the adverse side than inflated by those which have turned out favorably, that victory is only mortal. For it will not always be able to dominate by remaining over those whom it was able to subdue by conquering.

CHAPTER V.

Of the first author of the earthly city, the fratricide, to whose impiety the founder of the Roman city responded by the slaughter of his brother.

The first founder of the earthly city was therefore a fratricide: for, overcome by envy, he slew his brother, a citizen of the eternal city, a pilgrim on this earth. Wherefore it is not to be wondered at that, so long after, in the founding of that city which was to be the head of this earthly city of which we speak, and to reign over so many nations, a certain image of its own kind responded to this first example and, as the Greeks call it, archetype. For there also, as a certain poet

of theirs has commemorated the crime itself, "The first walls were moistened with fraternal blood" (Lucan, Pharsalia, Book I, v. 95). For thus was Rome founded, when Roman history testifies that Remus was slain by his brother Romulus: except that both of these were citizens of the earthly city. Both sought glory from the institution of the Roman republic: but both could not have it as great as if there were only one. For he who wished to glory in dominating would certainly dominate less if his power were diminished by a living consort. Therefore, that one might have the whole domination, the associate was removed: and it grew for the worse by crime, that which was less and better by innocence. But these brothers Cain and Abel did not both have a similar desire for earthly things; nor in this did the one envy the other, because his dominion would become narrower, who slew the other, if both were to dominate (for Abel did not seek dominion in that city which was being founded by his brother): but that diabolical envy, by which the evil envy the good, for no other cause than because they are good and those are evil. For in no way does the possession of goodness become less by the accession or remaining of a consort; rather, goodness is a possession which the individual charity of associates possesses the more widely the more harmoniously. Finally, he will not have this possession who shall be unwilling to have it in common; and he will find it the more ample the more he can love his associate there. That, therefore, which arose between Remus and

Romulus, showed how the earthly city is divided against itself; but what arose between Cain and Abel showed the enmities between the two cities themselves, of God and of men. Therefore the evil and the evil fight among themselves: likewise the good and the evil fight among themselves. But the good and the good, if they are perfect, cannot fight among themselves: but those who are progressing and are not yet perfect can so fight that each good man fights against the other from that part in which he also fights against himself. For even in one man "the flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh" (Galat. V, 17). Spiritual concupiscence therefore can fight against the carnal concupiscence of another, or carnal concupiscence against the spiritual concupiscence of another, just as the good and the evil fight among themselves: or certainly the carnal concupiscences of two good men themselves, not yet indeed perfect, fight among themselves, just as the evil and the evil fight among themselves, until the health of those who are being cared for is led to the ultimate victory.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the languors which even the citizens of the city of God suffer in the pilgrimage of this life from the punishment of sin, and from which they are healed by God the physician.

For this is that languor, that is, that disobedience of which we discussed in the fourteenth book, the punishment of the first disobedience; and therefore it is not nature, but a vice: on

account of which it is said to the good who are making progress, and living from faith in this pilgrimage, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so shall ye fulfill the law of Christ" (Galat. VI, 2). Likewise it is said elsewhere: "Correct the restless, comfort the faint-hearted, support the weak, be patient towards all." See that no one render evil for evil to any one" (I Thess. V, 14 and 15). Likewise in another place: "If a man be overtaken in any fault, ye who are spiritual, instruct such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted" (Galat. VI, 1). And elsewhere: "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath" (Ephes. IV, 26). And in the Gospel: "If thy brother shall sin against thee, correct him between thee and him alone" (Matth. XVIII, 15). Likewise concerning sins in which the offense of many is guarded against, the Apostle says: "Those that sin rebuke before all, that others also may have fear" (I Tim. V, 20). On account of this also many things are commanded concerning the forgiveness to be given mutually, and with great care, for the sake of holding peace, without which no one will be able to see God (Hebr. XII, 14): where that terror is, when the servant of ten thousand talents is commanded to pay the debts which had been released to him, because he did not release the debt of a hundred pence to his fellow-servant. Which similitude having been proposed, the Lord Jesus added, and said, "So also will your heavenly Father do to you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother" (Matth. XVIII, 35). In this way are the

citizens of the city of God healed while peregrinating in this earth, and sighing for the peace of the heavenly country. But the Holy Spirit works internally, so that the medicine which is applied externally may avail something. Otherwise, even if God Himself, using a creature subject to Him, should address human senses in some human form, whether these of the body, or those which we have very like to these in dreams, and should not rule and move the mind by internal grace, all preaching of the truth profits a man nothing. But God does this, discerning the vessels of mercy from the vessels of wrath, by a dispensation which He Himself knows to be very hidden, but yet just. For by His own help in wonderful and latent ways, when sin, which dwells in our members, which rather is now the punishment of sin, as the Apostle commands, does not reign in our mortal body to obey its desires, nor do we present our members to it as weapons of iniquity (Rom. VI, 12, 13), it is turned to a mind not consenting to itself for evil, God ruling; and he will have it ruling more tranquilly now, afterwards, perfect health and immortality having been perceived, man without any sin will reign in eternal peace.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the cause and pertunacity of the crime of Cain, whom not even the word of God recalled from the conceived wickedness.

1. But this very thing which we have explained as we were able, when God had spoken to Cain in that manner in which He spoke with the first men

through a subject creature, as if their associate, in a suitable form, what did it profit him? did he not fulfill the conceived wickedness in slaying his brother even after the word of divine admonition? For when He had discerned the sacrifices of both, looking upon his brother's and looking down upon his, which it is not to be doubted could have been known by some attesting visible sign; and God had done this because his works were evil, but those of his brother good: Cain was very sorrowful, and his countenance fell. For thus it is written: "And the Lord said to Cain, Why art thou become sorrowful, and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou offerest rightly, but dividest not rightly, hast thou not sinned? Be quiet: for to thee is his turning, and thou shalt rule over him" (Gen. IV, 6, 7, sec. LXX). In this admonition which God brought forth to Cain, that indeed which was said, "If thou offerest rightly, but dividest not rightly, hast thou not sinned?" because it does not appear clearly why or whence it was said, its obscurity has given birth to many senses, since each tracker of the divine Scriptures tries to explain it according to the rule of faith. For a sacrifice is rightly offered when it is offered to the true God, to whom alone only one must sacrifice. But it is not rightly divided, while places or times, or the things themselves which are offered, or he who offers, and he to whom it is offered, or those to whom that which was offered is distributed for eating, are not rightly discerned: that we may understand division here as discretion; whether when it is offered where it is not appro-

priate, or that which is not appropriate there, but elsewhere; whether when it is offered when it is not appropriate, or that which is not appropriate then, but at another time; whether when that is offered which ought to have been offered nowhere and never at all; whether when a man keeps for himself more select things of the same kind of things than are those which he offers to God; or whether he who is profane, or whoever it is not lawful to become so, becomes a participant of that thing which was offered. In which of these things Cain displeased God, cannot easily be found. But since John the Apostle, when he spoke of these brothers, says, "Not as Cain, who was of the malignant one, and slew his brother: and for the sake of what thing did he slay him? Because his works were malignant, but those of his brother just" (I John III, 12): it is given to be understood that God did not look upon his gift for this reason, because by this very thing he divided badly, giving to God something of his own, but to himself, himself. Which all do who, following not God's will but their own, that is, living with a heart not upright but perverted, yet offer a gift to God, by which they think He is redeemed, so that He may help not in healing their depraved desires, but in fulfilling them. And this is proper to the earthly city, to worship God or gods, by whose help it may reign in earthly victories and peace, not with the charity of consulting, but with the desire of dominating. For the good use the world for this, that they may enjoy God: but the evil, on the contrary, wish to use God that

they may enjoy the world; those, however, who already believe Him either to be, or to care for human affairs. For there are some much worse, who do not even believe this. Cain, therefore, having known that God had looked upon the sacrifice of his brother, and not upon his own, certainly having been changed, ought to have imitated his good brother, not, having been puffed up, ought to have emulated him. But he was sorrowful, and his countenance fell. This sin God especially rebukes, sorrow for another's goodness, and this of a brother. For He interrogated him by rebuking him, saying, "Why art thou become sorrowful, and why is thy countenance fallen?" For that he envied his brother, God saw, and this He rebuked. For to men, to whom the heart of another is hidden, it could be ambiguous and altogether uncertain, whether he grieved for that sorrow his own malignancy, in which he had learned that he had displeased God, or the goodness of his brother, which pleased God when He looked upon his sacrifice. But God, rendering the reason why He was unwilling to accept his oblation, so that he should rather deservedly displease himself, than his brother should undeservedly displease him, when he was unjust by not dividing rightly, that is, by not living rightly, and unworthy whose oblation should be approved, showed how much more unjust he was because he had hated his just brother without cause.

2. However, not dismissing him without a holy, just, and good mandate, He said, "Be quiet; for to thee is his turning, and thou shalt rule

over him." Was it of his brother? Far from it. Of what, then, unless of sin? For He had said, "Thou hast sinned": then He added, "Be quiet; for to thee is his turning, and thou shalt rule over him." It can indeed be understood that the turning of sin ought to be toward the man himself, so that he should know that he ought to attribute what he sins to none other than himself. For this is the medicine of salutary penitence, and a not unsuitable petition for pardon, so that where He says, "For to thee is his turning," "let it be" is understood, not "it will be"; namely, as one commanding, not merely as one predicting. For then each one shall rule over sin, if he has not preferred it to himself by defending it, but has subjected it to himself by repenting: otherwise he will also serve it as it rules, if he has applied patronage to it as it happens. But so that sin may be understood as that carnal concupiscence itself, of which the Apostle says, "The flesh lusteth against the spirit" (Galat. V, 17); in the fruits of which flesh he also commemorates envy, by which certainly Cain was stimulated and inflamed for the destruction of his brother: "it will be" is well understood, that is, "For to thee shall be its turning, and thou shalt rule over it." For when that carnal part itself has been moved, which the Apostle calls sin where he says, "It is not I that work it, but sin that dwelleth in me" (Rom. VII, 17): which part of the soul even the philosophers say is vicious, not that which ought to draw the mind, but over which the mind ought to command, and restrain it by reason from illicit works: when therefore it has

been moved to commit something wrongly, if one is quiet and obeys the Apostle saying, "Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin" (Id. VI, 13); it is turned to the mind, tamed and conquered, so that reason may rule over it as subject. This God commanded to him who was inflamed with the torches of envy against his brother, and desired that he whom he ought to have imitated should be taken away. "Be quiet," He said: restrain thy hands from crime; let not sin reign in thy mortal body to obey its desires, nor yield thy members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin. "For to thee is its turning": while it is not helped by relaxing, but is bridled by being quiet. "And thou shalt rule over it": so that when it is not permitted to work from without, it may become accustomed, under the power of a ruling and benevolent mind, not even to be moved within. Something of this kind was said in the same divine book also concerning the woman, when, after sin, upon God's interrogation and judgment, they received sentences of condemnation, the devil in the serpent, and she and her husband in themselves. For when He had said to her, "Multiplying I will multiply thy sorrows and thy groaning, and in sorrows thou shalt bring forth children": then He added, "And to thy husband shall be thy turning, and he shall rule over thee" (Gen. III, 16). What was said to Cain concerning sin, or concerning the vicious concupiscence of the flesh, is said in this place concerning the sinning woman: where it is to be understood that the husband ought to be similar

to the mind ruling the flesh, for the purpose of ruling the wife. For which reason the Apostle says: "He that loveth his wife, loveth himself: for no man ever hated his own flesh" (Ephes. V, 28 and 29). For these things are to be healed as our own; not as alien things, to be condemned. But Cain received that precept of God as a transgressor. For the vice of envy prevailing, he slew his brother after lying in wait for him. Such was the founder of the earthly city. But how he may have signified also the Jews, by whom Christ was slain, the shepherd of the sheep of men, whom Abel, the shepherd of the sheep of the flock, prefigured, because the matter is in a prophetic allegory, I spare to say now, and I remember that I have said some things here against Faustus the Manichaean.

CHAPTER VIII.

What was the reason that Cain, among the beginnings of the human race, founded a city.

1. But now it seems to me that the history must be defended, lest the Scripture be incredible, which says that a city was built by one man at that time in which no more than four men, or rather three, after brother slew brother, seem to have been on the earth; that is, the first man, the father of all, and Cain himself, and his son Enoch, from whose name the city itself was called. But those whom this moves, consider too little that it was not necessary for the writer of this sacred history to name all the men who could

then be; but those only whom the reason of the work undertaken required. For the purpose of that writer was, through whom the Holy Spirit was doing this, to arrive through successions of certain generations propagated from one man to Abraham, and then from his seed to the people of God: in which, distinct from the other nations, all things might be prefigured and foretold which were foreseen in the Spirit as coming concerning the city whose kingdom shall be eternal, and concerning its King and the same founder, Christ; so that neither should silence be kept concerning the other society of men, which we call the earthly city, as much as might be sufficient for its commemoration, so that the city of God may shine forth even by comparison with its adversary. Since therefore the divine Scripture, where it also commemorates the number of years which those men lived, concludes in such a way that it says concerning him of whom it was speaking, "And he begat sons and daughters, and all the days of him were," or of that one, "which he lived, so many years, and he died" (Gen. V, 4, 5, and elsewhere): because it does not name the same sons and daughters, ought we not therefore to understand that through so many years in which they then lived in this first age of the world, very many men could have been born, by whose gatherings even very many cities could be founded? but it pertained to God, by whose inspiration these things were written, to first arrange and distinguish these two societies by their diverse generations: so that the generations of men, that

is, of those living according to man, and on the other hand, the generations of the sons of God, that is, of men living according to God, might be woven together until the flood, where the discretion and concretion of both societies are narrated: discretion indeed, because the generations of both are commemorated separately, of the one fratricide Cain, and of the other who was called Seth; for he also had been born of Adam in place of him whom his brother slew: but concretion, because, the good declining into worse, all had become such that they were destroyed by the flood, except one just man, whose name was Noah, and his wife, and three sons, and as many daughters-in-law, which eight persons deserved to escape from that devastation of all mortals through the ark.

2. What therefore is written, "And Cain knew his wife, and she conceiving bore Enoch; and he was building a city in the name of his son Enoch": it is not indeed a consequence that he should be believed to have begotten this first son. For this is not to be thought of from this, that he is said to have known his wife, as if he had then first mixed with her by lying together. For even concerning the father of all himself, Adam, this was not said only then when Cain was conceived, whom he seems to have had as his first-born: but also later the same Scripture says, "Adam knew his wife Eve, and she conceived, and bore a son, and named his name Seth" (Id. IV, 17, 25). From which it is understood that that Scripture is accustomed so to speak, although not always when in it it is

read that the conceptions of men were made, yet not only when first each sex is mixed together. Nor is that necessarily an argument, that we should think Enoch the first-born to his father, that that city was called by his name. For it is not beside the point that for some reason, although he had others, the father loved him more than the rest. For neither was Judah the first-born, from whom Judea was named, and the Jews. But even if this son was born first to that founder of a city, it is not therefore to be thought that his name was imposed on the city founded by his father then when he was born; because a city, which is nothing else than a multitude of men bound together by some bond of society, could not then be established by one man: but when the family of that man grew to such a numerosity that it already had the quantity of a people, then it could certainly happen that he both established and imposed the name of his first-born on the established city. For the life of those men was so long, that of those there commemorated, whose years are not silent, he who lived the least before the flood reached seven hundred and fifty-three years. For many also passed nine hundred years, although no one reached a thousand. Who therefore would doubt that through the age of one man the human race could have been so multiplied that there was that from which was established not one, but very many cities? Which can be very easily conjectured from this, because from one Abraham in not much more than four hundred years so great a numerosity of the He-

brew nation was procreated, that in the exit of the same people from Egypt six hundred thousand men are reported to have been of military youth (Exod. XII, 37), that we may omit the nation of the Edomites not pertaining to the people of Israel, whom his brother Esau, the grandson of Abraham, begat, and others born from the seed of Abraham himself, not procreated through Sarah his wife.

CHAPTER IX.

On the long life of men which was before the flood, and on the larger form of human bodies.

Wherefore no prudent estimator of things would doubt that Cain could have founded not only some city, but even a great one, when the life of mortals was extended for so long a time: unless perhaps some one of the unfaithful should bring up a question to us from that numerosity of years in which it is written in our authors that men then lived; and should deny that this is to be believed. Thus indeed they do not believe even that the magnitudes of bodies were far larger then than they are now. Whence also their most noble poet Virgil, concerning a huge stone which, fixed in the boundary of the fields, a brave man of those times snatching up while fighting, both ran and twisted and sent it, says: "Hardly twelve chosen men could support it on their neck, such bodies of men as the earth now produces" (Aeneid. lib. 12, v. 899-900); signifying that the earth was then accustomed to produce larger bodies. How much

more, therefore, in the more recent times of the world, before that noble and celebrated flood? But concerning the magnitude of bodies, for the most part, sepulchers laid bare by age or by the force of rivers and various accidents convince the incredulous, where bones of dead men of incredible magnitude have appeared, or whence they have fallen. I myself have seen, not alone, but some with me, on the Utican shore, a molar tooth of a man so huge, that if it were cut into small pieces after the manner of our teeth, it seemed to us to have been able to make a hundred. But I should have believed that to have been of some giant. For besides that the bodies then were much larger than ours, the giants far surpassed the rest. Just as in other and in our times, rare indeed, but they have almost never been lacking, those who would greatly exceed the measure of others. Pliny the Second, a most learned man, testifies that as the progress of the age passes more and more, nature bears smaller bodies. Which he also commemorates that Homer often lamented in his song, not mocking these as if they were poetical fictions, but assuming them for historical faith as a writer of natural miracles (Hist. natur. lib. 7, cap. 16). But, as I said, the magnitudes of the bodies of the ancients, the bones for the most part found, because they are long-lasting, betray even to much later ages. But the numerosity of the years of each man who was in those times, can now come into experiment by no such documents. Nor, however, is faith to be derogated from this sacred history for that reason, whose

narrated things we do not believe so much more impudently, as we behold more certainly the foretold things being fulfilled. Yet the same Pliny also says that there is still a nation where they live two hundred years. If therefore the long durations of human lives, which we have not experienced, are believed to be today in places unknown to us, why should they not be believed to have been also in those times? Or is it indeed credible that there is somewhere what is not here, and incredible that there was sometime what is not now?

CHAPTER X.

On the difference by which the numbers of years seem to disagree between the Hebrew and our codices.

Wherefore, even if between the Hebrew and our codices there seems to be some distance concerning the number of years itself, which I know not for what reason it has been made: yet it is not so great that they should disagree that those men were so long-lived. For the first man, Adam himself, before he begat the son who was called Seth, is found in our codices to have lived two hundred and thirty years, but in the Hebrew he is asserted to have lived a hundred and thirty (Gen. V, 3). But after he begat him, he is read in ours to have lived seven hundred, but in those, eight hundred (Ibid., 4). And thus in both the sum of the whole agrees. And then through the following generations, before he who is commemorated as being born is born, his father is found among the He-

brews to have lived a hundred years less: but after the same one was born, a hundred less are found in ours than in the Hebrew. And thus from here and there the universality of the number agrees. But in the sixth generation the codices nowhere differ. But in the seventh, where he who was born is Enoch, not dead, but narrated to have been translated because he pleased God, there is the same dissonance which was in the five superior generations concerning the hundred years before he begat the son who is there commemorated; and thus in the sum there is a similar consonance. For he lived three hundred and sixty-five years before he was translated, according to both codices (Ibid., 21-23). The eighth generation has indeed some diversity, but less, and unlike the rest. For Methuselah, whom Enoch begat, lived not a hundred years less, but twenty years more, before he begat him who follows in the same order, according to the Hebrews: who again in ours, after he begat him, are found added, and in both the sum of the whole number meets itself (Ibid. 25-27). In the ninth generation alone, that is, in the years of Lamech the son of Methuselah, but the father of Noah, the sum of the whole disagrees, but not very much. For he is found to have lived twenty-four years more in the Hebrew than in our codices. For before he begat the son who was called Noah, he has six less in the Hebrew than in ours: but after he begat him, thirty more in the same than in ours (Ibid. 28-31). Whence those six having been subtracted, twenty-four remain, as has been said.

CHAPTER XI.

On the years of Methuselah, whose age seems to exceed the flood by fourteen years.

But through this discrepancy of the Hebrew codices and ours, that most famous question arises, where Methuselah is calculated to have lived fourteen years after the flood, although Scripture commemorates only eight persons from all who had been on the earth then to have escaped the destruction of the flood in the ark (I Pet. III, 20), among whom Methuselah was not. For according to our codices Methuselah, before he begat him whom he called Lamech, lived a hundred and sixty-seven years: then Lamech himself, before Noah was born from him, lived a hundred and eighty-eight years, which together make three hundred and fifty-five. To these are added the six hundred of Noah, in which year of his the flood was made (Gen. VII, 6): which make nine hundred and fifty-five, from which Methuselah was born until the year of the flood. But all the years of the life of Methuselah are calculated as nine hundred and sixty-nine: because when he had lived a hundred and sixty-seven years, and had begotten a son who is called Lamech, after he was begotten he lived eight hundred and two years; all of which, as we said, become nine hundred and sixty-nine (Gen. V, 25-27). Whence nine hundred and fifty-five having been subtracted from the birth of Methuselah until the flood, fourteen remain, by which he is believed to have lived after the flood. For which

reason some, even if not on the earth, where it is certain that all flesh which nature does not permit to live in the waters was destroyed, think that he was for some time with his father who had been translated, and lived there until the flood should pass; being unwilling to derogate faith from the codices which the Church has received into more celebrated authority, and believing the Jews rather than these to not have what is true. For they do not admit that there could rather be an error of the interpreters here, than that there should be a falsehood in that language whence into ours through the Greek the Scripture itself was translated. But they say that it is not credible that the Seventy interpreters, who interpreted at one time together and with one sense, could have erred, or where nothing of theirs was at stake, have wished to lie; but that the Jews, while they envy us because the Law and the Prophets have passed to us by interpreting, have changed some things in their hearts, that authority might be diminished for ours. Let each one take this opinion or suspicion as he shall think: it is certain, however, that Methuselah did not live after the flood, but died in the same year, if what is found in the Hebrew codices concerning the number of years is true. But what I think of those Seventy interpreters must be inserted more diligently in its own place, when we shall come, the Lord helping, to the commemoration of those times, as much as the necessity of this work requires. For it suffices for the present question that according to both codices the men of that age had such long lives,

that one, who was born first from the two parents whom alone the earth then had, could by his age multiply the human race for the establishment even of a city.

CHAPTER XII.

On the opinion of those who do not believe that the men of the first times were as long-lived as is written.

1. For in no way are they to be heard who think that years were computed differently in those times, that is, of such brevity that one year of ours is believed to have had ten of those. Wherefore, they say, when anyone hears or reads that someone lived nine hundred years, he ought to understand ninety: for those ten years are one of ours; and ten of ours were a hundred of those. And by this, as they think, Adam was twenty-three years old when he begat Seth; and Seth himself had twenty years and six months when Enos was born from him, whom Scripture calls two hundred and five years. Since, as these suspect whose opinion we are explaining, they divided one year such as we now have into ten parts, and called those same parts years. One of which parts has a square of six, because God perfected His works in six days, so that He might rest on the seventh. Concerning which matter I disputed in the eleventh book (Cap. 8), as I was able. But six times six, which number makes a square of six, become thirty-six days: which multiplied ten times, reach to three hundred and sixty, that is, twelve lunar months. For on

account of the five remaining days, by which the solar year is filled, and the quadrant of a day, on account of which being taken four times in that year which they call bissextile, one day is added, days were added by the ancients afterwards, so that the number of years should meet, which days the Romans called intercalary. Accordingly also Enos, whom Seth begat, was nineteen years old when his son Cainan was born from him, which years the Scripture says are a hundred and ninety (Gen. V, 9, sec. LXX). And henceforth through all generations, in which the years of men are commemorated before the flood, almost no one is found in our codices who, when he was a hundred years old or below, or even a hundred and twenty, or not much more, begat a son; but those who begat at the smallest age are reported to have been a hundred and sixty and what exceeds: because no man of ten years, they say, can beget sons, which number were called a hundred years by those men; but in sixteen years is mature puberty, and already fit for procreating offspring, which those times called a hundred and sixty years. But so that it should not be incredible that the year was then computed otherwise, they add what is found among most writers of history, that the Egyptians had a year of four months, the Acarnanians of six months, the Lavinians of thirteen months. Pliny the Second, when he had commemorated that it had been related in letters that a certain person had lived a hundred and fifty-two years, another ten more, others to have had a life of two hundred years,

others of three hundred, some to have reached to five hundred, others to six hundred, some even to eight hundred, thought that all these things had happened on account of ignorance of times. "For some," he says, "determined one year by summer, and another by winter; others by four-parted times, just as the Arcadians, whose years were of three months." He added also that sometimes the Egyptians, whose small years of four months each we said above, limited the year by the end of the moon. "And so among them," he says, "they are reported to have lived even single thousands of years."

2. By these as if probable arguments, some, not destroying the faith of this sacred history, but striving to build it up, lest it be incredible that the ancients are reported to have lived so many years, persuaded themselves, and do not think they persuade imprudently, that so small a space of time was then called a year, that those ten are one of ours, and ten of ours are a hundred of theirs. But that this is most false is shown by a most evident document. Before I do which, it seems to me that I must not keep silent what could be a more credible suspicion. We could certainly refute and convince this assertion from the Hebrew codices, where Adam is found to have been not two hundred and thirty, but a hundred and thirty years old, when he begat his third son (Gen. V, 3): which years, if they are thirteen of ours, he without doubt begat the first when he was eleven or not much more years old. Who can generate at this age by that customary and most known law

of nature to us? But let us omit this one, who perhaps even when he was created, was able. For it is not credible that he was made as small as our infants are. But his son was not two hundred and five, as we read, but a hundred and five, when he begat Enos (Ibid., 6): and through this, according to those, he did not yet have eleven years of age. What shall I say of Cainan his son, who while among us he is found to be a hundred and seventy, is read among the Hebrews to have been seventy, when he begat Mahalaleel (Ibid., 12)? What man generates at seven years old, if those seventy years were called years which were seven?

CHAPTER XIII.

Whether in the enumeration of years, the authority of the Hebrews more than that of the Seventy interpreters is to be followed.

1. But when I shall have said this, that lie of the Jews will immediately be referred to; concerning which it has been sufficiently acted above: for that the Seventy interpreters, men laudably celebrated, could not have lied. Where if I should ask, what is more credible, that the nation of the Jews, so far and wide diffused, could have conspired with one counsel to write this lie, and while they envy authority to others, have taken truth from themselves; or that seventy men, who were also themselves Jews, placed in one place, since Ptolemy king of Egypt had summoned them for this work, envied the truth itself to alien nations,

and did that with a communicated counsel: who does not see what is more prone and easier to be believed? But far be it that any prudent person should either believe that the Jews of any perversity and malice were able to do so much in so many and so far and wide dispersed codices; or that those seventy memorable men communicated one counsel concerning envying the truth to the nations. More credibly, therefore, would someone say, when first these things began to be described from the library of Ptolemy, then some such thing could have been done in one codex, namely, first described from there, whence it should now emanate more widely, where indeed even an error of the writer could have happened. But this is not absurd to suspect in that question concerning the life of Methuselah; and in that other, where the sum does not agree by twenty-four years surpassing. But in these things in which the similarity of the falsehood itself is continued, so that before the son is born, who is inserted into the order, in one place a hundred years are over, in another they are lacking; but after the son is born, where they were lacking, they are over; where they were over, they are lacking, so that the sum should agree; and this is found in the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, seventh generation: the error itself seems to have a certain, if it can be said, constancy; nor does it smell of chance, but of industry.

2. Therefore let that diversity of numbers having themselves otherwise in the Greek and Latin codices, otherwise in the Hebrew, where

there is not that continued parity concerning the hundred years added before and afterwards subtracted through so many generations, be attributed neither to the malice of the Jews, nor to the diligence or prudence of the Seventy interpreters, but to the error of the writer who first received the codex to be described from the library of the aforesaid king. For even now, where numbers do not make the intent toward something which can easily be understood, or which appears usefully to be learned, they are both negligently described and more negligently emended. For who would think that he must learn how many thousands of men the tribes of Israel were able to have individually? since it is not thought to profit anything: and how few men are there to whom the depth of this utility appears? But here where through so many woven generations a hundred years are in one place present, in another absent; and after the son was born who was to be commemorated, they are absent where they were present, present where they were absent, so that the sum should agree: doubtless since he who did this wished to persuade that the ancients lived very numerous years for this reason, that they called them very short; and should try to show this concerning the maturity of puberty, by which children might fitly be begotten; and therefore should think that ten of ours must be insinuated to the incredulous in those hundred years, lest they should be unwilling to receive into faith that men lived so long; he added a hundred where he did not find an age fit for begetting children; and subtracted

the same, after the children were born, so that the sum should agree. For thus he wished to make credible the conveniences of ages fit for generating offspring, so that however he should not defraud the total ages of each of the living in number. But that he did not do this in the sixth generation, this very thing is what more moves, that he therefore did it, since the matter which we say required it, because he did it not where it did not require it. For he found in the same generation among the Hebrews that Jared had lived, before he begat Enoch, a hundred and sixty-two years (Gen. V, 18), which according to that reason of short years become sixteen years and something less than two months; which age is already fit for begetting: and therefore to add a hundred short years, so that twenty-six of ours should be made, was not necessary; nor to subtract them after Enoch was born, which he had not added before he was born. Thus it was made that here there was no variety between both codices.

3. But again it moves, why in the eighth generation, before Lamech was born of Methuselah, when a hundred and eighty-two years are read among the Hebrews, twenty less are found in our codices, where rather a hundred are accustomed to be added; and after Lamech was begotten they are restored to the sum to be completed, which does not disagree in both codices. For if he wished a hundred and seventy years to be understood as seventeen on account of the maturity of puberty, as he ought to add nothing, so he ought to subtract nothing now: because he had found an age

fit for the generation of children, on account of which he was adding those hundred years in others where he was not finding it. But we should deservedly think this concerning the twenty years could have happened by chance of falsehood, unless he took care to restore them afterwards as he had first subtracted them, so that the integrity of the sum should agree. Or perhaps it is to be thought done more astutely, so that that industry by which a hundred years are accustomed to be first added and afterwards subtracted, should be hidden, since even there where it had not been necessary, not indeed concerning a hundred years, but yet concerning whatever small number first subtracted, afterwards restored, some such thing was made? But however that may be taken, whether it be believed to have been so made, or be not believed; whether finally it be so, or be not so: I should in no way doubt that it is rightly done, that when some diverse thing is found in both codices, since to the faith of things done both cannot be true, that language should rather be believed from which the translation into another was made by interpreters. For in certain even three Greek codices, and one Latin, and also one Syrian agreeing among themselves, Methuselah was found to have died six years before the flood.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the parity of years, which ran in the same spaces as now even in the prior ages.

1. Now let us see in what way it can be evidently shown, that not so short years, as if ten of those were one of ours, but years of such great length as we now have (which the circuits of the sun certainly complete), were computed in the very long life of those men. For in the six hundredth year of the life of Noah it is written that the flood occurred. Why therefore is it read there, And the water of the flood was made upon the earth in the six hundredth year in the life of Noah, of the second month, on the twenty-seventh of the month (Gen. VII, 10, 11 according to LXX); if that very small year, such as ten make one of ours, had thirty-six days? For so small a year, if it received this name according to the ancient custom, either has no months, or its month is three days, so that it may have twelve months. How therefore was it said here, In the six hundredth year, of the second month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month; unless because such months as they are now, were even then months? For in what way otherwise would the flood be said to have begun on the twenty-seventh day of the second month? Then afterwards at the end of the flood it is read thus: And the ark sat in the seventh month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. But the water was diminished until the eleventh month: but in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month, the heads of the mountains appeared (Id. VIII, 4, 5). If therefore such were the months, such surely were the years, such as we now have. For those three-day months could not have twenty-

seven days. Or if the thirtieth part of three days was then called a day, so that all things are diminished in proportion; therefore not even in four of our whole days was that so great flood made, which is remembered to have been made in forty days and nights. Who would bear this absurdity and vanity? Therefore let this error be removed, which by a false conjecture thus wishes to build up the faith of our Scriptures, that it may destroy it elsewhere. Certainly even then the day was as great as it is now, which twenty-four hours determine by their diurnal and nocturnal course: the month as great as it is now, which the moon begun and finished concludes: the year as great as it is now, which twelve lunar months, with five days and a quadrant added on account of the solar course, consummate: of which years the second was the month and the twenty-seventh day of that month of the six hundredth of the life of Noah, when the flood began to be; in which are remembered forty days of continued huge rains (Gen. VII, 12), which days did not have two and a little more hours, but twenty-four passed day and night. And through this those ancient men lived so great years even for more than nine hundred, as many as afterwards Abraham lived a hundred and seventy-five (Id. XXV, 7), and after him his son Isaac a hundred and eighty (Id. XXXV, 28), and his son Jacob nearly a hundred and fifty (Id. XXVII, 28), and as many as after some age had intervened Moses lived a hundred and twenty (Deut. XXXIV, 7), and as many as even now men live seventy or eighty, or not much more,

concerning whom it was said: And more to them is labor and sorrow (Psal. LXXXIX, 10).

2. But that variety of numbers, which is found between the Hebrew codices and ours, does not disagree concerning this longevity of the ancients, and if it has anything so diverse that both cannot be true, the faith of things done must be sought from that language from which what we have was translated. Which faculty although it may be at hand for those wishing it everywhere among the nations; yet it is not empty, that no one has dared to emend from the Hebrew codices the Seventy interpreters in the very many things which they seem to say differently. For that diversity was not thought a falsehood; nor do I think it must be so thought in any way. But where it is not an error of the writer, it must be believed that they, by some divine Spirit, where the sense would be consistent with the truth, and preaching the truth, wished to say otherwise not in the manner of those interpreting, but with the liberty of those prophesying. Whence deservedly, apostolic authority is found to use not only the Hebrew, but even them, when it applies testimonies from the Scriptures. But concerning this in a more opportune place, if God shall have helped, I have promised to speak more diligently: now I shall expedite what is at hand. For it must not be doubted by a man, that by the man who was first born from the first man, when they lived so long, a city could be established, certainly an earthly one, not that which is called the city of God: concerning which that we might write, we

have taken the labor of this so great work into our hands.

CHAPTER XV.

Whether it is credible that the men of the first age refrained from intercourse until that age at which they are reported to have begotten sons.

Following him was Abel, whom the elder brother killed, who first showed by a certain prefiguration of the sojourning city of God, that it was about to suffer unjust persecutions from the impious, and in a certain way the earth-born, that is, those loving an earthly origin, and rejoicing in the earthly happiness of the earthly city. 1. Someone will therefore say: Is it thus to be believed, that a man about to beget sons, and not having a purpose of continence, should have vacated from the work of lying together for a hundred and more, or according to the Hebrews not much less, that is eighty, seventy, sixty years; or if he did not vacate, he was able to beget no offspring? This question is solved in two ways. For either puberty was later in proportion as the years of the whole life were greater: or, what I see to be more credible, not the first-born sons are commemorated here, but those whom the order of succession required, so that it might reach to Noah, from whom again we see it reached to Abraham; and thereafter even to a certain article of time, as much as it was behooveful that the course of the most glorious city sojourning in this world and seeking the supernal country should

be marked even by the commemorated generations. For what cannot be denied, Cain was born first of all from the conjunction of male and female. Nor when he was born would Adam have said, what he is read to have said, Acquired a man through God; unless he himself by being born had been the first man added to those two. But of how many years Adam was when he begat them, does not appear. From then on other generations are digested from Cain, others from him whom Adam begat in his succession, whom the brother killed, and he called his name Seth, saying as it is written, For God has raised up for me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain killed (Gen. IV, 1, 25). Since therefore these two series of generations, one from Seth, the other from Cain, insinuate these two cities of which we treat in distinct orders, one celestial sojourning on earth, the other earthly gaping for or adhering to earthly things as if they were the only joys; no one from the progeny of Cain, when he was numbered with Adam connumerated even to the eighth generation, has been expressed of how many years he was when he begat him who is commemorated after him. For the Spirit of God did not wish to mark the times in the generations of the earthly city before the flood, but preferred to in those of the celestial, as if they were more worthy of memory. Furthermore, when Seth was born, the years of his father were indeed not silent, but he had already begotten others: and whether only Cain and Abel, who would dare to affirm? For not because they alone were named on account

of the orders of the generations which it was behooveful to be commemorated, therefore it ought to seem a consequence that they alone were then begotten from Adam. For since, with the names of all the others covered in silence, it is read that he begat sons and daughters, who would presume to assert how great that offspring of his was, if he avoids the fault of temerity? For Adam, divinely admonished, was able to say after Seth was born, For God has raised up for me another seed instead of Abel; because he was to be such a one who would fulfill his sanctity, not that he himself was born first after him in the order of time. Then what is written, But Seth lived two hundred and five years, or according to the Hebrews, a hundred and five years, and begat Enos: who except the inconsiderate could assert that this was his first-born? So that we, deservedly wondering, should seek how through so many years he was immune from wedlock without any purpose of continence, or being married did not beget; since even of him it is read, And he begat sons and daughters, and all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years, and he died (Gen. V, 4-8). And so thereafter of those whose years are commemorated, they are not kept silent from having begotten sons and daughters. And through this it does not appear at all whether he who is named begotten was himself the first-born: nay indeed, since it is not credible that those fathers were either impuberal at so long an age, or lacked wives or offspring; nor is it credible that those sons of theirs were the first born to them. But since the

writer of the sacred history intended to reach by successions of generations with times marked to the birth and life of Noah, in whose time the flood occurred, he certainly commemorated those, not which were first to their parents, but which came into the order of propagation.

2. For example's sake, that it may be made more open, I shall interpose something from which no one may doubt it could have been made as I say. The Evangelist Matthew, wishing to commend to memory the generation of the Lord's flesh through a series of parents, starting from father Abraham, and intending first to reach to David, says: Abraham begat Isaac: why did he not say Ishmael, whom he begat first? Isaac, he says, begat Jacob: why did he not say Esau, who was his first-born? Because, forsooth, he would not be able through those to reach to David. Then follows: But Jacob begat Judah, and his brothers: was Judah the first-born? Judah, he says, begat Pharez and Zara (Matth. I, 2, 3): nor was either of those twins the first-born of Judah, but before those he had already begotten three. He held them, therefore, in the order of generations, through whom he might reach to David, and thence to where he had intended. From which it can be understood, that the ancient men also before the flood were not first-born, but those were commemorated through whom the order of succeeding generations might be led to the patriarch Noah, lest the obscure and unnecessary question of their late puberty should weary us.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the right of marriages, which the first unions had different from subsequent marriages.

1. Since therefore the human race, after the first copulation of the man made from the dust and his spouse from the man's side, had need of the conjunction of males and females so that it might be multiplied by begetting; nor were there any men, except those who had been born from those two; men took their own sisters as wives: which certainly, by as much as it is more ancient with necessity compelling, by so much afterwards it was made more damnable with religion prohibiting. For a most right reason of charity was held, that men for whom a useful and honest concord would be, should be bound together by the bonds of diverse relationships; nor should one have many things in one, but single things should be scattered into single persons; and thus for the sake of more diligently binding together social life, very many should obtain very many. For father and father-in-law are the names of two relationships. That therefore each one should have one as father, another as father-in-law, charity stretches itself out more numerously. But one Adam was compelled to be both for his sons and for his daughters, when brothers and sisters were joined in wedlock. So also Eve, his wife, was both mother-in-law and mother for both sexes of children: who if they had been two women, the mother one, and the mother-in-law the other, social affection would

bind itself together more copiously. Finally, that sister herself, because she was also made a wife, held two relationships in one: which, being distributed through single ones, so that the sister was one and the wife another, social proximity would be increased by the number of men. But there was not whence this should be made then, when none were men except brothers and sisters from those two first ones. It ought therefore to have been made when it was able, that with a copy existing, wives should be led from thence who were not now sisters; and not only that there should be no necessity that this should be made, but even if it were made, it would be a nefas. For if also the grandsons of the first men, who now were able to take cousins as wives, were joined in marriage to sisters; not now two, but three relationships would be made in one man, which for the sake of binding a more numerous proximity of charity, ought to have been disseminated through single ones. For one man would be for his children, namely the brother and sister being spouses, both father and father-in-law and uncle: thus also his wife for the same common children both mother and aunt and mother-in-law: and the same children of theirs among themselves would not only be brothers and spouses, but also cousins; because also the children of brothers. But all those relationships, which were connecting three men to one man, would connect nine, if they were single in each one, so that one man would have the sister as one, the wife as another, the cousin as another,

the father as one, the uncle as another, the father-in-law as another, the mother as one, the aunt as another, the mother-in-law as another: and thus the social bond would diffuse itself not coarcted in paucity, but more widely and numerously by frequent proximities.

2. Which we see observed even among the impious worshippers of many and false gods, as the human race grew and was multiplied, so that even if fraternal marriages should be permitted by perverse laws, yet the better custom should prefer to abhor that license itself; and although it had been altogether allowed to take sisters in marriage in the first times of the human race, it should so be turned away from, as if it could never have been allowed. For custom avails very much either for enticing or for offending the human sense. Which since in this cause it coerces the immoderation of concupiscence, it is deservedly judged to be nefarious for it to be broken through and corrupted. For if it is iniquitous to transgress the limit of fields by the greed of possessing, how much more iniquitous is it to subvert the limit of morals by the lust of lying together? But we have experienced even in our times in the marriages of cousins, on account of the degree of proximity being next to the fraternal degree, how rarely it was done by morals, what was allowed to be done by laws; because neither did the divine law prohibit it, and human law had not yet prohibited it. Nevertheless, a thing even allowed was abhorred on account of the vicinity of the illicit; and what was done with a cousin,

seemed almost to be done with a sister: because they themselves are called brothers and sisters among themselves on account of so near a consanguinity, and are almost germane. But it was of religious care to the ancient fathers, lest that proximity, gradually severing itself by the orders of the offspring, should go further away and cease to be proximity, to bind it together again by the bond of marriage while not yet placed far away, and in a certain way to recall it as it was fleeing. Whence now with the world full of men, they loved to lead wives from their own kind, not indeed sisters born from father or mother, or from both their parents. But who would doubt that even the marriages of cousins are more honestly prohibited in this time? not only according to those things which we have disputed, for the sake of multiplying affinities, lest one person should have two relationships when two are able to have them, and the number of proximity be increased; but also because I know not how there is in human shame something natural and laudable, so that it should restrain from her to whom it owes a reverend honor on account of the cause of proximity, although generative, yet the lust, concerning which we see even conjugal modesty itself to blush.

3. The copulation therefore of male and female, as much as pertains to the kind of mortals, is a certain seminary of the city: but the earthly city has need only of generation, but the celestial also of regeneration, so that it may evade the harm of generation. But whether there was any,

or if there was, what kind of corporal and visible sign of regeneration there was before the flood, as the circumcision of Abraham was afterwards commanded (Gen. XVII, 10, 11), sacred history is silent. Yet it is not silent that those most ancient men also sacrificed to God: which both was clear in the two first brothers; and Noah after the flood, when he had gone out of the ark, is read to have immolated hosts to God (Id. VIII, 20). Concerning which matter we have already said in the preceding books, that the arrogant demons, arrogating divinity to themselves and wishing themselves to be believed gods, do not for any other reason seek sacrifice for themselves, and rejoice in honors of this kind, except because they know that true sacrifice is owed to the true God.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the two fathers and princes procreated from one parent.

Since therefore Adam was the father of both kinds, that is, both of the series which pertains to the earthly and of the series which pertains to the celestial city; Abel being killed, and a wonderful sacrament being commended in his slaying, two fathers of single kinds were made, Cain and Seth: in whose sons, who it was behooveful should be commemorated, the indications of those two cities in the kind of mortals began to appear more evidently. For Cain begat Enoch, in whose name he founded a city, an earthly one forsooth, not sojourning in this world, but resting in its temporal peace and happiness. But Cain is inter-

preted Possession: whence it was said when he was born, either by his father or by his mother, I have acquired a man through God (Gen. IV, 1). But Enoch, Dedication: for here the earthly city is dedicated, where it is founded; since here it has him whom it intends and desires as end. Furthermore that Seth is interpreted Resurrection, and Enos his son is interpreted Man: not as Adam (for even that name is interpreted Man), but it is said to be common in that language, that is the Hebrew, to male and female. For so it is written of him: Male and female He made them, and blessed them, and called their name Adam (Id. V, 2). Whence it is not doubted that the female was so called Eve by her proper name, that yet Adam, which is interpreted Man, was the name of both. But Enos is so interpreted Man, that the experts of that language assert that a female cannot be called this, as if a son of resurrection, where they shall not marry, nor lead wives (Luke XX, 35). For there will not be generation there, when regeneration shall have led thither. Wherefore also I think this not to be noted in vain, that in those generations which are propagated from him who is called Seth, although they are said to have begotten sons and daughters, no female begotten there is expressed by name: but in these which are propagated from Cain, in the very end as far as they are extended, the last female begotten is named. For so it is read: Methushael begat Lamech: and Lamech took to himself two wives, the name of one Adah, and the name of the second Zillah; and Adah bore Jabal: he was

the father of those dwelling in tents of cattle-breeders. And his brother's name Jubal: he was he who showed the psaltery and the harp. But Zillah herself also bore Tubal, and he was a smith and hammerer of brass and iron. But the sister of Tubal was Naamah (Gen. IV, 18-22). To this point are the generations from Cain extended, which are all eight from Adam, with Adam himself numbered, seven forsooth up to Lamech, who was the husband of two wives: and the eighth is the generation in his sons, in whom also a female is commemorated. Where it is elegantly signified, that the earthly city even unto its end will have carnal generations, which proceed from the conjunction of males and females. Whence also they themselves, which except for Eve is nowhere found before the flood, are expressed by proper names as wives of that man who is named here as the last father. But just as Cain, which is interpreted Possession, the founder of the earthly city, and his son, in whose name it was founded, Enoch, which is interpreted Dedication, indicates that this city has both a beginning and an end that is earthly; where nothing more is hoped for, than can be discerned in this world: so Seth, which is interpreted Resurrection, since he is the father of the generations commemorated separately, it must be looked into what this sacred history says of his son.

CHAPTER XVIII.

What was signified in Abel, and Seth, and Enos, which appears to pertain to Christ and His body, that is the Church.

And to Seth, he says, a son was born, and he called his name Enos: he hoped to invoke the name of the Lord God (Gen. IV, 26). Surely the attestation of truth cries out. In hope therefore the man, the son of resurrection, lives; in hope he lives, as long as the city of God sojourns here, which is begotten from the faith of the resurrection of Christ. For from those two men, Abel, which is interpreted Mourning, and his brother Seth, which is interpreted Resurrection, the death of Christ and His life from the dead are figured. From which faith the city of God is begotten here, that is the man, who hoped to invoke the name of the Lord God. For in hope we are saved, says the Apostle. But hope which is seen, is not hope: for what anyone sees, why does he hope? But if what we do not see, we hope, through patience we expect it (Rom. VIII, 24, 25). For who would think this to be empty from the height of the sacrament? For did not Abel hope to invoke the name of the Lord God, whose sacrifice Scripture commemorates to have been so accepted by God? did not Seth himself hope to invoke the name of the Lord God, of whom it was said, For God has raised up for me another seed instead of Abel (Gen. IV, 25)? Why therefore is that properly attributed to him which is understood to be common to all the pious, unless because it was behooveful that in him who is commemorated as the first arisen from the father of generations in the better part, that is of the separated supernal city, there should be prefigured the man, that is the society of men, which lives not according

to man in the reality of earthly happiness, but according to God in the hope of eternal happiness? Nor was it said, He hoped in the Lord God; or, He invoked the name of the Lord God: but, He hoped, he says, to invoke the name of the Lord God. What does this mean for itself, He hoped to invoke, unless because it is a prophecy, that a people was about to arise, who according to the election of grace would invoke the name of the Lord God? This is what, said through another prophet, the Apostle understands concerning this people pertaining to the grace of God: And it shall be, every one whosoever shall have invoked the name of the Lord, shall be saved (Rom. X, 13; Joel II, 32). For this very thing which is said, And he called his name Enos, which is interpreted Man; and thereafter is added, He hoped to invoke the name of the Lord God: it is sufficiently shown, that a man ought not to place hope in himself. For cursed is every one, as is read elsewhere, who puts his hope in man (Jerem. XVII, 5): and through this, neither in himself, that he may be a citizen of the other city, which is not dedicated at this time according to the son of Cain, that is in the gliding transit of this mortal world, but in that immortality of sempiternal bliss.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the significance which is shown in the translation of Enoch.

For also that offspring, whose father is Seth, has in that generation the name of dedication,

which is the seventh from Adam, with Adam numbered. For seventh from him was born Enoch, which is interpreted Dedication. But he himself is that one translated, because he pleased God, and in a remarkable number in the order of generations, by which the sabbath was consecrated, seventh forsooth from Adam. But from the father himself of those generations, which are discerned from the progeny of Cain, that is from Seth, he is the sixth: on which day man was made, and God consummated all His works. But the translation of this Enoch is the prefigured delay of our dedication. Which indeed has already been made in Christ our head, who so rose again, that He dies no more, but also He Himself was translated: but there remains another dedication of the universal house, of which Christ Himself is the foundation, which is deferred unto the end, when there will be the resurrection of all, about not to die anymore. But whether it be called the house of God, or the temple of God, or the city of God, it is the same thing, nor does it abhor from the custom of Latin eloquence. For Virgil also calls a most imperious city the house of Assaracus, wishing the Romans to be understood, who through the Trojans lead their origin from Assaracus; and the house of Aeneas the same ones (Aeneid. lib. 1, vers. 284; lib. 3, vers. 97), because with him as leader when the Trojans had come to Italy, Rome was founded by them. For that poet imitated the sacred Letters, in which the house of Jacob is called so great a people of the Hebrews.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the fact that the succession of Cain is closed in eight generations from Adam, and in the descendants from the same father Adam, Noah is found to be the tenth.

Someone will say: If the writer of this history intended, in recording the generations from Adam through his son Seth, to reach Noah, under whom the flood occurred, from whom again the order of those being born would be woven together, which would reach Abraham, from whom the evangelist Matthew begins the generations by which he reaches Christ the eternal King of the city of God; what did he intend in the generations from Cain, and where did he wish to lead them? The answer is: Even to the flood, by which that whole race of the earthly city was consumed, but repaired from the sons of Noah. For this earthly city and society of men living according to man will not be able to be lacking until the end of this world, of which the Lord says, "The children of this world beget, and are begotten" (Luke XX, 34). But regeneration leads the city of God, which is a pilgrim in this world, to another world, whose children neither beget nor are begotten. Here, therefore, to be begotten and to beget is common to both cities: although the city of God also has many thousands of citizens here who abstain from the work of begetting; but that city also has them from a certain imitation, although of those who err. For those also belong to it, who, deviating from this faith, have founded various heresies: for they live according to man,

not according to God. And the Gymnosophists of the Indians, who are reported to philosophize naked in the solitudes of India, are its citizens, and restrain themselves from begetting. For this is not good, except when it is done according to the faith of the highest good, which is God. No one, however, is found to have done this before the flood: since even Enoch himself, the seventh from Adam, who is reported to have been translated, not dead, begot sons and daughters before he was translated; among whom was Methuselah, through whom the order of the generations to be recorded runs.

Why, therefore, is so small a number of successions recorded in the generations from Cain, if it was necessary for them to be led up to the flood, and there was not a long age preceding puberty, which would be free from offspring for a hundred or more years? For if the author of this book did not intend someone to whom he must necessarily lead the series of generations, just as in those who come from the seed of Seth he intended to reach Noah, from whom again a necessary order would follow; what need was there to pass over the firstborn sons, so that he might reach Lamech, in whose sons that weaving together is finished, namely in the eighth generation from Adam, the seventh from Cain, as if there were something to be connected from there thereafter, from which one might reach either the Israelite people, in whom the earthly Jerusalem also provided a prophetic figure for the heavenly city, or Christ according to the flesh, who is God

blessed over all things for ever (Rom. IX, 5), the builder and ruler of the supernal Jerusalem; since the whole progeny of Cain was destroyed by the flood? Whence it can be seen that in the same order of generations the firstborn were recorded. Why, then, are they so few? For they could not be so many up to the flood, the fathers not being free from the duty of begetting until a hundred-year puberty, if there was not then also a late puberty in proportion to that longevity. For even if they were on average thirty years old when they began to beget sons, eight times thirty (since there are eight generations with Adam and with those whom Lamech begot) are two hundred and forty years: did they then not beget for the whole time thereafter up to the flood? For what cause, finally, did he who wrote this refuse to record the generations that follow? For from Adam to the flood the years are computed, according to our codices, two thousand two hundred and sixty-two: but according to the Hebrews, one thousand six hundred and fifty-six. That we may believe this smaller number to be the truer one, let two hundred and forty be subtracted from one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years: is it credible that through the one thousand four hundred and some odd years which remain until the flood, the progeny of Cain could have been free from generations?

But let him who is moved by this remember that when I was seeking how it is to be believed that those ancient men could cease from begetting sons for so many years, that question

was solved in two ways: either concerning late puberty, in proportion to so long a life; or concerning the sons who are recorded in the generations, that they were not the firstborn, but those through whom the author of the book intended to reach the one he intended, as to Noah in the generations of Seth. Accordingly, in the generations of Cain, if no one occurs who ought to have been intended, to whom, after passing over the firstborn, it was necessary to reach through those who have been recorded, late puberty will remain to be understood; so that somewhat after a hundred years they became pubescent and fit for begetting, so that the order of generations might run through the firstborn, and up to the flood might occur for a number of years of such great quantity. Although it is possible that for some more secret cause, which is hidden from me, the weaving together of the generations reaching up to Lamech and his sons, this city which we call earthly might be commended; and then the writer of the book might cease to record the others which could have been up to the flood. That could also be a cause why the order of generations was not led through the firstborn, so that it is not necessary to believe in so late a puberty in those men, because namely the same city which Cain founded in the name of his son Enoch could have reigned far and wide, and have had kings not many at the same time, but single ones in their own ages, whom they had begotten to succeed them, whoever had reigned. The first of these kings could have been Cain himself, the

second his son Enoch, in whose name, where the reign was, the city was founded; the third Gaidad, whom Enoch begot; the fourth Mahujael, whom Gaidad begot; the fifth Methusael, whom Mahujael begot; the sixth Lamech, whom Methusael begot, who is the seventh from Adam through Cain. It was not, however, a consequence that the firstborn of the kings should succeed their reigning fathers, but those whom the merit of reigning because of a virtue useful to the earthly city, or some lot might find, or he most of all should succeed the father by some hereditary right of reigning, whom he had loved more than the other sons. It could, moreover, have happened while Lamech was still living and reigning that the flood occurred, so that it might find him with all other men, except those who were in the ark, whom it should destroy. For it is not to be wondered at if, with a varied quantity of the number of years interposed, through so long an age from Adam to the flood, each progeny did not have an equal number of generations, but through Cain seven, and through Seth ten; for Lamech is the seventh from Adam, as I have already said, and Noah the tenth: and therefore not one son of Lamech, as in the others above, but several are recorded; because it was uncertain who would have succeeded him when dead, if the time of reigning between himself and the flood had remained.

But in whatever way it may be, whether through the firstborn or through kings, the order of generations running from Cain, that seems to

me by no means to be passed over in silence, that when Lamech had been found the seventh from Adam, so many of his sons were numbered until the number eleven was filled, by which sin is signified. For three sons are added, and one daughter. But the wives can signify something else, not this which now seems to be commended. For now we speak of generations: but whence they were begotten is kept silent. Since, therefore, the Law is preached by the number ten, whence is that memorable Decalogue; surely the number eleven, since it transgresses the ten, signifies the transgression of the law, and through this, sin. Hence it is that in the tabernacle of the testimony, which was on the journey of the people of God like an ambulatory temple, eleven curtains of haircloth were commanded to be made (Exod. XXVI, 7). For in haircloth there is the remembrance of sins, because of the goats to be on the left hand: because confessing in haircloth we are prostrated, as if saying what is written in the Psalm, "And my sin is ever before me" (Psalm L, 5). The progeny, therefore, from Adam through the wicked Cain is finished in the number eleven, by which sin is signified: and the number itself is closed by a woman, from which sex the beginning of sin was made, through which we all die. Moreover, it was committed so that also the pleasure of the flesh, which would resist the spirit, should follow. For also the daughter of Lamech herself, Naamah, is interpreted as Pleasure. But through Seth from Adam to Noah the legitimate number ten is hinted at. To which Noah three

sons are added: whence one having fallen, two are blessed by the father, so that the reprobate being removed and the approved sons being added to the number, even the number twelve is intimated, which is distinguished both in the number of the Patriarchs and of the Apostles, because of the parts of the seven, one multiplied by the other. For three times four, or four times three, make it. These things being so, I see that it must be considered and recorded how both these progenies, which in distinct generations hint at two cities, one of the earth-born, the other of the regenerated, were afterwards so mixed together and confused, that the whole human race, except eight persons, deserved to perish in the flood.

CHAPTER XXI.---For what reason, after recording Enoch, who was the son of Cain, the narration of his whole generation was continued up to the flood; but after recording Enos, who was the son of Seth, there was a return to the beginning of the human condition.

First, it must be observed how, when the generations from Cain were being enumerated, after recording before his other descendants the one in whose name the city was founded, that is Enoch, the others were woven together up to that end of which I have spoken, until that race and the whole progeny should be destroyed by the flood: but when one son of Seth, Enos, had been recorded, the others not yet being added up to the flood, a certain point is interposed and it is said, "This is the book of the birth of men, in the day that God made Adam, in the image of

God he made him." Male and female he made them, and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day that he made them" (Gen. V, 1, 2). This seems to me to be interposed for this purpose, that from here the numbering of times might begin again from Adam himself, which he who wrote this did not wish to do in the earthly city: as if God recorded it in such a way that he did not compute it. But why is there a return to this recapitulation from here, after the son of Seth was recorded, the man who hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God; unless because it was necessary thus to propose these two cities, one through a murderer even to a murderer; for Lamech also confesses to his two wives that he has perpetrated a murder (Gen. IV, 23): the other through him who hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God? For this is the whole and highest business of the city of God, which is a pilgrim in this world during this mortality, which had to be commended through one man, whom indeed the resurrection of the slain begot. For that one man is the unity of the whole supernal city; not yet indeed completed, but sent ahead to be completed by this prophetic prefiguration. Let the son of Cain, therefore, that is the son of possession (of whose, except of the earthly?), have a name in the earthly city, which was founded in his name. For it is of these of whom it is sung in the Psalm, "They shall call their names in their own lands" (Psalm XLVIII, 12). Because of which there follows for them what is written in another Psalm, "Lord, in thy city thou shalt bring their

image to nothing" (Psalm LXXII, 20). But let the son of Seth, that is the son of resurrection, hope to call upon the name of the Lord God. For he prefigures that society of men which says, "But I, like a fruitful olive tree in the house of God, have hoped in the mercy of God" (Psalm LI, 10). But let him not seek the vain glories of a name famous on earth: for "Blessed is the man whose hope is the name of the Lord, and he has not regarded vanities and lying insanities" (Psalm XXXIX, 5). The two cities having been proposed, therefore, one in the reality of this world, the other in the hope of God, as if having gone out from the common door of mortality which was opened in Adam, that they might run forward and run out to their own distinct and due ends, the numbering of times begins: in which also other generations are added, a recapitulation being made from Adam, from whose condemned origin, as if one mass delivered to deserved condemnation, God made some vessels of wrath unto dishonor, others vessels of mercy unto honor (Rom. IX, 23); rendering to those what is due in punishment, giving to these what is not due in grace: that from that very comparison of the vessels of wrath, the supernal city, which is a pilgrim on earth, may learn not to trust in the freedom of its own will, but hope to call upon the name of the Lord God. Since the will, in a nature which was made good by a good God, but mutable by the immutable because it is from nothing, can decline both from the good, so that it may do evil, which is done by free will; and

from the evil, so that it may do good, which is not done without divine help.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the fall of the sons of God captured by the love of strange women, whence also all, except eight persons, deserved to perish in the flood.

As this human race progressed and grew by this free will of the choice, a mixing was made, and by participated iniquity a certain confusion of both cities. Which evil again found its cause from the female sex: not indeed in that way as from the beginning; for not then also, seduced by anyone's deceit, did those women persuade the men to sin: but those who from the beginning had been of perverse morals in the earthly city, that is, in the society of the earth-born, were loved by the sons of God, citizens namely of that other city which is a pilgrim in this world, because of the beauty of the body (Gen. VI, 1 ff.). Which good is indeed a gift of God: but for this reason he bestows it even on the evil, lest it should seem a great good to the good. A great good, therefore, and one proper to the good having been deserted, a fall was made to a minimal good, not proper to the good, but common to the good and the evil: and thus the sons of God were captured by the love of the daughters of men, and that they might enjoy them as wives, they flowed down into the morals of the earth-born society, having deserted the piety which they were keeping in the holy society. For thus the beauty of the

body, a thing made by God indeed, but a temporal, carnal, lowest good, is evilly loved after God, the eternal, internal, everlasting good, has been postponed: just as, justice having been deserted, gold is also loved by the avaricious, by no sin of the gold, but of the man. So it is with every creature. For since it is good, it can be loved both well and evilly: well, namely with the order being guarded; evilly, with the order being disturbed. Which I have said briefly in some verses in praise of the Wax Taper: "These things are thine, they are good, because thou, good, hast created these. Nothing of ours is in them, except that we sin in loving, with the order neglected, instead of thee, what is founded by thee." But if the Creator be truly loved, that is, if he himself, and not another thing instead of him which is not himself, be loved, he cannot be evilly loved. For even love itself is to be loved ordinately, by which that is well loved which is to be loved, so that there may be in us the virtue by which one lives well. Whence it seems to me that a brief and true definition of virtue is the Order of Love: because of which in the holy Song of Songs the bride of Christ, the city of God, sings, "Order charity in me" (Cant. II, 4). The order, therefore, of this charity, that is, of dilection and love, having been disturbed, the sons of God neglected God, and loved the daughters of men. By which two names both cities are sufficiently discerned. For not even those were not sons of men by nature: but they had begun to have another name through grace. For in the same Scripture where the sons of God were said

to have loved the daughters of men, the same ones were also called the angels of God. Whence many think that they were not men, but angels.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Whether it is to be believed that angels of a spiritual substance, captured by the love of beautiful women, entered into marriages with them, from which giants were created.

1. Which question we left unsolved, after having mentioned it in passing in the third book of this work (chap. 5), whether angels, since they are spirits, can corporally cohabit with women. For it is written, "Who maketh his angels spirits" (Psalm CIII, 5): that is, those who are spirits by nature, he makes to be his angels, by enjoining upon them the office of announcing. For he who in Greek is called ἄγγελος, which name is presented in Latin declension as *angelus*, is interpreted in the Latin language as *nuntius* (messenger). But whether he consequently added their bodies, by saying, "And his ministers a burning fire": or because his ministers ought to burn with charity as with a spiritual fire, is ambiguous. That angels, however, have appeared to men in such bodies that they could not only be seen, but even touched, the same most true Scripture testifies. And since it is a most frequent report, and many confirm that they have experienced it, or have heard it from those who had experienced it, of whose faith there is no doubt, that Silvans and Fauns, whom the common people call incubi, have often existed as wicked to

women, and have sought and completed cohabitation with them; and that certain demons, whom the Gauls call Dusii, assiduously both attempt and effect this uncleanness, so many and such persons assert it, that to deny this seems a matter of impudence: I do not dare to define anything from here, whether some spirits embodied in an aerial element (for this element even when it is moved by a fan, is felt by the sense of the body and by touch), can also suffer this lust, so that in whatever way they can, they may be mixed with perceiving women. I should, however, by no means believe that the holy Angels of God could have fallen in that way at that time: nor that the apostle Peter said of these, "For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivering them to the prisons of the darkness of hell, delivered them to be reserved to be punished in the judgment" (II Peter II, 4); but rather of those who first apostatizing from God fell with their prince the devil, who first cast down the first man through envy by a serpentine fraud. But that men were also called angels of God, the same holy Scripture is a most wealthy witness. For it is written also of John, "Behold, I send my angel before thy face, who shall prepare thy way" (Mark I, 2). And the prophet Malachi, by a certain grace, that is, one properly imparted to him, was called an angel (Malach. II, 7).

2. But this moves some, that from those who were called angels of God, and from the women whom they loved, we read that not as it were men of our kind, but giants were born. As if indeed

bodies of men far exceeding our measure, which I also mentioned above (chap. 9), were not also born in our times. Was there not a few years ago, when the destruction of the Roman city, which was done by the Goths, was approaching, a woman in Rome with her father and her mother, who by a certain giant body far excelled the others? To see whom a marvelous concourse was made everywhere. And this was especially for admiration, that both her parents were not even so tall men as the tallest we have been accustomed to see. Giants could, therefore, have been born even before the sons of God, who were also called angels of God, were mixed with the daughters of men, that is, those living according to man; namely the sons of Seth with the daughters of Cain. For also the canonical Scripture speaks thus, in which book we read these things, whose words are these: "And it came to pass, after men began to be multiplied upon the earth, and daughters were born to them: that the angels of God seeing the daughters of men, that they were good, took to themselves wives of all which they had chosen. And the Lord God said: My spirit shall not remain in these men for ever, because they are flesh. Their days shall be a hundred and twenty years. But there were giants upon the earth in those days: and after that when the sons of God went in to the daughters of men, and they brought forth to themselves, these were giants, men named from the world" (Gen. VI, 1-4). These words of the divine book sufficiently indicate that already in those days there were giants upon the

earth, when the sons of God took as wives the daughters of men, since they loved them as good, that is, beautiful. For it is the custom of this Scripture to call even those handsome in body, good. But also after this was done, giants were born. For thus it says: "But there were giants upon the earth in those days: and after that, when the sons of God went in to the daughters of men." Therefore both before in those days, and after that. But what it says, "And they brought forth to themselves," sufficiently shows that before, before the sons of God thus fell, they were bringing forth to God, not to themselves, that is, not with the lust of cohabiting dominating, but with the office of propagating serving; not a family of their own pride, but citizens of the city of God: to whom they should announce as angels of God, that they should put their hope in God (Psalm LXXVII, 7), similar to him who was born of Seth, the son of resurrection, and hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God: in which hope they should be with their descendants co-heirs of eternal goods, and under God the father brothers of the sons.

3. But that those were so the angels of God that they were not men, as some think, the Scripture itself declares without any ambiguity. For when it had been sent ahead, that "the angels of God seeing the daughters of men, that they were good, took to themselves wives of all which they had chosen"; it was soon added, "And the Lord God said: My spirit shall not remain in these men for ever, because they are flesh." For by the spirit of God they had been made angels

of God and sons of God: but by declining to inferior things, they are called men by the name of nature, not of grace; they are called also flesh, deserters of the spirit and deserted by deserting. And the Seventy interpreters indeed called these both angels of God and sons of God: which indeed not all codices have; for some have nothing but sons of God. But Aquila, whom the Jews prefer to the other interpreters, interpreted not as angels of God, nor as sons of God, but as the sons of gods. But each is true. For they were both sons of God, under which father they were also brothers of their own fathers; and sons of gods, because they had been begotten by gods, with whom they themselves also were gods, according to that of the Psalm: "I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High" (Psalm LXXXI, 6). For the Seventy interpreters are deservedly believed to have received the prophetic spirit, so that if they changed anything by his authority, and said it otherwise than it was which they were interpreting, it would not be doubted that this had been divinely said. Although this is reported to be ambiguous in the Hebrew, so that it could be interpreted both as sons of God and as sons of gods.

4. Let us, therefore, omit the fables of those scriptures which are called apocryphal, for the reason that their occult origin did not become clear to the fathers, from whom the authority of the true Scriptures has come down to us by a most certain and most known succession. In these apocryphal works, although some truth is

found, yet because of many false things there is no canonical authority. That Enoch, that seventh from Adam, wrote some divine things, we cannot deny, since the apostle Jude says this in his canonical Epistle (Jude 14). But it is not in vain that they are not in that canon of Scriptures which was kept in the temple of the Hebrew people by the diligence of successive priests, except because they were judged of suspected faith on account of their antiquity, nor could it be found whether these were the things which he had written, with such persons not bringing them forward who were found to have kept them rightly through a series of succession. Whence those things which are brought forward under his name, and contain those fables about giants, that they did not have men as fathers, are rightly judged by the prudent not to be believed as his; just as many things under the names of other Prophets, and more recent things under the names of Apostles are brought forward by heretics, all of which have been removed from canonical authority by diligent examination under the name of apocrypha. Therefore, according to the canonical Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, it is not doubtful that many giants were before the flood, and that these were citizens of the earth-born society of men; but that the sons of God, who were propagated according to the flesh from Seth, declined into this society after deserting justice. Nor is it to be wondered at that giants could be born even of them. For not all were giants, but more were certainly many then

than in the other times after the flood. Whom it pleased the Creator to create for this reason, that also from here it might be shown that not only beauties, but even also magnitudes and strengths of bodies are not to be highly valued by the wise man, who is beatified by spiritual and immortal goods, far better and firmer and proper to the good, not common to the good and the evil. Which thing another prophet commending says: "There were those named giants, who from the beginning were of great stature, knowing war. These the Lord did not choose, nor did he give them the way of science: and they perished, because they had not wisdom, they perished because of inconsiderateness" (Baruch III, 26-28).

CHAPTER XXIV.

How it is to be understood, that concerning those who were to be destroyed by the flood, the Lord said: "Their days shall be a hundred and twenty years."

But what God said, "Their days shall be a hundred and twenty years" (Gen. VI, 3), is not so to be taken as if it were foretold that after these things men would not exceed a hundred and twenty years in living, since even after the flood we find some to have exceeded five hundred. But it is to be understood that God said this when Noah was around the end of five hundred years, that is, when he was spending four hundred and eighty years of life, which according to its custom the Scripture calls five hundred, mostly signifying the greatest part by the name of the whole:

for indeed in the six hundredth year of the life of Noah, in the second month, the flood occurred (Id. VII, 11); and thus a hundred and twenty years were predicted as future for the life of the men who were to perish, which having passed, they would be destroyed by the flood. Nor is it believed in vain that the flood happened thus, when those were no longer found on the earth who were not worthy to die by such a death, by which vengeance was taken upon the impious: not that here anything of such a kind of death does to the good who are some time to die, anything which can be against them after death. Nevertheless, none of those died in the flood whom holy Scripture records as having been propagated from the seed of Seth. But the cause of the flood is thus narrated divinely: "The Lord God seeing," it says, "that the wickednesses of men were multiplied upon the earth, and every one thinks in his heart diligently upon evil things all days: and God thought that he had made man upon the earth, and he thought again, and God said: I will destroy man whom I have made from the face of the earth, from man even to beast, and from reptiles even to the fowls of the air, for I am angry that I have made them" (Id. VI, 5-7).

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the wrath of God, which perturbs his incommutable tranquility with no inflammation.

The wrath of God is not a perturbation of his mind, but the judgment by which punishment

is imposed upon sin. But his thought and rethought is the immutable reason for changing things. For not as a man, so does God repent of any deed of his, whose sentence is as fixed as his prescience is certain about all things whatsoever. But if the Scripture were not to use such words, it would not in a certain more familiar way hint itself to every kind of men, whom it wishes to be consulted, so that it may both terrify the proud, and excite the negligent, and exercise those seeking, and nourish those understanding: which it would not do, if it did not first incline itself, and in a certain way descend to those lying down. But because it also denounces the destruction of all terrestrial and volatile animals, it speaks of the magnitude of the future slaughter; it does not threaten exit to animals expert in no reason, as if they themselves also had sinned.

CHAPTER XXVI.

That the ark which Noah was commanded to make, signifies Christ and the Church in all things

Now indeed, that to Noah, a just man, and as the truthful Scripture speaks of him, perfect in his generation (Gen. VI, 9) (not certainly as the citizens of the city of God are to be perfected in that immortality, by which they will be equal to the Angels of God, but as they can be perfect in this pilgrimage), God commands that he make an ark, in which with his own, that is, wife, sons, and daughters-in-law, and with the animals, which by God's precept entered into the ark to him, he

might be liberated from the vastness of the flood; without doubt it is a figure of the city of God pilgrimaging in this world, that is the Church, which is made safe through the wood, on which hung the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus (I Tim. II, 5). For also those very measures of its length, height, and width, signify the human body, in whose truth he was foretold to come to men, and came. For the length of the human body from the crown even to the footsteps has six times as much as the width, which is from one side to the other side; and ten times as much as the height, of which height the measure is in the side from the back to the belly: as if you were to measure a man lying supine, or prone, he is six times as long from the head to the feet, as he is wide from the right to the left, or from the left to the right; and ten times, as he is high from the ground. Whence the ark was made of three hundred cubits in length, and fifty in width, and thirty in height. And that it received a door in the side, surely that is the wound, when the side of the crucified was perforated by a lance (John XIX, 34): by this indeed those coming to him enter; because from there the Sacraments flowed, by which believers are initiated. And that it is commanded to be made of squared timbers, signifies the stable life of the saints on every side: for whichever way you turn a square, it will stand. And the other things which are said in the construction of the same ark, are signs of ecclesiastical things.

But to pursue those things now is long: and this we have already done in the work which we wrote against Faustus the Manichaean (book 12, cap. 14), who denied that anything was prophesied about Christ in the books of the Hebrews. And it can indeed happen, that both to us someone, and another more aptly than another may explain these things: provided however that those things which are said, be all referred to this city of God of which we speak, pilgrimaging in this malignant world as if in a flood; if he who explains does not wish to wander far from his sense who composed these things. For example, as if someone should wish that which is written here, "Lower rooms of two stories and three stories you shall make it" (Gen. VI, 16), to be understood not as I said in that work (book 4, cap. 16); because from all nations the Church is gathered, called two-storied, because of two kinds of men, namely the circumcision and the uncircumcision, whom the Apostle also in another way calls Jews and Greeks (Rom. III, 9); but three-storied, for that reason that all nations were repaired from the three sons of Noah after the flood: but should say something else, which is not alien to the rule of faith. For since he wished the ark to have mansions not only in the lower parts, but also in the higher, and called these two-storied; and in the higher of the higher, and called these three-storied: so that from the bottom upwards the third habitation should rise. Here those three things which the Apostle commends, faith, hope, charity (I Cor. XIII, 13), can be understood. Also

those three evangelical fruitfulnesses, thirtyfold, sixtyfold, an hundredfold (Matth. XIII, 8), can much more conveniently be understood; so that in the lowest part conjugal chastity may dwell, above it vidual, and higher than this virginal: and if anything better according to the faith of this city can be understood and said. This also I would say about the other things which are to be explained here, because even if they are discussed in more than one way, they are yet to be recalled to the one concord of the catholic faith.

CHAPTER XXVII.---Of the ark and the flood, that neither are those to be consented to who receive only the history without allegorical signification; nor those who defend only the figures having repudiated the historical truth.

Yet no one ought to think, either that these things were written in vain, or that only the truth of the things done without any allegorical significations is to be sought here; or on the contrary that these things were not done at all, but are only figures of words; or whatever that is, that it pertains in no way to the prophecy of the Church. For who, unless perverse in mind, would contend that books written in vain were guarded through so many thousands of years with so much religion and with the observance of so ordered a succession; or that only the things done are to be looked at there, where certainly, to omit other things, if the multiplicity of animals compelled so great a magnitude of the ark to be made, what compelled that unclean animals be let in by twos and clean ones by sevens (Gen. VII, 2), when

both could be preserved by an equal number? Or indeed was God, who commanded them to be preserved for the sake of repairing the race, not able to restore them in that way in which he had instituted them?

But those who contend that these were not things done, but are only figures of things to be signified, first think that so great a flood could not have happened, that the water by growing should transcend the highest mountains by fifteen cubits; because of the vertex of Mount Olympus, above which it is perhibited that clouds cannot congeal, because it is as sublime as heaven, so that there is not there that thicker air, where winds, mists, and rains are produced: nor do they attend that the earth, the thickest of all elements, could be there. Or do they perhaps deny that the vertex of the mountain is earth? Why therefore do they contend that it was permitted for the lands to be exalted even to those spaces of heaven, and not permitted for the waters to be exalted, when these measurers and weighers of elements assert that waters are higher and lighter than lands? What reason therefore do they bring, why the heavier and lower earth invaded the place of the more tranquil heaven through the volumes of so many years, and the lighter and higher water was not permitted to do this at least for a small time?

They also say that the quantity of so many kinds of animals in both sexes, twos of the unclean, sevens of the clean, could not be contained in that ark. Who seem to me not to compute except three hundred cubits of length, and fifty

of width, nor to think that there is just as much in the higher parts, and likewise just as much in the higher of the higher, and through this those cubits taken thrice become nine hundred and one hundred fifty. But if we think what Origen elegantly asserted (Homily 2 on Genesis), namely that Moses, the man of God erudite, as it is written, in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Acts VII, 22), who loved geometry, could have signified geometrical cubits, where they assert that one is worth as much as six of ours; who would not see how much of things that magnitude could contain? For that which they dispute, that an ark of so great magnitude could not be put together, they most ineptly calumniate, when they know that immense cities have been constructed, nor do they attend to the hundred years in which that ark was fabricated: unless perhaps stone can adhere to stone joined by lime alone, so that a wall may be driven around through so many thousands, and wood cannot adhere to wood through tenons, treenails, nails, and the glue of bitumen, so that an ark may be fabricated, extended far and wide by straight lines, not curved, which no effort of men might send into the sea, but the wave, when it came, might lift by the natural order of weights, and more by divine providence than by human prudence might govern it swimming, lest it run into shipwreck anywhere.

But as for what is usually sought most scrupulously about the smallest little beasts, not only such as are mice and lizards, but also such as locusts, beetles, finally flies and fleas, whether

there were not a greater number in that ark than what was defined, when God commanded this: first those whom these things move are to be admonished, that what was said, "Which creep upon the earth," is to be so accepted; so that it was not necessary that those be preserved in the ark which can live in the waters, not only submerged, such as fishes, but also floating, such as many birds. Then when it is said, "They shall be male and female," surely it is understood to be said for the sake of repairing the race: and through this it was not necessary that those be there which can be born without concubinage from whatever things or corruptions of things: or if they were, as they are accustomed to be in houses, they could have been there without any defined number: or if the most sacred mystery which was being acted, and the figure of so great a thing even in the truth of the fact could not otherwise be fulfilled, unless all things were there in that certain number, which could not live in the waters, nature prohibiting, this was not the care of that man, or of those men, but divine. For Noah did not introduce them captured, but permitted them coming and entering. For to this avails what was said, "They shall enter to you" (Gen. VI, 19, 20): not namely by the act of man, but by the nod of God: so indeed, that those are not to be believed to have been there which lack sex. For it was prescribed and defined, "They shall be male and female." For there are some things which are so born from whatever things without concubinage from whatever things, that afterwards they

couple and generate, such as flies: but others in which there is nothing of male and female, such as bees. Furthermore those which have sex in such a way that they do not have offspring, such as mules, it would be strange if they were there, and rather it might have sufficed that their parents were there, namely the equine and asinine race: and if there are any other things which by the commixture of a diverse genus beget some genus. But if even this pertained to the mystery, they were there. For this genus also has male and female.

It also usually moves some, as to the kinds of foods which the animals could have there, which are thought to feed only on meat, whether they were there beyond the number without transgression of the mandate, which the necessity of nourishing others would have compelled to be included there: or whether, which is rather to be believed, there could have been some nourishments besides meats, which might be convenient for all. For we know how many animals, for which meat is food, feed on fruits and pomes, and especially on the fig and chestnuts. What wonder therefore, if that wise and just man, even divinely admonished as to what was congruent for each, prepared and stored up nourishment apt for each genus without meats? But what is there, which hunger would not compel to eat? or what could God not make sweet and healthful, who also, that they might live without food, would grant by divine facility, unless it also were convenient for the figure of so great a mystery to be fulfilled that

they should be fed? But that such manifold signs of things done do not pertain to the prefiguring of the Church, no one, unless he be contentious, is permitted to think. For already the nations have so filled the Church, and the clean and the unclean, until the certain end be come, are so contained in a certain compages of its unity, that from this one most manifest thing, it is not lawful to doubt even about the others, which sometimes were said more obscurely, and can be recognized more difficultly. Since these things are so, if no one even hard will dare to think either that those things were written in vain, or that they signify nothing since they were done, nor can it probably be said that only the words were significative, not the facts, nor that they are alien to the Church to be signified: but it is rather to be believed, that they were both wisely committed to memory and letters, and were done, and signify something, and that something itself pertains to the prefiguring of the Church. This book, having been brought even to this article, is to be closed, so that the course of both cities, namely the earthly living according to man, and the heavenly according to God, may be sought after the flood and henceforth in the consequent things.

BOOK SIXTEENTH.

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

CHAPTER I.

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

Whether the footsteps of the holy city proceeding after the flood were continued, or interrupted by intervening times of impiety, so that no one of men existed as a worshiper of the one true God, is difficult to find clearly from the speaking Scriptures: for the reason that in the canonical Books after Noah, who with his wife and three sons and as many daughters-in-law deserved to be liberated from the vastation of the flood through the ark, we do not find the piety of anyone praised by evident divine eloquence until Abraham, except that Noah commends his two sons Shem and Japheth with a prophetic benediction, intuiting and foreseeing what was to be far after in the future. Whence it also came

about, that he cursed his middle son, that is, younger than the first-born and older than the last, who had sinned against his father, not in himself, but in his son his own grandson with these words: "Cursed be the boy Canaan, he shall be a servant to his brothers." Canaan furthermore had been born from Ham, who had not covered, but rather betrayed the nakedness of his sleeping father. Whence also what he adds following the benediction of the two sons, the greatest and the least, saying: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and the boy Canaan shall be his servant; may God enlarge Japheth, and let him dwell in the houses of Shem" (Gen. IX, 25-27): just as that very plantation of the vineyard by the same Noah, and the inebriation from its fruit, and the nakedness of the sleeper, and the other things which were done and written there, are weighted with prophetic senses and veiled with coverings.

CHAPTER II.

What was prophetically prefigured in the sons of Noah.

But now, with the effect of things already followed in posterity, those things which had been covered are sufficiently open. For who, advertently and intelligently considering these things, would not recognize them in Christ? For Shem, from whose seed Christ was born in the flesh, is interpreted as Named. But what is more named than Christ, whose name already fragrances everywhere, so that in the Song of Songs, with the prophecy itself foretelling, it is

compared to poured out ointment (Cant. I, 2): in whose houses, that is churches, the breadth of the nations dwells? For Japheth is interpreted as Breadth. Furthermore Ham, which is interpreted as Hot, the middle son of Noah, as if discerning himself from both and remaining between both, neither in the firstfruits of the Israelites, nor in the plenitude of the Gentiles, what does he signify except the hot race of heretics, not by the spirit of wisdom, but of impatience, by which the hearts of heretics are accustomed to boil, and to perturb the peace of the saints? But these things yield to the use of those progressing, according to that word of the Apostle: "It behoves that there also be heresies, so that those who are approved may be made manifest among you" (I Cor. XI, 19). Whence also it is written, "An erudite son shall be wise, but he shall use an imprudent minister" (Prov. X, 4, according to the LXX). For many things pertaining to the catholic faith, while they are agitated by the hot inquietude of heretics, so that they may be defended against them, are both considered more diligently, and understood more clearly, and preached more instantly: and a question moved by an adversary exists as an occasion for learning. Although not only those who are most openly separated, but also all who glory in the Christian name and live perditiously, can not absurdly be seen as figured by the middle son of Noah: for the passion of Christ, which was signified by the nakedness of that man, they both announce by professing and dishonor by acting badly. Of such therefore it was said, "From

their fruits you shall know them" (Matth. VII, 20). Therefore Ham was cursed in his son, as if in his fruit, that is in his work. Whence conveniently also his son Canaan is interpreted as Their Movement: which is what else, than their work? But Shem and Japheth as if the circumcision and the uncircumcision, or as the Apostle calls them in another way, Jews and Greeks, but called and justified, having known in whatever way the nakedness of the father, by which the passion of the Savior was signified, taking a garment, placed it upon their backs, and entered turned away, and covered the nakedness of their father, nor did they see what they covered by revering (Gen. IX, 23). For in a certain way in the passion of Christ, we both honor what was done for us, and we avert ourselves from the crime of the Jews. The garment signifies the sacrament; the backs, the memory of past things: because the Church celebrates the passion of Christ as already transacted at that time namely in which Japheth dwells in the houses of Shem and the evil brother in the midst of them, and does not yet prospect it as future.

But the evil brother in his son, that is in his work, is a boy, that is a servant, of the good brothers, when either for the exercise of patience, or for the profit of wisdom, the good knowingly use the evil. For there are, as the Apostle witnesses, those who announce Christ not chastely: "But whether by occasion," he says, "or by truth Christ be announced, in this I rejoice, but and I will rejoice" (Philipp. I, 18). He indeed planted the vineyard, of

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

that is honor it, entered, that is, they acted this interiorly.

We investigate these secrets of the divine Scripture, as we can, one more or less congruently than another, yet faithfully holding for certain, that those things were not done and written without some prefiguration of future things, nor are they to be referred except to Christ and his Church, which is the city of God: of which from the beginning of the human race there was no lack of preaching, which we see being fulfilled through all things. Therefore the two sons of Noah having been blessed, and one in the midst of them cursed, henceforth until Abraham it is silent about the commemoration of any just men, who might piously worship God, through more than a thousand years. Nor would I believe that they were lacking: but if all were commemorated, it would become too long; and this would be more historical diligence, than prophetic providence. Those things therefore the writer of these sacred Letters pursues, or rather through him the Spirit of God, by which not only past things are narrated, but also future things are foretold, which yet pertain to the city of God: because even about the men who are not its citizens, whatever is said here, is said to this end, that it may either profit, or stand out from the contrary comparison. Not indeed all things which are narrated as done, are to be thought to signify something also: but for the sake of those things which signify something, also those things which signify nothing are woven in. For by the plowshare alone the

earth is cut; but so that this can be done, also the other members of the plow are necessary: and only the strings in citharas and musical instruments of this kind are adapted for song; but so that they can be adapted, there are also other things in the compages of the instruments, which are not struck by those singing, but those things which being struck resound, are connected to these. So in prophetic history some things are said which signify nothing, but to which those things which signify may adhere, and in a certain way be bound together.

CHAPTER III.

On the generations of the three sons of Noah.

1. Therefore the generations of the sons of Noah are to be considered next, and what seems should be said about these must be woven into this work, by which the progress of both cities, namely the earthly and the heavenly, is shown through the times. But they began to be commemorated from the youngest son, who was called Japheth; whose sons are named eight; but the grandsons seven from two of his sons, three from one, four from the other: thus they all become fifteen. But the sons of Ham, that is of the middle son of Noah, were four, and the grandsons five from one of his sons, the great-grandsons two from one grandson: their sum becomes eleven. These having been enumerated, it is returned as if to the head, and it is said: "But Cush begot Nimrod: he began to be a giant

upon the earth. He was a giant hunter against the Lord God. For this reason they say: As Nimrod the giant hunter against the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, Erech, Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar. From that land went out Ashur, and built Nineveh and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah: this is a great city." Furthermore, this Cush, the father of the giant Nimrod, was named first among the sons of Ham, whose five sons had already been computed, and two grandsons. But he begot this giant either after his own grandsons were born; or, what is more credible, the Scripture spoke of him separately on account of his eminence; since also his kingdom was commemorated, the beginning of which was that most noble city Babylon, and those which were commemorated nearby, whether cities or regions. But that which was said, that from that land, that is from the land of Shinar, which pertained to the kingdom of Nimrod, Ashur went out, and built Nineveh, and the other cities which he joined together, was done long afterward, which he touched upon on this occasion, on account of the nobility of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which Ninus, the son of Belus, the founder of the great city Nineveh, wonderfully dilated: from whose name the name of the city was derived, so that it was called Nineveh from Ninus. But Ashur, from whom the Assyrians come, was not among the sons of Ham the middle son of Noah, but is found among the sons of Shem, who was the eldest son of Noah. Whence it appears that those who

afterward obtained the kingdom of that giant arose from the progeny of Shem, and proceeded from there, and founded other cities, the first of which was called Nineveh from Ninus. From here it is returned to another son of Ham, who was called Mizraim, and those whom he begot are commemorated; not as individual men, but as seven nations. And from the sixth, as if from a sixth son, a nation is commemorated to have gone out, which is called the Philistines; whence they become eight. From there it is returned again to Canaan, in which son Ham was cursed; and those whom he begot are named eleven. Then it is said as far as to what boundaries they reached, certain cities having been commemorated. And through this, the sons and grandsons having been computed, thirty-one are reported born from the progeny of Ham.

2. It remains to commemorate the sons of Shem, the eldest son of Noah: for to him by degrees the narrative, having arisen from the youngest, reaches of those generations. But where the sons of Shem begin to be commemorated, there is something of obscurity, which must be illustrated by exposition: because also it pertains much to the matter which we seek. For thus it is read: "And to Shem also was born he who was the father of all the sons of Eber, the elder brother of Japheth." The order of the words is: "And to Shem was born Eber, also to him, that is to Shem himself, was born Eber, who is Shem the father of all his sons." Therefore he wished Shem to be understood as the patriarch of all

who arose from his stock, whom he is about to commemorate, whether they be sons, or grandsons, or great-grandsons, and henceforth arising from the same source. To be sure, Shem did not beget this Eber: but he is found as the fifth in the series of progenitors from him. For Shem among other sons begot Arphaxad, Arphaxad begot Cainan, Cainan begot Salah, Salah begot Eber. Not indeed in vain was he himself named first in the progeny coming from Shem, and preferred even to the sons, although he is the fifth grandson; unless because it is true what is handed down, that from that Eber the Hebrews were named, as if Heberites: although there can also be another opinion, that they seem to be called Hebrews from Abraham as if Abrahameans. But doubtless this is true, that from Eber they were called Heberites; and then, one letter having been removed, Hebrews: which Hebrew language the people of Israel alone were able to obtain, in whom the city of God both went on pilgrimage in the saints, and was foreshadowed in all things by a sacrament. Therefore first six sons of Shem are named, then from one of them four of his grandsons were born: and likewise another of the sons of Shem begot his grandson, and from him likewise a great-grandson was born, and from there a great-great-grandson, who is Eber. But Eber begot two sons, one of whom he called Peleg, which is interpreted as Dividing. Then the Scripture subjoining, and giving the reason for this name, says, "Because in his days the earth was divided." But what this may be, will appear afterward. But

another who was born from Eber, begot twelve sons: and through this all the progeny from Shem become twenty-seven. In sum therefore all the progeny from the three sons of Noah, that is, fifteen from Japheth, and thirty-one from Ham, twenty-seven from Shem, become seventy-three. Then follows the Scripture saying: "These are the sons of Shem in their tribes according to their languages, in their regions and in their nations." And likewise concerning all: "These," it says, "are the tribes of the sons of Noah according to their generations, and according to their nations. From these were dispersed the islands of the nations upon the earth after the flood." Whence it is gathered that there were seventy-three, or rather (as will be demonstrated afterward) seventy-two nations then, not men. For also before when the sons of Japheth had been commemorated, it was thus concluded: "From these were segregated the islands of the nations in their land, each one according to his language in his tribes and in his nations."

3. Now indeed in the sons of Ham in a certain place the nations were more openly commemorated, as I showed above. "Mizraim begot those who are called Ludim:" and in the same way the others as far as to seven nations. And all having been enumerated, afterward concluding, it says: "These are the sons of Ham, in their tribes, according to their languages in their regions, and in their nations" (Gen. X). Therefore the sons of many were not commemorated for this reason, because by being born they added to other na-

tions, but they themselves were not able to make nations. For for what other cause, when eight sons of Japheth are enumerated, are the sons born from only two of them commemorated; and when four sons of Ham are named, are those who were born from only three added; and when six sons of Shem are named, is the posterity of only two woven in? did the rest remain without sons? Far be it to believe this: but they certainly did not make nations on account of which they would be worthy to be commemorated; because as they were born, they were added to other nations.

CHAPTER IV.

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

Since therefore these nations are reported to have been in their own languages, the narrator nevertheless returns to that time when there was one language of all, and from there he now explains what happened, that the diversity of languages might be born. "And all the earth," he says, "was one lip, and there was one voice for all. And it came to pass, when they moved from the East, they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there. And a man said to his neighbor: Come, let us make bricks, and bake them with fire. And bricks were made for them for stone, and bitumen was for them as mortar: and they said, Come, and let us build for ourselves a city, and a tower whose top shall be as far as to heaven, and let us make for ourselves a name, before we are dispersed over the face of all the earth. And

the Lord descended to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men built. And the Lord God said: Behold, one race, and one lip for all; and this they have begun to do, and now all things which they have attempted to do will not fail from them: come, and descending let us confound their language there, so that each one may not hear the voice of his neighbor. And the Lord dispersed them from there over the face of all the earth, and they ceased building the city and the tower. For this reason its name was called Confusion; because there the Lord confounded the lips of all the earth: and from there the Lord God dispersed them over the face of all the earth" (Gen. XI, 1-9). This city which was called Confusion, is Babylon itself, whose wonderful construction even the history of the Gentiles commends. For Babylon is interpreted as Confusion. Whence it is gathered that that giant Nimrod was its founder, which had been briefly intimated above, where when the Scripture spoke of him, it said the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, that is, that which should hold the principate over the other cities, where there should be as it were in a metropolis the dwelling of the kingdom: although it was not perfected to such an extent as proud impiety was thinking. For too great an altitude was being disposed, which was said as far as to heaven, whether of its one tower, which they were constructing as principal among the others; or of all the towers, which were thus signified by the singular number, as a soldier is said, and thousands of soldiers are understood: as a frog, as a locust;

for thus was called the multitude of frogs and locusts in the plagues, with which the Egyptians were struck through Moses (Exod. X, 4, and elsewhere; Ps. LXXVII, 45). But what was human and vain presumption about to do? However much and from whatever material it should extol the altitude of a mass into heaven against God, when would it transcend all mountains? when would it escape the space of this cloudy air? Finally, what would any elation, whether spiritual or corporal, hurt God? Humility constructs a safe and true way into heaven, raising the heart upward to the Lord, not against the Lord: just as this giant was called a "hunter against the Lord" (Gen. X, 9). Which some not understanding, were deceived by the ambiguous Greek, so that they did not interpret it "against the Lord," but "before the Lord": for ἐναντιον signifies both "before" and "against." For this word is in the Psalm: "And let us weep before the Lord, who made us" (Ps. XCIV, 6). And this word is also in the book of Job, where it is written, "You have burst into fury against the Lord" (Job XV, 13, according to LXX). So therefore this giant is to be understood as a "hunter against the Lord." But what is signified here by this name, which is "hunter," unless the deceiver, oppressor, and extinguisher of earth-born animals? Therefore he was erecting with his peoples a tower against the Lord, by which impious pride was signified. But deservedly the evil affection is punished, even that to which the effect does not succeed. But what kind of punishment was the genus itself? Since the dominion

of the commander is in the language, there pride was condemned, so that he who was commanding should not be understood by man, because he did not wish to understand so as to obey God commanding. Thus that conspiracy was dissolved, when each one departed from him whom he did not understand, nor did he join himself except to him with whom he was able to speak: and by languages the nations were divided, and dispersed through the lands, as it pleased God, who did this in ways hidden and incomprehensible to us.

CHAPTER V.

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

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

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

CHAPTER VI.

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

1. That which was said when man was made, "Let us make man," could also be understood concerning the angels, because he did not say, "I will make": but because it follows, "to our image;" and it is not lawful to believe that man was made to the image of the angels, or that the image of the angels and of God is the same; therefore the plurality of the Trinity is rightly understood there. Which Trinity nevertheless,

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

incommutable Truth speaks by itself ineffably to the minds of a rational creature, or it speaks through a mutable creature, whether by spiritual images to our spirit, or by corporal voices to the sense of the body.

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

CHAPTER VII.

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

But there is a question concerning every kind of beasts, which are not under the care of men, nor are born from the earth as frogs are, but are propagated only by the commixtion of male and female, as wolves and other things of this kind, how they could have been in the islands after the flood, by which all things which were not in the ark were destroyed, if they were not restored except from these whose kinds the ark preserved in both sexes. They can indeed be believed to have crossed to the islands by swimming, but the nearby ones. But there are some placed so far from the continental lands, that no beast seems to have been able to swim to them. But if men brought them captured with themselves, and in that way instituted their kinds where they dwelt, it is not incredible that it could have been done by the zeal of hunting: although it is not to be denied that they could have been transferred by the command or permission of God also by the work of Angels. But if they arose from the earth according to their first origin, when God said, "Let the earth produce a living soul" (Gen. I, 24): it appears much more clearly, that not so much for the sake of restoring the animals, as for the sake of figuring the various nations on account of the sacrament of the Church, were all kinds in the ark, if the earth produced many animals in the islands where they could not cross.

CHAPTER VIII.

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

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

kinds of men which are said to be. But whoever is born anywhere as a man, that is a rational mortal animal, however unusual a form of body he bears to our senses, whether color, or movement, or sound, or in whatever force, whatever part, whatever quality of nature, no one of the faithful would doubt that he draws his origin from that one protoplast. Yet it appears what nature has obtained in the majority, and what is wonderful by its very rarity.

2. But what reason is given concerning the monstrous births among us, such can be given concerning certain monstrous nations. For God is the creator of all, who himself knows where and when what ought to be created or to have been created, knowing with what similarity or diversity of parts he weaves the beauty of the universe. But he who cannot inspect the whole is offended as if by the deformity of a part; because he is ignorant of what it may be congruent with, and to what it may be referred. We know that men are born with more than five fingers on hands and feet; and this distance is lighter than that other: but yet far be it that anyone should be so foolish as to think that the Creator erred in the number of human fingers, although not knowing why he did this. So even if a greater diversity should arise, he knows what he did, whose works no one justly reprehends. At Hippo Diarrhytus there is a man having feet as it were moon-shaped, and in them only two toes, and hands similar. If there were any nation such, it would be added to that curious and wonderful history.

Shall we therefore deny that this man was propagated from that one who was first created, on account of this? Androgynes, whom they also call Hermaphrodites, although they are quite rare, it is yet difficult for them to be lacking in the times, in whom both sexes so appear, that from which one they ought rather to receive a name is uncertain: yet the custom of speaking prevailed that they should be called from the better, that is, from the masculine. For no one has ever called them *Androgynaecas* or *Hermaphroditas*. Some years ago, certainly in our memory, in the East a double man was born in the upper members, in the lower simple: for there were two heads, two breasts, four hands; but one belly, and two feet, just as for one man; and he lived so long, that fame drew many to see him. But who could commemorate all human fetuses far dissimilar to those from whom it is most certain that they were born? As therefore these cannot be denied to draw their origin from that one; so whatever nations in the diversities of bodies are handed down to have as it were exorbitant from the usual course of nature, which many and nearly all hold, if they are included in that definition, that they are rational and mortal animals, it must be confessed that they draw their stock from that very same one first father of all: if yet those things are true which are handed down concerning the variety of those nations and such great diversity among themselves and with us. For even apes, and guenons, and sphinxes, if we did not know they were not men, but beasts, those historians

glorying in their curiosity could lie to us with unpunished vanity as if they were some nations of men. But if they are men, concerning whom those wonders are written; what if God for this reason wished also to create some nations so, lest in these monsters which it is clear are born from men among us, we should think his wisdom, by which he fashions human nature, had erred, as if it were the art of some less perfect craftsman? Therefore it ought not to seem absurd to us, that just as in each individual nation there are certain monsters of men, so in the whole human race there are certain monsters of nations. Wherefore, that I may conclude this question step by step and cautiously: either those things which are written such concerning certain nations are altogether nothing; or if they are, they are not men; or they are from Adam, if they are men.

CHAPTER IX.

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

But that which they fable, that there are also Antipodes, that is, men on the contrary part of the earth, where the sun rises when it sets for us, who tread with footsteps opposite to our feet, is by no reason to be believed. Nor do they affirm that they have learned this by any historical knowledge, but they conjecture it as if by reasoning, because the earth is suspended within the convexities of heaven, and the world has the same place, both the lowest and the middle: and

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

CHAPTER X.

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

1. Therefore the series of generations from Shem himself is to be held, that it may show

the city of God after the flood; just as the series of generations from him who was called Seth was showing it before the flood. For this reason therefore divine Scripture, when it had shown the earthly city in Babylon, that is in confusion, returns by recapitulating to the patriarch Shem, and begins from there the generations as far as to Abraham, having also commemorated the number of years at which each one pertaining to this series had begotten a son, and how long he had lived. Where certainly that which I had promised before is to be recognized, so that it may appear why it was said of the sons of Eber, "The name of one was Peleg, because in his days the earth was divided" (Gen. X, 25). For what else is to be understood, that the earth was divided, except by the diversity of languages? Therefore the rest of the sons of Shem not pertaining to this matter having been omitted, those are connected in the order of generations through whom it is possible to arrive at Abraham: just as those were connected before the flood, through whom one might arrive at Noah, in the generations which were propagated from that son of Adam, who was called Seth. So therefore this contexture of generations begins: "And these are the generations of Shem. Shem was a son of a hundred years when he begot Arphaxad, in the second year after the flood. And Shem lived, after he begot Arphaxad, five hundred years, and he begot sons and daughters, and he died" (Id. XI, 10, 11). So he pursues the rest, saying in what year of his life each one begot a son pertaining to that order

of generations which reaches to Abraham; and how many years he lived afterward, intimating that he begot sons and daughters: so that we may understand whence the peoples were able to increase, lest occupied in the few men who are commemorated we should childishly hesitate as to whence such spaces of lands and kingdoms were able to be filled from the race of Shem; especially on account of the kingdom of the Assyrians, whence that Ninus, the tamer of the Oriental peoples everywhere, reigned with huge prosperity, and propagated to his posterity a most wide and most well-founded kingdom, which should be led through for a long time.

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

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

3. When therefore we seek the city of God among those seventy-two nations, we cannot affirm that at that time, in which they had one lip (Id. XI, 1), that is, one speech, the human race had already been alienated from the worship of the true God, so that true piety remained in these generations alone, which descend from the seed of Shem through Arphaxad, and reach to Abraham: but from that pride of building the tower even to heaven, by which an impious elation is signified, the city, that is, the society, of the impious appeared. Whether therefore it had not been before, or had been hidden, or rather both remained, the pious namely in the two sons of Noah, who were blessed, and in their posterity; but the impious in him who was cursed, and in his progeny, where also there arose the giant hunter against the Lord, is not an easy decision. For perhaps, which is certainly more credible, even in the sons of those two already then before Babylonia had begun to be established, there

were contemners of God, and in the sons of Ham worshippers of God: yet it is to be believed that both kinds of men have never been lacking to the lands. Since even when it was said, "All have turned aside, they have together become useless; there is none who does good, no, not so much as one"; in both Psalms, where these words are, this also is read, "Will they not all know, who work iniquity, who devour my people as the food of bread?" There was therefore even then a people of God. Whence that which was said, "There is none who does good, no, not so much as one"; was said of the sons of men, not of the sons of God. For it was premised, "God looked down from heaven upon the sons of men, to see if there is any understanding, or seeking God" (Psal. XIII, 3, 4, 2; Psal. LII, 4, 5, 3): and then those things were subjoined, which demonstrate that all the sons of men, that is, those pertaining to the city which lives according to man, not according to God, are reprobate.

CHAPTER XI.

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

1. Wherefore just as when there was one language for all, for that reason the sons of pestilence were not lacking; for even before the flood there was one language, and yet all except the one house of the just Noah deserved to be destroyed by the flood: so when on account of

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

2. Some one might say: If in the days of Peleg the son of Eber the earth was divided through languages, that is, the men who then were on the earth; from his name that language rather ought to have been called, which was before common to all. But it is to be understood that Eber himself for this reason imposed such a name on his son, so that he should be called Peleg, which is interpreted Division, because he was born to him then, when the earth was divided through

languages, that is at that very time, so that this should be what was said: "In his days the earth was divided" (Gen. X, 25). For unless Eber were still living when the multitude of languages was made, the language would not receive its name from his name, which was able to remain with him. And therefore it is to be believed that it was that first common one: since that multiplication and change of languages came from punishment; and certainly the people of God ought to have been outside this punishment. Nor is this language in vain, which Abraham held, nor was he able to transmit it to all his sons, but only to those who having been propagated through Jacob, and coalescing more notably and eminently into the people of God, were able to have the Testaments of God and the lineage of Christ. Nor did Eber himself pour back the same language into his whole progeny; but only into that, whose generations are led through to Abraham. Wherefore, even if it is not evidently expressed that there was some pious kind of men when Babylonia was being founded by the impious; this obscurity did not avail for this, that the intention of the seeker should be defrauded, but rather that it should be exercised. For when it is read that there was one language originally of all, and before all the sons of Shem Eber is commended, although he arises as the fifth from him; and the language is called Hebrew, which the authority of the Patriarchs and Prophets guarded, not only in their discourses, but even in the sacred Letters: surely when it is sought in the division

of languages, where that language was able to remain, which was before common; which, without any doubt, where it remained, there was not that punishment which was made by the change of languages; what else occurs, except that it remained in the nation of this one, from whose name it received its name; and that this appeared as no small trace of the justice of this nation, that, when other nations were struck by the change of languages, to this one such a punishment did not reach?

3. But this still moves us: how were Eber and his son Peleg able to make individual nations, if one language remained for both? And certainly there is one Hebrew nation propagated from Eber as far as to Abraham, and through him thereafter, until the people of Israel should become great. How therefore did all the sons of the three sons of Noah who are commemorated make individual nations, if Eber and Peleg did not make individual ones? Doubtless that is more credible, that that giant Nimrod even himself made his own nation, but on account of the excellence of his dominion and body he was named separately more eminently, so that the number of seventy-two nations and languages may remain. But Peleg was commemorated for this reason, not that he made a nation (for his is that same Hebrew nation, and the same language); but on account of the notable time, because in his days the earth was divided. Nor ought it to move us, how the giant Nimrod was able to reach to that age in which Babylon was founded, and the

confusion of languages was made, and from this the division of nations. For not because Eber is the sixth from Noah, but he the fourth, for that reason they were not able to meet in living at that time. For this happened, when they lived longer, where there are fewer generations, less where there are more; or they had been born later where there were fewer, earlier where there were more. Surely it is to be understood, when the earth was divided, not only that the other sons of the sons of Noah were already born, who are commemorated as fathers of nations; but also that they were of such an age that they had numerous families, which would have been worthy of the names of nations. Whence by no means is it to be thought that they were begotten in that order in which they are read to be commemorated. Otherwise how were the twelve sons of Joktan, who was another son of Eber, the brother of Peleg, already able to make nations, if Joktan was born after his brother Peleg, as he was commemorated after him: since indeed at the time in which Peleg was born, the earth was divided. Hence it is to be understood that he was indeed named first, but that he was born long after his brother Joktan, whose twelve sons of Joktan already had such great families that they were able to be divided into their own languages. For so he was able to be commemorated first, who was later in age; just as first were commemorated the sons of Japheth procreated from the three sons of Noah, who was the youngest of them; then the sons of Ham, who was the middle one; finally the sons

of Shem, who was the first and greatest. But of those nations the vocabularies partly remained, so that today also it appears whence they were derived; as from Assur the Assyrians, and from Eber the Hebrews: partly they have been changed by the antiquity of time, so that scarcely most learned men searching the most ancient histories have been able to find the origins of nations, not of all, but of some from these. For as to the fact that the Egyptians are reported to have arisen from the son of Ham, who was called Mizraim, no origin of the vocabulary resounds here: just as neither of the Ethiopians, who are said to pertain to that son of Ham who was called Cush. And if all things are considered, more changed names than remaining ones appear.

CHAPTER XII.

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

Now let us already see the progress of the city of God, even from that point of time which was made in the Father Abraham, whence its knowledge begins to be more evident, and where clearer divine promises are read, which we now see fulfilled in Christ. As therefore we have learned by the indication of holy Scripture, Abraham was born in the region of the Chaldeans (Gen. XI, 28): which land pertained to the kingdom of the Assyrians. But among the Chaldeans even then already impious superstitions were prevailing, just as through the rest of the nations.

One therefore was the house of Terah, from which Abraham was born, in which the worship of the one true God, and as far as is credible, in which already alone the Hebrew language also had remained; although even it itself, just as already the more manifest people of God in Egypt, so in Mesopotamia is reported to have served strange gods, Joshua the son of Nun relating it (Joshua XXIV, 2); the rest from the progeny of that Eber flowing away little by little into other languages and into other nations. Hence just as through the flood of waters one house of Noah had remained for repairing the human race, so in the flood of many superstitions through the whole world one house of Terah had remained, in which the plantation of the city of God was guarded. Finally just as there, the generations above having been enumerated as far as to Noah together with the numbers of years, and the cause of the flood having been set forth, before God should begin to speak to Noah about making the ark, it is said, "But these are the generations of Noah" (Gen. VI, 9): so also here, the generations from him who was called Shem, the son of Noah, as far as to Abraham having been enumerated, then a notable point is similarly placed, so that it should be said, "These are the generations of Terah. Terah begot Abram and Nahor and Haran: and Haran begot Lot. And Haran died before Terah his father in the land in which he was born, in the region of the Chaldeans. And Abram and Nahor took wives for themselves: the name of the wife of Abram was Sarai, and the name of the wife

of Nahor Milcah, the daughter of Haran" (Gen. XI, 27-29). That Haran was the father of Milcah and the father of Iscah, which Iscah is believed to be herself also Sarah the wife of Abraham.

CHAPTER XIII.

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

Then it is narrated how Terah with his own left the region of the Chaldeans, and came into Mesopotamia, and dwelt in Haran: but there is silence concerning one son of his, who was called Nahor, as if he had not led him with him. For it is narrated thus: "And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, the son of his son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, the wife of Abram his son, and led them out from the region of the Chaldeans to go into the land of Canaan: and he came into Haran, and dwelt there" (Ibid., 31). Nowhere here was Nahor named, and his wife Milcah. But we find afterward, when Abraham sent his servant to take a wife for his son Isaac, it was written thus: "And the boy took ten camels from the camels of his lord, and of all the goods of his lord with him, and rising up he set out into Mesopotamia into the city of Nahor" (Id. XXIV, 10). By this and other testimonies of this sacred history it is shown that even Nahor the brother of Abraham went out from the region of the Chaldeans, and established seats in Mesopotamia, where Abraham had dwelt

with his father. Why therefore did Scripture not commemorate him, when Terah set out with his own from the Chaldean nation, and dwelt in Mesopotamia, where not only Abraham his son, but even Sarai his daughter-in-law and Lot his grandson are commemorated, because he led them with him? Why, do we think, unless perhaps because he had defected from paternal and fraternal piety, and had adhered to the superstition of the Chaldeans, and afterward from there, whether by repenting, or having suffered persecution because he was held suspected, even he himself emigrated? For in the book which is entitled Judith, when Holofernes the enemy of the Israelites sought what nation that was, whether he ought to have warred against it, so Achior the leader of the Ammonites responded to him: "Let our lord hear the word from the mouth of his boy, and I will report to you the truth concerning the people who dwell near you in this mountain, and a lie shall not go out from the mouth of your servant. For this progeny is of the people of the Chaldeans, and before they inhabited Mesopotamia, because they would not follow the gods of their fathers, who were glorious in the land of the Chaldeans, but they turned aside from the way of their parents and worshipped the God of heaven, whom they knew, and they cast them out from the face of their gods, and they fled into Mesopotamia, and dwelt there many days. And their God said to them, that they should go out from their habitation, and go into the land of Canaan; and there they dwelt" (Judith V,

5-9): and the rest which Achior the Ammonite narrates. Whence it is manifest, that the house of Terah suffered persecution from the Chaldeans for true piety, by which the one and true God was worshipped by them.

CHAPTER XIV.

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

But Terah having died in Mesopotamia, where he is reported to have lived two hundred and five years, the promises of God made to Abraham already begin to be indicated, because it is written thus: "And the days of Terah in Haran were two hundred and five years, and he died in Haran" (Gen. XI, 32). But it is not to be accepted thus, as if he spent all these days there; but because he completed there all the days of his life, which were two hundred and five years: otherwise it would not be known how many years Terah lived, since it is not read in what year of his life he came into Haran; and it is absurd to estimate in that series of generations, where it is diligently commemorated how many years each one lived, that the number of the years of the life of this one alone was not commended to memory. For the fact that the years of certain ones, whom the same Scripture commemorates, are passed over in silence, they are not in this order, in which the enumeration of times is woven together by the passing away of the begetters and the succession of the begotten. But this order, which is directed

from Adam as far as to Noah, and from there as far as to Abraham, contains no one without the number of the years of his life.

CHAPTER XV.

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

1. But as to the fact that, the death of Terah the father of Abraham having been commemorated, then it is read, "And the Lord said to Abram, Go out from your land, and from your kindred, and from your father's house," and the rest; not because this follows in the discourse of the book, is it also to be thought to follow in the time of the things done. For if it is so, it will be an insoluble question. For after these words of God, which were made to Abraham, Scripture speaks thus: "And Abram went out, just as the Lord spoke to him, and Lot went away with him. But Abram was seventy-five years of age when he went out from Haran" (Id. XII, 1, 4). How can this be true, if he went out from Haran after the death of his father? For since Terah was seventy years old, as was intimated above, he begot Abraham: to which number having been added the seventy-five years which Abraham was passing when he went out from Haran, there become a hundred and forty-five years. Therefore of so many years was Terah when Abraham went out from that city of Mesopotamia: for he was passing the seventy-fifth year of his age; and through this his father, who had begotten him in his seventieth year, was

passing, as was said, the hundred and forty-fifth. He did not therefore go out from there after the death of his father, that is after the two hundred and five years in which his father lived: but the year of his setting out from that place, since it was his own seventy-fifth, without doubt is collected to have been the hundred and forty-fifth of his father, who had begotten him in his seventieth year. And through this it is to be understood that Scripture in its own custom has returned to the time which that narration had already passed over: just as above, when it had commemorated the sons of the sons of Noah, it said that they were in their own nations and languages (Gen. X, 31), and yet afterward as if this also followed in the order of times, "And all the earth was," it says, "one lip, and one voice for all" (Id. XI, 1). How therefore were they according to their nations and according to their languages, if there was one for all; unless because the narration has returned by recapitulating to that which had already passed? So therefore also here when it had been said, "And the days of Terah in Haran were two hundred and five years, and Terah died in Haran" (Ibid., 31): then Scripture returning to that which it had therefore omitted, so that what had been begun about Terah should first be completed, "And the Lord said," it says, "to Abram, Go out from your land," and the rest. After which words of God it is subjoined, "And Abram went out, just as the Lord spoke to him, and Lot went away with him: but Abram was seventy-five years of age when he went out from Haran."

Then therefore it happened, when his father was passing the hundred and forty-five year of his age: for then was this one's seventy-fifth. But that question was also solved otherwise, so that the seventy-five years of Abraham when he went out from Haran should be computed from that time from which he was liberated from the fire of the Chaldeans, not from which he was born, as if then rather he were to be held as born.

2. But blessed Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles when he was narrating these things, "The God," he says, "of glory appeared to Abraham our father, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran, and said to him, Go out from your land, and from your kindred, and from your father's house, and come into the land which I will show you." According to these words of Stephen, God did not speak to Abraham after the death of his father, who certainly died in Haran, where the son himself also dwelt with him; but before he dwelt in the same city, yet when he was already in Mesopotamia. Already therefore he had gone out from the Chaldeans. That which therefore Stephen subjoins, "Then Abraham went out from the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Haran," does not demonstrate what was done after God spoke to him (for he did not go out from the land of the Chaldeans after those words of God, since he says that God spoke to him when he was in Mesopotamia), but pertains to all that time of which he says, "Then," that is, from the time he went out from the Chaldeans and dwelt in Haran. Likewise that which follows,

"And from there after his father was dead, He placed him in this land in which you now dwell, and your fathers" (Acts VII, 2-4): he does not say, After his father was dead, he went out from Haran; but from there He placed him here, after his father was dead. It is to be understood therefore that God had spoken to Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran; but that he arrived in Haran with his father, the precept of God having been retained with him, and from there he went out in his seventy-fifth year, but in the hundred and forty-fifth year of his father. But he says that his placement in the land of Canaan, not his setting out from Haran, was made after the death of his father; because his father was already dead when he bought the land, of which he began there already to be the possessor of his own property. But as to the fact that to him already established in Mesopotamia, that is already having gone out from the land of the Chaldeans, God says, "Go out from your land, and from your kindred, and from your father's house"; it is said not that he should eject his body from there, which he had already done, but that he should tear away his mind. For he had not gone out from there in mind, if he was held by the hope of returning and by desire, which hope and desire, God commanding and helping, and him obeying, had to be amputated. Not indeed is it thought incredibly that, when Nahor had afterward followed his father, then Abraham fulfilled the precept of the Lord, so that with Sarah his

spouse and Lot the son of his brother he should go out from Haran.

CHAPTER XVI.

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

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

The first of these is read as follows: "And the Lord said to Abram: Go out from your land, and from your kindred, and from the house of your father, and go into the land which I shall show you; and I will make you into a great nation, and I will bless you, and I will magnify your name, and you shall be blessed, and I will bless those who bless you, and I will curse those who curse you, and in you shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed." It is to be noted, therefore, that two things were promised to Abraham: one, namely, that his seed should possess the land of Canaan, which is signified where it is said, "Go into the land which I shall show you, and I will make you into a great nation"; but another far more excellent, not concerning the carnal but the spiritual seed, through which he is the father, not of the one Israelite nation, but of all nations which follow the footsteps of his faith, which began to be promised in these words, "And in you shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed." Eusebius

thinks this promise was made in the seventy-fifth year of Abraham's age, as if Abraham went out from Haran as soon as it was made: because the Scripture cannot be contradicted, where it is read, "Abram was seventy-five years old when he went out from Haran" (Gen. 12:1-4). But if that promise was made in that year, Abraham was already surely staying in Haran with his father. For he could not go out from there unless he had first dwelt there. Does this then contradict Stephen when he says: "The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran" (Acts 7:2)? But it is to be understood that all things were done in the same year, both the promise of God before Abraham dwelt in Haran, and his dwelling in Haran, and his departure from there: not only because Eusebius in his Chronicles computes from the year of this promise and shows that after four hundred and thirty years was the departure from Egypt when the law was given; but also because the apostle Paul commemorates this (Gal. 3:17).

CHAPTER XVII.

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

During the same time, there were eminent kingdoms of the nations, in which the city of the earth-born, that is, the society of men living according to man, excelled more notably under the dominion of the deserted angels; namely, three

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

had first reigned there sixty-five years. But his son Ninus, who succeeded his deceased father in the kingdom, reigned fifty-two years, and was in the forty-third year of his reign when Abraham was born, which was about the one thousand two hundredth year before Rome was founded, as if another Babylon in the West.

CHAPTER XVIII.

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

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

CHAPTER XIX.

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

Then, having built an altar there and called upon God, Abraham departed from there and

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

CHAPTER XX.

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

Therefore, when Abraham returned from Egypt to the place from where he had come, then Lot his brother's son departed from him into the land of Sodom, without any loss of charity. For they had become rich, and had begun to

have many shepherds of cattle, who quarreling among themselves, they avoided in that way the pugnacious discord of their households. For even among themselves some quarrel could arise from this, as human affairs go. Accordingly, these are the words of Abraham to Lot, guarding against this evil: "Let there be no quarrel between me and you, and between my shepherds and your shepherds, because we are brothers: is not the whole land before you? Depart from me: if you go to the left, I will go to the right; or if you go to the right, I will go to the left" (Id. 13:8 and 9). From this perhaps was formed a peaceful custom among men, that when something of earthly things is to be divided, the greater should divide and the lesser should choose.

CHAPTER XXI.

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

When, therefore, they had departed, and Abraham and Lot were dwelling separately by the necessity of sustaining their families, not by the foulness of discord, and Abraham was in the land of Canaan, but Lot was in Sodom, in a third oracle the Lord said to Abraham: "Lifting up your eyes, see from the place where you now are, to the North, and the South, and the East, and the Sea; because all the land which you see, I will give to you, and to your seed forever, and I will make your seed as the sand of the earth." If anyone can number the sand of the earth, your seed also

shall be numbered. Arising, walk through the land in its length, and in its breadth, because I will give it to you (Gen. 13:14-17). In this promise, whether that also be contained by which he was made the father of all nations, does not evidently appear. For it can seem to belong to this, "And I will make your seed as the sand of the earth": which was said by that figure of speech which the Greeks call hyperbole; which is surely tropical, not proper. However, in what manner the Scripture is accustomed to use other tropes, no one who has learned it doubts. But this trope, that is, mode of speech, occurs when that which is said is far more ample than what is signified by that saying. For who does not see how incomparably more ample is the number of sand than can be the number of all men from Adam himself even to the end of the world? how much more, then, than the seed of Abraham; not only that which belongs to the Israelite nation, but even that which is, and is to be, according to the imitation of faith, in the whole world among all nations? Which seed, in comparison with the multitude of the impious, is certainly among a few. Although those few themselves make their multitude innumerable, which was signified according to hyperbole by the sand of the earth. Surely that multitude which is promised to Abraham is not innumerable to God, but to men: for to God not even the sand of the earth is so. Therefore, because not only the Israelite nation, but the whole seed of Abraham, where there is also the promise, not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit

of many children, is more congruously compared to the multitude of sand; here the promise of both things can be understood. But for this reason we said that it does not evidently appear, because the multitude of that one nation also, which was born according to the flesh from Abraham through his grandson Jacob, increased so much that it filled almost all parts of the world. And therefore it also could be compared according to hyperbole to the multitude of sand; because even this alone is innumerable to man. Certainly that only that land was signified, which was called Canaan, no one doubts. But that which was said, "I will give it to you, and to your seed forever"; can move some, if they understand "forever" (usque in saeculum) as eternally. But if they take "for an age" (in saeculum) in this place in the way that we faithfully hold, that the beginning of the future age begins from the end of the present, nothing will move them: because even if the Israelites were expelled from Jerusalem, they remain nevertheless in other cities of the land of Canaan, and will remain even to the end; and when that whole land is inhabited by Christians, it is also the seed of Abraham itself.

CHAPTER XXII.

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

Having received this response of the promise, Abraham migrated and dwelt in another place of

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

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

Even then the word of the Lord was made to Abraham in a vision. When He promised him

protection and a very great reward; he, being solicitous about his posterity, said that a certain Eliezer, his home-born servant, would be his heir: and immediately an heir was promised to him, not that servant, but he who was to come out of Abraham himself: and again an innumerable seed, not as the sand of the earth, but as the stars of heaven (Gen. 15:1-5): where it seems to me rather that a posterity sublime in heavenly happiness was promised. For as far as pertains to multitude, what are the stars of heaven to the sand of the earth, unless one should say that this comparison is similar in so far as the stars also cannot be numbered? because it is not to be believed that all of them can be seen. For the more sharply anyone looks, the more he sees: whence it is deservedly thought that some are hidden even to those who see most keenly, except for those stars which are said to rise and set in another part of the world most remote from us. Finally, whoever boast that they have comprehended and described the whole number of the stars, as Aratus or Eudoxus, or if there be any others, the authority of this book contemns them. Here indeed that sentence is placed, which the Apostle mentions for the sake of commending the grace of God: "Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for justice" (Gen. 15:6; Rom. 4:3, and Gal. 3:6): lest circumcision should boast, and should not want to admit the uncircumcised nations to the faith of Christ. For when this was done, that faith should be imputed to Abraham for justice, he had not yet been circumcised.

CHAPTER XXIV.

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

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

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

2. All these things were done and said divinely in a vision, to discuss each of which clearly would be long, and exceeds the intention of this work. We ought to know, therefore, what is sufficient: after it was said that Abraham believed God and it was imputed to him for justice, he did not fail in faith so as to say, "Lord God, by what shall I know that I shall be its heir?" (Gen. 15:7-21); for the inheritance of that land had been promised. For he did not say, "Whence shall I know," as if he did not yet believe: but he said, "By what shall I know," so that some likeness might be applied to that thing which he had believed, by which its mode might be recognized. Just as it is not the diffidence of the Virgin Mary, when she says, "How shall this be, since I know not a man?" For she was certain that it would be, she was inquiring the mode in which it should be done. And when she had asked this, she heard, "The Holy Spirit shall come upon you, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you" (Luke 1:34, 35). Finally, here also a likeness was given from

animals: a heifer, a she-goat, and a ram, and two birds, a turtle-dove and a pigeon: that according to these he might know that which was to be, which he no longer doubted would be. Whether, therefore, by the heifer was signified the people placed under the yoke of the law, by the she-goat the same people who were to be sinful, by the ram the same people who were also to reign (which animals are for this reason called three-year-old, because since there are notable articles of time from Adam even to Noah, and from there even to Abraham, and from there even to David, who, Saul having been reprobated, was the first founded in the kingdom of the Israelite nation by the will of the Lord; in this third order, which extends from Abraham even to David, that people grew up as if bearing a third age); or whether these signify something else more convenient; yet in no way would I doubt that spiritual ones were prefigured in it by the addition of the turtle-dove and the pigeon. And therefore it was said, "But the birds he did not divide": because carnal ones are divided among themselves, but spiritual ones in no way; whether they remove themselves from the busy conversations of men, like the turtle-dove; or whether they live among them, like the pigeon: yet both birds are simple and harmless; signifying also in the Israelite people themselves, to whom that land was to be given, that there would be individual sons of the promise and heirs of the kingdom who would remain in eternal happiness. But the birds descending upon the bodies which had been divided indicate not

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

3. But as to what was said to Abraham, "Knowing you shall know that your seed shall be a stranger in a land not its own, and they shall reduce them to servitude, and shall afflict them for four hundred years," it was most clearly prophesied concerning the people of Israel, who were to be in servitude in Egypt. Not that the people were to spend four hundred years in that same servitude under the afflicting Egyptians, but it was foretold that this would happen within those four hundred years. For just as it is written of Terah the father of Abraham, "And the days of Terah in Haran were two hundred and five years" (Gen. 11:32); not because all were spent there, but because they were completed there: so also here it was interposed for this reason, "And they shall reduce them to servitude, and shall afflict them for four hundred years," because that number was completed in that same affliction, not because the whole of it was spent there.

Indeed, they are called four hundred years for the sake of the fullness of the number, although they are somewhat more; whether they are computed from this time when these things were promised to Abraham, or from when Isaac was born, on account of the seed of Abraham, concerning which these things are predicted. For there are computed, as we have already said above, from the seventy-fifth year of Abraham, when the first promise was made to him, until the departure of Israel from Egypt, four hundred and thirty years: of which the Apostle thus makes mention: "But this I say," he says, "the testament confirmed by God, the law which was made after four hundred and thirty years, does not weaken so as to make the promise void" (Gal. 3:17). Now therefore these four hundred and thirty years could be called four hundred, because they are not much more: how much more since some of that number had already passed when those things were shown and said to Abraham in a vision; or when Isaac was born to his hundred-year-old father, twenty-five years after the first promise, when already of those four hundred and thirty, four hundred and five remained, which God wished to name four hundred, and the other things which follow in the words of the foretelling God, no one would doubt pertain to the Israelite people.

4. But what is added, "And when now the sun was setting, a flame was made, and behold a smoking furnace, and lamps of fire, which passed through those divided pieces," signifies that at the end of the world the carnal are to be judged

by fire. For just as the affliction of the city of God, such as has never been before, which is expected to come under the Antichrist, is signified by the dark fear of Abraham about the setting of the sun, that is, the end of the world already approaching: so at the setting of the sun, that is, at the very end itself, the day of judgment is signified by that fire, dividing the carnal to be saved through fire and to be damned in fire. Then the testament made to Abraham properly manifests the land of Canaan, and names in it eleven nations from the river of Egypt even to the great river Euphrates. Not therefore from the great river of Egypt, that is the Nile; but from the small one, which divides between Egypt and Palestine, where the city of Rhinocorura is.

CHAPTER XXV.

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

From this point follow the times of the sons of Abraham, one of Hagar the handmaid, the other of Sarah the free woman, of whom we have already spoken in the preceding book (ch. 3). But as pertains to the event itself, the crime of Abraham is by no means to be branded on account of this concubine. For he used her to generate offspring, not to satisfy lust; nor insulting, but rather obeying his wife, who believed it to be a solace for her own sterility if she should make the fruitful womb of the handmaid her own by will, since she could not by nature, and by that right

by which the Apostle says, "In like manner also the man has not power of his own body, but the woman" (1 Cor. 7:4), the woman should use the man to bring forth from another what she could not from herself. There is here no desire of lewdness, no filthiness of wickedness. By the wife, for the sake of offspring, the handmaid is delivered to the husband, by the husband, for the sake of offspring, she is received: from both, not the luxury of fault, but the fruit of nature is sought. Finally, when the handmaid, being pregnant and her mistress sterile, became proud, and Sarah by a woman's suspicion imputed this rather to her husband, even there Abraham showed that he had been not a loving slave but a free progenitor, and had preserved modesty for Sarah his wife in Hagar; and had fulfilled not his own pleasure, but her will: having received, not sought; having approached, not clung; having sown, not loved. For he says: "Behold, your handmaid is in your hands, use her as it shall please you" (Gen. 16:6). O man manfully using women, the wife with temperance, the handmaid with obedience, neither with intemperance!

CHAPTER XXVI.

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

1. After these things Ishmael was born of Hagar, in whom he could think fulfilled what

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

sign of the testament between me and you. And a boy of eight days shall be circumcised, every male of yours in your progenies. The home-born and the one bought from every alien son, who is not of your seed, shall be circumcised with circumcision: the home-born of your house and the one bought. And my testament shall be in your flesh for an eternal testament. And he who shall not be circumcised, the male who shall not be circumcised in the flesh of his uncircumcision on the eighth day, that soul shall perish from its kind; because he has dissipated my testament." And God said to Abraham: "Sara your wife, her name shall not be called Sara, but Sarra shall be her name. And I will bless her, and I will give to you from her a son: and I will bless him; and he shall be into nations, and kings of nations shall be from him." And Abraham fell upon his face; and he laughed, and said in his mind, saying: "If a son shall be born to me being a hundred years old, and if Sarra of ninety years shall bring forth?" But Abraham said to God: "Let this Ishmael live in your sight." But God said to Abraham: "So, behold Sarra your wife shall bring forth for you a son, and you shall call his name Isaac: and I will establish my testament with him for an eternal testament, to be God to him, and to his seed after him. But concerning Ishmael behold I have heard you: behold I have blessed him, and I will enlarge him, and I will multiply him greatly. Twelve nations shall he generate: and I will give him into a great nation. But my testament I will establish

with Isaac, whom Sarra shall bring forth for you in this time for the following year" (Gen. 17:1-21).

2. Here the promises are clearer concerning the calling of the Gentiles in Isaac, that is, in the son of promise, by whom grace is signified, not nature: because a son is promised from an old man and a sterile old woman. For although God works also the natural course of procreation: yet where the work of God is evident, nature being corrupted and ceasing, there grace is more evidently understood. And because this was to be not through generation, but through regeneration, therefore circumcision was now commanded, when the son was promised from Sarah. And that He commands all to be circumcised, not only sons, but also home-born and bought slaves, testifies that this grace pertains to all. For what else does circumcision signify, than nature renewed, having put off old age? And what else than Christ does the eighth day signify, who, the week being completed, that is after the sabbath, rose again? The names of the parents are also changed, all things resonate with novelty, and in the Old Testament the New is foreshadowed. For what is that which is called the Old Testament, but the hiding of the New? And what else is that which is called the New, but the revelation of the Old? The laughter of Abraham is the exultation of one congratulating, not the mockery of one doubting. Also those words of his in his mind, "If a son shall be born to me being a hundred years old, and if Sarra of ninety years shall bring forth?" are not of one doubting, but of one wondering. If

indeed any one is moved by what was said, "And I will give to you and to your seed after you the land in which you are a dweller, all the land of Canaan for an eternal possession;" how it is to be understood fulfilled, or whether it is yet expected to be fulfilled, since any earthly possession cannot be eternal to any nation: let him know that eternal is interpreted by our people, what the Greeks call aionion (αἰώνιον) which is derived from aion (αἰών): for aion is called saeculum in Greek. But the Latins did not dare to call this saeculare, lest they should send the sense far into something else. For many things are called saecularia, which are so acted in this world (saeculum), that they pass away even in a short time: but that which is called aionion, either has no end, or is extended even to the end of this world (saeculum).

CHAPTER XXVII.

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

Likewise it can move [one], how it ought to be understood what was said here: "The male who shall not be circumcised in the flesh of his uncircumcision on the eighth day, that soul shall perish from its kind, because he has dissipated my testament:" since this is no fault of the little child, whose soul He said would perish; nor has he himself dissipated the testament of God, but the elders who did not care to circumcise him: unless because even little children, not according

to the property of their own life, but according to the common origin of the human race, have all in that one [man] dissipated the testament of God, in whom all have sinned (Rom. 5:12). For many things are called the testaments of God, except those two great ones, the old and the new, which anyone may know by reading. But the first testament, which was made to the first man, is surely that: "In the day you shall eat, you shall die the death" (Gen. 2:17). Whence it is written in the book which is called Ecclesiasticus: "All flesh as a garment grows old. For the testament from the world [is], You shall die the death" (Ecclus. 14:18, according to the LXX). For since a more evident law was given afterwards, and the Apostle says, "But where there is no law, neither is there prevarication" (Rom. 4:15): in what way is that which is read in the Psalm true, "I have esteemed as prevaricators all the sinners of the earth" (Ps. 118:119); unless because all are guilty of some law prevaricated, who are held bound by some sin? Wherefore if even little children, as the true faith has it, are born not properly but originally sinners, whence we confess for them the grace of the remission of sins to be necessary; surely in the way in which they are sinners, they are recognized also as prevaricators of that law which was given in paradise; so that both may be true which is written, both, "I have esteemed as prevaricators all the sinners of the earth;" and, "Where there is no law, neither is there prevarication." And through this, because circumcision was a sign of regeneration, and not undeservedly

generation will destroy the little child on account of original sin, by which the first testament of God was dissipated, unless regeneration should free him: so these divine words are to be understood, as if it were said: He who shall not have been regenerated, that soul shall perish from its people, because he has dissipated the testament of God, when in Adam with all he himself also sinned. For if He had said: Because he has dissipated *this* testament of mine; he would compel it to be understood only of this circumcision: but now, because He did not express of what kind of testament the little child has dissipated, it is free to understand it spoken of that testament, the dissipation of which can pertain to a little child. But if anyone contends that this is spoken only of this circumcision, that in it the little child has dissipated the testament of God, because he was not circumcised; let him seek some mode of speech, by which it can be understood not absurdly, that he therefore dissipated the testament, because although not by him, yet in him it was dissipated. But thus also it is to be observed, that the soul of the uncircumcised little child perishes unjustly by no negligence of its own, except by the obligation of original sin.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

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

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

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

CHAPTER XXIX.

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

Likewise God appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mamre in three men, whom it is not to be doubted were Angels; although some think that one in them was the Lord Christ, asserting that

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

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

according to the flesh, and all nations according to faith.

CHAPTER XXX.

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

After this promise, Lot having been delivered from Sodom, and a fiery rain coming from heaven, all that region of the impious city was turned into ash, where debaucheries upon males had grown strong into so great a custom, as much as laws are wont to provide license for other deeds. But even this punishment of theirs was a specimen of the future divine judgment. For to what does it pertain that those who were being delivered by the Angels were prohibited from looking back, unless because the mind is not to return to the old life, which the one regenerated through grace puts off, if we think to escape the last judgment? Finally, the wife of Lot, where she looked back, remained; and being turned into salt (Gen. 19), she provided a certain seasoning for faithful men, by which they may savor something, whence that example may be avoided. Thence again Abraham did in Gerar with the king of that city, Abimelech, what he had done in Egypt concerning his spouse, and she was likewise rendered to him untouched. Where indeed Abraham, to the king rebuking why he had kept silent about his wife and had said she was his sister, opening what he feared, added also this:

"For truly she is my sister from my father, but not from my mother" (Gen. 20:2): because she was the sister of Abraham from his father, from whom she was his near relative. But she was of so great beauty, that even at that age she could be deeply loved.

CHAPTER XXXI.

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

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

heavenly Jerusalem, that is, of the city of God (Gal. 4:26).

CHAPTER XXXII.

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

1. Among these things, to commemorate all of which is too long, Abraham is tempted concerning the sacrificing of his most beloved son Isaac himself, that his pious obedience might be proved, to be brought forth into notice for the ages, not for God. For not every temptation is to be blamed: because that is even to be congratulated, by which a proof is made. And for the most part the human mind cannot otherwise become known to itself, unless it answers its own strength to itself, not by word but by experiment, temptation in a certain way interrogating: where if it shall have recognized the gift of God, then it is pious, then it is solidified by the firmness of grace, not inflated by the vanity of boasting. Abraham surely would never have believed that God was delighted with human victims: although, when a divine precept thunders, one must obey, not dispute. Nevertheless Abraham is to be praised for having believed that his son, when he had been sacrificed, would immediately rise again. For God had said to him, when he did not wish to fulfill the will of his spouse concerning the casting out of the handmaid and her son: "In Isaac shall seed be called to you." And certainly there it follows

and is said, "But the son of this handmaid I will make into a great nation; because he is your seed" (Gen. 21:12, 13). How therefore was it said, "In Isaac shall seed be called to you," when God also called Ishmael his seed? But the Apostle, explaining what it is, "In Isaac shall seed be called to you": "That is," he says, "not those who are sons of the flesh, these are sons of God; but the sons of the promise are deputed in the seed" (Rom. 9:8). And through this the sons of the promise, that they may be the seed of Abraham, are called in Isaac, that is, they are gathered in Christ by calling grace. This promise therefore the pious father faithfully holding, because it was necessary to be fulfilled through him whom God was commanding to be killed, he did not hesitate that he could be rendered to him [after being] sacrificed, who could be given when not hoped for. Thus it was understood also in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and thus explained. "By faith," it says, "Abraham preceded, being tempted in Isaac; and he offered his only-begotten, who had received the promises, to whom it was said, In Isaac shall seed be called to you: thinking that God is able to raise even from the dead." Wherefore he added, "For which reason also he brought him even into a similitude" (Heb. 11:17-19). The similitude of whom, unless of Him of whom the same Apostle says, "Who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all" (Rom. 8:32)? For this reason also Isaac, just as the Lord carried His cross, so he himself carried the wood for himself to the place of the victim, upon which he was to

be placed. Finally, because it was not fitting for Isaac to be killed, after the father was prohibited from striking, who was that ram, by the sacrifice of which the sacrifice was completed with significant blood? Surely when Abraham saw him, he was held by his horns in a thicket. Who therefore was figured by him, unless Jesus, before He was sacrificed, crowned with Jewish thorns?

2. But let us rather hear the divine words through the Angel. For the Scripture says: And Abraham stretched out his hand to take the knife, that he might kill his son. And the Angel of the Lord called to him from heaven, and said: Abraham! And he said: Here am I. And he said: Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, and hast not spared thy beloved son for my sake. "Now I know," it is said, meaning "now I have made it to be known": for God was not yet ignorant of this. Then, that ram having been sacrificed in place of Isaac his son, Abraham called, as we read, the name of that place, The Lord hath seen: so that they say today, In the mount the Lord hath appeared. Just as it was said, "Now I know," for that which is, "Now I have made it to be known": so here, "The Lord hath seen"; for that which is, "The Lord hath appeared"; that is, He made Himself to be seen. And the Angel of the Lord called Abraham a second time from heaven, saying: By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this word, and hast not spared thy beloved son for my sake, surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will

multiply thy seed, as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is by the lip of the sea. And thy seed shall possess by inheritance the cities of the adversaries; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice. In this way, after the holocaust by which Christ was signified, that promise concerning the calling of the nations in the seed of Abraham was confirmed even by the oath of God. For He had often promised, but had never sworn. But what is the oath of the true and truthful God, but the confirmation of the promise, and a certain rebuke of the unfaithful?

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

CHAPTER XXXIII.

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

Then Isaac, when he was forty years old, took to wife Rebekah, the niece of his uncle Nahor, namely in the hundred and fortieth year of his

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

CHAPTER XXXIV.

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

But what does it mean, that Abraham after the death of Sarah took Keturah to wife? Far be it from us to suspect incontinence, especially at that age, and in that holiness of faith. Or were children still sought to be procreated, when already, by the promise of God, such a multiplication of children from Isaac, like the stars of heaven and the sand of the earth, was held by the most proven faith? But surely if Hagar and Ishmael, as the Apostle teaches, signified the carnal members of the Old Testament; why should not Keturah and her sons also signify the carnal ones who think they belong to the New Testament? For both were called both wives and concubines of Abraham: but Sarah was never called a concubine. For even

when Hagar was given to Abraham, it was thus written: "And Sarah the wife of Abram took Hagar the Egyptian her maid, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram her husband to be his wife." Concerning Keturah, whom he took after the death of Sarah, it is thus read: "And Abraham adding took a wife, whose name was Keturah." Behold, both are called wives: further, both are found to have been concubines, for the Scripture afterwards says, "And Abraham gave all his census to Isaac his son, and to the sons of his concubines Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son while he yet lived, toward the East, into the land of the East." Therefore the sons of the concubines have some gifts, but they do not reach the promised kingdom, neither the heretics, nor the carnal Jews: because besides Isaac there is no heir; and "they who are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed," of whom it was said, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called." For I do not see why Keturah, taken after the death of his wife, should be called a concubine, except on account of this mystery. But whoever does not wish to accept these things in these significations, let him not calumniate Abraham. For what if this also was provided against future heretics, the adversaries of second marriages, so that in the very father of many nations it might be shown that to be married again after the death of a spouse is not a sin? And Abraham died, when he was a hundred and seventy-five years old. He

left therefore his son Isaac seventy-five years old, whom he begot when he was a hundred.

CHAPTER XXXV.

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

Now from this point, let us see how the times of the City of God proceed through the descendants of Abraham. Therefore, from the first year of the life of Isaac until the sixtieth, in which sons were born to him, this is memorable: that when the Lord had granted what he asked, as he prayed to God that his wife, who was barren, might bear, and she had conceived, the twins still enclosed in her womb struggled. When she was distressed by this trouble, she questioned the Lord, and received the response: "Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be separated from thy belly, and the one people shall overcome the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger." Which the Apostle Paul wishes to be understood as a great document of grace: because when they were not yet born, nor doing anything good or evil, without any good merits the younger is chosen, the elder being reproved: when without doubt, as far as pertains to original sin, both were equal; but as for their own sin, there was none of either. But the plan of the work undertaken does not permit saying anything more widely about this matter now, especially since we have already said many things in others. But as for what was said, "The elder

shall serve the younger," almost none of ours has understood it otherwise than that the elder people of the Jews would serve the younger Christian people. And indeed although in the nation of the Idumaeans, which was born from the elder, who had two names (for he was called both Esau and Edom, whence the Idumaeans), this might seem to be fulfilled; because afterwards it was to be overcome by the people who arose from the younger, that is, the Israelite people, and was to be subject to it: nevertheless it is more conveniently believed that this prophecy, by which it was said, "One people shall overcome the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger," was intended for something greater. And what is this, but that which is evidently fulfilled in the Jews and the Christians?

CHAPTER XXXVI.

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

Isaac also received such an oracle as his father had several times received. Concerning which oracle it is thus written: "And there was a famine over the land, besides the famine which was before in the time of Abraham. And Isaac went to Abimelech king of the Philistines in Gerar. And the Lord appeared to him, and said: Go not down into Egypt: but dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land; and I will be with thee, and will bless thee. For to thee and to thy seed will I give all this land: and I will

establish my oath which I swore to Abraham thy father; and I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and I will give to thy seed all this land, and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because Abraham thy father obeyed my voice, and kept my precepts, and my commandments, and my justifications, and my laws." This patriarch had no other wife, nor any concubine, but was content with the posterity of two twins procreated from one intercourse. To be sure, he himself also feared danger from the beauty of his spouse, while he dwelt among strangers, and did as his father did, so that he called her sister and was silent about her being his wife: for she was near to him by paternal and maternal blood: but she herself also, it being known that she was his wife, remained untouched by the foreigners. Yet we ought not on that account to prefer him to his father, because he had known no woman besides one wife. For without doubt the merits of paternal faith and obedience were more powerful, so much so that on account of him God says He does the good things He does to this man: "All the nations of the earth shall be blessed in thy seed, because Abraham thy father obeyed my voice, and kept my precepts, and my commandments, and my justifications, and my laws." And again in another oracle He says: "I am the God of Abraham thy father: fear not; for I am with thee, and have blessed thee, and will multiply thy seed for the sake of Abraham thy father." That we may understand how chastely Abraham did that which to immodest men, seeking patronage for their own

wickedness from the holy Scriptures, seems to have been done from lust: then also that we may know this, not to compare men among themselves from single good things, but let us consider the whole in each one. For it can happen that someone has something in his life and morals in which he surpasses another, and that may be far more excellent than that in which he is surpassed by the other. And through this, by a sound and true judgment, although continence is preferred to marriage, nevertheless a faithful married man is better than a continent infidel. But an infidel man is not only less to be praised, but even most greatly to be detested. Let us suppose both to be good; even so, surely a married man most faithful and most obedient to God is better than a continent man of less faith and less obedience: but if other things are equal, who would doubt to prefer the continent to the married?

CHAPTER XXXVII.

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

Therefore the two sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob, grow up together. The birthright of the elder is transferred to the younger by a pact and agreement between them, because the elder immoderately lusted after the pottage of lentils, which food the younger had prepared, and at that price sold his birthright to his brother, an oath being interposed. Where we learn that in eating, anyone is to be blamed not for the kind

of food, but for immoderate greed. Isaac grows old, and his sight is taken away from his eyes through old age. He wishes to bless the elder son, and unknowingly blesses the younger for him, as he placed himself under the father's hands in place of the elder brother, who was hairy, having fitted kid skins to himself as if carrying the sins of another. Concerning this guile of Jacob, lest it should be thought a fraudulent guile, and the mystery of a great thing should not be sought in it, the Scripture pre-announced above: "Esau was a man knowing how to hunt, a rustic: but Jacob was a simple man, dwelling in a house." Some of ours have interpreted this as "without guile." But whether he be called "without guile," or "simple," or rather "without fiction," which in Greek is aplastos, what is that guile of a man without guile in perceiving that blessing? what is the guile of the simple, what is the fiction of one not lying, but a deep mystery of truth? And of what kind is the blessing itself? "Behold," he said, "the smell of my son is as the smell of a full field, which the Lord hath blessed. And may God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and abundance of corn and wine: and let nations serve thee, and princes adore thee, and become thou lord of thy brother, and the sons of thy father shall adore thee. He who shall curse thee, let him be cursed; and he who shall bless thee, let him be blessed." The blessing of Jacob, therefore, is the preaching of Christ among all nations. This is being done, this is being carried out: Isaac is the Law and Prophecy: even through

the mouth of the Jews Christ is blessed by it as if by one not knowing, because He is not known. With the odor of the name of Christ, as with a field, the world is filled: His is the blessing from the dew of heaven, that is, from the rain of divine words; and from the fatness of the earth, that is, from the gathering of peoples: His is the abundance of corn and wine, that is, the multitude which corn and wine collect in the Sacrament of His body and blood. Nations serve Him, princes adore Him. He is the lord of His brother, because His people dominate the Jews. The sons of His father adore Him, that is, the sons of Abraham according to faith: because He Himself is also the son of Abraham according to the flesh. He who shall curse Him is cursed; and he who shall bless Him is blessed. Our Christ, I say, is blessed, that is, is truly spoken of, even from the mouth of the Jews, although erring, but nevertheless singing the Law and the Prophets; and another is thought to be blessed, who is expected by them in their error. Behold, when the elder repeats the promised blessing, Isaac is terrified, and recognizing that he had blessed one for another, he marvels, and inquires who that might be: yet he does not complain that he was deceived; rather, a great mystery having been revealed to him inwardly in his heart, he immediately avoids indignation and confirms the blessing. "Who therefore," he said, "hath hunted venison for me, and brought it to me, and I have eaten of all, before thou camest, and I have blessed him, and he shall be blessed?" Who would not expect here rather the curse of

one angry, if these things were carried out not by celestial inspiration, but in a terrestrial manner? O things, done but done prophetically; on earth, but from heaven; through men, but divinely! If each point fertile with such great mysteries were shaken out, many volumes would have to be filled: but the limit to be moderately imposed on this work compels us to hasten to other things.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

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

1. Jacob is sent by his parents into Mesopotamia, that he might take a wife there. These are the words of the father sending him: "Thou shalt not take a wife from the daughters of the Canaanites: rising up flee into Mesopotamia into the house of Bethuel, the father of thy mother, and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, the brother of thy mother. And may my God bless thee, and increase thee, and multiply thee; and thou shalt be into congregations of nations; and may He give thee the blessing of Abraham thy father, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou mayest become heir of the land of thy sojourning, which God gave to Abraham." Here we already understand the seed of Jacob to be separated from the other seed of Isaac, which was made through Esau. For when it was said, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called," the seed certainly pertaining to the City of God;

the other seed of Abraham was separated from it, which was in the son of the bondwoman, and which was to be in the sons of Keturah. But it was still ambiguous concerning the two twin sons of Isaac, whether to both, or to one of them, that blessing pertained; and if to one, which of them it might be. Which has now been declared, when Jacob is blessed prophetically by his father, and it is said to him: "And thou shalt be into congregations of nations, and may He give thee the blessing of Abraham thy father."

2. Therefore Jacob, proceeding into Mesopotamia, received an oracle in sleep, concerning which it is thus written: "And Jacob went out from the Well of the oath, and set out for Haran, and came to a place, and slept there: for the sun had set: and he took of the stones of the place, and put it at his head, and slept in that place, and dreamed. And behold a ladder established upon the earth, whose head reached to heaven: and the Angels of God were ascending and descending by it; and the Lord leaned upon it; and said: I am the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac, fear not: the land on which thou sleepest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed: and thy seed shall be as the sand of the earth; and it shall be dilated over the Sea, and toward the South, and toward the North, and toward the East: and in thee all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed, and in thy seed. And behold I am with thee, keeping thee in every way wherever thou shalt go; and I will bring thee back into this land: because I will not leave thee, until I do all things which I have spoken

with thee. And Jacob rose from his sleep, and said: Because the Lord is in this place, but I knew it not. And he feared, and said: How terrible is this place! this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. And Jacob rose, and took the stone which he had placed there at his head, and set it up for a title, and poured oil upon the top of it: and Jacob called the name of that place, The House of God." This pertains to prophecy: nor did Jacob pour oil upon the stone in the manner of idolatry, as if making it a god; for neither did he adore the same stone, nor sacrifice to it: but since the name of Christ is from chrism, that is, from unction; surely something was figured here, which pertains to a great sacrament. Truly this ladder the Savior Himself is understood to recall to our memory in the Gospel, where when He had said of Nathanael, "Behold truly an Israelite, in whom there is no guile"; because Israel had seen that vision, for he himself is Jacob: in the same place He says, "Amen, amen I say to you, you shall see heaven open, and the Angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man."

3. Jacob therefore proceeded into Mesopotamia, that he might take a wife from thence. But how it happened that he had four women, from whom he procreated twelve sons and one daughter, when he lusted after none of them illicitly, the divine Scripture indicates. For he had come to take one; but when one had been substituted for the other, he did not dismiss her, whom he had unknowingly used in the night, lest he should seem to have held her in mockery;

and at that time, when no law prohibited several wives for the sake of multiplying posterity, he took also that one, to whom alone he had already pledged the faith of future marriage. When she was barren, she gave her handmaid to her husband, from whom she herself might receive sons: which also her elder sister, although she had given birth, imitated, because she desired to multiply offspring. Jacob is read to have sought none besides one, nor did he use several except in the office of begetting offspring, the conjugal right being preserved, so that he did not even do this, unless his wives had demanded that it be done, who had legitimate power over the body of their husband. He begot therefore twelve sons and one daughter from four women. Then he entered into Egypt through his son Joseph, who having been sold by his envious brothers was led there, and in the same place was sublimated.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

What was the reason that Jacob was also surnamed Israel.

But Jacob was also called Israel, as I said a little before: which name the people procreated from him more especially obtained. Moreover, this name was imposed on him by the Angel, who had wrestled with him on the way returning from Mesopotamia, most evidently bearing the type of Christ. For that Jacob prevailed over him, certainly to him willing, that he might figure a mystery, signifies the passion of Christ, where the Jews seemed to prevail over Him. And yet

he obtained a blessing from the same angel, whom he had overcome: and so the imposition of this name was a blessing. Moreover, Israel is interpreted, "Seeing God": which will be the reward of all the saints in the end. Further, the same angel touched the breadth of his thigh as if he were prevailing, and in this way rendered him lame. Therefore one and the same Jacob was both blessed and lame; blessed in those of the same people who believed in Christ, and lame in the unfaithful. For the breadth of the thigh is the multitude of the race. For there are more in that stock, of whom it was prophetically foretold: "And they have limped from their paths."

CHAPTER XL.

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

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

nine; since it is certain that he took a wife in his thirtieth year, or more, how could he have great-grandsons through nine years from the sons whom he received from the same wife? Since therefore Ephraim and Manasseh the sons of Joseph did not have sons, but Jacob entering Egypt found them boys less than nine years old, in what way are not only their sons, but also their grandsons, numbered in those seventy-five who then entered Egypt with Jacob? For Machir the son of Manasseh, the grandson of Joseph, is commemorated there, and the son of the same Machir, that is Gilead, the grandson of Manasseh, the great-grandson of Joseph: there also is he whom Ephraim begot, the other son of Joseph, that is Shuthelah, the grandson of Joseph; and the son of the same Shuthelah, Eran, the grandson of Ephraim, the great-grandson of Joseph: who in no way could have been there when Jacob came into Egypt, and found the sons of Joseph his grandsons, the grandfathers of these, boys less than nine years old. But doubtless the entrance of Jacob into Egypt, when the Scripture commemorates him in seventy-five souls, is not one day, or one year, but all that time as long as Joseph lived, through whom it was brought about that they entered. For the same Scripture speaks thus of Joseph himself: "And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he and his brothers, and all the cohabitation of his father: and he lived a hundred and ten years, and Joseph saw the sons of Ephraim even to the third generation." That is his great-grandson third from Ephraim. For it calls the third generation,

the son, the grandson, the great-grandson. Then follows: "And the sons of Machir, the sons of Manasseh, were born upon the thighs of Joseph." And here that is the grandson of Manasseh, the great-grandson of Joseph. But they were called in the plural, as the Scripture is accustomed; which also called the one daughter of Jacob "daughters": just as in the custom of the Latin language "children" (liberi) are called "sons" (filii) in the plural, even if they are not more than one. Since therefore the happiness of Joseph himself was foretold, because he was able to see great-grandsons, they are in no way to be thought to have been already in the thirty-ninth year of their great-grandfather Joseph, when Jacob his father arrived to him in Egypt. But that is what deceives those looking into these things less diligently, because it is written, "These are the names of the sons of Israel, who entered into Egypt together with Jacob their father." For this was said because seventy-five are computed together with him, not because all were already there together when he himself entered Egypt: but, as I said, all the time of his entrance is held, in which Joseph lived, through whom he is seen to have entered.

CHAPTER XLI.

Of the blessing which Jacob promised in his son Judah.

Therefore, for the sake of the Christian people, in which the City of God (civitas Dei) sojourns as a pilgrim on earth, if we seek the flesh of Christ in the seed of Abraham, leaving aside

the sons of the concubines, Isaac occurs; if in the seed of Isaac, leaving aside Esau, who is also Edom, Jacob occurs, who is also Israel; if in the seed of Israel himself, leaving aside the rest, Judah occurs, because Christ arose from the tribe of Judah. And through this, when Israel was about to die in Egypt and was blessing his sons, let us hear how prophetically he blessed Judah: "Judah," he said, "your brothers shall praise you. Your hands shall be upon the back of your enemies: the sons of your father shall adore you. Judah is a lion's whelp: from the shoot, my son, you have ascended: reclining you have slept as a lion, and as a lion's whelp, who shall rouse him? A prince shall not fail from Judah, and a leader from his thighs, until those things come which are laid up for him: and he is the expectation of the nations (exspectatio gentium); binding his foal to the vine, and his ass's colt to the haircloth. He shall wash his robe in wine, and his garment in the blood of the grape. His eyes are red with wine, and his teeth whiter than milk (Gen. XLIX, 8-12). I have explained these things while disputing against Faustus the Manichaean (Contra Faustum Manichaeum, lib. 12, cap. 42): and I think it is enough, how much the truth of this prophecy shines forth; where both the death of Christ is predicted by the word of sleeping, and not necessity, but power in death, by the name of the lion. Which power he himself preaches in the Gospel, saying: "I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it up again. No one takes it from me: but I lay it down of myself,

and I take it up again (John X, 18, 17). Thus the lion roared, thus he fulfilled what he said. For to that power belongs what is added concerning his resurrection, "Who shall rouse him?" that is, because no man shall, except himself, who also said concerning his own body, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (Id. II, 19). Moreover, the very kind of death, that is, the loftiness of the cross, is understood in one word, which he says, "You have ascended." But what he added, "Reclining you have slept," the Evangelist explains, where he says, "and having bowed his head, he gave up the spirit" (Id. XIX, 30). Or certainly his burial is recognized, in which he reclined sleeping; and from where no man roused him, as some of the Prophets, or as he himself roused others, but as from sleep he himself arose. Furthermore, his robe which he washes in wine, that is, cleanses from sins in his own blood, the sacrament of which blood the baptized know, whence he also adds, "And in the blood of the grape his garment," what is it but the Church? And his eyes are red with wine: his spiritual ones inebriated with his cup, of which the Psalm sings, "And how excellent is your inebriating cup!" (Psalm XXII, 5)! And his teeth whiter than milk: which the little ones drink with the Apostle, namely, nourishing words, not yet fit for solid food (I Cor. III, 2). He therefore is the one in whom the promises of Judah were laid up, which until they should come, princes, that is kings, of Israel never failed from that stock. And he is the expec-

tation of the nations: which is clearer in seeing than it would be in explaining.

CHAPTER XLII.

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

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

two promises are contained the people of the Israelites and the world in the seed of Abraham, the former according to the flesh (secundum carnem), the latter according to faith (secundum fidem)?

CHAPTER XLIII.

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

1. Jacob being dead, and Joseph also being dead, through the remaining hundred and forty-four years, until the departure from the land of Egypt, that nation grew in an incredible manner, even though worn down by so many Wood-down by so many persecutions, so that at a certain time the male children born were killed, when the Egyptians, wondering, were terrified by the excessive increases of that people. Then Moses, having been secretly withdrawn from the slayers of the little ones, arrived at the royal house, God preparing great things through him, and having been nourished and adopted by the daughter of Pharaoh (which name was that of all the kings in Egypt), he became so great a man that he himself might extract that wonderfully multiplied nation from the very hard and heavy yoke of servitude which it bore there, or rather God through him, who had promised this to Abraham. For first fleeing from there, because, when he defended an Israelite, he had killed an Egyptian, and had

been terrified; afterwards, being divinely sent in the power of the Spirit of God, he overcame the resisting magicians of Pharaoh. Then through him ten memorable plagues were brought upon the Egyptians, when they would not dismiss the people of God; water turned into blood, frogs and gnats, dog-flies, death of cattle, boils, hail, locusts, darkness, death of the first-born. At last, while the Egyptians were pursuing the Israelites in the Red Sea (mari Rubro), whom at long last they had dismissed, broken by so many and so great plagues, they were extinguished. For the divided sea made a way for those departing: but the wave, returning upon itself, submerged those following. Then for forty years, with Moses as leader, the people of God were led through the desert, when the Tabernacle of the testimony (Tabernaculum testimonii) was named, where God was worshipped with sacrifices foretelling future things: namely, when the law had already been given on the mountain very terribly; for the divinity attested itself most evidently by wonderful signs and voices. Which was done as soon as there was a departure from Egypt, and the people began to be in the desert, on the fiftieth day after the Passover (Pascha) was celebrated through the sacrifice of a sheep: which is so much a type of Christ, foretelling that he would pass through the victim of his passion from this world to the Father (for Passover in the Hebrew language is interpreted as Passage [Transitus]), that already when the New Testament (Testamentum novum) was revealed, after Christ our Passover was sacrificed,

on the fiftieth day the Holy Spirit came from heaven: who is called in the Gospel the finger of God (digitus Dei), that he might recall our record into the memory of the first prefigured fact; because those tables of the law also are reported to have been written by the finger of God (Exod. XXXI, 18).

2. Moses being dead, Joshua the son of Nun (Jesus Nave) ruled the people, and introduced them into the land of promise, and divided it to the people. By these two wonderful leaders wars also were carried out most prosperously and wonderfully, God contesting that those victories came to them not so much on account of the merits of the Hebrew people, as on account of the sins of those nations which were being conquered. After these leaders, there were Judges, the people being already placed in the land of promise: so that in the meantime the first promise to Abraham concerning one nation, that is the Hebrew, and the land of Canaan (terra Chanaan), might begin to be rendered; not yet concerning all nations and the whole world: which the coming of Christ in the flesh, and not the observations of the old Law, but the faith of the Gospel, was to fulfill. Of which thing a prefiguration was made, in that not Moses, who had received the law for the people on Mount Sinai, but Joshua (Jesus), whose name also had been changed by God's command so that he should be called Joshua, introduced the people into the land of promise. Moreover, in the times of the Judges, just as the sins of the people

and the mercy of God held themselves, prosperous and adverse fortunes of wars alternated.

3. Then it came to the times of the Kings: of whom Saul (Saül) first reigned: who being reproved and prostrated by a warlike slaughter, and his stock rejected, lest kings should arise from there, David succeeded into the kingdom, of whom Christ was especially called the son. In whom a certain joint was made and a beginning, in a way, of the youth of the people of God: of which kind a certain adolescence was led from Abraham himself even to this David. Nor was it in vain that Matthew the Evangelist so commemorated the generations, that he commended this first interval with fourteen generations, namely from Abraham even to David (Matth. I, 17). For from adolescence a man begins to be able to generate: therefore he took the beginning of the generations from Abraham; who also was constituted the father of nations, when he received his changed name. Before him therefore there was, as it were, the childhood (pueritia) of this kind of people of God, from Noah even to Abraham himself: and therefore the first language was found, that is Hebrew. For from childhood a man begins to speak after infancy (infantiam), which was so called from this, because he cannot speak (fari non potest). Which first age indeed oblivion drowns, just as the first age of the human race was deleted by the flood (diluvio). For how many a one is there, who remembers his own infancy? Wherefore in this progress of the City of God, just as the former book contained the one and

the same first age, so let this book contain two ages, the second and the third, in which third, on account of the heifer of three years old, the she-goat of three years old, and the ram of three years old (Gen. XV, 9), the yoke of the Law was imposed, and the abundance of sins appeared, and the beginning of the earthly kingdom arose, where there were not wanting spiritual men, whose sacrament was figured in the turtle-dove and pigeon (turture et columba) (Ibid.).

BOOK SEVENTEENTH.

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

CHAPTER I.

Of the times of the Prophets.

The promises of God, which were made to Abraham, to whose seed we have learned, by God's promising, that both the Israelite nation according to the flesh (secundum carnem) and all nations according to faith (secundum fidem) are due, the City of God (civitas Dei) proceeding through the order of times will indicate how they are fulfilled. Since therefore the end of the previous book was made up to the kingdom of David, now from the same kingdom, as much as seems to suffice for the undertaken work, we touch upon the rest which follow. This time, therefore, from which the holy Samuel began to prophesy, and thenceforth until the people of Israel were led captive into Babylonia, and thence according

to the prophecy of the holy Jeremiah after seventy years the house of God was restored by the returned Israelites (Jerem. XXV, 11), is the whole time of the Prophets. For although we might not unworthily call prophets both the patriarch Noah himself, in whose days the whole earth was deleted by the flood, and others above and below even to this time, in which kings began to be in the people of God, on account of certain future things either signified in whatever way through them, or predicted, which pertained to the City of God and the kingdom of heaven; especially because we read some of them more expressly named so, as Abraham (Gen. XX, 7), as Moses (Deut. XXXIV, 10): yet the days of the Prophets were especially and most of all called these, from which Samuel began to prophesy, who both first anointed Saul (Saülem), and him being reproved anointed David himself as king by God's command, from whose stock the rest should succeed, as long as it was necessary for them so to succeed. Therefore, those things which were predicted by the Prophets concerning Christ, while the City of God ran through these times by its members departing in dying and succeeding in being born, if I should wish to commemorate all, it would go on to an immense length. First because the Scripture itself, which by disposing in order the Kings and their deeds and events, seems as if occupied with historical diligence in narrating the things done, if it be handled and considered by the aid of God's Spirit, will be found intent either more, or certainly not less, upon foretelling future things,

than upon enunciating past things. And who is ignorant, who thinks on these things even moderately, how laborious and prolix it is to track this out by searching and to show it by discussing, and of how many volumes it is worthy? Then because those very things which are not doubted to pertain to prophecy, are so many concerning Christ and the kingdom of heaven, which is the City of God, that for opening this a greater disputation would be necessary than the mode of this work demands. Accordingly I will so moderate my style, if I can, that in carrying out this work in the will of God, I may neither say those things which are superfluous, nor omit those things which are sufficient.

CHAPTER II.

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

In the preceding book we said that from the beginning to Abraham two things were promised in the promises of God: one namely, that his seed should possess the land of Canaan (terra Chanaan); which is signified where it is said, "Go into the land which I shall show you, and I will make you into a great nation": but another far more excellent, not concerning the carnal, but concerning the spiritual seed, through which he is the father, not of the one Israelite nation, but of all nations which follow the footsteps of his faith; which began to be promised in these words:

"And in you all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed" (Gen. XII, 1-3). And thereafter we have shown by very many other testimonies that these two things were promised. Therefore the seed of Abraham, that is the people of Israel, was already in the land of promise according to the flesh: and there, not only by holding and possessing the cities of adversaries, but even by having kings, it had already begun to reign, the promises of God concerning the people themselves being already fulfilled in great part; not only those which were made to those three fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and whatever others in their times, but even those which were made through Moses himself, through whom the same people was liberated from Egyptian servitude, and through whom all past things were revealed in his times, while he led the people through the desert. But neither through the illustrious leader Joshua the son of Nun (Jesus Nave), through whom that people was introduced into the land of promise, and having conquered the nations, he divided it to the twelve tribes to whom God had commanded, and died; nor after him in the whole time of the Judges had the promise of God been fulfilled concerning the land of Canaan, "from a certain river of Egypt even to the great river Euphrates (Euphratem)" (Gen. XV, 18): nor yet was it still prophesied as future, but was expected to be fulfilled. But it was fulfilled through David and his son Solomon (Salomonem); whose kingdom was dilated by as great a space as had been promised: for they subjected all those, and

made them tributary. Thus therefore in the land of promise according to the flesh, that is in the land of Canaan, under these kings the seed of Abraham had been constituted, so that nothing thereafter remained for that earthly promise of God to be completed, except that in the same land, as far as pertains to temporal prosperity, the Hebrew nation should remain by succession of posterity in an unshaken state even to the end of this mortal age, if it should obey the laws of the Lord its God. But because God knew that it would not do this, he used its temporal punishments also for exercising in it a few of his faithful ones, and for admonishing those who were afterwards to be in all nations, what it behoved them to be admonished of, in whom he was to fulfill the other promise, the New Testament (novo Testamento) being revealed, through the incarnation of Christ.

CHAPTER III.

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

1. Wherefore, just as those divine oracles to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and whatever other signs or prophetic sayings were made in the preceding sacred Letters: so also the rest of the prophecies from this time of the Kings pertain partly to the nation of the flesh of Abraham, but partly to that seed of his in which all nations are blessed, co-heirs of Christ through the

New Testament (Testamentum novum), for possessing eternal life and the kingdom of heaven. Partly, therefore, to the handmaid (ancillam) who generates into servitude, that is, the earthly Jerusalem (terrenam Jerusalem), which serves with her children; but partly to the free City of God (liberam civitatem Dei), that is, the true eternal Jerusalem in the heavens, whose sons are men living according to God as pilgrims on earth: but there are in them certain things which are understood to pertain to both, to the handmaid properly, to the free one figuratively.

2. Therefore tripartite utterances of the Prophets are found: since some look toward the earthly Jerusalem, some to the heavenly, some to both. I see that what I say must be proved by examples. The prophet Nathan was sent to reprove King David for a grave sin, and to predict to him the future evils which followed (2 Sam. 12). Who would doubt that these and such like things pertained to the earthly city, whether publicly, that is for the safety or utility of the people, or privately, when each one for his own affairs merited divine utterances, by which something of the future might be known for the use of temporal life? But where it is read, "Behold, the days come, says the Lord, and I will consummate a new testament (testamentum novum) for the house of Israel and for the house of Judah, not according to the testament which I disposed for their fathers, in the day when I took hold of their hand, that I might lead them out of the land of Egypt: because they did not remain in my testament, and I

neglected them, says the Lord, Because this is the testament, which I will constitute for the house of Israel: after those days, says the Lord, I will give my laws into their mind, and upon their hearts I will write them, and I will see them, and I will be to them for a God, and they themselves shall be to me for a people" (Jer. 31:31-33; Heb. 8:8-10); without doubt the heavenly Jerusalem (Jerusalem superna) is prophesied, whose reward is God himself, and there the highest and whole good (summum atque totum bonum) is to have him and to be his. But to both pertains this very thing, that Jerusalem is called the City of God, and in it the future house of God is prophesied, and that prophecy is seen to be fulfilled when King Solomon (Salomon) builds that most noble temple. For these things both happened in the earthly Jerusalem according to history, and were figures of the heavenly Jerusalem. Which kind of prophecy, as if compacted and mixed from both in the ancient canonical Books, in which narrations of things done are contained, is of very great power, and has much exercised and does exercise the talents of those searching the sacred Letters, so that what is read historically predicted and completed in the seed of Abraham according to the flesh (secundum carnem), may also be inquired into as to what it signifies allegorically to be fulfilled in the seed of Abraham according to faith (secundum fidem): so much so that it has seemed to some that there is nothing in the same books either foretold and effected, or effected although not foretold, which does not insinuate

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

CHAPTER IV.

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

1. The progress therefore of the City of God, when it arrived at the times of the Kings, when David, Saul being reproved, first obtained the kingdom in such a way that his posterity thereafter should reign in the earthly Jerusalem in a long succession, gave a figure, signifying and foretelling by the thing done, what is not to be passed over in silence, concerning the change of future things, as pertains to the two Testaments, old and new: where the priesthood and kingdom were changed through the same priest and new and everlasting king, who is Christ Jesus. For both Samuel being substituted into the ministry of God, the priest Eli (Heli) being reproved, having at the same time functioned in the office of priest and judge, and King David being founded in the kingdom, Saul being cast off, figured this which I say. The mother also of Samuel herself, Hannah (Anna), who was first sterile, and was gladdened by later fecundity, seems to prophesy nothing else, when she pours out her gratulation to the Lord, exulting: when she renders the same boy, born and weaned, to God with the same piety with which she had vowed. For she says: "My heart is confirmed in the Lord, and my horn is exalted in my God. My mouth is dilated over my enemies; I have been gladdened in your salvation. Because there is none holy as the Lord; and there

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

2. Will these words indeed be thought to be those of one little woman, congratulating herself on a son born to her? Is the mind of men so

much turned away from the light of truth, that it does not feel that the sayings which this woman poured out exceed her measure? Furthermore, he who is suitably moved by the things themselves, which have already begun to be fulfilled even in this earthly pilgrimage, does he not intend, and behold, and recognize through this woman, whose name also, that is Hannah (Anna), is interpreted as His Grace (Gratia ejus), the Christian religion itself, the City of God (civitas Dei) itself, whose king and founder is Christ, and finally the grace of God itself speaking thus by a prophetic spirit, from which the proud are alienated that they may fall, and with which the humble are filled that they may rise, which this hymn especially sounded forth? Unless someone perchance is going to say, that this woman prophesied nothing, but only praised God with exulting preaching on account of the son whom she obtained by praying. What therefore does that mean which she says: "He has made the bow of the powerful weak, and the weak are girded with virtue: those full of bread are diminished, and the hungry have passed through the land: because the sterile has borne seven, and she that has many children is weakened"? Had she herself borne seven, although she had been sterile? She had an only one when she said these things: but neither did she bear seven afterwards, or six, of whom Samuel himself should be the seventh; but three males and two females (1 Sam. 2:21). Then in that people, when as yet no one reigned, what she placed at the end, "He gives virtue to our kings, and will

exalt the horn of his Christ"; whence was she saying it, if she was not prophesying?

3. Therefore let the Church of Christ, the city of the great King, full of grace, fecund with offspring, speak; let her speak what she recognizes was prophesied of herself so long before by the mouth of this pious mother: "My heart is confirmed in the Lord, and my horn is exalted in my God." Truly is the heart confirmed, and truly the horn exalted; because not in itself, but in the Lord its God. "My mouth is dilated over my enemies": because even in the straits of pressures the word of God is not bound, nor in the bound preachers. "I have been gladdened," she says, "in your salvation." This is that Jesus Christ whom the aged Simeon, as is read in the Gospel, embracing when small, recognizing as great, said: "Now you dismiss, Lord, your servant in peace, because my eyes have seen your salvation" (Luke 2:29-30). Therefore let the Church say, "I have been gladdened in your salvation." "Because there is none holy as the Lord; and there is none just as our God"; as holy and sanctifying, just and justifying. "There is none holy besides you": because no one becomes so except from you. Finally it follows, "Do not boast proudly, and do not speak high things, nor let big words go out from your mouth. Because the Lord is the God of sciences." He himself knows you, even where no one knows: because "he who thinks himself to be something, when he is nothing, seduces himself" (Galat. 6:3). These things are said to the adversaries of the City of God belonging to Babylon, presuming on

their own virtue, boasting in themselves, not in the Lord; of whom are also the carnal Israelites, earth-born citizens of the earthly Jerusalem, who, as the Apostle says, "ignoring the justice of God," that is, which God gives to man, who alone is just and justifying; "and willing to establish their own," that is, as if produced by themselves for themselves, not imparted by him; "are not subject to the justice of God" (Rom. 10:3). surely because being proud, thinking by their own, not by God's, that they can please God, who is the God of sciences, and therefore also the arbiter of consciences, seeing there the thoughts of men, that they are vain (Psalm 93:11), if they are of men, and are not from him. "And preparing," she says, "his inventions." What inventions do we think, except that the proud should fall, and the humble rise? Indeed he follows out these inventions, saying, "The bow of the powerful is made weak, and the weak are girded with virtue." The bow is made weak, that is, the intention of those who seem so powerful to themselves, that without the gift and help of God, by human sufficiency, they can fulfill the divine mandates; and they are girded with virtue, whose internal voice is, "Have mercy on me, Lord, because I am weak" (Psalm 6:3).

4. "Those full of bread," she says, "are diminished, and the hungry have passed through the land." Who are to be understood as full of bread, except those same ones as if powerful, that is, the Israelites, to whom the oracles of God were credited (Rom. 3:2)? But in that people the sons of

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

5. "The Lord kills, and makes alive": he killed her who had many in children; and he made

alive this sterile one, who bore seven. Although it can more commodiously be understood that he makes alive the same ones whom he has killed. For he as it were repeated this by adding, "He leads down to hell (inferos), and brings back." For those to whom the Apostle says, "If you are dead with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God" (Coloss. 3:1): they are surely salubriously killed by the Lord: to whom he adds, "Savor the things that are above, not those which are upon the earth"; so that they themselves may be those who hungering have passed through the land. "For you are dead," he says: behold how salubriously God kills. Then it follows, "And your life is hidden with Christ in God" (Coloss. 3:3): behold how God makes alive those same ones. But did he lead the same ones down to hell and bring them back? This both, without controversy of the faithful, we see fulfilled rather in him, our Head namely, with whom the Apostle said our life was hidden in God. For when "he did not spare his own Son, but delivered him for us all" (Rom. 8:32), in that way surely he killed him. And because he resuscitated him from the dead, he again made the same one alive. And because in prophecy his voice is recognized, "You will not leave my soul in hell (inferno)" (Psalm 15:10), he led the same one down to hell and brought him back. By this poverty of his we have been enriched. For "the Lord makes poor, and enriches." For that we may know what this is, let us hear what follows: "He humiliates, and exalts"; surely he humiliates

the proud, and exalts the humble. For what is read elsewhere, "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble" (James 4:6); this the whole speech of this woman has, whose name is interpreted His Grace (Gratia ejus).

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

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

8. And by this, "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, and let not the powerful man glory in his power, and let not the rich man glory in his riches: but in this let him who glories glory, to understand and to know the Lord, and to do judgment and justice in the middle of the earth." Not in small part does he understand and know the Lord, who understands and knows even this to be given to him by the Lord, that he may understand and know the Lord. "For what do you have," says the Apostle, "that you have not received? But if you have also received, why do you glory, as if you had not received?" (1 Cor. 4:7). That is, as if that from which you glory were to you from yourself. But he does judgment and justice, who lives rightly. But he lives rightly, who obeys God commanding: and "the end of the commandment," that is, to which the commandment is referred, "is charity from a pure heart, and a good conscience, and a faith unfeigned" (1 Tim. 1:5). Furthermore that charity, as the apostle John testifies, "is from God" (1 John 4:7). To do judgment and justice, therefore, is from God. But what is, "in the middle of the earth"? For surely those who dwell in the ends of the earth ought not to fail to do judgment and justice? who would say this? Why then is it added, "in the middle of the earth"? For if it were not added, and it were only said, "to do judgment and justice," this commandment would rather pertain to both kinds of men, both those of the midlands and those of the coast. But lest anyone should think that after the end of life, which is spent in this

body, there remains time for doing judgment and justice, which he did not do while he was in the flesh, and so divine judgment could be escaped; "in the middle of the earth," seems to me to be said, while each one lives in the body. For in this life each one carries about his own earth, which common earth receives when the man dies, surely to be restored to him when he rises. Accordingly "in the middle of the earth," that is, when our soul is enclosed in this earthly body, judgment and justice must be done, which may profit us for the future, when "each one shall receive according to those things which he did through the body, whether good or evil" (2 Cor. 5:10). For "through the body" the Apostle said there, through the time in which he lived in the body. For if anyone should blaspheme with a malignant mind and impious thought, nor work it with any members of the body, he will not therefore be less guilty, because he did not do it by a motion of the body, since he did it through that time in which he also bore the body. In this way that also can be congruously understood which is read in the Psalm, "But God our king before the ages has worked salvation in the middle of the earth" (Psalm 73:12): that the Lord Jesus may be accepted as our God who is before the ages, because through him the ages were made, having worked our salvation in the middle of the earth, when the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in an earthly body (John 1:14).

9. Then after it was prophesied in these words of Hannah, how he ought to glory who glories,

not in himself namely, but in the Lord; because of the retribution which is to be in the day of judgment, "The Lord," she says, "ascended into the heavens, and thundered: he himself will judge the ends of the earth, because he is just." Truly she held the order of the confession of the faithful. For the Lord Christ ascended into heaven, and from thence he is to come to judge the living and the dead. For "who ascended," as the Apostle says, "unless he who also descended into the lower parts of the earth?" He who descended, he himself is also he who ascended above all heavens, that he might fulfill all things (Ephes. 4:9-10). He thundered therefore through his clouds, which he filled with the Holy Spirit, when he had ascended. Concerning which he threatened the handmaids of Jerusalem, that is the ungrateful vine, in the prophet Isaiah, that they should not rain rain upon it (Isai. 5:6). But so it was said, "He himself will judge the ends of the earth": as if it were said, Even the ends of the earth. For he will not fail to judge other parts, who without doubt will judge all men. But the ends of the earth are better understood as the ends of man: since those things will not be judged which are changed in the meantime for the better or for the worse, but those ends in which he who shall be judged was found. On account of which it was said, "He who shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved" (Matth. 10:22). He therefore who perseveringly does judgment and justice in the middle of the earth, will not be condemned when the ends of the earth shall be judged. "And

he gives," she says, "strength to our kings": so that he may not condemn them by judging. He gives them strength, by which they may rule the flesh as kings, and in him may conquer the world, who shed his blood for them. "And he will exalt the horn of his Christ." How will Christ exalt the horn of his Christ? For he of whom it was said above, "The Lord ascended into the heavens," and was understood as the Lord Christ; he himself, as is said here, "will exalt the horn of his Christ." Who then is the Christ of his Christ? Or will he exalt the horn of each one of his faithful, as she herself says in the beginning of this hymn: "My horn is exalted in my God"? For all who are anointed with his chrism, we can rightly call christs: which whole body nevertheless with its head is one Christ. These things Hannah prophesied, the mother of Samuel, a holy man, and much praised. In whom indeed then was figured the change of the old priesthood, and now fulfilled, when she who had many in children was weakened, so that the sterile one who bore seven should have a new priesthood in Christ.

CHAPTER V.

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

1. But a man of God, whose name indeed is suppressed, but who is understood without doubt to be a prophet by his office and ministry,

speaks this more evidently, being sent to the priest Eli himself. For so it is written: "And a man of God came to Eli, and said: Thus says the Lord: Revealing I was revealed to the house of your father, when they were in the land of Egypt servants in the house of Pharaoh; and I chose the house of your father out of all the sceptres of Israel to perform the priesthood for me, that they might ascend to my altar, and burn incense, and bear the Ephod; and I gave to the house of your father all the things which are of the fire of the children of Israel for food. And why did you look upon my incense, and upon my sacrifice with an impudent eye, and glorified your sons above me, to bless the first-fruits of every sacrifice in Israel in my sight? On account of this, thus says the Lord God of Israel: I said, Your house and the house of your father shall pass before me even unto eternity. And now says the Lord: By no means, but those glorifying me I will glorify; and he who despises me, shall be despised. Behold the days come, and I will exterminate your seed and the seed of the house of your father, and there shall not be to you an elder in my house for all days, and I will exterminate the man from you from my altar, that his eyes may fail, and his soul may flow away; and every one who shall remain of your house, shall fall by the sword of men. And this shall be a sign to you, which shall come upon these two sons of yours, Hophni and Phinehas; in one day they both shall die. And I will raise up to me a faithful priest, who shall do all things which are in my heart and which are in my soul; and I

will build for him a faithful house, and he shall pass before my Christ for all days. And it shall be, that he who shall remain in your house, shall come to adore him for an obol of silver, saying: Cast me into one part of your priesthood to eat bread" (1 Sam. 2:27-36).

2. It is not to be said that this prophecy, where the change of the old priesthood was preannounced with such manifestation, was fulfilled in Samuel. For although Samuel was not from another tribe than that which had been established by the Lord to serve the altar, yet he was not of the sons of Aaron, whose progeny had been deputed from whence priests should be made: and by this in that thing also performed, the same change which was to be through Christ Jesus was shadowed forth: and to the Old Testament it pertained properly, but figuratively to the New, being also itself a prophecy of deed, not of word; signifying namely by deed that which was said by word to the priest Eli through the Prophet. For there were afterwards priests from the race of Aaron, as Zadok and Abiathar during the reign of David (2 Sam. 15), and others thereafter, before the time should come, in which it behooved those things which were predicted so long before concerning the changing of the priesthood, to be effected through Christ. But who now beholding these things with a faithful eye does not see them to be fulfilled? since no tabernacle, no temple, no altar, no sacrifice, and therefore no priest has remained to the Jews, to whom it had been commanded in the law of God that he should be

ordained from the seed of Aaron. Which also was commemorated here, that prophet saying, "Thus says the Lord God of Israel: I said, Your house and the house of your father shall pass before me even unto eternity." And now says the Lord: By no means, but those glorifying me I will glorify; and he who despises me, shall be despised. For that he names the house of his father, he does not speak of his immediate father, but of that Aaron, who was first instituted as priest, from whose progeny the others should follow, as the previous words demonstrate, where he says, "I was revealed to the house of your father, when they were in the land of Egypt servants in the house of Pharaoh, and I chose the house of your father out of all the sceptres of Israel, to perform the priesthood for me." Who of the fathers of this man was in that Egyptian servitude, from whence, when they had been liberated, he was chosen to the priesthood, unless Aaron? Concerning the stock of this man therefore he said in this place that it would come to pass that they would no longer be priests: which we now see fulfilled. Let faith be vigilant, the things are at hand, they are discerned, they are held, and they are thrust upon the eyes of those unwilling to see. "Behold," he says, "days come, and I will exterminate your seed, and the seed of the house of your father, and there shall not be to you an elder in my house for all days, and I will exterminate the man from you from my altar, that his eyes may fail, and his soul may flow away." Behold the days which were preannounced have already come. There is no priest

according to the order of Aaron: and whatever man is of his race, when he sees the sacrifice of Christians flourish in the whole world, but that great honor to have been withdrawn from himself, his eyes fail, and his soul flows away with the wasting of grief.

3. But that which follows pertains properly to the house of this Eli, to whom these things were said: "And every one who shall remain of your house, shall fall by the sword of men." "And this shall be a sign to you, which shall come upon these two sons of yours, Hophni and Phinehas; in one day they both shall die." This sign therefore was made of the changing of the priesthood from the house of this man, by which sign it was signified that the priesthood of the house of Aaron was to be changed. For the death of his sons signified the death, not of men, but of the priesthood itself from the sons of Aaron. But that which follows pertains now to that priest, whose figure Samuel bore in succeeding this man. Accordingly the things which follow are said concerning Christ Jesus, the true priest of the New Testament: "And I will raise up to me a faithful priest, who shall do all things which are in my heart and which are in my soul; and I will build for him a faithful house." This is the eternal and supernal Jerusalem. "And he shall pass," he says, "before my Christ for all days." "He shall pass," he said, he shall converse: just as he had said above concerning the house of Aaron, "I said, Your house and the house of your father shall pass before me even unto eternity." But as to what he says, "he shall pass before my

Christ"; it is surely to be understood of the house itself, not of that priest, who is Christ himself the Mediator and Savior. His house therefore shall pass before him. "He shall pass" can also be understood as from death to life, for all days in which this mortality is performed even unto the end of this age. But as to what God said, "Who shall do all things which are in my heart and which are in my soul"; let us not suppose that God has a soul, since he is the creator of the soul: but this is said of God tropically, not properly, just as hands and feet and other members of the body. And, lest man should be believed to have been made in the image of God according to this effigy of this flesh, wings are also added, which man surely does not have; and it is said to God, "Protect me under the shadow of your wings" (Psalm 16:8): that men may understand that those things are said of that ineffable nature, not by proper, but by transferred vocabularies of things.

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

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

5. What therefore does he say, who comes to adore the priest of God and the priest God?

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

sacrifices of the Jews: therefore here he said, "to eat bread"; which is the sacrifice of Christians in the New Testament.

CHAPTER VI.

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

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

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

now the Lord had prepared your kingdom even forever over Israel, and now your kingdom shall not stand for you; and the Lord will seek for himself a man according to his heart, and the Lord will command him to be for a prince over his people; because you have not guarded the things which the Lord commanded you" (Id. 13:13-14): is not to be accepted so as if God had prepared Saul himself to reign forever, and afterwards would not keep this for him when he sinned; for he was not ignorant that he would sin: but he had prepared his kingdom, in which there was a figure of the eternal kingdom. Therefore he added, "And now your kingdom shall not stand for you." That therefore stood, and shall stand, which was signified in him: but it shall not stand for this man, because he himself was not to reign forever, nor his progeny, so that at least through posterity succeeding one another it might seem to be fulfilled what was said, "forever." "And the Lord will seek," he says, "for himself a man": signifying either David, or the Mediator himself of the New Testament, who was figured in the chrism even with which David himself and his progeny were anointed. But not as if he is ignorant where he is, does God so seek for himself a man: but he speaks through a man in the manner of men; because even by so speaking he seeks us. For not only to God the Father, but even also to his only-begotten himself, who came to seek that which had perished (Luke 19:10), we were already known to such a degree, that in him we were chosen before the constitution of the world

(Ephes. 1:4). "He will seek for himself" therefore he said, he will have as his own. Whence in the Latin language this word receives a preposition, and, "Acquires" (Acquirit), it is called: which is open enough what it signifies. Although even without the addition of the preposition "to seek" (Quaerere) may be understood as "to acquire" (Acquirit): from whence gains are called "lucre" (lucra) and "quest" (quaestus).

CHAPTER VII.

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

1. Again Saul sinned through disobedience, and again Samuel said to him in the word of the Lord: "Because you have despised the word of the Lord, the Lord has despised you, that you should not be king over Israel." And again for the same sin, when Saul confessed it, and prayed for pardon, and asked Samuel that he would return with him to placate God: "I will not return," he said, "with you; because you have despised the word of the Lord, and the Lord will despise you, lest you should be king over Israel. And Samuel turned his face, that he might go away: and Saul held the flap of his cloak (diploidis), and tore it. And Samuel said to him, The Lord has disrupted the kingdom from Israel from your hand today, and will give it to your neighbor who is good above you, and Israel shall be divided into two: and he shall not be turned, nor shall he repent;

since he is not like a man, that he should repent: he himself threatens, and does not remain (1 Sam. 15:23-29). This man to whom it is said, "The Lord will despise you, lest you be king over Israel"; and, "The Lord has disrupted the kingdom from Israel from your hand today"; reigned forty years over Israel, namely for as much space of time as David himself, and he heard this in the first time of his reign: so that we may understand it to have been said for this reason, because no one of his stock was to reign; and we may look back to the stock of David, whence according to the flesh arose the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus.

2. But the Scripture does not have what is read in most Latin codices, "The Lord has disrupted the kingdom of Israel from your hand"; but as it has been placed by us found in the Greek, "The Lord has disrupted the kingdom from Israel from your hand": so that this may be understood, "from your hand"; which is, "from Israel." This man therefore figuratively bore the person of the people of Israel, which people was to lose the kingdom, when Christ Jesus our Lord was to reign through the New Testament, not carnally, but spiritually. Concerning whom when it is said, "And he will give it to your neighbor," it is referred to the kinship of the flesh: for from Israel was Christ according to the flesh, whence also was Saul. But that which was added, "good above you," can indeed be understood as "better than you"; for some have also so interpreted it: but it is better so accepted, "good above you," that because he is good, therefore he is above you,

according to that other prophetic word, "Until I place all your enemies under your feet" (Psalm 109:1). Among whom is also Israel, from which, his persecutor, Christ took away the kingdom. Although there was also there an "Israel in whom there was no guile" (John 1:47), a certain kind as it were of grain of those chaffs. For surely from thence were the Apostles, from thence so many martyrs, of whom Stephen was the first; from thence so many Churches, which the apostle Paul commemorates, magnifying God in his conversion (Galat. 1:24).

3. Concerning which matter I do not doubt that that which follows is to be understood, "And Israel shall be divided into two": into Israel namely the enemy to Christ, and Israel adhering to Christ; into Israel pertaining to the handmaid, and Israel pertaining to the free woman. For those two kinds were first together, as if Abraham were still adhering to the handmaid, until the sterile one fecundated through the grace of Christ should cry out, "Cast out the handmaid and her son" (Gen. 21:10). On account of the sin of Solomon indeed, during the reign of his son Rehoboam, we know Israel to have been divided into two, and to have so persevered, each part having its own kings, until that whole nation was subverted and translated by the Chaldeans with a huge devastation. But what is this to Saul, since if something such were to be threatened, it should rather have been threatened to David himself, whose son Solomon was? Finally, the Hebrew nation is not now divided among itself,

but is dispersed indifferently through the lands in the society of the same error. But that division, which God under the person of Saul, bearing the figure of that kingdom and people, threatened to the same kingdom and people, was signified as eternal and immutable, by this which was added, "And he shall not be turned, nor shall he repent; since he is not like a man, that he should repent: he himself threatens, and does not remain": that is, a man threatens, and does not remain; but not God, whom it does not repent, like a man. For where it is read that it repents him, a change of things is signified, the immutable divine foreknowledge remaining. Where therefore it is said not to repent, it is understood not to change.

4. We see an altogether insoluble sentence divinely brought forth through these words concerning that division of the people of Israel, and altogether perpetual. For whoever have passed over to Christ, or pass over, or shall pass over from thence, they were not from thence according to the foreknowledge of God, not according to the one and the same nature of the human race. Altogether whoever from the Israelites adhering to Christ persevere in him, will never be with those Israelites who persist in being his enemies even unto the end of this life: but they will remain perpetually in the division which is here preannounced. For the Old Testament from mount Sinai generating unto servitude profits nothing (Galat. 4:24), unless because it provides testimony to the New Testament. Otherwise as long as Moses is read, a veil is placed over their

hearts: but when each one shall pass over from thence to Christ, the veil shall be taken away (2 Cor. 3:15-16). For the intention itself of those passing over is changed from the old to the new; so that each one may no longer intend to receive carnal, but spiritual happiness. Because of which the great prophet Samuel himself, before he had anointed king Saul, when he cried out to the Lord for Israel, and he heard him; and when he was offering a holocaust, the foreigners approaching for battle against the people of God, the Lord thundered over them, and they were confounded, and they stumbled before Israel, and were overcome: he took one stone, and set it between the new and the old Mizpah (Massephat), and called its name Ebenezer (Abennezer), which is in Latin Stone of the helper: and said, "Hitherto the Lord has helped us" (1 Sam. 7:5-12). Mizpah (Massephat) is interpreted Intention. That stone of the helper is the mediation of the Savior, through whom one must pass from the old Mizpah to the new, that is, from the intention by which false carnal bliss was expected in a carnal kingdom, to the intention by which through the New Testament the truest spiritual bliss is expected in the kingdom of heavens: because since nothing is better than this, God helps us hitherto.

CHAPTER VIII.---On the promises to David in his son, which are by no means found in Solomon, but most fully in Christ. 1. Now I see that it must be shown what God promised to David himself, who succeeded Saul in the kingdom—whose change figured that final change

for the sake of which all things were divinely spoken and all things written—which pertains to the matter of which we are treating. When many prosperous things had happened to King David, he thought to make a house for God, namely that most excellently renowned temple which was afterwards built by King Solomon his son. While he was thinking this, the word of the Lord came to Nathan the prophet, which he should carry to the king. Where, when God had said that a house should not be built for Him by David himself, nor had He commanded anyone among His people for so long a time that a house of cedar should be made for Him: "And now," He said, "thus shall you say to my servant David: Thus says the Lord Almighty: I took you from the sheepfold, that you should be a leader over my people in Israel, and I was with you in all things in which you walked, and I exterminated all your enemies from before your face, and I made you named according to the name of the great ones who are upon the earth: and I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and I will plant them, and they shall dwell apart, and they shall be solicitous no further; and the son of iniquity shall not add to humiliate them, as from the beginning from the days in which I constituted judges over my people Israel. And I will give you rest from all your enemies: and the Lord will announce to you, that you shall build a house for Him. And it shall be when your days are fulfilled, and you sleep with your fathers, and I will raise up your seed after you, who shall be of your womb, and I will prepare his kingdom. He

shall build a house for me to my name, and I will direct his throne even unto eternity. I will be to him for a father, and he shall be to me for a son. And if his iniquity shall come, I will rebuke him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the sons of men: but my mercy I will not remove from him, as I removed it from those from whom I removed it from before my face: and his house shall be faithful, and his kingdom even unto eternity before me, and his throne shall be erected even unto eternity" (2 Sam. 7:8-16).

2. He who thinks that this so great a promise was fulfilled in Solomon, errs much. For he attends to what was said, "He shall build a house for me"; since Solomon built that noble temple: and he does not attend to, "His house shall be faithful, and his kingdom even unto eternity before me." Let him therefore attend and behold Solomon's house full of foreign women worshipping false gods, and the king himself, once wise, seduced and cast down by them into the same idolatry: and let him not dare to think either that God promised this falsely, or that He could not have foreknown that such would be Solomon and his house. But we should not doubt from this, even if we did not already see these things being fulfilled in Christ our Lord, who was made from the seed of David according to the flesh (Rom. 1:3); lest we vainly and fruitlessly seek someone else here, like the carnal Jews. For even they understand to such a degree that the son who is read as promised in this place to King David was not Solomon, that although he who was promised

has already been declared with such manifestation, they still say by a wonderful blindness that they hope for another. A certain image of the future thing was indeed made even in Solomon, in that he built the temple, and had peace according to his name (for Solomon is "Peaceful" in Latin), and in the beginning of his reign he was wonderfully laudable: but his person itself through the shadow of the future was also announcing Christ our Lord, not exhibiting Him. Whence certain things were so written about him, as if these things were predicted about him himself, while Holy Scripture, prophesying even by things done, in a certain way delineates in him the figure of future things. For besides the books of divine history, where he is narrated to have reigned, the seventy-first Psalm is also inscribed with the title of his name: in which so many things are said which can by no means suit him, but suit the Lord Christ with most fitting perspicuity, so that it clearly appears that in the former a figure of some kind was shadowed forth, but in the latter the truth itself was presented. For it is known by what boundaries the kingdom of Solomon was enclosed: and yet in that psalm it is read, to say nothing of other things, "He shall rule from sea even unto sea, and from the river even unto the ends of the orb of the earth" (Psalm 72:8); which we see fulfilled in Christ. For from the river He took the beginning of His ruling, where, baptized by John, he began to be recognized by his disciples as the same one pointed out, who called Him not only Teacher, but also Lord.

3. Nor for any other reason did Solomon begin to reign while his father David was still living, which happened to none of those kings, except that from this also it might be sufficiently clear that it is not he himself whom this prophecy prefigures, which speaks to his father, saying: "And it shall be, when your days are fulfilled, and you sleep with your fathers, and I will raise up your seed after you, who shall be of your womb, and I will prepare his kingdom." How then, because of that which follows, "He shall build a house for me," shall this Solomon be thought to be prophesied: and not rather, because of that which precedes, "When your days are fulfilled, and you sleep with your fathers, I will raise up your seed after you," is another peaceful one understood to be promised, who was preannounced to be raised up not before, like this one, but after the death of David? For however long an intervening time Jesus Christ should come, without doubt after the death of King David, to whom He was so promised, it behooved Him to come, who should build a house for God, not of wood and stones, but of men, such as we rejoice that He builds. For to this house the Apostle says, that is, to the faithful of Christ: "For the temple of God is holy, which you are" (1 Cor. 3:17).

CHAPTER IX.---How similar in Psalm 88 is the prophecy about Christ to those which are promised in the books of Kings by the prophecy of Nathan. Because of which also in the eighty-eighth Psalm, the title of which is, "Understanding to Ethan the Israelite himself," the promises

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

Immediately also something such is said of the sins of his sons, as is placed in the book of Kings, and is more readily accepted as if of

Solomon. For there, that is in the book of Kings, "And if his iniquity shall come," He said, "I will rebuke him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the sons of men: but my mercy I will not remove from him" (2 Sam. 7:14 and 15): signifying by "stripes" (touches) the plagues of correction. Whence is that saying: "Touch not my anointed ones" (Psalm 105:15). Which what else is it, than, Harm them not? In the Psalm indeed when he was acting as if concerning David, that he might say something of that kind there also: "If his sons shall forsake my law," he said, "and walk not in my judgments; if they shall profane my justifications, and keep not my mandates; I will visit their iniquities with a rod, and their sins with scourges: but my mercy I will not disperse from him" (Psalm 89:30-33). He did not say, "from them," when he was speaking of his sons, not of himself: but he said, "from him"; which, well understood, amounts to as much. For no sins of Christ Himself, who is the head of the Church, could be found, which would need to be coerced divinely with human corrections while mercy was preserved; but in His body and members, which is His people. Therefore in the book of Kings, "his iniquity" is said; but in the Psalm, "of his sons": so that we may understand it to be said in a certain way of Himself, what is said of His body. Because of which also He himself from heaven, when Saul was persecuting His body, which are His faithful: "Saul," He said, "Saul, why do you persecute me?" (Acts 9:4). Then in the following parts of the Psalm, "Neither will I

harm," he said, "in my truth, nor will I profane my testament, and that which proceeds from my lips I will not reject. Once have I sworn in my holiness, if I lie to David": that is, I will by no means lie to David, for Scripture is accustomed so to speak. But what he may not lie, he joins and says, "His seed shall remain in eternity; and his seat as the sun in my sight, and as the moon perfect in eternity, and a faithful witness in heaven" (Psalm 89:33-37).

CHAPTER X.---How different were the acts in the kingdom of the earthly Jerusalem from those which God had promised, that the truth of the promise might be understood to pertain to the glory of another King and kingdom. After these most valid supports of so great a promise, lest they should be thought completed in Solomon, as if it were hoped for and not found: "But you," he says, "have repulsed, and brought to nothing, O Lord." This indeed was done concerning the kingdom of Solomon in his posterity, even unto the subversion of that earthly Jerusalem, which was the seat of the same kingdom; and especially the fall of the temple itself, which had been constructed by Solomon. But lest on this account God should be thought to have acted against His promises, he immediately added, "You have delayed your Christ" (Psalm 89:38). Therefore it is not that Solomon, nor even David himself, if the Christ of the Lord was delayed. For although all the kings consecrated with that mystic chrism were called His anointed ones (christs), not only from King David and thereafter, but even from

that Saul, who was the first anointed king over that same people (1 Sam. 24:6); for David himself calls him the Lord's anointed: yet there was one true Christ, whose figure they bore by the prophetic unction; who, according to the opinion of men who thought He was to be understood in David or in Solomon, was delayed for a long time; but according to the disposition of God was being prepared to come in His own time. Meanwhile, while He is delayed, what happened to the kingdom of the earthly Jerusalem, where He was certainly hoped for to reign, the following psalm added and said: "You have overturned the testament of your servant, you have profaned his holiness on the earth. You have destroyed all his walls, you have placed his fortifications in fear. All who pass by the way have plundered him, he has become a reproach to his neighbors. You have exalted the right hand of his enemies, you have gladdened all his enemies. You have turned away the help of his sword, and you have not aided him in war. You have dissolved him from cleansing, you have dashed his seat to the ground. You have diminished the days of his seat, you have poured confusion over him" (Psalm 89:39-45). All these things came upon the handmaid Jerusalem, in which reigned also some sons of the free woman, holding that kingdom in a temporary dispensation: but having the kingdom of the heavenly Jerusalem, of which they were sons, in true faith, and hoping in the true Christ. But how these things came upon that kingdom, the history of deeds done is the index, if it be read.

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

which another psalm says, "Man is made like unto vanity, his days pass away like a shadow" (Psalm 144:4): but God did not in vain constitute all the sons of men; because He both liberates many from vanity through the mediator Jesus, and those whom He foreknew were not to be liberated, He constituted not in vain in the most beautiful and most just ordination of the whole rational creature, for the utility of those to be liberated and for the comparison of the two cities between themselves from the contrary. Then follows, "Who is the man who shall live, and shall not see death; shall he rescue his soul from the hand of the lower region?" (Psalm 89:48). Who is that one, but that substance of Israel from the seed of David, Christ Jesus? Of whom the Apostle says, that "rising from the dead, he now dies no more, and death shall no further rule over him" (Rom. 6:9). For so He shall live and shall not see death, although He shall have been dead; but He shall have rescued His soul from the hand of the lower region, to which He had descended for the sake of loosening the chains of certain ones in hell: but He shall have rescued it by that power, of which He says in the Gospel, "I have power of laying down my soul, and I have power of taking it up again" (John 10:18).

CHAPTER XII.---To whose person the demand for the promises is to be understood to pertain, concerning which it is said in the Psalm, "Where are your ancient mercies, O Lord," etc. But the rest of this psalm, which run thus: "Where are your ancient mercies, O Lord, which you swore

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

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

But what is, "Remember, O Lord," except that you should have mercy, and for my patiently tolerated humiliation, restore the loftiness which you swore to David in your truth? But if we assign these words to the Jews, those servants of God could say such things who, when the earthly Jerusalem was conquered, before Jesus Christ was born according to humanity, were led into captivity, understanding the exchange of Christ, because namely not through Him was an

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

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

CHAPTER XIII.

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

Whoever hopes for this so great good in this age and in this earth, is foolishly wise. Or will anyone think that this was completed in the peace of Solomon's kingdom? Scripture indeed commends that peace with excellent preaching in the shadow of the future. But this suspicion was vigilantly met, when, after it was said, "And the son of iniquity shall not add to humiliate them"; there was immediately subjoined, "As from the beginning from the days in which I constituted judges over my people Israel." For judges, before kings had begun to be there, had been constituted over that people, from the time when they received the land of promise. And certainly the son of iniquity humiliated them, that is, the foreign enemy, through intervals of times in which we read that peaces alternated with wars: and there are found there times of peace more prolonged than Solomon had, who reigned forty years. For under that judge who was called Ehud (Aod), there were eighty years of peace (Judges 3:30). Far be it, therefore, that Solomon's times should be believed to have been predicted in this promise: much less certainly those of any other king. For none of them reigned in as much peace as he did: nor did that nation ever at all so hold the kingdom that it was not solicitous lest it be subjected to enemies; because in such great mutability of human things, such great security was never granted to any people that it should not fear hostile incursions in this life. Therefore this place of so peaceful and secure a habitation which is promised is eternal, and is due to the

eternal ones in the mother Jerusalem the free, where the people of Israel shall truly be: for this name is interpreted "Seeing God": in desire of which reward a pious life through faith is to be led in this calamitous pilgrimage.

CHAPTER XIV.

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

As the City of God, therefore, proceeded through the times, first in the shadow of the future, namely, in the earthly Jerusalem, David reigned. Now David was a man learned in songs, who loved musical harmony not with a vulgar pleasure, but with a faithful will; and by it he served his God, who is the true God, with a mystical figuration of a great matter. For the rational and moderate concord of diverse sounds suggests, by its harmonious variety, the compact unity of a well-ordered city. Finally, almost all his prophecy is in the Psalms, which a book of one hundred and fifty contains, which we call the Book of Psalms. In these, some wish that those only were made by David which are inscribed with his name. There are likewise those who think that none were made by him except those which are pre-noted, 'Of David himself'; but those which have in their titles, 'For David himself,' were made by others, and adapted to his person. Which opinion is refuted by the evangelical voice of the Saviour Himself, where He says that David himself in the Spirit called Christ his

Lord (Matt. 22:43): since the hundred and ninth Psalm begins thus: 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool' (Ps. 109:1). And certainly the same psalm has not in its title, 'Of David himself'; but, 'For David himself,' like very many. But to me they seem to think more credibly who attribute all those hundred and fifty Psalms to his work, and that he pre-noted some even with the names of others, figuring something that pertains to the matter, but wished the others to have the name of no man in their titles: just as the Lord inspired him with the disposition of this variety, although hidden, yet not vain. Nor ought it to move to disbelief in this, that the names of some Prophets, who were long after the times of King David, are read inscribed on certain psalms in that book; and the things which are said there seem to be said as if by them. For neither was the prophetic Spirit unable to reveal these names also of future Prophets to King David while prophesying, that something which should suit their persons might be prophetically sung: just as King Josiah, who was to arise and reign after more than three hundred years, was revealed by his name to a certain prophet, who also foretold his future deeds (1 Kings 13).

CHAPTER XV.

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

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

CHAPTER XVI.

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

1. For however proper and manifest prophetic utterances may be concerning any matter, it is necessary that tropical ones also be mixed with them: which, especially on account of the slower-witted, bring upon teachers the laborious business of disputing and expounding. Yet some things show Christ and the Church at the first glance, as soon as they are said; even if there remain to be expounded at leisure those things in them which are less understood: such as that in the same book of Psalms: 'My heart hath uttered a good word: I speak my works to the king.' My tongue is the pen of a writer writing swiftly. Beautiful in form above the sons of men: grace is poured out on thy lips, therefore God hath blessed thee for ever. Gird thy sword about thy thigh, O most mighty. In thy splendor and thy beauty, bend thy bow, proceed prosperously, and reign. Because of truth and meekness and justice; and thy right hand shall lead thee wonderfully. Thy arrows are sharp, most mighty. Peoples shall fall under thee, in the heart of the king's enemies. Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the rod of direction is the rod of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved justice, and hated iniquity: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of exultation above thy fellows. Myrrh and stacte and cassia from thy garments, from ivory houses: out of which the daughters of kings have delighted thee in thy honor (Ps. 44:2-10). Who could not here recognize Christ, whom we preach and in

whom we believe, however slow he may be: when he hears of God, whose throne is for ever and ever; and of one anointed by God, surely as God anoints, not with a visible but with a spiritual and intelligible chrism? For who is so unlearned in this religion, or so deaf against its fame spread far and wide, as not to know that Christ is named from chrism, that is, from anointing? Now, Christ the King being recognized, let him who is already subject to Him who reigns because of truth and meekness and justice, inquire at leisure into the other things which are said here tropically—how He is beautiful in form above the sons of men, with a certain beauty so much more to be loved and wondered at as it is less corporeal; what His sword is, what His arrows, and the other things placed in this manner not properly but tropically.

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

of thy fathers, sons are born to thee: thou shalt make them princes over all the earth. They shall be mindful of thy name in every generation and generation. Therefore shall the peoples confess to thee for ever, and for ever and ever (Ps. 44:10-18).

I do not think anyone so foolish as to believe that some little woman is here praised and described: namely, the spouse of Him to whom it was said: 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the rod of direction is the rod of thy kingdom.' Thou hast loved justice and hated iniquity: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of exultation above thy fellows—Christ, certainly, above Christians. For these are His fellows, out of whose unity and concord in all nations this queen is made: as in another psalm it is said of her: 'The city of the great King' (Ps. 47:3). She is Zion spiritually: which name interpreted in Latin is 'Speculation' (Speculatio). For she speculates upon the great good of the future age: because thither her intention is directed. She is also Jerusalem in the same way spiritually, of which we have already said many things. Her enemy is the city of the devil, Babylon, which is interpreted 'Confusion' (Confusio). Yet from this Babylon this queen is liberated in all nations by regeneration, and passes from the worst king to the best King, that is, from the devil she passes to Christ. For which reason it is said to her: 'Forget thy people and thy father's house.' A portion of this impious city are also the Israelites in the flesh only, not in faith: enemies even themselves of this great King and of His queen. For Christ

coming to them, and being slain by them, became more the King of others, whom He did not see in the flesh. Whence through the prophecy of a certain psalm our King Himself says: 'Thou shalt deliver me from the contradictions of the people, thou shalt set me for the head of the nations.' A people whom I have not known hath served me; in the hearing of the ear it hath obeyed me (Ps. 17:44-45). This people of the nations, therefore, whom Christ did not know by His bodily presence, yet who believed in Christ announced to them, so that it might deservedly be said of it, 'In the hearing of the ear it hath obeyed me'; because faith is from hearing (Rom. 10:17); this people, I say, added to the true Israelites both in flesh and in faith, is the City of God, which also brought forth Christ Himself according to the flesh, when He was in those Israelites alone. For thence indeed was the Virgin Mary, in whom Christ assumed flesh that He might be man. Of which city another psalm says: 'Mother Zion, a man shall say, and a man was made in her, and the Highest Himself founded her' (Ps. 86:5). Who is this Highest, but God? And by this Christ being God, before He became man in that city through Mary, Himself founded it in the Patriarchs and Prophets. Since, therefore, it was said so long before by prophecy to this queenly City of God, what we now see fulfilled, 'Instead of thy fathers, sons are born to thee, thou shalt make them princes over all the earth'—for indeed out of her sons throughout the whole earth are her overseers and fathers appointed, while the peo-

ples concurrent to her confess to her with the confession of eternal praise for ever and ever—without doubt whatever is here said somewhat obscurely in tropical locutions, in whatever way it may be understood, ought to agree with these most manifest things.

CHAPTER XVII.

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

As also in that psalm where Christ the Priest, as here the King, is most openly preached: 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.' That Christ sits at the right hand of God the Father is believed, not seen: that His enemies also are placed under His feet does not yet appear; this is being done, and will appear at the end; this also is now believed, and will afterwards be seen. But what follows: 'The Lord shall send the rod of Thy strength out of Zion: rule Thou in the midst of Thine enemies,' is so clear that it is denied not only faithlessly and unhappily, but even impudently. For even the enemies themselves confess that the law of Christ was sent out of Zion, which we call the Gospel, and acknowledge as the rod of His strength. But that He rules in the midst of His enemies, those same among whom He rules testify by gnashing their teeth and pining away, and being able to do nothing against Him. Then, what He says a little later: 'The Lord hath sworn,

and will not repent,' by which words He signifies that what He adds will be immutable: 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek' (Ps. 109:1, 2, 4)—from the fact that now the priesthood and sacrifice according to the order of Aaron is nowhere, and everywhere there is offered under Christ the Priest what Melchizedek brought forth when he blessed Abraham (Gen. 14:18 ff.)—who is permitted to doubt of whom these things are said? To these manifest things, therefore, are referred those which are set down somewhat more obscurely in the same psalm, when they are rightly understood: which we have done in our popular Sermons. So also in that one where Christ through prophecy speaks of the humility of His passion, saying: 'They pierced my hands and my feet; they numbered all my bones.' But they themselves considered and beheld me. By which words surely He signified His body extended on the cross, with hands and feet fixed and pierced through by the driving of nails, and in that manner He offered Himself as a spectacle to those considering and beholding. Adding also: 'They divided my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots' (Ps. 21:17-19). How which prophecy was fulfilled is told by the evangelical history (Matt. 27:35). Then surely other things also which were less openly said there are rightly understood, when they agree with these things which have shone forth with so much manifestation: especially because those things also which we believe not as past, but behold as present, as they are read predicted so long before

in the same psalm, so now being exhibited they are seen in all the world. For there it is said a little later: 'All the ends of the earth shall remember, and shall be converted to the Lord: and all the kindreds of the nations shall adore in His sight. For the kingdom is the Lord's: and He shall rule the nations' (Ps. 21:28-29).

CHAPTER XVIII.

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

1. Nor have the oracles of the Psalms been silent concerning His resurrection also. For what else is that which is sung in the third Psalm from His person: "I slept, and took my rest; I rose again, for the Lord will sustain me" (Ps. 3:5)? Or is anyone perhaps so foolish as to believe that the Prophet wished to indicate to us as if something great, that he slept and rose again, unless that sleep were death, and the awakening a resurrection, which it was fitting should thus be prophesied concerning Christ? For in the fortieth also this is shown much more manifestly, where from the person of the same Mediator, as usual, those things which were prophesied as future are narrated as if past; because those things which were to come were already as if done in the predestination and foreknowledge of God, because they were certain. "My enemies," He says, "spoke evil of me: When shall he die, and his name perish? And if he came in to see, his heart spoke vain

things; he gathered iniquity to himself. He went out, and spoke together at the same time. All my enemies whispered against me; against me they devised evils for me. They disposed an iniquitous word against me: Shall he that sleeps no more rise again?" Here certainly these words are so placed that it is understood that he said nothing else than if he were to say: "Shall he who dies not live again?" For the preceding words show that His enemies thought of and disposed His death, and that this was done through him who entered in to see, and went out to betray. And who would not here think of Judas, made a traitor from being His disciple? Since therefore they were about to do what they were striving for, that is, they were about to kill Him, showing that they by vain malice would kill Him in vain since He would rise again, He thus added this verse, as if He were to say: "What are you doing, vain ones? what will be your crime, will be my sleep. Shall he that sleeps no more rise again?" And yet that they would not do so great a wickedness with impunity, He indicates in the following verses, saying: "Even the man of my peace in whom I trusted, who ate my bread, has magnified the heel over me"; that is, he has trampled me under foot. "But Thou, O Lord," He says, "have mercy on me, and raise me up, and I will requite them" (Ps. 40:5-10). Who can now deny this, who sees the Jews, after the passion and resurrection of Christ, thoroughly eradicated from their seats by martial slaughter and destruction? For He who was killed by them rose again, and rendered to them meanwhile a

temporary discipline, besides what He reserves for the uncorrected, when He shall judge the living and the dead. For the Lord Jesus Himself, pointing out this same traitor of His to the Apostles by the bread reached to him (John 13:26), also commemorated this verse of this psalm, and said it was fulfilled in Himself: "He who ate my bread has magnified the heel over me." But what He says, "In whom I trusted," does not suit the head, but the body. For the Savior Himself was not ignorant of him, of whom He had already said before, "One of you is a devil" (Id. 6:70). But He is accustomed to transfer to Himself the person of His members, and to attribute to Himself what was theirs, because the head and the body are one Christ: whence is that in the Gospel, "I was hungry, and you gave me to eat." Which explaining He says: "When you did it to one of these my least ones, you did it to me" (Matt. 25:35, 40). He said therefore that He had trusted, what His disciples had then trusted concerning Judas, when he was numbered among the Apostles.

2. But the Jews do not expect that the Christ whom they expect will die. Therefore they do not think that He whom the Law and the Prophets announced is ours; but they fashion for themselves some one of their own, whom they feign to be alien from the passion of death. Therefore with wonderful vanity and blindness they contend that the words which we have set down signified not death and resurrection, but sleep and awakening. But the fifteenth Psalm also cries out to them: "Therefore my heart was glad, and

my tongue rejoiced; moreover my flesh also shall rest in hope. Because Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; nor wilt Thou give Thy Holy One to see corruption" (Ps. 15:9-10). Who would say that his flesh had rested in that hope, that his soul not being left in hell, but soon returning to it, he should live again, lest he should be corrupted, as cadavers are wont to be corrupted, unless He who rose on the third day? Which surely they cannot say of the prophet and king David. The sixty-seventh Psalm also cries out: "Our God is the God of making safe; and of the Lord are the exits of death" (Ps. 67:21). What could be said more clearly? For the God of making safe is the Lord Jesus, which is interpreted Savior, or Salutary. For the reason of this name was given this, when before He was born of the virgin it was said: "She shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus. For He shall save His people from their sins" (Matt. 1:21). In the remission of which sins since His blood was shed, surely it was not fitting that He should have other exits from this life than those of death. Therefore when it had been said, "Our God is the God of making safe," it was immediately added, "And of the Lord are the exits of death," that it might be shown that by dying He was about to make safe. But it was said wonderfully, "And of the Lord"; as if it were said, Such is this life of mortals, that not even the Lord Himself should go out from it otherwise than by death.

CHAPTER XIX.

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

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

or think me to have passed over, let them not complain.

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

1. David therefore reigned in the earthly Jerusalem, a son of the celestial Jerusalem, much extolled by divine testimony: because even his sins were overcome by so much piety, through the most salutary humility of repentance, that he is altogether among those of whom he himself says: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered" (Ps. 31:1). After him Solomon his son reigned over the same whole people, who, as was said above, began to reign while his father was living. He, with good beginnings, had bad endings. For indeed prosperity, which fatigues the minds of the wise, was more of a hindrance to him than wisdom itself was a benefit, even now and henceforth memorable, and then far and wide lauded. He also is found to have prophesied in his books, of which three are received into canonical authority: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. But the other two, of which one is called Wisdom, the other Ecclesiasticus, on account of some similarity of style, custom has obtained that they be called Solomon's: but that they are not his, the more learned do not doubt; yet the Church, especially the Western, has from of old received them into authority: in one of which, which is

called the Wisdom of Solomon, the passion of Christ is most openly prophesied. For his impious murderers are commemorated saying: "Let us lie in wait for the righteous, because he is not for our turn, and he is contrary to our doings, and upbraideth us with our sins of the law, and objecteth to our infamy the sins of our discipline. He professeth to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the child of the Lord. He was made to reprove our thoughts. He is grievous unto us even to behold: for his life is not like other men's, and his ways are of another fashion. We are esteemed of him as counterfeits, and he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness: he pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed, and maketh his boast that God is his father. Let us see if his words be true, and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him. For if the just man be the son of God, He will help him, and deliver him from the hand of his enemies. Let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience. Let us condemn him with a shameful death: for by his own saying he shall be respected. These things they did imagine, and were deceived: for their own wickedness hath blinded them" (Wisd. 2:12-21). But in Ecclesiasticus the future faith of the nations is predicted in this manner: "Have mercy upon us, O Lord God of all, and send Thy fear upon all the nations: lift up Thy hand against the strange nations, and let them see Thy power. As Thou wast sanctified in us before them, so be Thou magnified among them before us, that

they may know Thee, according as we also have known Thee, that there is no God but only Thou, O Lord" (Ecclus. 36:1-5). We see this prophecy, under the appearance of wishing and praying, fulfilled through Jesus Christ. But against contradicters those things are not produced with so much firmness which are not written in the canon of the Jews.

2. But in those three, which it is certain are Solomon's, and which the Jews hold as canonical, that it may be shown that what is found in them of this sort pertains to Christ and the Church, a laborious disputation is necessary, which if now applied, would extend us further than is fitting. Yet what is read in Proverbs, that impious men say: "Let us hide the righteous man in the earth unjustly, let us swallow him up alive as hell, and let us take away his memory from the earth, let us seize his precious possession" (Prov. 1:11-13); it is not so obscure that it cannot be understood of Christ and His possession the Church without laborious exposition. For the Lord Jesus Himself showed by an evangelical parable that the evil husbandmen said something of this sort: "This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be ours" (Matt. 21:38). And likewise that in the same book, which we have already touched upon before, when we were dealing with the barren woman who bore seven (Above, chap. 4, n. 4), has been accustomed to be understood only of Christ and the Church as soon as it was pronounced by those who know that Christ is the Wisdom of God. Wisdom hath builded her

a house, and hath hewn out her seven pillars; she hath killed her victims, she hath mingled her wine in a cup, and hath furnished her table. She hath sent forth her servants, calling with a high proclamation to the cup, saying: Whoso is simple, let him turn in to me. And to those wanting in sense she said: Come, eat of my breads, and drink the wine which I have mingled for you" (Prov. 9:1-5). Here certainly we recognize that the Wisdom of God, that is, the Word co-eternal with the Father, builded a house for Himself in the virginal womb, a human body, and joined to this, as members to the head, the Church; sacrificed the victims of the martyrs; prepared a table in wine and breads, where also appears the priesthood after the order of Melchizedek; called the simple and those wanting in sense; because, as the Apostle says, He hath chosen the weak things of this world to confound the strong (1 Cor. 1:27). To which weak ones, however, that which follows says: "Forsake foolishness, that you may live; and seek prudence, that you may have life" (Prov. 9:6). But to become a partaker of that table, is itself to begin to have life. For also in another book, which is called Ecclesiastes, where he says: "It is not good for a man, except what he shall eat and drink" (Eccles. 8:15); what is he more credibly understood to say, than what pertains to the participation of this table, which the Priest Himself, the Mediator of the New Testament, exhibits after the order of Melchizedek of His own body and blood? For that sacrifice succeeded to all those sacrifices of the Old Testament, which were sac-

rificed in the shadow of the future: on account of which we also recognize that voice in the thirty-ninth Psalm of the same Mediator speaking through prophecy: "Sacrifice and oblation Thou wouldest not, but a body Thou hast perfected for me" (Ps. 39:6). Because for all those sacrifices and oblations His body is offered, and is administered to those participating. For that this Ecclesiastes in this sentence of eating and drinking, which he often repeats and very much commends, does not savor of the banquets of carnal pleasure, that sufficiently shows where he says: "It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of drinking": and a little later: "The heart," he says, "of the wise is in the house of mourning, and the heart of the foolish in the house of banquets" (Eccles. 7:2, 4). But that I think more to be commemorated from this book, which pertains to the two cities, one of the devil, the other of Christ, and their kings the devil and Christ: "Woe to thee, O land," he says, "whose king is a youth, and thy princes eat in the morning. Blessed art thou, O land, whose king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, in strength and not in confusion" (Id. 10:16-17). He called the devil a youth, on account of foolishness, and pride, and rashness, and petulance, and other vices which are wont to abound in this age: but Christ the son of nobles, of the holy Patriarchs, namely, pertaining to the free city, from whom He is procreated in the flesh. The princes of that city eating in the morning, that is before the fitting hour; because they do not expect the opportune one, which is

true, in the world to come, happiness, desiring hastily to be blessed by the celebrity of this world. But the princes of the city of Christ patiently expect the time of no fallacious happiness. This he says, "in strength, and not in confusion": because hope does not deceive them; of which the Apostle says: "But hope confoundeth not" (Rom. 5:5). The Psalm also says: "For they who expect Thee shall not be confounded" (Ps. 24:3). Now indeed the Song of Songs is a certain spiritual pleasure of holy minds, in the marriage of that King and Queen of the city, which is Christ and the Church. But this pleasure is wrapped in allegorical coverings, that it may be desired more ardently, and laid bare more joyfully, and the bridegroom appear, to whom it is said in the same Song: "Equity hath loved thee" (Cant. 1:4); and the bride who there hears: "Charity in thy delights" (Id. 7:6). Many things we pass over in silence, out of care for terminating this work.

CHAPTER XXI.

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

The rest of the kings of the Hebrews after Solomon are hardly found, through any enigmas of their sayings or deeds, to have prophesied what pertains to Christ and the Church, whether in Judah or in Israel. For so the parts of that people were called, from the time when, on account of Solomon's offense, in the time of his son Rehoboam, who succeeded his father in the kingdom, it was divided by the avenging

God. Accordingly, the ten tribes which Jeroboam the servant of Solomon received, a king being appointed for them in Samaria, were properly called Israel, although this was the name of that whole people. But to the two tribes, namely of Judah and Benjamin, which on account of David, lest the kingdom of his stock should have been thoroughly eradicated, had remained subject to the city of Jerusalem, the name was Judah: because that was the tribe whence David was. But the other tribe Benjamin, pertaining to the same kingdom, as I said, was that whence was Saul the king before David. But together these two tribes, as was said, were called Judah; and by this name they were discerned from Israel, as the ten tribes having their own king were properly called. For the tribe of Levi, because it was priestly, being delivered over to the service of God, not of kings, was numbered the thirteenth. For Joseph, one of the twelve sons of Israel, made not one, as the others single ones, but two tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. Nevertheless even the tribe of Levi pertained more to the kingdom of Jerusalem, where was the temple of God, which it served. The people therefore being divided, Rehoboam, king of Judah, the son of Solomon, first reigned in Jerusalem; and in Samaria Jeroboam, king of Israel, the servant of Solomon. And when Rehoboam had wished to pursue that divided part as a tyranny with war, the people were prohibited from fighting with their brethren, God saying through a prophet that He had done this (1 Kings 12:24). Whence it appeared that in that

matter there was no sin either of the king of Israel or of the people, but the will of the avenging God was fulfilled. Which being known, both parts being pacified among themselves rested: for the division had been made not of religion, but of the kingdom.

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

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

were there seven thousand men who had not bowed their knees before Baal.

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

Likewise in the kingdom of Judah pertaining to Jerusalem, even in the times of the succeeding kings, Prophets were not wanting: as it pleased God to send them, either for foreannouncing what was necessary, or for rebuking sins, and commanding righteousness. For there also, although far less than in Israel, yet there stood forth kings who by their impieties gravely offended God, and were punished with moderate scourges together with a similar people. The merits of pious kings there are praised not a little. But in Israel we read that some kings were more, some less, yet all were reprobate. Each part therefore, as divine providence commanded or permitted, was both raised up by various prosperities, and pressed down by adversities: and was so afflicted, not only by external, but even among themselves by civil wars, that certain causes existing, the mercy of God or His wrath might be made manifest; until His indignation increasing, that whole nation was not only subverted in its own seats by the Chaldeans warred upon, but was also for the greatest part of itself transferred into the lands of the Assyrians, first that part which was called Israel in the ten tribes;

but afterwards also Judah, Jerusalem and that most noble temple being overthrown: in which lands it spent a captive leisure for seventy years. After which being sent away from thence, it restored the temple which had been overthrown: and although very many of it dwelt in the lands of foreigners, yet it had not henceforth two parts of the kingdom, and two diverse kings in single parts: but in Jerusalem their prince was one; and to the temple of God, which was there, all from every side, wherever they were, and from whence they could, came at certain times. But neither then did enemies from other nations and conquerors fail them: for even Christ found them already tributaries of the Romans.

CHAPTER XXIV.

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

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

Lord Himself says: "The Law and the Prophets were until John" (Matt. 11:13). But the prophesying of these five is known to us from the Gospel: where also the Virgin mother of the Lord herself is found to have prophesied before John (Luke 1:46-55). But this prophecy of these the reprobate Jews do not receive: but they have received it, who from them incalculable in number believed the Gospel. For then truly was Israel divided into two, by that division which through Samuel the prophet was foreannounced as immutable to king Saul. But Malachi, Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra, even the reprobate Jews have as the latest received into canonical authority. For there are also their writings, as of others, who in a great multitude of Prophets were very few who wrote those things which should obtain the authority of the canon. Concerning whose predictions, which pertain to Christ and His Church, I see that some things must be set down by me in this work: which will be done more commodiously, the Lord helping, in the following book; lest we further burden this one so prolix.

BOOK EIGHTEENTH.

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

CHAPTER I.

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

I promised that I would write about the origin, progress, and appointed ends of the two cities, one of which is of God, the other of this world, in which even the former is now a pilgrim so far as pertains to the human race: after I had first refuted, as far as His grace might help me, the enemies of the City of God, who prefer their own gods to its founder, Christ, and with most pernicious envy atrociously begrudge the Christians; which I did in the first ten volumes. Regarding this tripartite promise of mine which I just mentioned, the origin of both was set forth in the following four books; then their progress from the first man even to the flood in one book, which is the fifteenth of this work; and from there

even to Abraham again both ran along, as in the times, so also in our writings. But from the father Abraham even to the time of the Israelite Kings, where we finished the sixteenth volume, and from there even to the advent of the Savior Himself in the flesh, to which point the seventeenth book extends, only the City of God seems to have run in my writing: although in this world it did not run alone, but both surely in the human race, just as from the beginning together, have diversified the times in their progress. But I did this for the reason that first, from the time when the promises of God began to be more open, even to His birth from the Virgin, in which those things which were first promised were to be fulfilled, this city which is of God might appear more distinctly in its progress, without interruption from the contrary of the other city; although even until the revelation of the New Testament, it ran not in light, but in shadow. Now, therefore, what I had omitted I see must be done, that I may touch upon how that other city also ran from the times of Abraham, as much as seems sufficient, so that both may be compared between themselves by the consideration of the readers.

CHAPTER II.

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

The society of mortals, therefore, diffused everywhere through the lands and in whatever diversities of places, bound by a certain commu-

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

Ninus, therefore, was already the second king of the Assyrians, who had succeeded his father Belus, the first king of that kingdom, when Abraham was born in the land of the Chaldeans. There was also at that time the very small kingdom of the Sicyonians, from which that most learned Marcus Varro, writing of the Race of the Roman People, began as from an ancient time. For from these kings of the Sicyonians it came to the Athenians, from whom to the Latins, thence to the Romans; but before the founding of Rome these are mentioned as very small in comparison with the kingdom of the Assyrians. Although Sallust, the Roman historian, confesses that the Athenians were most illustrious in Greece, yet more by fame than by the reality itself. For speaking of them, he says: 'The achievements of the Athenians, as I judge, were sufficiently ample and magnificent: but somewhat smaller, nevertheless, than they are reported by fame. But because great geniuses of writers arose there, the deeds of the Athenians are celebrated throughout the world as the greatest. Thus the virtue of those who performed them is held as great as the illustrious geniuses were able to extol it in words' (Bell. Catil., cap. 8). To this city is added no small glory also from literature and philosophers, because such studies flourished there especially. For as pertains to empire, none was greater in the first times than that of the Assyrians, nor so far and wide diffused. Since there the king Ninus, son of Belus, is recorded to have subdued all Asia, which is said to be the third part of the whole world by the

number of parts, but is found to be half by magnitude, even to the borders of Libya. For he did not rule over the Indians alone in the parts of the East: whom nevertheless, after he had died, his wife Semiramis attacked in war. Thus it came to pass that whatever peoples or kings were in those lands, they obeyed the kingdom and dominion of the Assyrians, and performed whatever was commanded. Abraham, therefore, was born in that kingdom among the Chaldeans in the times of Ninus. But since Greek affairs are much better known to us than the Assyrian, and through the Greeks to the Latins, and then to the Romans, who themselves also are Latins, those who have searched into the antiquity of the origin of the race of the Roman people have deduced the series of times; for this reason we ought, where there is need, to mention the Assyrian kings: that it may appear how Babylonia, as it were a first Rome, runs along with the City of God which is a pilgrim in this world. But the things which it is proper to insert into this work for the comparison of both cities, namely the earthly and the heavenly, we ought rather to take from the Greeks and Latins, where Rome herself also is, as it were, a second Babylonia.

3. When, therefore, Abraham was born, the kings were the second in order: Ninus among the Assyrians, Europs among the Sicyonians; but the first were Belus there, and Aegialeus here. But when Abraham went out from Babylonia, and God promised him that a great nation should come from him, and in his seed the blessing of

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

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

In his times also Isaac was born of the promise of God to the centenarian father, the son of Abraham from his wife Sarah, who, being sterile and now an old woman, had already lost hope of offspring. Then also the fifth king among the Assyrians was Arrius. To Isaac himself at the age of sixty were born twins, Esau and Jacob, whom his wife Rebekah bore to him, while their grandfather Abraham was still living and passing the hundred and sixtieth year of his age: who,

having completed a hundred and seventy-five years, died; while the seventh kings were reigning, that earlier Xerxes among the Assyrians, who was also called Baleus, and Thuriacus among the Sicyonians, whom some write as Thurimachus. Moreover, the kingdom of the Argives arose at the same time as the grandsons of Abraham, where Inachus reigned first. Indeed, what ought not to be passed over, Varro relates that the Sicyonians were also accustomed to sacrifice at the tomb of their seventh king Thuriacus. Furthermore, during the reigns of the eighth kings, Armamitre of the Assyrians, Leucippus of the Sicyonians, and Inachus the first of the Argives, God spoke to Isaac, and promised to him also those same two things which He had to his father, namely the land of Canaan to his seed, and in his seed the blessing of all nations. These same things were promised also to his son, the grandson of Abraham, who was first called Jacob, afterwards Israel, when now Belocus the ninth king was reigning over the Assyrians, and Phoroneus the son of Inachus was the second reigning over the Argives, Leucippus still remaining among the Sicyonians. In these times Greece became more illustrious under Phoroneus the Argive king through certain institutions of laws and judgments: yet Phegous, the younger brother of this Phoroneus, when he had died, a temple was established at his tomb, in which he might be worshipped as a god, and oxen might be sacrificed to him. I believe they thought him worthy of such great honor for this reason, because in his

part of the kingdom (for the father had distributed places to both in which they might reign while he lived) he had established chapels for worshipping the gods, and had taught that the times should be observed through months and years, and to what extent each of them should be measured and numbered. Wondering at these new things in him, the men as yet rude either thought or chose that he had become a god upon his death. For Io also is recorded to have been the daughter of Inachus, who afterwards was called Isis and worshipped as a great goddess in Egypt: although others write that she came from Ethiopia into Egypt as a queen; and because she ruled widely and justly, and instituted many advantages and letters for them, this divine honor was paid to her after she died there, and such great honor that if anyone said she had been a human being, he became liable to a capital crime.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the times of Jacob and of his son Joseph.

While Baleus the tenth king of the Assyrians was reigning, and the ninth of the Sicyonians, Messapus, who is also called Cephisus by some (if indeed he was one man of two names, and they did not rather think him to have been one man for another, who put the other name in their writings), when the third king of the Argives was Apis, Isaac died at the age of a hundred and eighty, and left his twins aged a hundred and twenty: of whom the younger, Jacob, pertaining

to the City of God of which we write, the elder having surely been reprobated, had twelve sons; one of whom, who was called Joseph, his brothers had sold to merchants passing into Egypt, while their grandfather Isaac was still living. Moreover, Joseph stood before Pharaoh, when he was sublimated from the humility which he endured, when he was thirty years of age: because, having interpreted the dreams of the king divinely, he foretold that there would be seven years of plenty, whose surpassing abundance another seven sterile years following were to consume; and for this reason the king had set him over Egypt, having been freed from prison, into which the integrity of his castity had cast him; which, maintaining bravely against an evil-loving mistress and an evil-believing master about to lie, even leaving his garment in the hands of her who was dragging him and fleeing, he did not consent to the debauchery. But in the second year of the seven sterile years, Jacob came into Egypt with all his own to his son, being a hundred and thirty years of age, as he himself responded to the king who questioned him (Gen. XLVII, 9); when Joseph was thirty and nine, namely, to the thirty which he was when he was honored by the king, the seven of plenty and two of famine being added.

CHAPTER V.

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

In these times Apis, king of the Argives, having crossed over to Egypt in ships, when he had died there, became Serapis, the greatest god of all the Egyptians. Moreover, Varro has given a very easy reason for this name, why he was not called Apis even after death, but Serapis. For since the chest in which a dead person is placed, which everyone now calls a sarcophagus, is called 'soros' in Greek; and they had begun to worship him there as buried, before his temple had been built: as it were 'Soros' and 'Apis', first 'Sorapis', then one letter being changed, as is wont to happen, he was called 'Serapis'. And it was also established concerning him, that whoever said he had been a human being should pay the capital penalty. And since in almost all temples where Isis and Serapis were worshipped, there was also an image which, with a finger pressed to the lips, seemed to admonish that silence be kept; Varro thinks this signifies the same thing, that it should be kept silent that they had been human beings. But that bull which Egypt, deceived by a wonderful vanity, reared in his honor with affluent delights, since they worshipped it alive without a sarcophagus, was called Apis, not Serapis. When this bull died, since a calf of the same color was sought and found, that is, similarly marked with certain white spots, they believed it was something marvelous and divinely procured for them. For it was not a great thing for demons, in order to deceive them, to display to a conceiving and pregnant cow the phantom of such a bull, which the cow alone might see, whence the desire of the mother

might attract what would now appear corporally in her offspring: just as Jacob brought it about by the variegated rods, that sheep and goats should be born variegated (Gen. XXX, 37-42). For what men can do with true colors and bodies, demons can very easily exhibit to conceiving animals by feigned figures.

CHAPTER VI.

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

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

temple and sacrifices. Which honor, while he was reigning, had been conferred before him upon a certain private man, Homogyrus, who was struck by lightning, because he first joined oxen to the plow.

CHAPTER VII.

During the time of which kings Joseph died in Egypt.

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

CHAPTER VIII.

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

Therefore, when Saphrus the fourteenth king was reigning over the Assyrians, and Orthopolis the twelfth over the Sicyonians, and Criasus the

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

claims. Moreover, he became illustrious as skilled in many arts, which he also handed down to men: for which merit they willed him to be a god after death, or even believed it. Hercules is said to have been later, belonging nevertheless to those times of the Argives: although some prefer him to Mercury in time; whom I think to be mistaken. But at whatever time they were born, it is certain among grave historians who have committed these ancient things to writing, that both were men, and that because they conferred many benefits upon mortals for leading this life more commodiously, they earned divine honors from them. But Minerva was far more ancient than these. For in the times of Ogygius she is said to have appeared in a virginal age at the lake which is called Tritonis; whence she was also named Tritonia: an inventress, indeed, of many works; and believed a goddess so much more readily as her origin was less known. For that she is sung as born from the head of Jove is to be applied to poets and fables, not to history and things performed. Although when Ogygius himself existed, in whose times also a great flood occurred—not that greatest one from which no men escaped except those who were able to be in the ark, which the history of nations, neither Greek nor Latin, knows, but yet greater than that which afterwards occurred in the time of Deucalion—there is no agreement among the writers of history. For Varro began the book from there, of which I made mention above, and he proposes to himself nothing more ancient, from which he may arrive at Roman affairs, than

the flood of Ogygius, that is, what happened in the times of Ogygius. But our own who wrote Chronicles, first Eusebius and afterwards Jerome, who surely followed some preceding historians in this opinion, record that the flood of Ogygius occurred more than three hundred years later, when Phoroneus the second king was already reigning over the Argives. But at whatever time it was, Minerva was already worshipped as a goddess when Cecrops was reigning over the Athenians, under which king they also say that the city itself was either restored or founded.

CHAPTER IX.

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

For that it was called Athens, which name is certainly from Minerva, who in Greek is called Athena, Varro indicates this reason. When an olive tree had suddenly appeared there, and water had burst forth in another place, these prodigies moved the king, and he sent to the Delphic Apollo to inquire what was to be understood, what was to be done. He responded that the olive signified Minerva, the wave Neptune, and that it was in the power of the citizens from which name rather of the two gods, whose signs those were, the city should be called. Cecrops, having received this oracle, convoked all the citizens of both sexes (for the custom then in those places was that even women should be present at public consultations) to cast their vote. The multitude

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

how great things could be said here, were it not that the discourse hastens to other matters?

CHAPTER X.

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

However, Marcus Varro does not wish to give credence to fabulous fictions against the gods, lest he should think anything unworthy of the dignity of their majesty. And therefore he does not wish the Areopagus, where the apostle Paul disputed with the Athenians (Acts XVII, 19 seqq.), from which place the curiales of the same city were called Areopagites, to have received its name from this: that Mars, who in Greek is called Ares, when he was made a defendant on the charge of homicide, was acquitted by six votes while twelve gods were judging in that village (pagus); because where there were sentences of equal number, acquittal was wont to be preferred to condemnation. But against this opinion, which is much more widely celebrated, he tries to establish another cause of this name from the knowledge of obscure letters, lest the Athenians be believed to have named the Areopagus from the name of Mars and the village, as if it were 'the village of Mars'; namely, to the injury of the deities, from whom he considers strifes and judgments to be foreign: asserting that this which is said of Mars is no less false than that which is said of the three goddesses, namely, Juno, and Minerva, and Venus, who are related to have

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

CHAPTER XI.

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

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

after the death of Moses for twenty-seven years, also himself died: Amyntas the eighteenth reigning among the Assyrians, Corax the sixteenth among the Sicyonians, Danaus the tenth among the Argives, and Erichthonius the fourth among the Athenians.

CHAPTER XII.

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

Through these times, that is, from the departure of Israel from Egypt until the death of Joshua (Jesus Nave), through whom the same people received the land of promise, rites were instituted to false gods by the kings of Greece, which recalled the memory of the flood, and of the liberation of men from it, and of the then wretched life of those migrating now to high places, now to flat ones, by solemn celebration. For they thus interpret the ascent and descent of the Luperci through the sacred way, so as to say that by them are signified men who, on account of the inundation of water, sought the summits of the mountains, and again returned to the lowest parts when the same had subsided. In these times they say that Dionysus, who was also called Father Liber, and was accounted a god after death, showed the vine in the Attic land to his host. Then musical games were instituted to the Delphic Apollo, that his wrath might be appeased,

with which they thought the regions of Greece had been afflicted with sterility, because they did not defend his temple, which king Danaus, when he had invaded those same lands in war, burned. Moreover, they were admonished by his oracle to institute these games. But in Attica king Erichthonius first instituted games to him: and not to him only, but also to Minerva, where oil was placed as a prize for the victors, because they relate that Minerva was the discoverer of its fruit, as Liber was of wine. Through those years Europa is related to have been carried off by king Xanthus of the Cretans, whose name we find to be something else among others, and from her were born Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon, and Minos, who it is more commonly reported were the sons of Jupiter by the same woman. But the worshippers of such gods refer that which we have said of the king of the Cretans to historical truth; but this which the poets sing of Jupiter, the theaters resound with, and the people celebrate, they attribute to the vanity of fables, that there might be something from which games might be made to appease the deities even with their false crimes. In these times Hercules was held famous in Tyre; but doubtless another, not he of whom we spoke above. For in a more secret history many Father Libers and Herculeses are said to have existed. Indeed this Hercules, whose twelve great deeds they number, among which they do not commemorate the slaying of the African Antaeus, because that matter belongs to the other Hercules, they record in their writings was burned on Mount Oeta by

himself, since he could not sustain with that virtue, by which he had subdued monsters, the disease with which he was languishing. At that time either a king, or rather a tyrant, Busiris, was wont to sacrifice his guests to his gods, whom they relate to have been the son of Neptune, by his mother Libya, the daughter of Epaphus. But let it not be believed that Neptune committed this adultery, lest the gods be accused: but let those things be attributed to poets and theaters, that there may be something by which they may be appeased. Vulcan and Minerva are said to have been the parents of Erichthonius king of the Athenians, in whose last years Joshua (Jesus Nave) is found to have died. But because they will have Minerva to be a virgin, they say that in the contention of both, Vulcan, being moved, poured out his seed upon the earth, and that from thence a man was born, to whom for that cause such a name was given. For in the Greek language eris is contention, and chthon is earth; from which two the word Erichthonius is composed. But, what must be confessed, the more learned refell and reject these things from their gods, who report that this fabulous opinion arose from this, because in the temple of Vulcan and Minerva, which both had as one at Athens, a boy was found exposed, enveloped by a dragon, which signified that he would be great, and on account of the common temple, since his parents were unknown, he was said to be the son of Vulcan and Minerva: yet that fable rather than this history designates the origin of his name. But what is that to us? Let

the one instruct religious men in truthful books, let the other delight impure demons in fallacious games: whom nevertheless those religious men worship as gods; and when they deny these things concerning them, they cannot purge them from every crime, since they exhibit the games at their demand, where those things are basely acted which are, as it were, wisely denied, and the gods are appeased by these false and base things, where even if the fable sings a false crime of the deities, nevertheless to be delighted with a false crime is a true crime.

CHAPTER XIII.

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

After the death of Joshua (Jesus Nave), the people of God had Judges, in which times there alternated among them both the humiliations of labors for their sins, and the prosperities of consolations on account of the mercy of God. In these times fables were invented concerning Triptolemus, that at the command of Ceres, being carried by winged serpents, he brought corn by flying to the needy lands: concerning the Minotaur, that he was a beast shut up in the Labyrinth; into which when men had entered, by an inextricable error, they were not able to go out from thence: concerning the Centaurs, that the nature of horses and men was joined together: concerning Cerberus, that he is the three-headed dog of the lower regions: concerning Phryxus

and Helle his sister, that they flew being carried by a ram: concerning the Gorgon, that she was hairy with serpents, and turned those looking on into stones: concerning Bellerophon, that he was carried by a horse flying with wings, which horse was called Pegasus: concerning Amphion, that by the sweetness of his lyre he soothed and attracted stones: concerning the craftsman Daedalus, and his son Icarus, that they flew with wings fitted to themselves: concerning Oedipus, that he compelled a certain monster, which was called the Sphinx, a quadruped with a human face, to perish by its own precipice, the question having been solved which was wont to be proposed by it as if an insoluble one: concerning Antaeus, whom Hercules slew, that he was the son of the Earth, on account of which falling to the earth he was wont to rise up stronger: and if perchance there are any other things I have omitted. These fables, as far as the Trojan war, where Marcus Varro finished the second book concerning the race of the Roman people, were so invented by the wits of men on the occasion of histories which contain things truly done, that they might not be attached to the reproaches of the deities. Furthermore, whoever invented that the most beautiful boy Ganymede was snatched by Jupiter for adultery, which wickedness king Tantalus did, and the fable attributed it to Jupiter; or that he sought the embrace of Danae through a golden shower, where the chapel of the woman is understood to have been corrupted by gold; which things in those times were either done or invented, or

done by others and invented concerning Jupiter, it cannot be said how much evil they presumed from the hearts of men, that they could patiently bear these lies, which nevertheless they even willingly embraced: who certainly the more devotedly they worship Jupiter, so much the more severely they ought to have punished those who dared to say these things concerning him. But now, not only are they not angry with those who invented these things; but they feared to have the gods themselves rather angry, that such fictions should even be acted in the theaters. In these times Latona brought forth Apollo, not that one whose oracles we were speaking above were wont to be consulted, but that one who with Hercules served Admetus: who nevertheless was so believed to be a god, that very many and almost all think that they were one and the same Apollo. Then also Father Liber made war in India, who had many women in his army, who were called Bacchae, not so much noble for virtue as for fury. Indeed some write that this Liber was both conquered and bound; some also that he was killed in battle by Perseus, nor are they silent as to where he was buried: and nevertheless in his name, as it were of a god, through impure demons the Bacchanalia rites, or rather sacrileges, were instituted: concerning whose rabid turpitude after so many years the senate was so ashamed, that it prohibited them from being in the city of Rome. Through those times Perseus and his wife Andromeda after they were dead, they so believed them to have been received into

heaven, that they did not blush, they did not fear, to designate their images with stars, and to call them by their names.

CHAPTER XIV.

Concerning the theological poets.

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

Latins Matuta: both nevertheless thinking her a goddess.

CHAPTER XV.

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

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

Now therefore the Laurentines were reigning certainly in Italy, from whom the Roman origin is more evidently derived after the Greeks: and yet hitherto the kingdom of the Assyrians remained, where Lampares was the twenty-third king, when Picus had begun to be the first of the Laurentines. Concerning the father of this Picus, Saturn, let the worshippers of such gods see what they think, who deny that he was a man: concerning whom others also have written, that he himself reigned in Italy before his son Picus; and Virgil says in more well-known letters: 'He composed an untaught race and one dispersed on the high mountains, and gave them laws,

and preferred that it be called Latium; since he had lain hidden safe in these shores; and the golden ages were, as they relate, under that king.' (Aeneid, book 8, lines 321-325.)

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

CHAPTER XVI.

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

Troy having been truly overturned, by that destruction everywhere sung and most well-known to boys, which both by its own magnitude and by the excellent tongues of writers is remarkably defamed and made public, and carried on already while Latinus, the son of Faunus, was reigning, from whom the kingdom of the Latins began to

be called, and that of the Laurentines ceased: the Greek victors, leaving behind the deleted Troy, and returning to their own, were lacerated and crushed by diverse and horrendous slaughters: and yet even from them they increased the number of their gods.

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

CHAPTER XVII.

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

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

CHAPTER XVIII.

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

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

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

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

3. These things have reached us not by just anyone, such as we would think unworthy to believe, but by those reporting them, whom we

would not think to have lied to us. Accordingly, what men are said, and is committed to letters, to be accustomed to be converted into wolves by the gods or rather the demons of the Arcadians, and that by her Songs Circe changed the companions of Ulysses (Virgil, Eclog. 8, v. 70), seems to me to have been able to happen according to that mode which I said; if however it was done.

But as for the Diomedean birds, since the genus of them is related to endure through the succession of progeny, I believe they were not made from changed men, but were substituted after men had been withdrawn; just as the hind for Iphigenia, the daughter of king Agamemnon. Nor could such juggleries have been difficult for demons permitted by the judgment of God: but because that virgin was afterwards found alive, it was easily recognized that the hind was substituted for her. But the companions of Diomedes, because they nowhere suddenly appeared, and afterwards appeared in no place, the evil angels being the avengers who lost them, are believed to have been converted into those birds which were led through and suddenly substituted for them from other places where this genus of birds is, secretly. But that they bring water in their beaks into the temple of Diomedes and sprinkle it, that they fawn upon those of Greek birth, and pursue foreigners, it is not to be wondered at that this is done by the instinct of demons; whose interest it is to persuade that Diomedes was made a god, for the purpose of deceiving men, so that they may worship many false gods with injury to the true

God, and serve dead men, who did not truly live even when they were living, with temples, altars, sacrifices, and priests (all which things, when they are right, are due only to the one living and true God).

CHAPTER XIX.

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

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

But the Latins made Aeneas a god for themselves, since when he died, he did not appear. The Sabines also related their first king Sancus, or as some call him Sanctus, among the gods. Through the same time Codrus, king of the Athenians, exposed himself unknown to be killed by the Peloponnesians, enemies of the same city: and it was done. In this way they proclaim that he liberated his fatherland. For the Peloponnesians

had received an answer that they would then finally overcome, if they did not kill their king. He deceived them therefore by appearing in the habit of a poor man, and by provoking them to his own slaughter through a quarrel. Whence Virgil says: 'And the quarrels of Codrus' (Ecl. V, v. 11). And the Athenians worshipped this man with the honor of sacrifices as if a god.

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

CHAPTER XX.

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

Soon, while the same were reigning through the mentioned places, the kingdom of the Israelites, the time of the Judges being finished, took its beginning from king Saul: at which time was the prophet Samuel. From that time therefore these kings of the Latins began to be, whom they used to cognominate Silvii: for from him who as the son of Aeneas was first called Silvius,

the others following both had proper names imposed on them, and this cognomen was not wanting; just as long after they were cognominated Caesars, who succeeded Caesar Augusto.

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

CHAPTER XXI.

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

Latium after Aeneas, whom they had made a god, had eleven kings, of whom none was made a god. But Aventinus, who follows Aeneas in the twelfth place, when he had been prostrated in war, and buried in that mountain which even now is named by his name, was added to the number of such gods as they used to make for

themselves. Others certainly were unwilling to write that he was killed in battle, but said that he did not appear: but neither was the mountain called from his name, but the Aventine was said from the advent (arrival) of birds. After this man no one was made a god in Latium, except Romulus the founder of Rome.

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

Moreover Procas reigned before Amulius. Furthermore Amulius had made the daughter of his brother Numitor, Rhea by name, who was also called Ilia, the mother of Romulus, a Vestal virgin; whom they will have conceived twins from Mars, in this way honoring or excusing her debauchery, and employing as an argument that a she-wolf nourished the exposed infants. For they think this kind of beast to pertain to Mars, so that forsooth a she-wolf should be believed to have moved her teats to the little ones because she recognized the sons of her lord Mars: although there are not wanting those who say that, when they lay wailing, having been exposed, they

were first collected by some harlot, and sucked her first breasts (moreover they used to call harlots lupae [she-wolves], whence even now their shameful places are called lupanaria), and they afterwards reached the shepherd Faustulus, and were nourished by his wife Acca. Although if for the purpose of convicting the man king, who had cruelly ordered them to be projected into the water, for those infants through whom so great a city was to be founded, the water having been divinely delivered from them, God wished to help through a suckling wild beast, what wonder is it? Amulius was succeeded in the Latian kingdom by his brother Numitor, the grandfather of Romulus, in the first year of which Numitor Rome was founded; and through this he reigned henceforth with his own grandson, that is, Romulus.

CHAPTER XXII.

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

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

dangers and a non-small vastation on both sides and by horrendous labor.

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

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

CHAPTER XXIII.

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

1. At the same time some relate the Erythraean Sibyl to have prophesied. Moreover Varro has handed down that there were more Sibyls, not one. This Erythraean Sibyl certainly wrote some manifest things concerning Christ: which we also first read in the Latin language in verses badly Latin and not standing, through the unskillfulness of some interpreter, as we afterwards knew. For the most distinguished man Flaccianus, who also was proconsul, a man of most easy eloquence and of much learning, when we were talking concerning Christ, brought forth to us a Greek codex, saying they were the songs of the Erythraean Sibyl, where he showed in a certain place in the heads of the verses the order of the letters having itself so, that these words were read in it: Ἰησοῦς Χρειστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ: which is in Latin, Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator. Moreover these verses, whose first letters render that sense which we said, as someone interpreted them in Latin and standing verses, contain this: Judgment's sign: the earth shall be wet with sweat. From heaven the King shall come, to be through the ages: Namely present in the flesh that He may judge the orb. Whence the unbelieving and the faithful shall discern God High with the saints, already in the term of the age itself. So souls with the flesh shall be present,

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

In these Latin verses translated from the Greek in whatever way, that sense could not occur there, which happens when the letters which are in their heads are connected, where the Y letter is placed in the Greek; because Latin words could not be found which would begin from the same letter and would suit the sentence. Moreover

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

2. Moreover, this Sibyl, whether Erythraean or, as some more believe, Cumaean, has nothing in her entire poem, of which this small portion is a part, that pertains to the worship of false or created gods; on the contrary, she speaks against them and against their worshipers in such a way that she seems to be counted among those who belong to the City of God. Lactantius also inserts into his work certain prophecies of the Sibyl concerning Christ, although he does not express whose. But those which he placed separately, I thought should be put together, as if it were one long piece, which he mentioned as several and

brief ones. "Into the iniquitous hands," she says, "of the unfaithful He shall afterwards come: they shall give slaps to God with incestuous hands, and with impure mouth they shall spit out poisonous spittle: but He shall give a simple holy back to the scourges. And receiving buffets He shall be silent, lest anyone recognize what word, or whence it comes that He speaks to the lower regions, and be crowned with a thorny crown. Moreover, for food they gave gall, and for thirst vinegar: they shall show this table of inhospitality. For you, starting yourself, did not understand your God, playing with the minds of mortals; but you crowned Him with thorns, and mixed horrid gall. Indeed, the veil of the temple shall be rent: and in the middle of the day there shall be night, exceedingly dark for three hours. And He shall die by death for three days, sleep being undertaken: and then returning from the lower regions to the light He shall come first, showing to the recalled the principle of resurrection." These Sibylline testimonies Lactantius applied piecemeal through the intervals of his disputation, as those things which he had intended to prove seemed to require them, which we, interposing nothing but placing them connected in one series, have taken care to distinguish only by headings, if however the writers henceforth do not neglect to preserve them. Some indeed have written that the Erythraean Sibyl was not at the time of Romulus, but at the time of the Trojan war.

CHAPTER XXIV.—That during the reign of Romulus the seven Sages flourished, at which

time the ten tribes which were called Israel were led into captivity by the Chaldeans, and the same Romulus having died was endowed with divine honor.

While the same Romulus was reigning, Thales of Miletus is said to have been, one of the seven Sages, who after the theological poets, among whom Orpheus was most ennobled of all, were called Σοφοί, which is in Latin Sages. Through the same time the ten tribes, which in the division of the people were called Israel, having been defeated by the Chaldeans, were led captive into those lands, while those two tribes remained in the land of Judea, which were called by the name of Judah, and had the seat of their kingdom at Jerusalem. The Romans returned the dead Romulus into the gods, since he himself also had not appeared, which is also very well known to the common people; which had already ceased to happen to such an extent, nor was it done afterwards except by flattering, not by erring, in the times of the Caesars, so that Cicero attributes it to the great praises of Romulus, that he merited these honors not in rude and untaught times, when men were easily deceived, but in already polished and learned times; although the subtle and sharp loquacity of the philosophers had not yet boiled over and sprouted. But even if later times did not institute dead men as gods, nevertheless they did not cease to worship and have those instituted by the ancients as gods: rather they even increased the allure of vain and impious superstition with images, which the ancients

did not have, the unclean demons effecting this in their hearts, deceiving also through fallacious oracles, so that the fabulous crimes of the gods also, which were no longer feigned in a more refined age, nevertheless were shamefully acted out through games in the service of the same false divinities. Numa reigned next after Romulus, who since he thought that city should certainly be fortified with a multitude of false gods, himself having died did not merit to be returned into the same crowd, as if he were thought to have so crowded the heaven with a multitude of divinities that he could not find a place there. While he was reigning at Rome, and among the Hebrews at the beginning of the reign of Manasseh, by which impious king the prophet Isaiah is said to have been killed, they say the Samian Sibyl existed.

CHAPTER XXV.

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

While Zedekiah was reigning among the Hebrews, and Tarquinius Priscus among the Romans, who had succeeded Ancus Marcius, the people of the Jews were led captive into Babylonia, Jerusalem and that temple constructed by Solomon having been overturned. For the Prophets, rebuking them concerning their iniquities and impieties, had foretold that these things would come to them, especially Jeremiah, who

also defined the number of years (Jer. XXV, 11). At that time Pittacus of Mitylene, another of the seven Sages, is said to have been. And the five others, who so that seven may be numbered are added to Thales, whom we mentioned above, and to this Pittacus, Eusebius writes existed at that time in which the captive people of God were held in Babylonia. Moreover, these are Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedaemon, Periander of Corinth, Cleobulus of Lindus, Bias of Priene. All these called the seven Sages flourished after the theological poets, because they excelled other men by a certain laudable kind of life, and comprised some precepts of morals in brevity of sentences. Moreover, they left nothing of monuments, as far as pertains to letters, to posterity, except that Solon is said to have given certain laws to the Athenians; Thales indeed was a physicist, and left books of his dogmas. At that time of the Judaic captivity, both Anaximander and Anaximenes and Xenophanes, physicists, flourished. Then also Pythagoras, from whom they began to be called philosophers.

CHAPTER XXVI.

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

Through the same time Cyrus, king of the Persians, who also commanded the Chaldeans and Assyrians, some part of the captivity of the Jews having been relaxed, caused fifty thousand men

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

CHAPTER XXVII.

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

Therefore, so that we may be able to notice their times, let us run back a little into former things. At the head of the book of the prophet

Hosea, who is placed first in the twelve, it is thus written: "The word of the Lord which was made to Hosea in the days of Uzziah, and Jotham, and Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah" (Hosea I, 1). Amos also writes that he prophesied in the days of king Uzziah: he adds also Jeroboam king of Israel, who was through the same days (Amos I, 1). Likewise Isaiah the son of Amoz, either of the aforesaid prophet or, as is more related, of another who was not a prophet, called by the same name, places the same four kings whom Hosea placed, at the head of his book, in whose days he speaks before that he prophesied. Micah also mentions the same times of his prophecy after the days of Uzziah. For he names the three kings who follow, whom Hosea also named, Jotham, and Ahaz, and Hezekiah (Micah I, 1). These are those who are found to have prophesied together at the same time from their writings. To these is added Jonah, the same king Uzziah reigning, and Joel when Jotham had already reigned, who succeeded Uzziah. But the times of these two prophets we were able to find in the Chronicles, not in their books, because they are silent concerning their days. Moreover, these days are stretched from the king of the Latins Procas, or the former Aventinus, up to king Romulus already of the Romans, or even up to the beginnings of the reign of his successor Numa Pompilius: for Hezekiah king of Judah reigned up to that point; and through this, through those times, those like fountains of prophecy broke forth together, when the Assyrian kingdom failed, and the Roman

began: so that, namely, just as in the first time of the kingdom of the Assyrians Abraham existed, to whom very open promises were made in his seed of the blessing of all nations; so in the beginning of the western Babylon, under whose command Christ was to come, in whom those promised oracles of the Prophets would be fulfilled, not only of those speaking but also of those writing, they would be released in testimony of so great a future thing. For since prophets had almost never been lacking to the people of Israel, from the time when kings began to be there, they were for their use only, not for the nations: but when that script was more manifestly established as prophetic, which would someday benefit the nations, then it ought to begin, when this city was being established, which would command the nations.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

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

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

people of the Gentiles themselves are also spiritually in the sons of Abraham, and through this are rightly called Israel, therefore he follows and says: "And the sons of Judah and the sons of Israel shall be gathered together into that very thing, and they shall place for themselves one leadership, and they shall ascend from the earth" (Hosea I, 11). If we should still wish to explain this, the flavor of the prophetic speech will be dulled. Yet let that cornerstone be recalled, and those two walls, one from the Jews, the other from the Gentiles (Eph. II, 14, 15, 20-22); the former under the name of the sons of Judah, the latter under the name of the sons of Israel, leaning upon the same one leadership of theirs into that very thing, and let them be recognized as ascending from the earth. Moreover, the same prophet testifies that those carnal Israelites, who now refuse to believe in Christ, will believe later —that is, their sons (for certainly these will pass by dying into their own place)—saying: "Because for many days the sons of Israel shall sit without a king, without a prince, without a sacrifice, without an altar, without a priesthood, without manifestations." Who does not see that the Jews are now thus? But let us hear what he adds: "And afterward," he says, "the sons of Israel shall return, and shall seek the Lord their God, and David their king: and they shall be amazed in the Lord, and in His goods, in the last days" (Hosea III, 4, 5, according to the LXX). Nothing is clearer than that prophecy, since by the name of king David, Christ is understood to be signified, who was made, as

the Apostle says, "from the seed of David according to the flesh" (Rom. I, 3). This prophet also foretold that the resurrection of Christ would be on the third day, as it was fitting for it to be foretold with prophetic height, where he says: "He will heal us after two days, on the third day we shall rise again" (Hosea VI, 3). According to this, indeed, the Apostle says to us: "If you have risen with Christ, seek those things which are above" (Col. III, 1). Amos also thus prophesies concerning such things: "Prepare yourself," he says, "that you may invoke your God, Israel; because behold, I am He that establishes the thunder, and creates the spirit, and announces His Christ among men" (Amos IV, 12-13, according to the LXX). And in another place: "In that day," he says, "I will raise up the tabernacle of David which has fallen, and I will rebuild those things of it which have fallen, and I will raise up its destroyed things, and I will rebuild them as the days of the age; so that the remnant of men may seek me, and all the nations in which my name has been invoked upon them, says the Lord who does these things" (Amos IX, 11-12, according to the LXX).

CHAPTER XXIX.

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

1. The prophet Isaiah is not in the book of the twelve Prophets, who are therefore called minor because their speeches are brief, in comparison with those who are therefore called major be-

cause they established lengthy volumes: of which this Isaiah is one, whom I subjoin to the aforesaid two on account of the same times of prophecy. Isaiah, therefore, among those things in which he argued against iniquities, and commanded just things, and foretold future evils to the sinful people, prophesied also concerning Christ and the Church—that is, concerning the King and the city which He established—far more things than the others: so that he might rather be called an evangelist by some than a prophet. But for the sake of finishing the work, I will place one of many in this spot. Speaking indeed from the person of God the Father: "Behold," he says, "my servant shall understand, and shall be exalted, and shall be glorified exceedingly. Just as many shall be amazed over you, so shall your appearance be deprived of glory among men, and your glory among men: so shall many nations wonder over him, and kings shall keep their mouths closed: because they to whom it has not been announced concerning him, shall see; and they who have not heard, shall understand. Lord, who has believed our hearing, and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? We have announced before him, as an infant, as a root in a thirsty land: there is no appearance in him, nor glory. And we saw him, and he had no appearance, nor beauty: but his appearance was without honor, failing before all men. A man placed in a plague, and knowing how to bear infirmity: because his face was turned away: he was dishonored, nor was he highly esteemed. This man bears our sins, and grieves

for us: and we thought him to be in grief, and in a plague, and in affliction. But he was wounded on account of our iniquities, and was weakened on account of our sins. The instruction of our peace is in him: by his bruise we are healed. All we as sheep have wandered, man has wandered from his way: and the Lord has delivered him for our sins: and he, on account of that for which he was afflicted, did not open his mouth. He was led as a sheep to be sacrificed, and as a lamb before him who shears him, without voice, so he did not open his mouth. In humility his judgment was taken away. His generation, who shall relate? Because his life shall be taken from the earth. By the iniquities of my people he was led to death. And I will give the wicked for his burial, and the rich for his death. Because he did not commit iniquity, nor was there guile in his mouth: and the Lord wishes to cleanse him from the plague. If you shall give your soul for sin, you shall see a long-lived seed: and the Lord wishes to take away his soul from grief, to show him light, and to form understanding, to justify the just one serving well to many: and he himself shall bear their sins. Therefore he himself shall inherit many, and shall divide the spoils of the strong: on account of which his soul was delivered up to death; and he was esteemed among the iniquitous, and he himself bore the sins of many, and on account of their sins he was delivered up (Isa. LII, 13-15; LIII, 1-12, according to the LXX). These things are concerning Christ.

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

CHAPTER XXX.

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

1. The prophet Micah, placing Christ in the figure of a certain great mountain, speaks these things: "It shall be in the last days that the mountain of the Lord shall be manifest, prepared above the peaks of the mountains; and it shall be

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

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

would return from the deep of hell on the third day?

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

CHAPTER XXXI.

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

1. Three prophets from the minor ones, Obadiah, Nahum, and Habakkuk, neither say their own times themselves, nor is it found in the Chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome when they prophesied. For Obadiah is indeed placed by them with Micah, but not in that place where the times are noted, since it is clear from Micah's writings when he prophesied: which I think happened by the error of those describing the labors of others negligently. But the other two mentioned in the codices of the Chronicles which we had, we were not able to find: yet because they

are contained in the canon, it is not fitting that they themselves be passed over by us. Obadiah, as far as pertains to his writing, the shortest of all the Prophets, speaks against Idumaea—namely, the nation of Esau, from the two twin sons of Isaac, grandsons of Abraham, the elder of whom was reprobate. Furthermore, if we accept Idumaea as placed for the nations by that mode of speech in which a part is understood for the whole: we are able to recognize concerning Christ what he says among other things, "But on mount Sion there shall be salvation, and it shall be holy." And a little after at the end of the same prophecy: "And they that have been saved shall ascend from mount Sion," he says, "that they may defend mount Esau, and the kingdom shall be the Lord's" (Obad. 17, 21, according to the LXX). Indeed it appears that this was fulfilled, when they that were saved from mount Sion—that is, from Judea, believing in Christ, who are especially recognized as the Apostles—ascended, that they might defend mount Esau. How should they defend it, unless by making them safe through the preaching of the Gospel who believed, so that they might be rescued from the power of darkness, and be transferred into the kingdom of God? Which he consequently expressed by adding, "And the kingdom shall be the Lord's." For mount Sion signifies Judea, where the future salvation was foretold, and the holy one, who is Christ Jesus: but mount Esau is Idumaea, through which the Church of the nations is signified, which they defended, as I have explained, having been saved

from mount Sion, so that the kingdom might be the Lord's. This was obscure before it happened; but what faithful person would not recognize it having happened?

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

3. Concerning whom else than concerning the advent of Christ, which was to be, is Habakkuk understood to say, "And the Lord answered me, and said, Write the vision openly on a box-tablet; that he who reads them may attain it: because the vision is yet for a time, and it shall arise in the

end, and not in vain: if it shall tarry, wait for him; because coming he will come, and will not delay" (Hab. II, 2-3)?

CHAPTER XXXII.

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

In his Prayer indeed with a Song, to whom does he say, unless to the Lord Christ, "Lord, I have heard your hearing, and I was afraid; Lord, I have considered your works, and I was terrified"? For what is this, except an ineffable admiration of the foreknown, new, and sudden salvation of men? "In the midst of two animals you shall be known," what is it, unless either in the midst of the two Testaments, or in the midst of the two thieves, or in the midst of Moses and Elijah talking with him on the mountain? "While the years approach, you shall be known; in the advent of the time you shall be shown," nor is it to be explained. "In that while my soul shall have been troubled, in wrath you will be mindful of mercy," what is it, unless that he transfigured in himself the Jews, of whose nation he was, who when troubled with great wrath were crucifying Christ, he mindful of mercy said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke XXIII, 34)? "God shall come from Teman, and the holy one from the shady and thick mountain." What was said here, "he shall come from Teman," others have interpreted "from the South," or "from the African wind": through which the midday is

signified—that is, the fervor of charity and the splendor of truth. But the shady and thick mountain, although it can be understood in many ways, I would more willingly accept as the height of the divine Scriptures, by which Christ was prophesied. For there are many shady and thick things there, which may exercise the mind of the seeker. But He comes from there, when He finds him there who understands. "His power covered the heavens, and the earth is full of his praise," what is it, unless what is also said in the Psalm, "Be exalted above the heavens, O God, and your glory above all the earth" (Psalm LVI, 6)? "His splendor shall be as light," what is it, unless, His fame shall illuminate the believers? "Horns are in his hands," what is it, unless the trophy of the cross? "And he placed firm charity of his strength," nor is it to be explained. "Before his face shall go the word, and it shall go forth into the field after his feet," what is it, unless that both before he came here, he was foretold; and after he returned from here, he was announced? "He stood, and the earth was moved," what is it, unless he stood to help; and the earth was moved to believe? "He looked and the nations melted away": that is, he had mercy, and made the peoples penitent. "The mountains were crushed with violence": that is, by the miracles doing force, the pride of the elated was crushed. "The eternal hills flowed down": that is, they were humbled for a time, so that they might be raised up for eternity. "I saw his eternal entrances for labors": that is, not without the reward of

eternity did I behold the labor of charity. "The tabernacles of the Ethiopians shall be terrified, and the tabernacles of the land of Midian": that is, the nations suddenly terrified by the news of your wonders, even those which are not under Roman law, shall be among the Christian people. "Were you angry in the rivers, O Lord, or was your fury in the rivers, or your impulse in the sea?" This was said for this reason, because he did not come now to judge the world, but that the world might be saved through him (John III, 17). "Because you shall ascend upon your horses; and your riding is salvation": that is, your Evangelists shall carry you, who are ruled by you; and your Gospel is salvation to them who believe in you. "Stretching you shall stretch your bow over the scepters, says the Lord": that is, you shall threaten your judgment even to the kings of the earth. "The earth shall be rent by rivers": that is, by the flowing speeches of those preaching you, the hearts of men shall be opened to confession, to whom it was said, "Rend your hearts, and not your garments" (Joel II, 13). What is, "The peoples shall see you, and shall grieve," unless that by mourning they may be blessed? What is, "Scattering the waters by his pace," unless by walking in those who announce you everywhere, here and there you scatter the streams of doctrine? What is, "The abyss gave its voice"? did the depth of the human heart express what it seemed to it? "The height of its fantasy," as if it were an explanation of the upper verse; for the height is the abyss. But what he says, "of its fantasy,"

must be understood, "it gave its voice": that is, what we said, it expressed what it seemed to it. For fantasy is a vision, which it did not hold, did not cover, but by confessing belched forth. "The sun was raised, and the moon stood in its order": that is, Christ ascended into heaven, and the Church was ordained under its king. "Into light your darts shall go": that is, not into secret, but into manifest your words shall be sent. "Into the splendor of the lightning of your arms": it must be understood, "your darts shall go." For he had said to his own, "What I say to you in darkness, speak in the light" (Matt. X, 27). "In threat you shall diminish the earth": that is, by threatening you shall humble men. "And in fury you shall cast down the nations": because you shall crush those who exalt themselves by taking vengeance. "You went forth into the salvation of your people, that you might save your anointed ones; you sent death into the heads of the iniquitous": none of these is to be explained. "You raised chains even unto the neck." And here good chains of wisdom can be understood, so that the feet may be cast into its fetters, and the neck into its collar. "You cut off in amazement of mind": let us understand, "the chains": for he raised the good, he cut off the evil, concerning which it is said to him, "You have broken my chains" (Psalm CXV, 16): and this "in amazement of mind," that is, wonderfully. "The heads of the powerful shall be moved in it": in that admiration, namely. "They shall open their bites, as a poor man eating secretly." For certain powerful ones of the Jews came to the Lord, hav-

ing wondered at his deeds and words, and being hungry they ate the bread of doctrine secretly on account of the fear of the Jews, as the Gospel has betrayed them (John XIX, 38). "And you sent into the sea your horses, troubling many waters": which are nothing else than many peoples. For neither would some be converted by fear, and others pursue by fury, unless all were troubled. "I observed, and my belly was terrified from the voice of the prayer of my lips: and trembling entered into my bones, and under me my habit was troubled." He attended to those things which he was saying, and he was terrified by his own prayer, which he was pouring forth prophetically, and in which he was discerning future things. For many peoples being troubled, he saw the tribulations imminent to the Church, and immediately he recognized himself a member of it, and said, "I shall rest in the day of tribulation": as if pertaining to those who are rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation (Rom. XII, 12). "That I may ascend," he says, "into the people of my pilgrimage": departing certainly from the wicked people of his carnal kindred, not pilgrimaging in this earth, nor seeking the supernal country. "Since the fig tree," he says, "shall not bring forth fruits, and there shall be no births in the vines: the work of the olive tree shall lie, and the fields shall not make food. The sheep have failed from food, and there are no oxen left in the stalls." He saw that nation, which was to kill Christ, about to lose the abundance of spiritual riches, which he figured by earthly fecundity in the prophetic manner.

And because that nation suffered such wrath of God for this reason, because being ignorant of the justice of God, it wished to establish its own (Id. X, 3), he immediately says, "But I will exult in the Lord, I will rejoice in God my savior." "The Lord God is my strength, he will set my feet into consummation; he will place me above high places, that I may overcome in his song" (Habakkuk III), namely that song concerning which certain similar things are said in the Psalm: "He set my feet upon a rock, and directed my steps; and he put into my mouth a new song, a hymn to our God" (Psalm XXXIX, 3 and 4). He therefore overcomes in the song of the Lord, who pleases in His praise, not his own, so that "he who glories, let him glory in the Lord" (I Cor. I, 31). But some codices seem to me to have better, "I will rejoice in God my Jesus," than those who wishing to place it in Latin, did not place the name itself, which is more friendly and sweeter for us to name.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

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

1. The prophet Jeremiah is of the major ones, like Isaiah; not of the minor ones, like the rest, of whose writings I have already placed some things. But he prophesied while Josiah was reigning in Jerusalem, and among the Romans Ancus Marcius, the captivity of the Jews already approaching. But he stretched his prophecy even

unto the fifth month of the captivity: as we find in his writings. But Zephaniah, one of the minor ones, is subjoined to him. For he himself also says that he prophesied in the days of Josiah (Zeph. I, 1): but how far, he does not say. Jeremiah, therefore, prophesied not only in the times of Ancus Marcius, but also of Tarquinius Priscus, whom the Romans had as their fifth king. For he himself, when that captivity was made, had already begun to reign. Jeremiah, therefore, prophesying of Christ: "The Spirit of our mouth," he says, "the Lord Christ was caught in our sins" (Lam. IV, 20); thus briefly showing both that Christ is our Lord, and that he suffered for us. Likewise in another place: "This is my God," he says, "and another shall not be esteemed in comparison to him: who found every way of prudence, and gave it to Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved: after these things he was seen on earth, and conversed with men" (Baruch III, 36-38). Some attribute this testimony not to Jeremiah, but to his scribe, who was called Baruch: but it is held more celebratedly as of Jeremiah. Again the same prophet concerning him: "Behold, the days come, says the Lord, and I will raise up to David a just sprout, and a king shall reign, and he shall be wise, and shall do judgment and justice on the earth." "In those days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell confidently: and this is the name that they shall call him, The Lord our Just One" (Jer. XXIII, 5, 6). Concerning the calling of the nations also, which was to be (and we now discern it fulfilled), he spoke thus: "O Lord, my God and my refuge

in the day of evils, to you the nations shall come from the end of the earth, and shall say: Truly our fathers have worshipped lying idols, and there is no utility in them" (Jer. XVI, 19). But because the Jews were not going to recognize him, by whom it was also fitting that he be killed, the same prophet thus signifies: "The heart is heavy through all things, and he is a man, and who shall know him" (Jer. XVII, 9, according to the LXX)? Of him is also that which I placed in the seventeenth book concerning the New Testament, of which Christ is the mediator. For Jeremiah himself says, "Behold the days come, says the Lord, and I will consummate a New Testament over the house of Jacob" (Jer. XXXI, 31), and the rest which are read there.

2. But of the prophet Zephaniah, who was prophesying with Jeremiah, I will place these things foretold of Christ in the meantime: "Wait for me, says the Lord, in the day of my resurrection, for the future: because my judgment is that I may gather the nations, and collect the kingdoms" (Zeph. III, 8). And again: "The Lord shall be terrible over them," he says, "and he shall exterminate all the gods of the earth; and each man from his place shall adore him, all the islands of the nations" (Zeph. II, 11). And a little after: "Then," he says, "I will turn a language into the peoples, and into its offspring, so that all may invoke the name of the Lord, and serve him under one yoke; from the ends of the rivers of Ethiopia they shall bring victims to me." "In that day you shall not be confounded for all

your inventions, which you did impiously against me: because then I will take away from you the depravities of your injury; and you shall no longer add that you should be magnified over my holy mountain: and I will leave in you a gentle and humble people; and they shall fear from the name of the Lord, who shall be the remnant of Israel" (Zeph. III, 9-13, according to the LXX). These are the remnants, concerning whom it is prophesied elsewhere, which the Apostle also commemorates: "If the number of the sons of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, the remnant shall be saved" (Isa. X, 22; Rom. IX. 27). For these remnants of that nation believed in Christ.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

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

1. Furthermore, in the Babylonian captivity itself, Daniel and Ezekiel, namely two others from the major Prophets, first prophesied. Of these, Daniel even defined by the number of years the time in which Christ was to come and to suffer: which is long to show by computing, and has been done by others before us. But concerning His power and glory he spoke thus: "I saw," he says, "in a vision of the night, and behold, one like the Son of Man was coming with the clouds of heaven, and he reached even unto the Ancient of Days; and he was brought into his presence; and to him was given leadership, and honor, and a kingdom: and all peoples, tribes, and languages

shall serve him." "His power is a perpetual power, which shall not pass away; and his kingdom shall not be corrupted" (Dan. VII, 13 and 14).

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

CHAPTER XXXV.

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

1. There remain three minor Prophets, who prophesied at the end of the captivity, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Of these, Haggai prophesied Christ and the Church with this more open brevity: "Thus says the Lord of hosts: Yet one little while, and I will move the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land, and I will move all nations; and the Desired of all nations shall come" (Hag. II, 7-8). This prophecy is discerned partly already fulfilled, partly hoped to be fulfilled in the end. For He moved the heaven by the testimony of Angels and stars, when Christ was incarnate. He moved the earth by a great miracle, from the very birth of the virgin. He moved the sea and the dry land, when Christ is announced both in the islands and in the whole world. Thus we see all nations moved to the faith. Now indeed what follows, "And the Desired of all nations shall come," is expected concerning his last advent. For that he might be desired by those expecting him, it was first necessary that he be beloved by those believing in him.

2. Zechariah concerning Christ and the Church: "Exult greatly," he says, "O daughter of Sion; shout for joy, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold your King shall come to you, just, and a savior; he is poor, and ascending upon an ass, and upon a colt the son of an ass: and his power is from sea even unto sea, and from the rivers even unto the ends of the earth" (Zech. IX, 9-10). When this was done, that the Lord Christ should use a beast of burden of this kind on his journey, is read in the Gospel: where this prophecy is

also commemorated in part, as much as seemed to suffice for that place (Matt. XXI). In another place speaking in the Spirit of prophecy to Christ himself concerning the remission of sins through his blood: "You also," he says, "in the blood of your covenant have sent forth your prisoners from the lake in which there is no water" (Zech. IX, 11). What he wishes to be understood by this lake, diverse things can be felt, even according to the right faith. Yet to me it seems better not to be signified by it, unless in a certain way the dry and sterile depth of human misery, where there are no streams of justice, but the mud of iniquity. Concerning this indeed it is also said in the Psalm: "And he led me out from the lake of misery, and from the mud of the slime" (Psalm XXXIX, 3).

3. Malachi, prophesying the Church which we see propagated through Christ, says most openly to the Jews from the person of God: "I have no will in you, and I will not receive a gift from your hand." "For from the rising of the sun even unto the setting, my name is great among the nations, and in every place sacrifice shall be offered and a clean oblation offered to my name: because my name is great among the nations, says the Lord" (Mal. I, 10). This sacrifice through the priesthood of Christ according to the order of Melchizedek, since we already see it offered to God in every place from the rising of the sun even unto the setting, while the sacrifice of the Jews—to whom it was said, "I have no will in you, nor will I receive a gift from your hands"—they cannot deny to have ceased; why do they yet expect another

Christ, since this which they read prophesied and see fulfilled, could not have been fulfilled except through him? For he says a little after concerning him from the person of God: "My covenant was with him of life and peace: and I gave to him that he should fear me with fear, and should reverence from the face of my name." "The law of truth was in his mouth, in peace directing he walked with me, and converted many from iniquity: because the lips of the priest shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law from his mouth; because he is the angel of the Lord almighty" (Mal. II, 5-7). Nor is it to be wondered at, because Christ Jesus was called the angel of the almighty God. For just as he is a servant on account of the form of a servant, in which he came to men; so also he is an angel on account of the Gospel, which he announced to men. For if we should interpret those Greek things, both Gospel is a good announcement, and an angel is a messenger. Concerning him indeed he says again: "Behold I send my angel, and he shall look out the way before my face: and suddenly the Lord whom you seek shall come into his temple, and the angel of the covenant whom you wish." "Behold he comes, says the Lord almighty: and who shall sustain the day of his entrance? or who shall resist in his sight?" (Mal. III, 1-2) In this place he foretold both the first and second advent of Christ: the first namely, of which he says, "And suddenly he shall come into his temple"; that is, into his flesh, concerning which he said in the Gospel, "Destroy this temple, and in three days

I will raise it up" (John II, 19): but the second, where he says, "Behold he comes, says the Lord almighty, and who shall sustain the day of his entrance, or who shall resist in his sight?" But that he says, "The Lord whom you seek, and the angel of the covenant whom you wish," he signified certainly that even the Jews according to the Scriptures which they read, seek and wish for Christ. But many of them did not recognize that he whom they sought and wished for had come, being blinded in their hearts by their preceding merits. What he certainly names here a covenant, or above, where he says, "My covenant was with him"; or here, where he called him the angel of the covenant: we ought without doubt to accept as the New Testament, where there are eternal things; not the old, where temporal things are promised: which very many infirm ones, holding as great, and serving the true God for the reward of such things, are troubled when they see the impious abound in them. On account of which the same prophet, that he might distinguish the eternal beatitude of the New Testament, which shall not be given unless to the good, from the earthly felicity of the old, which for the most part is given also to the evil: "Your words have grown heavy over me, says the Lord, and you have said, In what have we detracted from you?" "You have said, Vain is everyone who serves God; and what more, because we have kept his observations, and because we have walked as suppliants before the face of the Lord almighty?" "And now we beatify strangers, and all who do iniquitous things are

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

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Concerning Ezra and the books of the Maccabees.

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

CHAPTER XXXVII.

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

Therefore, at the time of our Prophets, whose writings have now reached the knowledge of almost all nations, the philosophers of the Gentiles, who were also called by this name, did not yet exist; for that name began from Pythagoras of Samos, who began to excel and be known at the time when the captivity of the Jews was dissolved. Much more, therefore, are the other philosophers found to have existed after the Prophets. For Socrates the Athenian himself, the master of all who then especially flourished, holding the primacy in that part which is called moral or active, is found in the Chronicles after Ezra. Not long after, Plato also was born, who far surpassed the rest of the disciples of Socrates. To these if we add even the earlier ones, who were not yet called philosophers, namely the seven Sages, and then the physicists who succeeded Thales, having imitated his zeal in investigating the nature of things, namely Anaximander and Anaximenes and Anaxagoras, and some others, before Pythagoras first professed himself a philosopher, not even they precede all our Prophets in the antiquity of time: since Thales, after whom the others existed, is said to have flourished when Romulus was reigning, when the river of prophecy burst forth from the fountains of Israel in those letters which were to flow through the whole world. Therefore, only those theological poets, Orpheus, Linus, Musaeus, and if there was any other among the Greeks, are found to be prior in years to these Hebrew Prophets whose writings we have in authority.

But not even they preceded in time our true theologian Moses, who truly preached one true God, whose writings are now first in the canon of authority: and by this, as far as the Greeks are concerned, in whose language the literature of this world especially flourished, they have nothing from which to boast of their wisdom, by which our religion, where true wisdom is, should seem if not superior, at least more ancient. Indeed, as must be confessed, not indeed in Greece, but in barbarian nations, such as in Egypt, there had already been before Moses some doctrine which might be called their wisdom: otherwise it would not be written in the holy Books that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Acts VII, 22), then certainly when he was born there, and having been adopted and nourished by the daughter of Pharaoh, was also liberally educated. But not even the wisdom of the Egyptians could precede in time the wisdom of our Prophets, since Abraham also was a prophet (Gen. XX, 7). What wisdom, moreover, could there be in Egypt before Isis, whom they thought should be worshipped as a great goddess after her death, handed over letters to them? Isis, furthermore, is reported to have been the daughter of Inachus, who first began to reign over the Argives, when the grandsons of Abraham are found to have already arisen.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

That the ecclesiastical canon did not receive certain writings of the saints on account of their extreme antiquity, lest by

occasion of them false things should be inserted among the true.

Now indeed, if I were to repeat much older things, even before that great flood our patriarch Noah was certainly ours, whom I would not undeservedly call a prophet: if indeed the very ark which he made, and in which he escaped with his own, was a prophecy of our times. What of Enoch, the seventh from Adam, is he not also declared to have prophesied in the canonical epistle of the apostle Jude (Jude 14)? That their writings were not in authority among the Jews and among us, their extreme antiquity brought about, on account of which they seemed to be held suspected, lest false things be brought forward instead of true. For certain things are even brought forward which are said to be theirs by those who everywhere believe what they wish according to their own sense. But the chastity of the canon did not receive them, not that the authority of those men who pleased God is rejected, but that these things are not believed to be theirs. Nor ought it to seem wonderful that those things are held suspected which are brought forward under the name of such great antiquity; since in the history itself of the kings of Judah and the kings of Israel, which contains deeds performed concerning which we believe the same canonical Scripture, very many things are commemorated which are not explained there, and are said to be found in other books which the Prophets wrote, and in some places the names of those Prophets are not kept silent (1 Chron. XXIX, 29; 2 Chron. IX, 29); yet they

are not found in the canon which the people of God received. Of which thing, I confess, the cause is hidden from me; unless it be that I think that even they themselves, to whom the Holy Spirit certainly revealed those things which ought to be in the authority of religion, could write some things like men with historical diligence, others like Prophets by divine inspiration; and that these things were so distinct that those were judged to be attributed to themselves as individuals, but these indeed to God speaking through them; and so those pertained to the abundance of knowledge, these to the authority of religion: in which authority the canon is guarded, outside of which if any writings are now brought forward even under the name of the ancient Prophets, they do not even avail for the same abundance of science, since it is uncertain whether they are theirs whose they are said to be; and on this account faith is not held in them, especially in those in which certain things are read even against the faith of the canonical books, on account of which it appears that they are altogether not theirs.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

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

Therefore, it is not to be believed, as some think, that the Hebrew language alone was preserved through him who was called Heber, whence the name of the Hebrews is derived, and that Hebrew letters began from the law

which was given through Moses; but rather that through that succession of fathers, the mentioned language was guarded with its own letters. Finally, Moses appointed among the people of God those who should be in charge of teaching letters, before they knew any letters of the divine law. These the Scripture calls grammatoeisagogeis, which in Latin can be called litterarum inductores or introductores (introducers of letters), because they introduce them, that is, they lead them in a certain way into the hearts of the learners, or rather they lead the learners themselves into them. Therefore, let no nation boast with any vanity concerning the antiquity of its wisdom over our Patriarchs and Prophets, in whom was divine wisdom; since not even Egypt is found, which is accustomed to boast falsely and vainly concerning the antiquity of its doctrines, to have preceded the wisdom of our Patriarchs with any wisdom of its own in their time. For no one will dare to say that they were most skilled in wonderful disciplines before they knew letters, that is, before Isis had come there and taught them there. Furthermore, that memorable doctrine of theirs, which was called wisdom, what was it but especially astronomy, and if there was anything else of such disciplines which is accustomed to avail more for exercising the wits than for illuminating the minds with true wisdom? For as pertains to philosophy, which professes to teach something from which men may become blessed, around the times of Mercury, whom they called Trismegistus, studies

of this kind flourished in those lands: far indeed before the sages or philosophers of Greece, but yet after Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Joseph; certainly even after Moses himself. For at that time in which Moses was born, that great astrologer Atlas is found to have existed, the brother of Prometheus, the maternal grandfather of the elder Mercury, whose grandson was this Mercury Trismegistus.

CHAPTER XL.

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

In vain, therefore, do certain people babble with most vain presumption, saying that since Egypt understood the system of the stars, more than a hundred thousand years are numbered. For in what books have they collected that number, who learned letters with Isis as their mistress not much before two thousand years ago? For Varro is no small authority in history, who handed this down, which does not disagree with the truth of the divine letters. For since from the very first man, who was called Adam, six thousand years are not yet completed, how are those not rather to be laughed at than refuted, who try to persuade us of a space of times so diverse and so contrary to this explored truth? For whom do we believe better narrating past things than him who also predicted future things, which we already see as present? For even

the dissonance of historians among themselves provides us with abundance, so that we ought rather to believe him who does not repugn the divine history which we hold. Furthermore, the citizens of the impious city, diffused everywhere through the lands, when they read most learned men, the authority of none of whom seems to be despised, disagreeing among themselves concerning deeds performed most remote from the memory of our age, do not find whom they ought rather to believe. But we, supported by divine authority in the history of our religion, do not doubt that whatever resists it is most false, in whatever way other things may have themselves in secular letters; which whether they be true or false, bring nothing of moment for us to live rightly and blessedly.

CHAPTER XLI.

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

1. But that we may now omit the knowledge of history, why did the philosophers themselves, from whom we progressed to these things, who seem not to have labored in their studies except that they might find how one should live so as to obtain beatitude, disagree both disciples from masters and fellow-disciples among themselves, except because as men they sought these things by human senses and human reasonings? Where although there could also be a study of boasting, by which each one wishes to seem wiser and

more acute than another, not in a certain way addicted to another's opinion, but an inventor of his own dogma and opinion: yet that I may concede some or even very many of them to have been those whom the love of truth broke off from their teachers or companions in learning, so that they might fight for that which they thought to be the truth, whether it was or was not; what does human unhappiness do, or where or by what way does it stretch itself so that beatitude may be reached, if divine authority does not lead? Finally, let it be far from our authors, in whom not in vain the canon of the sacred letters is fixed and terminated, to dissent from one another in any reasoning. Whence not undeservedly, when they were writing those things, not a few babblers in schools and gymnasia with litigious disputations, but so many and such great peoples in fields and in cities, both learned and unlearned, believed that God spoke to them or through them. They indeed ought to have been few, lest what ought to be of religion among them should become cheap by a multitude: yet not so few that their consensus should not be wonderful. For in the multitude of philosophers who even by literary labor left monuments of their dogmas, one will not easily find those among whom all things which they felt agree: which to show in this work is long.

2. Who, moreover, as the author of any sect, was so approved in this demon-worshipping city (daemonicola civitate) that the others, who felt diverse and adverse things, were disapproved?

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

they are revolved into beasts, others by no means; those indeed who said mortal, some that they perish soon after the body, others that they live even afterwards for a little while or longer, but not always: some placing the end of the good in the body, others in the soul, others in both, others adding even externally placed goods to the soul and body: some thinking that the senses of the body should always be believed, others not always, others never. These and other almost innumerable dissensions of the philosophers, what people ever, what senate, what public power or dignity of the impious city took care to judge, and some to approve and receive, others to disapprove and repudiate, and did not everywhere without any judgment confusedly hold in its bosom so many controversies of men dissenting not concerning fields and houses, or any pecuniary reasoning, but concerning these things by which one lives either miserably or blessedly? Where even if some true things were said, they were said with the same license as the false; precisely so that not in vain such a city has received the mystical name of Babylon. For Babylon is interpreted as Confusion, which we remember we have already said (Book 16, chap. 4, and elsewhere). Nor does it matter to the devil, its king, by how many contrary errors they wrangle among themselves, whom he possesses equally by merit of many and various impieties.

3. But indeed that nation, that people, that city, that republic, those Israelites to whom the oracles of God (eloquia Dei) were credited, in no

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

those things would fear to despise not the genius of man, but the oracle of God.

CHAPTER XLII.

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

One of the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt also studied to know and have these sacred Letters. For after the most wonderful and by no means lasting power of Alexander the Macedonian, who was also surnamed the Great, by which he had subjected all Asia, nay almost the whole world, partly by force and arms, partly by terror, when among other things of the East he also entered and obtained Judea; he being dead, his companions, when they had not peacefully divided that most ample kingdom to be possessed among themselves, but rather had dissipated it, about to devastate all things with wars, Egypt began to have the Ptolemies as kings: of whom the first, the son of Lagus, transferred many captives from Judea into Egypt. But another Ptolemy succeeding him, who was called Philadelphus, permitted all those whom he had brought subjected to return free: moreover he also sent royal gifts into the temple of God, and asked from Eleazar, then the high priest, that the Scriptures be given to him, which surely he had heard by fame proclaiming them to be divine; and therefore he had desired to have them in the library which he had

made most noble. When the same high priest had sent these to him in Hebrew, afterwards he also asked for interpreters; and seventy-two were given, six men from each of the twelve tribes, most learned in both languages, namely Hebrew and Greek. Their interpretation, that it be called the Seventy (Septuaginta), custom has now obtained. It is handed down indeed that so wonderful and stupendous and fully divine a consensus was in their words, that when they sat individually apart for this work (for so it pleased Ptolemy to explore their faith), in no word which signified the same and was of as much value, or in the order of words, did one disagree from the other: but as if there were one interpreter, so what all interpreted was one: since in truth the Spirit was one in all. And therefore they had received so wonderful a gift of God, that the authority of those Scriptures, not as human but as they were, as divine, should be commended even in this way, about to profit the nations that would one day believe, which we now see effected.

CHAPTER XLIII.

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

For although there have been other translators who translated those sacred words from the Hebrew tongue into the Greek, such as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; as there is also that translation whose author does not appear, and

for this reason, being without the name of the translator, is called the Fifth edition: yet this one which is the Septuagint, as if it were the only one, has the Church received, and the Greek Christian peoples use it, most of whom are ignorant of whether there is any other. From this Septuagint translation it was also translated into the Latin tongue, which the Latin Churches hold. Although there has not been lacking in our times the priest Jerome, a most learned man, and skilled in all three languages, who converted the same Scriptures into the Latin language not from the Greek, but from the Hebrew. But although the Jews confess his so literate labor to be truthful, while contending that the Septuagint translators erred in many things; yet the Churches of Christ judge that no one should be preferred to the authority of so many men, chosen for this great work by Eleazar then the high priest: because even if there had not appeared in them one Spirit, without doubt divine, but the seventy learned men had compared among themselves the words of their translation in the manner of men, so that what had pleased all should remain, no single translator ought to have been placed before them; but since so great a sign of divinity appeared in them, surely whatever other translator of those Scriptures from the Hebrew into any other language is truthful, either he agrees with those Septuagint translators, or if he does not seem to agree, a prophetic depth is to be believed to be there. For the Spirit who was in the Prophets when they said those things, was the very same

also in the seventy men when they translated them: who surely by divine authority could also say something else, as if that prophet had said both, because the same Spirit would say both; and this same thing otherwise, so that if not the same words, yet the same sense might shine forth to those who understand well; and to omit something, and to add something, so that even from this it might be shown that there was not a human servitude in that work, which the translator owed to the words, but rather a divine power, which filled and ruled the mind of the translator.

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

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

CHAPTER XLIV.---What is to be understood concerning the destruction of the Ninevites, the denunciation of which in the Hebrew is extended to a space of forty days, but in the Septuagint is concluded within the brevity of three days. But someone says: How shall I know what Jonah the prophet said to the Ninevites, whether, "Three days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown"; or, "Forty days" (Jonah III, 4)? For who does not

see that both could not then have been said by the Prophet, who had been sent to terrify the city with the threat of imminent destruction? If its destruction was to be on the third day, it certainly was not on the fortieth: if on the fortieth, certainly not on the third. If therefore I am asked which of these Jonah said, I think it was rather that which is read in the Hebrew, "Forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown." For the Septuagint, translating long afterward, could say something else, which nevertheless would pertain to the matter, and would concur in one and the same sense, although under another signification; and would admonish the reader, neither authority being despised, to raise himself from history to seek those things for the sake of signifying which the history itself was written. For those things were done in the city of Nineveh, but they also signified something which exceeds the measure of that city: just as it was done that the Prophet himself was in the belly of the whale for three days, and yet signified another who was to be in the depth of hell for three days, who is the Lord of all Prophets. Wherefore if by that city is rightly understood the Church of the nations prophetically figured, overthrown indeed through penance, so that what it had been it should no longer be; since this was done through Christ in the Church of the nations, of which that Nineveh bore the figure, whether through forty days or through three days, the same Christ is signified; through forty indeed, because He spent so many days with His disciples after the resurrec-

tion and ascended into heaven; but through three days, because He rose on the third day: as if the Septuagint translators, being the same Prophets, had awakened from sleep the reader desiring to adhere to nothing else than the history of things done, to search the depth of the prophecy, and in a way had said: Seek Him in forty days, in whom you could also find three days; you shall find the former in His ascension, the latter in His resurrection. For which reason it could most conveniently be signified by both numbers, one of which was said through Jonah the prophet, the other through the prophecy of the Septuagint translators, yet one and the same Spirit said it. I avoid length, so as not to demonstrate this through many things, in which the Septuagint translators are thought to discrepancy from the Hebrew truth, and being well understood are found to be concordant. Whence even I, following the footsteps of the Apostles according to my small measure, because they also placed prophetic testimonies from both, that is, from the Hebrew and from the Septuagint, have thought that both authorities should be used, since both are one and divine. But now let us pursue what remains, as we are able.

CHAPTER XLV.---That after the restoration of the temple the Jews ceased to have prophets, and from then on even until the birth of Christ were afflicted by continuous adversities, so that it might be proved that the building of another temple had been promised by prophetic voices. 1. After the Jewish nation began to have no

Prophets, it beyond doubt became worse, namely at that time when it hoped that, the temple having been restored after the captivity which was in Babylonia, it would be better. For so that carnal people understood what was foretold by the prophet Haggai saying, "Great shall be the glory of this last house, more than the first." Which he showed a little above to have been said concerning the New Testament, where he says openly, promising Christ, "And I will move all nations, and the Desired of all nations shall come" (Haggai II, 10, 8). In which place the Septuagint translators, by prophetic authority, said another sense more suitable to the body than to the head, that is, more to the Church than to Christ: "The things that are chosen of the Lord shall come from all nations," that is, men, concerning whom Jesus Himself says in the Gospel, "Many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt. XXII, 14). For by such chosen of the nations, the house of God is built through the New Testament with living stones, far more glorious than that temple was which was constructed by King Solomon and restored after the captivity. For this reason, therefore, that nation had no Prophets from that time, and was afflicted with many calamities by foreign kings, and by the Romans themselves, lest it should think this prophecy of Haggai to have been fulfilled in that restoration of the temple.

2. For not long after, Alexander arriving, it was subjugated; when even if no devastation was made, because they did not dare to resist him, and therefore as subjects received him very

easily pacified, yet there was not so great glory of that house as there was in the free power of their own kings. Alexander indeed immolated sacrifices in the temple of God, not converted to His worship by true piety, but by impious vanity thinking He was to be worshipped with false gods. Then Ptolemy the son of Lagus, which I mentioned above, after Alexander's death transferred captives from there into Egypt, whom his successor Ptolemy Philadelphus most benevolently released from there: through whom it was brought about, what I narrated a little before, that we should have the Scriptures of the Septuagint translators. Then they were crushed by wars which are explained in the books of the Maccabees. After these things they were captured by Ptolemy king of Alexandria, who was called Epiphanes; then by Antiochus king of Syria compelled by many and most heavy evils to worship idols, and the temple itself filled with the sacrilegious superstitions of the nations, which nevertheless their most strenuous leader Judas, who was also called Maccabaeus, after the generals of Antiochus were driven out, cleansed from all that contamination of idolatry.

3. Not long afterward, one Alcimus, although he was a stranger to the priestly family, which was an impiety, was made high priest by ambition. From this time, after nearly fifty years, in which however they did not have peace, although they also achieved some things prosperously, Aristobulus was the first among them to assume the diadem, and was made both king and high

priest. For before this, since they returned from the Babylonian captivity and the temple was restored, they did not have kings, but leaders or princes: although he who is king can also be called a prince from the principality of commanding, and a leader because he is the conductor of an army: but not immediately whoever are princes or leaders can also be called kings, which this Aristobulus was. Him succeeded Alexander, also himself king and high priest, who is said to have reigned cruelly over his own. After him his wife Alexandra was queen of the Jews, from whose time and henceforth more grave evils followed them. For the sons of this Alexandra, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, contending among themselves for the empire, provoked the Roman forces against the Israelite nation. For Hyrcanus asked help from them against his brother. Then already Rome had subjugated Africa, had subjugated Greece, and ruling widely also in other parts of the world, as if not able to bear itself, it had in a way broken itself by its own magnitude. For it had arrived at grave domestic seditions, and from there to social wars, and soon to civil wars, and had so diminished and worn itself out, that the status of the republic was imminent to be changed, by which it should be ruled by kings. Pompey therefore, a most illustrious prince of the Roman people, entering Judea with an army, takes the city, opens the temple, not by the devotion of a suppliant, but by the right of a victor, and approaches the holy of holies, where it was not lawful for any but the high priest to enter,

not as a venerator, but as a profaner: and having confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood, and having imposed Antipater as a guardian on the subjugated nation, whom they then called procurators, he leads Aristobulus bound with him. From that time the Jews also began to be tributaries to the Romans. Afterward Cassius also despoiled the temple. Then after a few years they also deserved to have Herod, a foreign king, in whose reign Christ was born. For the fullness of time had already come, signified by the prophetic Spirit through the mouth of the patriarch Jacob, where he says: "The prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, until he comes for whom it is laid up, and he shall be the expectation of the nations" (Gen. XLIX, 10). Therefore a prince of the Jews from the Jews did not fail until this Herod, whom they first received as a foreign king. It was therefore now time that he should come for whom it was laid up, which was promised in the New Testament, that he himself should be the expectation of the nations. But it could not be that the nations should expect him as coming, as we see him expected, that he may come to perform judgment in the brightness of power, unless they first believed in him when he came to suffer judgment in the humility of patience.

CHAPTER XLVI.---Of the birth of our Savior according to the Word having been made flesh; and of the dispersion of the Jews through all nations, as had been prophesied. Herod therefore reigning in Judea, but the state of the

republic among the Romans having already been changed, Caesar Augustus commanding, and the world having been pacified through him, Christ was born according to the preceding prophecy (Micah V, 2) in Bethlehem of Judea, manifest man from a human virgin, hidden God from God the Father. For so the prophet had foretold: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive in her womb, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is interpreted, God with us" (Isa. VII, 14; Matt. I, 23; Luke I, 31). Who, that He might commend God in Himself, performed many miracles; some of which, as much as seemed sufficient for preaching Him, the evangelical Scripture contains. Of which the first is that He was so wonderfully born: and the last, that with His body raised from the dead He ascended into heaven. But the Jews, who killed Him and would not believe in Him, because it behooved Him to die and rise again, being more unhappily devastated by the Romans and fundamentally eradicated from their own kingdom, where foreigners already dominated them, and dispersed through the lands (since indeed they are not lacking anywhere), are a testimony to us through their own Scriptures that we have not feigned the prophecies concerning Christ; which many of them considering, both before the passion and especially after His resurrection, believed in Him, concerning whom it was foretold: "If the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, the remnant shall be saved" (Isa. X, 22). But the rest were blinded, concerning

whom it was foretold: "Let their table be before them for a snare, and for a retribution, and for a stumbling-block. Let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see; and bow down their back always" (Ps. LXIX, 22-23). Therefore when they do not believe our Scriptures, their own are fulfilled in them, which being blind they read: unless perhaps someone should say that Christians feigned those prophecies concerning Christ which are brought forward in the name of the Sibyl or others, if there are any which do not pertain to the Jewish people. To us indeed those are sufficient which are brought forward from the codices of our enemies, whom we recognize for the sake of this testimony, which they unwillingly bear to us by having and preserving the same codices, that they themselves are also dispersed through all nations, wherever the Church of Christ is dilated. For the prophecy in the Psalms, which they also read, was sent before concerning this thing, where it is written: "My God, His mercy shall prevent me. My God has shown to me in my enemies, slay them not, lest at any time they forget Thy law: scatter them in Thy power" (Ps. LIX, 10-11). God therefore has shown to the Church in her enemies the Jews the grace of His mercy, because, as the Apostle says, "their offense is the salvation of the nations" (Rom. XI, 11). And therefore He did not slay them, that is, He did not lose in them that they are Jews, although they were conquered and oppressed by the Romans; lest having forgotten the law of God, they should avail nothing for this testimony of which we treat. Therefore it was a

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

CHAPTER XLVII.---Whether before Christian times there were any outside the Israelite race who belonged to the fellowship of the heavenly city. Wherefore whatever foreigner, that is, one not born of Israel, nor received by that people into the canon of sacred letters, is read to have prophesied anything concerning Christ, if it comes or shall come to our knowledge, it can be mentioned by us for the sake of accumulation: not that it is necessary, even if it were lacking, but because it is not unsuccessfully believed that there were also in other nations men to whom this mystery was revealed, and who were also impelled to foretell this, whether they were partakers of the same grace, or were devoid of it but taught by evil angels, whom we know also to have confessed Christ when present, whom the Jews did not recognize. Nor do I think the Jews themselves dare to contend that no one belonged to God besides the Israelites, from the time when the progeny of Israel began to be, after his elder brother was reprobated. For in truth there was no other people that could properly be called the people of God: but they cannot deny that there were certain men belonging to the true Israelites, citizens of the su-

pernal fatherland, in other nations also, not by an earthly but by a heavenly society: because if they deny it, they are most easily convicted by the holy and wonderful man Job, who was neither a native nor a proselyte, that is, a newcomer of the people of Israel; but deriving his race from the Edomite nation, was born there and died in the same place: who is so praised by divine eloquence that, as far as pertains to justice and piety, no man of his times is equaled to him (Job I; Ezek. XIV, 20). Which times of his, although we do not find them in the Chronicles, we nevertheless gather from his book, which for its own merit the Israelites received into canonical authority, that he was later than Israel by three generations. But I do not doubt that it was divinely provided so that from this one case we might know that even through other nations there could have been those who lived according to God and pleased Him, belonging to the spiritual Jerusalem. Which is to be believed to have been granted to no one except to him to whom the one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, was divinely revealed: who was so foretold to the ancient saints as about to come in the flesh, just as He has been announced to us as having come, so that one and the same faith through Him may lead all those predestined into the City of God, the house of God, the temple of God, to God. But whatever prophecies of others are brought forward concerning the grace of God through Jesus Christ can be thought by Christians to have been feigned. Therefore nothing is firmer for convicting any strangers, if they

contend about this thing, and for making them ours if they shall be rightly wise, than that those divine things foretold concerning Christ should be brought forward which are written in the codices of the Jews: from whose own seats they were plucked away and dispersed through the whole world for the sake of this testimony, while the Church of Christ grew everywhere.

CHAPTER XLVIII.---That the prophecy of Haggai, in which he said that the glory of the house of God would be greater than it had been at first, was fulfilled not in the rebuilding of the temple, but in the Church of Christ. This house of God is of greater glory than that first one was, which was constructed with wood and stones, and other precious things and metals. Therefore the prophecy of Haggai was not fulfilled in the restoration of that temple. For since it was restored, it is never shown to have had so great glory as it had in the time of Solomon: rather it is shown first that by the cessation of prophecy the glory of that house was diminished, then by so many calamities of the nation itself even until the last destruction, which was done by the Romans, as those things which are mentioned above testify. But this house belonging to the New Testament is certainly of so much greater glory, by how much better are the living stones with which it is constructed of those who believe and are renewed. But for this reason it was signified through the restoration of that temple, because the very renovation of that building signifies in prophetic eloquence the other Testament, which

is called new. Therefore what God said through the mentioned prophet, "And I will give peace in this place" (Haggai II, 10); by the signifying place, He who is signified by it is to be understood: so that because by that place having been restored the Church was signified, which was to be built through Christ, nothing else is to be understood by what was said, "I will give peace in this place," except, I will give peace in the place which this place signifies. Since all signifying things seem in a way to sustain the persons of those things which they signify: as it was said by the Apostle, "The rock was Christ" (I Cor. X, 4); since that rock, concerning which this was said, certainly signified Christ. The glory of this house of the New Testament is therefore greater than the glory of the prior house of the Old Testament: and then it will appear greater, when it shall be dedicated. For then "the Desired of all nations shall come" (Haggai II, 8), as it is read in the Hebrew. For before His advent was not yet desired by all nations. For they did not know whom they ought to desire, in whom they had not believed. Then also according to the Septuagint translators (because it is also itself a prophetic sense), "the things shall come which are chosen of the Lord from all nations." For then truly none shall come except the chosen, concerning whom the Apostle says, "As He chose us in Him before the constitution of the world" (Eph. I, 4). For the Architect Himself, who said, "Many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt. XXII, 14), is about to show the house built not of those who being called came in such a

way that they were cast out from the feast, but of the chosen, which house shall henceforth fear no ruin. But now, when those also fill the churches whom the ventilation as in a threshing-floor shall separate, so great glory of this house does not appear as shall then appear, when whoever shall be there, shall be there always.

CHAPTER XLIX.

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

In this malignant world, therefore, in these evil days, where through present humility the Church prepares future loftiness, and is erudite by the stings of fears, the torments of pains, the molestations of labors, the dangers of temptations, rejoicing in hope alone, when it rejoices healthily, many reprobate are mixed with the good; and both are gathered together as if into an evangelical dragnet (Matt. XIII, 47); and in this world, as in a sea, both included in nets swim indiscriminately, until the shore is reached, where the evil shall be segregated from the good, and in the good, as if in His temple, God shall be all in all (I Cor. XV, 28). Accordingly, we now recognize the voice of Him to be fulfilled, who spoke in the Psalm, and said, "I have announced, and have spoken, they are multiplied above number" (Ps. XL, 5). This happens now, from the time when He first announced and spoke through the mouth of His precursor John, and then through His own mouth, saying, "Do penance, for the

kingdom of heaven has approached" (Matt. III, 2; IV, 17). He chose disciples, whom He also named Apostles (Luke VI, 13), humbly born, unhonored, illiterate; so that whatever great thing they were and did, He Himself should be and do in them. He had among them one whom, using the evil well, He might both fulfill the disposition of His passion and provide to His Church an example of bearing with the evil. The holy Gospel having been sown, as much as was necessary through His corporal presence, He suffered, died, and rose again: showing by His passion what we ought to sustain for the truth, and by His resurrection what we ought to hope for in eternity; the depth of the sacrament excepted, by which His blood was poured out for the remission of sins. He conversed on earth forty days with His disciples, and they seeing Him He ascended into heaven, and after ten days sent the promised Holy Spirit: of whose coming into those who had believed, there was then a greatest and most necessary sign, that each one of them should speak with the tongues of all nations: thus signifying the unity of the catholic Church about to be through all nations, and thus to speak with all tongues.

CHAPTER L.

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

Then according to that prophecy, "Out of Sion shall the law go forth, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Isa. II, 3): and according to the

foretold words of the Lord Christ Himself, where after the resurrection to His stupified disciples He opened their sense, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said to them, "That thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead on the third day, and that penance and remission of sins should be preached in His name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem" (Luke XXIV, 46, 47); and where again to them inquiring concerning His last advent He responded, and said, "It is not for you to know the times or the moments, which the Father has put in His own power: but you shall receive the power of the Holy Spirit coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses to me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and even unto the ends of the earth" (Acts I, 7, 8): first the Church diffused itself from Jerusalem, and when very many had believed in Judea and Samaria, it went also into other nations, those announcing the Gospel whom He, as luminaries, had both fitted with the word and kindled with the Holy Spirit. For He had said to them, "Fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul" (Matt. X, 28). That they might not be cold with fear, they burned with the fire of charity. Finally through them, not only those who had seen and heard Him both before the passion and after the resurrection, but also after their death through their posterity, among horrendous persecutions and various tortures and the deaths of martyrs, the Gospel was preached in the whole world, God contesting with signs and wonders and various

virtues and gifts of the Holy Spirit: so that the peoples of the nations believing in Him, who for their redemption was crucified, should with Christian love venerate the blood of the martyrs which they poured out with diabolical fury; and the kings themselves, by whose laws the Church was devastated, should be healthily subjected to that name, which they tried cruelly to take away from the earth, and should begin to persecute the false gods, for whose cause the worshippers of the true God had been persecuted before.

CHAPTER LI.

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

But the devil, seeing the temples of the demons deserted, and the human race running to the name of the liberating Mediator, moved heretics who, under a Christian name, should resist Christian doctrine, as if they could be held indifferently without any correction in the City of God, just as the city of confusion held indifferently philosophers having diverse and adverse sentiments among themselves. Those therefore who in the Church of Christ savor anything morbid and depraved, if being corrected that they may savor what is sound and right, they resist contumaciously, and will not emend their pestiferous and mortiferous dogmas, but persist in defending them, become heretics, and going out are held among exercising enemies. For even thus they profit those true Catholic members of Christ

by their own evil, while God uses even the evil well, and "for those who love Him all things work together for good" (Rom. VIII, 28). For all the enemies of the Church, by whatever error they may be blinded or by whatever malice depraved, if they receive the power of afflicting corporally, they exercise her patience; if only by savoring evil they are adverse, they exercise her wisdom; but that even enemies should be loved, they exercise her benevolence, or even beneficence, whether they are dealt with by persuasive doctrine or by terrible discipline. And through this the devil, the prince of the impious city, by moving his own vessels against the City of God wandering in this world, is permitted to harm her in nothing. To whom beyond doubt both consolation in prosperous things, that she may not be broken by adverse ones, and exercise in adverse things, that she may not be corrupted by prosperous ones, is procured through divine providence: and thus both are tempered by each other, so that in the Psalm we recognize that voice to have arisen from no other source: "According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, Thy consolations have gladdened my soul" (Ps. XCIV, 19). Hence also is that of the Apostle: "Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation" (Rom. XII, 12).

2. For that which the same teacher says, "All who will to live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution" (2 Tim. 3:12), must be thought to be wanting at no time. Because even when there seems to be tranquility from those who are without not raging, and indeed there is, and it

brings much consolation, especially to the weak; yet there are not wanting, nay, there are many within, who torture the hearts of those living godly by their own lost morals: since through them the Christian and Catholic name is blasphemed: which, the dearer it is to those who will to live godly in Christ, the more they grieve that through the evil ones placed within it happens that it is less loved than the minds of the godly desire. The heretics themselves also, when they are considered to have the Christian name and sacraments, and the Scriptures, and profession, cause great grief in the hearts of the godly: because many wishing to be Christians are forced to hesitate on account of their dissensions, and many railers find in them also matter for blaspheming the Christian name; because they also are called Christians in some way or other. By these and such like depraved morals and errors of men, those who will to live godly in Christ suffer persecution, even with no one infesting or vexing their body. For they suffer this persecution not in their bodies, but in their hearts. Whence is that voice: "According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart." For he does not say, "In my body." But again, since the immutable divine promises are considered, and that which the Apostle says, "The Lord knoweth who are His" (2 Tim. 2:19): "For whom He foreknew, He also predestinated to be conformed to the image of His Son" (Rom. 8:29); of these none can perish; therefore it follows in that psalm, "Thy consolations have gladdened my soul." But the sorrow

itself, which occurs in the hearts of the godly, whom the morals of evil or false Christians persecute, profits those who sorrow; since it descends from the charity by which they will not that they should perish, nor impede the salvation of others. Finally, great consolations also arise from their corrections, which imbue the souls of the godly with as much delight as they tortured them with sorrows concerning their perdition. Thus in this world, in these evil days, not only from the time of the bodily presence of Christ and His apostles, but from Abel himself, whom first a just man his impious brother slew, and thenceforward even unto the end of this world, the Church proceeds on her pilgrimage between the persecutions of the world and the consolations of God.

CHAPTER LII.

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

1. Accordingly, I do not think that even that should be rashly said or believed, which has seemed or seems to some, that the Church is to suffer no more persecutions until the time of Antichrist than those she has already suffered, that is, ten, so that the eleventh and very last should be from Antichrist. For they count the first which occurred under Nero, the second under Domitian, the third under Trajan, the fourth under Antoninus, the fifth under Severus, the sixth under Maximinus, the seventh under Decius, the

eighth under Valerian, the ninth under Aurelian, the tenth under Diocletian and Maximian. For the plagues of the Egyptians, because they were ten, before the people of God began to go out from thence, they think should be referred to this understanding, so that the last persecution of Antichrist should seem similar to the eleventh plague, by which the Egyptians, while hostiley following the Hebrews, perished in the Red Sea, the people of God passing through on dry land. But I do not think that those persecutions were prophetically signified by that thing done in Egypt: although by those who think so, those single things seem exquisitely and ingeniously compared to these single things, not by a prophetic Spirit, but by a conjecture of the human mind, which sometimes arrives at the truth, sometimes is deceived.

2. For what will those who think this say concerning the persecution by which the Lord Himself was crucified? In what number will they place it? But if they think that, this being excepted, it is to be computed as if those only are to be numbered which pertain to the body, not that by which the Head itself was attacked and slain; what will they do concerning that which, after Christ ascended into heaven, was made in Jerusalem, where the blessed Stephen was stoned, where James the brother of John was slaughtered with the sword, where the apostle Peter was shut up to be slain and liberated by an Angel, where the brethren were put to flight and dispersed from Jerusalem, where Saul, who

afterwards became the apostle Paul, was wasting the Church? where he also, now evangelizing the faith which he persecuted, suffered such things as he used to do, whether through Judea or through other nations, wherever he most fervently preached Christ? Why then does it seem to them that it should be begun from Nero, when the Church by increasing reached the times of Nero through most atrocious persecutions, concerning which it is too long to say all things? But if they think that persecutions made by kings ought to be in the number; Herod was king, who also after the ascension of the Lord made a most grievous one. Then what do they answer also concerning Julian, whom they do not number in the ten? Or did he not persecute the Church, who forbade Christians to teach and learn liberal letters? Under whom the elder Valentinian, who was the third emperor after him, stood forth as a confessor of the Christian faith, and was deprived of his military service. To say nothing of what he had begun to do at Antioch, unless he had been horrified by the freedom and hilarity of one most faithful and constant youth, who, many having been seized to be tortured, was tortured first through a whole day, singing psalms among the claws and torments, and had feared to blush more deformedly in the rest. Finally, in our memory, was not Valens the Arian, brother of the aforementioned Valentininian, wasting the Catholic Church by a great persecution through the parts of the East? But what a thing it is not to consider that the Church, fructifying and increas-

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

CHAPTER LIII.

Concerning the hidden time of the last persecution.

Jesus Himself indeed will extinguish by His presence that last persecution, which is to be from Antichrist. For thus it is written, that "He shall slay him with the spirit of His mouth, and

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

2. But because this is an evangelical sentence, it is no wonder that the worshippers of many and false gods were not repressed by it from feigning

by the responses of the demons, whom they worship as gods, that it was defined for how long a time the Christian religion should remain. For when they saw that it could not be consumed by so many and such great persecutions, but rather took wonderful increments from these, they devised I know not what Greek verses, as if poured out by a divine oracle to someone consulting it, where indeed they make Christ innocent of this as if of the crime of sacrilege; but they subjoin that Peter had made by sorceries that the name of Christ should be worshipped for three hundred and sixty-five years, then the mentioned number of years being completed, it should take an end without delay. O hearts of learned men! O lettered geniuses worthy to believe these things concerning Christ, which you will not believe in Christ, that His disciple Peter did not learn magic arts from Him, but nevertheless His master being innocent he was a sorcerer and preferred that His name, rather than his own, should be worshipped by his magic arts, by his great labors and perils, finally even by the shedding of his blood! If Peter by sorcery made the world so love Christ: what did the innocent Christ do, that Peter should so love Him? Let them therefore answer themselves, and if they can, let them understand that it was done by that supernal grace that the world should love Christ for the sake of eternal life, by which grace it was done that Peter should love Christ both for the sake of receiving eternal life from Him and for the sake of suffering even unto temporary death for Him.

Then who are these gods, who can predict these things, and cannot avert them, thus succumbing to one sorcerer, and to one magic crime, by which a boy of one year, as they say, was slain, and torn in pieces, and buried with a nefarious rite, that they should permit a sect adverse to themselves to grow strong for so long a time, to overcome the horrendous cruelties of so many and such great persecutions, not by resisting but by suffering, and to arrive at the eversion of their own idols, temples, sacred things, and oracles? Finally, who is the god, not ours indeed, but their own, who was either enticed or impelled by so great a crime to provide these things? For they say those verses that Peter defined these things by magic art not to some demon, but to a god. Such a god they have, who have not Christ.

CHAPTER LIV.

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

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

thing in the birth of Christ, because as an infant and boy He had no disciples, yet when He began to have them, beyond doubt then the Christian doctrine and religion became known through His bodily presence, that is, after He was baptized in the river Jordan by the ministry of John. For on account of this that prophecy concerning Him had preceded: "He shall rule from sea even to sea, and from the river even unto the ends of the orb of the earth" (Ps. 72:8). But because before He had suffered and risen from the dead, faith had not yet been defined for all; for in the resurrection of Christ it was defined (for thus the apostle Paul speaks to the Athenians, saying: "Even now He announces to men, that all everywhere should repent, because He hath appointed a day, to judge the world in equity, by the man in whom He hath defined faith to all, raising Him from the dead" [Acts 17:30, 31]): we better take the beginning from thence in solving this question; especially because then the Holy Spirit also was given, as it behooved to be given after the resurrection of Christ in that city from which the second law, that is, the New Testament, ought to begin. For the first was from Mount Sinai through Moses, which is called the Old Testament. But concerning this which was to be given through Christ, it was predicted: "Out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Isa. 2:3). Whence also He Himself said that repentance ought to be preached in His name through all nations, but nevertheless beginning from Jerusalem (Luke 24:47). There therefore the

worship of this name began, so that it should be believed in Jesus Christ, who had been crucified and had risen: there this faith glowed with such signal beginnings, that some thousands of men being converted to the name of Christ with wonderful alacrity, their things being sold that they might be distributed to the needy, by a holy purpose and most ardent charity they reached voluntary poverty, and among the raging Jews thirsting for blood, they prepared themselves to strive for the truth even unto death, not with armed power, but with more powerful patience. If this was done by no magic arts, why do they doubt to believe that this could be done through the whole world by the same divine power by which this was done? But if, that such a multitude of men should be kindled to the worship of the name of Christ at Jerusalem, who had either fixed Him when taken on the cross, or laughed at Him when fixed, Peter had already made that sorcery, it must be sought from that very year, when the three hundred and sixty-five were completed. Christ therefore died, the two Gemini being consuls, on the eighth day before the Kalends of April. He rose on the third day, as the Apostles proved even by their own senses. Then after forty days He ascended into heaven: after ten days, that is, on the fiftieth day after His resurrection, He sent the Holy Spirit. Then three thousand men believed when the Apostles were preaching Him. Then therefore the worship of that name began, as we believe, and the truth has it, by the efficacy of the Holy Spirit; but as impious vanity feigned

or thought, by the magic arts of Peter. A little after also a wonderful sign having been made, when at the word of Peter himself a certain beggar lame from his mother's womb so that he was carried by others, and was placed at the gate of the temple where he might seek alms, leaped up healed in the name of Jesus Christ, five thousand men believed: and then the Church increased by other and other accesses of believers. And by this is collected also the day from which that year took its beginning, namely when the Holy Spirit was sent, that is, through the Ides of May. The consuls accordingly being counted, three hundred and sixty-five years are found fulfilled through the same Ides, in the consulship of Honorius and Eutychianus. Furthermore, in the following year, Mallius Theodorus being consul, when already according to that oracle of demons or figment of men there ought to have been no Christian religion, what was done perhaps through other parts of the lands, it was not necessary to inquire. In the meantime what we know is that in the most well-known and eminent city of Carthage in Africa, Gaudentius and Jovius, counts of the emperor Honorius, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of April, overthrew the temples of the false gods, and broke the idols. From which time even unto this time for nearly thirty years who does not see how much the worship of the name of Christ has increased, especially after many of them became Christians, who as if by that true divination were recalled from the faith, and saw it, the same number of years being completed,

vain and to be laughed at? We therefore who are and are called Christians, do not believe in Peter, but in Him in whom Peter believed; being built up by the sermons of Peter concerning Christ, not poisoned by his incantations; nor deceived by his sorceries, but helped by his benefits. That Master of Peter, Christ, in the doctrine which leads to eternal life, He is also our Master.

2. But let us now at length conclude this book, having discussed thus far and demonstrated as much as seemed sufficient, what is the mortal course of the two cities, the heavenly and the earthly, mixed together from the beginning even unto the end. Of which that which is earthly has made for itself what false gods it willed, even from anywhere, or even from among men, whom it might serve by sacrificing: but that which is heavenly, a pilgrim on earth, does not make false gods, but is itself made by the true God, of whom it is itself the true sacrifice. Both nevertheless equally use temporal goods, or are equally afflicted by temporal evils, with diverse faith, diverse hope, diverse love, until they are separated by the last judgment, and each receives its own end, of which there is no end: concerning which ends of both we must next discuss.

BOOK NINETEEN.

In which the ends of both cities, the earthly and the heavenly, are discussed. The opinions of philosophers concerning the ends of goods and evils are reviewed, who in vain attempted to make beatitude for themselves in this life: while these are more elaborately refuted, it is demonstrated what the beatitude and peace of the heavenly city itself, or of the Christian people, is, and of what sort it may be had here, or may be hoped for in the future.

CHAPTER I.

That in the question which philosophical discussion has ventilated concerning the ends of goods and evils, Varro perceived that there could be two hundred and eighty-eight sects.

1. Since I see that I must next discuss the due ends of both cities, namely the earthly and the heavenly; first there must be set forth, as much as the plan of finishing this work allows, the arguments of mortals by which they attempted to make beatitude for themselves in the infelicity of this life, so that what our hope differs from their vain things, which hope God has given to us, and the thing itself, that is the true beatitude which He will give, may become clear, not only by divine

authority, but also by applying such reason as we can apply on account of the infidels. For concerning the ends of goods and evils philosophers have discussed much and in many ways among themselves: turning this question with the greatest intention, they have attempted to find what makes a man blessed. For that is the end of our good, for the sake of which other things are to be desired, but itself for its own sake: and that the end of evil, for the sake of which other things are to be avoided, but itself for its own sake. The end of good, therefore, we now call, not that by which it is consumed, so that it should not be, but by which it is perfected, so that it should be full; and the end of evil, not by which it ceases to be, but how far it leads in harming. These ends therefore are the supreme good and the supreme evil. Concerning finding these, and attaining the supreme good in this life, but avoiding the supreme evil, those who have professed the study of wisdom in the vanity of this world have labored much, as I said: yet the limit of nature did not permit them, although wandering in diverse ways, to deviate so far from the journey of truth, but that some should place the ends of goods and evils in the mind, others in the body, others in both. From which tripartite distribution, as it were, of general sects, Marcus Varro in his book on Philosophy, having diligently and subtly scrutinized such a great variety of dogmas, noticed that he could very easily arrive at two hundred and eighty-eight sects, not which were already, but which could be, by applying certain differences.

2. That I may briefly show this, I must begin from thence, which he himself noticed, and placed in the mentioned book: that there are four certain things which men, without a teacher, without any support of doctrine, without industry or the art of living, which is called virtue, and is beyond doubt learned, desire as it were naturally; either pleasure, by which the sense of the body is delectably moved; or repose, by which it happens that each one suffers no molestation of body; or both, which nevertheless Epicurus calls by the one name of pleasure; or universally the primary natural goods, in which are both these and others, either in the body, as the integrity of the members, and its health and safety; or in the mind, as are those things which are found either small or great in the geniuses of men. These four therefore, that is, pleasure, repose, both, the primary natural goods, are so in us, that either virtue, which doctrine afterwards inserts, is to be desired for the sake of these, or these for the sake of virtue, or both for their own sake: and through this there arise from hence twelve sects: for by this reason each one is tripled; which when I shall have demonstrated in one, it will not be difficult to find it in the rest. When therefore the pleasure of the body is either subjected to the virtue of the mind, or preferred, or joined to it, it is varied by a tripartite diversity of sects. But it is subjected to virtue when it is assumed for the use of virtue. For it pertains to the office of virtue both to live for one's country, and to procreate children for the sake of one's country: neither of which can be

done without pleasure of the body. For without it neither food nor drink is taken that one may live; nor is there cohabitation that generation may be propagated. But when it is preferred to virtue, it is desired for its own sake, but virtue is believed to be assumed for its sake, that is, that virtue should do nothing except for the attaining or conserving the pleasure of the body: which life is indeed deformed, where virtue serves mistress pleasure; although in no way is this to be called virtue: but nevertheless even that horrible turpitude has had some philosophers as its patrons and defenders. Furthermore, pleasure is joined to virtue when neither of them is desired for the sake of the other, but both are desired for their own sake. Wherefore as pleasure either subjected, or preferred, or joined to virtue, makes three sects; so repose, so both, so the primary natural goods are found to effect three others each. For according to the variety of human opinions they are sometimes subjected to virtue, sometimes preferred, sometimes joined, and thus one arrives at the duodenary number of twelve sects. But this number also is doubled by applying one difference, namely that of social life: since whoever follows any of these twelve sects, surely does it either for himself alone, or also for the sake of a companion, to whom he ought to will this which he wills for himself. Wherefore there are twelve of those who think each one is to be held for oneself alone; and another twelve of those who decree that one must philosophize in this way or that not only for oneself, but also for others, whose good

they desire as their own. But these twenty-four sects are again doubled, a difference being added from the New Academics, and they become forty-eight. For each one of those twenty-four sects one can hold and defend as certain, as the Stoics defended that the good of man, by which he should be blessed, consisted only in the virtue of the mind: another can hold it as uncertain, as the New Academics defended, because it seemed to them if not certain, yet probable. Twenty-four therefore arise from those who follow them as if certain for the sake of truth, and another twenty-four from those who think the same are to be followed, although uncertain, for the sake of probability. Again, because each one of these forty-eight sects one can follow in the habit of the other philosophers, and likewise another can follow in the habit of the Cynics, from this difference also they are doubled, and become ninety-six. Then because each of these single sects men can so protect and follow, that they either love a leisurely life, as those who willed and were able to be at leisure only for the studies of doctrine; or a busy life, as those who when they philosophized, were yet most occupied in the administration of the republic and the governing of human affairs; or a life tempered from both kinds, as those who attributed alternating times of their life partly to learned leisure, partly to necessary business: on account of these differences this number of sects can also be tripled, and be led to two hundred and eighty-eight.

3. I have set these things down from Varro's book as briefly and clearly as I could, explaining his opinions in my own words. However, it would be a long task to demonstrate in detail how, having refuted the others, he chooses one sect, which he wishes to be that of the Old Academics, whom he wants to appear as having held certain dogmas from the time of their institution by Plato down to Polemo, who was the fourth from him to hold his school, which was called the Academy; and for this reason he distinguishes them from the New Academics, for whom all things are uncertain, which kind of philosophy began from Arcesilaus, the successor of Polemo; and why he considers that sect—that is, the Old Academics—to be free from error just as it is free from doubt. Nevertheless, the matter must not be entirely omitted in every part. He first removes all those differences that multiplied the number of sects: which he thinks ought to be removed because the end of the good is not in them. For he does not think that any sect of philosophy should be so called which does not differ from the rest in having diverse ends of goods and evils. Since there is no cause for a man to philosophize except that he may be happy; and that which makes him happy is the end of the good itself: there is therefore no cause for philosophizing except the end of the good: wherefore that which follows no end of the good is to be called no sect of philosophy. When, therefore, it is asked concerning the social life, whether it should be held by the wise man, so that he should will and care for the highest

good, by which a man becomes happy, for his friend just as for himself, or whether he should do whatever he does only for the sake of his own happiness; the question is not about the highest good itself, but about the assuming or not assuming of a companion for the participation of this good, not for its own sake, but for the sake of the companion, that he may so rejoice in his good as he rejoices in his own. Likewise, when it is asked concerning the New Academics, for whom all things are uncertain, whether matters in which philosophy must be practiced are to be held so, or whether, as it pleased other philosophers, we ought to have them certain; the question is not what is to be followed as the end of the good, but concerning the truth of the good itself, which seems to be followed, whether it is to be doubted or not. That is, to speak more plainly, whether it should be so followed that he who follows it says it is true; or so that he who follows it says it seems true to him, even if by chance it be false; yet each follows one and the same good. In that difference also which is applied from the habit and custom of the Cynics, it is not asked what the end of the good is, but whether one who follows the true good ought to live in that habit and custom, whatever true good seems to him to be followed. Finally, there were some who, though they followed diverse final goods, some virtue, others pleasure, yet held the same habit and custom, from which they were called Cynics. Thus, whatever that is from which the Cynic philosophers are discerned from the rest, it certainly availed

nothing toward choosing and holding the good by which they might become happy. For if it were of any concern to this end, surely the same habit would compel them to follow the same end, and a diverse habit would not permit them to follow the same end.

CHAPTER II.

How, having removed all the differences which are not sects but questions, Varro reaches the tripartite definition of the highest good, of which one must nonetheless be chosen.

In those three kinds of life also—the one, forsooth, not sluggishly but in the contemplation or investigation of truth, leisurely; the other in the management of human affairs, busy; the third tempered from both kinds—when it is asked which of these is rather to be chosen, it is not the end of the good that has the controversy; but what of these three brings difficulty or facility to the attaining or retaining of the end of the good, is that which is involved in that question. For the end of the good, when anyone has reached it, immediately makes him happy. But in a lettered leisure, or in public business, or when both are done by turns, not everyone is straightway happy. For many, indeed, in any of these three can live and yet err in seeking the end of the good by which a man is made happy. Therefore, the question about the ends of goods and evils, which makes each sect of the philosophers, is one thing; and other are the questions about the social life, about the hesitation of the Academics,

about the dress and food of the Cynics, about the three kinds of life, the leisurely, the active, and that modified from both; in none of which is the dispute about the ends of goods and evils. Wherefore, since Marcus Varro, applying these four differences—that is, from the social life, from the New Academics, from the Cynics, from that tripartite kind of life—reached two hundred and eighty-eight sects, and if any others can be added in like manner; having removed them all, since they bring in no question concerning the seeking of the highest good, and therefore are not sects, nor are to be called such, he returns to those twelve in which it is asked what is the good of man, which being attained he becomes happy, so that from them he may show one to be true and the others false. For when that tripartite kind of life is removed, two parts of this number are withdrawn, and ninety-six sects remain. But when the difference added from the Cynics is removed, they are reduced to half, and become forty-eight. Let us take away also what was applied from the New Academics, and again half the part remains, that is, twenty-four. Concerning the social life also, let that which had been added be similarly taken away, and there are twelve remaining, which that difference had doubled so that they became twenty-four. Concerning these twelve, therefore, nothing can be said why they should not be held as sects. For nothing else is sought in them than the ends of goods and evils. For the ends of goods being found, those of evils are surely on the contrary. Now, that these twelve

sects may be formed, those four are tripled: pleasure, repose, both, and the primary goods of nature, which Varro calls primordial. For these four, while they are sometimes subordinated to virtue singly, so that they seem to be sought not for their own sake but for the sake of the duty of virtue; sometimes are preferred, so that virtue is thought necessary not for its own sake but for the sake of attaining or preserving these; sometimes are joined, so that both virtue and these are believed to be sought for their own sake; they make the fourfold number triple, and reach twelve sects. But from those four things Varro removes three, namely, pleasure, and repose, and both: not that he disapproves of them, but because those primordial goods of nature have both pleasure in themselves and repose. What need is there, then, to make three certain things out of these two—namely, two while pleasure or repose are sought singly, and a third when both together—since the primary goods of nature contain both them and many other things besides them? Concerning three sects, therefore, it pleases him to treat diligently, which one is rather to be chosen. For true reason does not permit more than one to be true, whether it be in these three, or somewhere else, as we shall see later. Meanwhile, let us discuss how Varro chooses one from these three, as briefly and clearly as we can. These three sects, namely, are thus formed: when either the primary goods of nature are to be sought for the sake of virtue, or virtue for the sake of the primary

goods of nature, or both—that is, both virtue and the primary goods of nature—for their own sake.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the three sects seeking the highest good of man, which one Varro defines as to be chosen, following the opinion of the Old Academy, on the authority of Antiochus.

1. Which of these three, then, is true and to be followed, he endeavors to persuade in this way. First, because the highest good in philosophy is sought not for a tree, not for a beast, not for a god, but for man, he thinks it must be asked what man himself is. He perceives, indeed, that in his nature there are two certain things, body and soul: and of these two he does not at all doubt that the soul is better and by far more excellent; but whether the soul alone is man, so that the body is to it as a horse to a rider. For the rider is not man and horse, but man alone: yet he is called a rider because he stands in some relation to the horse. Or whether the body alone is man, having some relation to the soul, as a cup to a drink: for the chalice and the drink which the chalice contains are not together called the cup, but the chalice alone; yet because it is adapted to contain the drink. Or whether, indeed, neither the soul alone nor the body alone, but both together be man, of whom one part is either soul or body, but he whole consists of both, so that he may be man: as we call two horses joined together a chariot (bigae), of which either the right or the left is a part of the chariot, but one of them

in whatever relation it stands to the other, we do not call a chariot, but both together. But of these three he chooses this third, and considers man to be neither the soul alone, nor the body alone, but the soul and body together. Therefore, he says that the highest good of man, by which he becomes happy, consists of the goods of both things, namely, of the soul and of the body. And through this he considers that those primary goods of nature are to be sought for their own sake, and virtue itself, which instruction inserts as it were an art of living, which is the most excellent good in the goods of the soul. Wherefore the same virtue—that is, the art of conduct of life—when it has received the primary goods of nature, which were without it, but yet were even when instruction was still lacking to them, seeks all things for its own sake, and at the same time also itself: and it uses all things together and itself, for this end that it may be delighted and enjoy all things, more or less, as they are greater or less among themselves, yet rejoicing in all, and contemning some smaller things, if necessity demands, for the sake of attaining or holding greater things. But above all goods, whether of the mind or of the body, virtue places nothing at all above itself. For it uses well both itself and the rest of the goods which make a man happy. But where it is not itself, however many goods there may be, they are not for the good of him whose they are; and through this they are no longer to be called his goods, since they cannot be useful to him who uses them badly. This life of man,

therefore, which enjoys virtue and other goods of the mind and body, without which virtue cannot be, is said to be happy: but if also others, without which virtue can be, whether some or many, it is happier: but if indeed all, so that no good at all is lacking, whether of the mind or of the body, it is most happy. For life is not the same as virtue; since not every life, but a wise life is virtue: and yet a life of whatever kind can be without any virtue; but virtue cannot be without any life. This also I would say of memory and reason, and if there is anything else such in man. For these are present even before instruction, and without these there can be no instruction: and through this neither virtue, which is surely learned. But to run well, to be beautiful in body, to prevail with huge strength, and other such things are such that virtue can be without them, and they without virtue: yet they are goods; and according to these even virtue loves them for their own sake, and uses and enjoys them, as becomes virtue.

2. They also maintain that this happy life is social, which loves the goods of friends for their own sake just as its own, and wills for them for their own sake that which it wills for itself; whether they be in the home, as a spouse and children and any domestics; or in the place where his house is, as is the city, such as those who are called citizens; or in the whole world, as are the nations, which human society joins to him; or in the world itself, which is reckoned by the name of heaven and earth, as they say the gods are, whom they wish to be friends to the wise man, whom

we more familiarly call Angels. But concerning the ends of goods and on the contrary of evils, they say there is no way to doubt, and they affirm that this is the distance between themselves and the New Academics; nor does it matter anything to them whether anyone philosophizes in a Cynic or in any other habit and way of life in these ends which they think are true. Furthermore, of those three kinds of life, the leisurely, the active, and that which is composed of both, they assert that this third pleases them. Varro asserts that the Old Academics thought and taught these things, on the authority of Antiochus, the master of Cicero and himself, whom indeed Cicero wishes to appear to have been more of a Stoic in many things than an Old Academic. But what is that to us, who ought rather to judge of the things themselves, than to know for a great matter what each one thought concerning men?

CHAPTER IV.

What Christians think concerning the highest good and the highest evil against the philosophers, who said the highest good was in themselves to themselves.

1. If, therefore, it be asked of us what the City of God, being interrogated concerning each of these, would answer, and first what it thinks concerning the ends of goods and evils, it will answer that eternal life is the highest good, and eternal death the highest evil: that for the sake of attaining the one, and avoiding the other, we ought to live rightly. For which cause it is written:

"The just man lives by faith" (Hab. ii. 4; Gal. iii. 11): since we do not yet see our good, whence it is necessary that we seek it by believing; nor is the living rightly itself from ourselves to us, unless He who gave the faith itself, by which we believe we are to be helped by Him, helps us in believing and praying. But those who thought that the ends of goods and evils were in this life, placing the highest good either in the body, or in the mind, or in both; and, that I may speak it more explicitly, either in pleasure, or in virtue, or in both; or in repose, or in virtue, or in both; or in pleasure and repose together, or in virtue, or in both; or in the primary goods of nature, or in virtue, or in both: these willed with a wonderful vanity to be happy here, and to be made happy from themselves. Truth derided these by the prophet saying: "The Lord knows the thoughts of men;" or, as the apostle Paul has placed this testimony: "The Lord knows the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain" (Ps. xciii. 11; I Cor. iii. 20).

2. For who is sufficient, with however great a river of eloquence, to explain the miseries of this life? Which Cicero lamented in his Consolation on the death of his daughter, as he could: but how much is it that he could? For those things which are called the primary goods of nature, when, where, how can they be so well in this life that they do not fluctuate under uncertain accidents? For what pain contrary to pleasure, what disquiet contrary to repose, can not fall into the body of the wise man? Surely the amputation or weakness of the members expels soundness,

deformity expels beauty, weakness expels health, weariness expels strength, torpor or slowness expels mobility: is there any of these which cannot rush into the flesh of the wise man? The state also of the body and its motion, when they are becoming and congruent, are numbered among the first goods of nature: but what if some ill health should shake the members with a tremor? what if the spine of the back should be curved even to placing the hands on the ground, and make a man in some way a quadruped? will it not pervert all the appearance and grace of the body's posture and motion? What of the primordial goods of the mind itself which are so called, where they place the first two on account of the comprehension and perception of truth, sense and intellect? But what kind and how great a sense remains if, to say nothing of other things, a man becomes deaf and blind? Where will reason and intelligence recede, where will they be lulled to sleep, if he be made insane by some disease? When phrenetics say or do many absurd things, for the most part alien to their good purpose and character, nay contrary to their own good purpose and character, whether we think on those things or see them, if we consider them worthily, we can scarcely hold back our tears, or perhaps we cannot. What shall I say of those who suffer the incursions of demons? where have they their intelligence hidden or overwhelmed, when the malignant spirit uses both their soul and body according to his own will? And who confides that this evil cannot happen in this life

to the wise man? Then what or how great is the perception of truth in this flesh, when, as we read in the true book of Wisdom: "The corruptible body weighs down the soul, and the earthly habitation depresses the sense musing on many things" (Wisd. ix. 15)? Furthermore, the impulse or appetite for action—if this is the right Latin name for that which the Greeks call hormē, since they also depute it to the first goods of nature—is it not that very thing by which those miserable motions of the insane are carried on, and deeds which we abhor, when sense is perverted and reason is lulled to sleep?

3. Furthermore, virtue itself, which is not among the primary goods of nature, since it supervenes upon them later by the introduction of instruction, although it claims for itself the summit of human goods, what does it do here but wage perpetual wars with vices, not external, but internal; not alien, but plainly our own and proper to us; especially that which is called sōphrosynē in Greek and temperance in Latin, by which carnal lusts are curbed, lest they drag the consenting mind into various shameful deeds? For it is not no vice when, as the Apostle says, "The flesh lusts against the spirit" (Gal. v. 17): to which vice virtue is contrary, when, as the same says, "The spirit lusts against the flesh." "For these," he says, "are contrary to one another; so that you do not do the things that you want" (Gal. v. 17). But what do we want to do, when we want to fulfill the end of the highest good, but that the flesh should not lust against the spirit, and that

this vice should not be in us, against which the spirit lusts? Which, although we want it in this life, since we are not able to do it, let us at least do this by the help of God, that we do not yield by the spirit succumbing to the flesh lusting against the spirit, and be dragged by our consent to the perpetrating of sin. Far be it, therefore, that as long as we are in this internal war, we should believe ourselves to have already attained the beatitude to which we want to arrive by overcoming. And who is so wise that he has no conflict at all against lusts?

4. What of that virtue which is called prudence? Does it not, by all its vigilance, discern good things from evil, so that no error may creep in in desiring the former and avoiding the latter? And by this it also testifies that we are in the midst of evils, or that evils are in us. For it itself teaches us that it is an evil to consent to lust for sinning, and a good not to consent to lust for sinning. Yet that evil to which prudence teaches us not to consent, temperance deals with, and neither prudence nor temperance removes it from this life. What of justice, whose office it is to render to each his own (whence there arises in man himself a certain just order of nature, so that the soul is subjected to God and the flesh to the soul, and by this both soul and flesh to God), does it not demonstrate that it is still laboring in that work, rather than resting already in the end of this work? For by so much less is the soul subjected to God as it less conceives God in its very thoughts; and by so much less is the flesh

subjected to the soul as it more lusts against the spirit. As long, therefore, as this infirmity, this plague, this languor remains in us, how shall we dare to say that we are already saved; and if not yet saved, how already blessed with that final beatitude? Now truly that virtue whose name is fortitude, in however great wisdom, is a most evident witness of human evils, which it is compelled to tolerate with patience. Which evils I wonder with what face the Stoic philosophers contend are not evils, to whom they confess that, if they should be so great that the wise man either cannot or ought not to sustain them, he is compelled to bring death upon himself and to emigrate from this life. But such is the stupor of pride in these men, thinking that they have the end of good here and are made happy by themselves; so that their wise man, that is, such as they describe with wonderful vanity, even if he should be blinded, become deaf, become mute, be debilitated in his members, be tortured with pains, and if any other such evils can be said or thought, should fall upon him, by which he is compelled to bring death upon himself, they are not ashamed to call this life, constituted in these evils, a happy life. O happy life, which seeks the aid of death that it may be ended! If it is happy, let him remain in it: but if it is fled from because of these evils, how is it happy? Or how are those not evils which overcome the good of fortitude, and compel that same fortitude not only to yield to them, but even to rave, so that it both calls the same life happy and persuades that it is to be fled from? Who

is so blind that he does not see that if it were happy, it would not be to be fled from? But if they confess that it is to be fled from because of the weight of infirmity by which it is pressed, what reason is there why they should not also confess that it is miserable, the neck of their pride being broken? Did that Cato, I beseech you, kill himself with patience or rather with impatience? For he would not have done this unless he had borne the victory of Caesar with impatience. Where is fortitude? Surely it yielded, surely it succumbed, surely it was overcome to such an extent that it abandoned, deserted, and fled from the happy life. Or was it no longer happy? It was miserable, then. How, therefore, were those not evils which made life miserable and to be fled from?

5. Wherefore even they who have confessed that these things are evils, such as the Peripatetics and the Old Academics, whose sect Varro defends, speak more tolerably indeed: but their error also is wonderful, in that they contend that life is nevertheless happy in these evils, even if they be so grave that they are to be fled from by death brought upon himself by him who suffers them. "Torments and tortures of the body are evils," he says; "and they are so much worse as they are able to be greater; that you may be without which, you must flee from this life." From what life, I beseech you? "From this," he says, "which is weighed down by such great evils." Is it therefore happy in those very same evils because of which you say it is to be fled from? Or do you call it happy for this reason, because it is permit-

ted to you to depart from these evils by death? What if, therefore, you were held in them by some divine judgment, and were neither permitted to die nor ever allowed to be without them? Surely then at least you would call such a life miserable. It is not, therefore, not miserable for this reason, that it is quickly left: since if it were everlasting, it would be judged miserable even by yourself. Not therefore, because it is short, ought it to appear no misery; or, what is more absurd, because it is a short misery, for that reason also to be called beatitude. There is great force in those evils which compel a man—even a wise man according to them—to take away from himself that he is a man: since they say, and say truly, that this is in a certain way the first and greatest voice of nature, that a man be reconciled to himself, and therefore naturally flee from death; so much a friend to himself that he wills to be a living being, and to live in this conjunction of body and soul, and vehemently desires it. There is great force in those evils by which that sense of nature is overcome, by which death is avoided in every way with all powers and efforts; and it is so overcome that what was avoided is wished for, desired, and if it cannot happen from elsewhere, is brought upon the man by himself. There is great force in those evils which make fortitude a homicide: if indeed it is still to be called fortitude, which is so overcome by these evils that it not only cannot guard by patience the man whom, as virtue, it undertook to rule and protect, but is even compelled to kill him besides. The wise man ought indeed

to bear even death patiently, but that which happens from elsewhere: but according to these, if he is compelled to bring it upon himself, they must certainly confess that those are not only evils, but even intolerable evils, which compel him to perpetrate this. A life, therefore, which is either pressed by the burdens of such great and grave evils, or is subject to their accidents, would in no way be called happy, if the men who say this, as they yield to unhappiness when they bring death upon themselves being overcome by aggravating evils, so being overcome by certain reasons, when they seek a happy life, would deign to yield to the truth, and would not think that they are to rejoice in this mortality as in the end of the highest good; where the virtues themselves, than which surely nothing better and more useful is found in man here, by as much as they are greater aids against the force of dangers, labors, and pains, by so much are they more faithful testimonies of miseries. For if they are true virtues, which cannot be except in those in whom true piety is present; they do not profess this, that they are able to effect that men in whom they are should suffer no miseries: for true virtues are not liars, that they should profess this; but that human life, which is compelled to be miserable by so many and such great evils of this world, may be happy in the hope of the future world, as it is also saved. For how is it happy, which is not yet saved? Whence also the apostle Paul, not of imprudent, impatient, intemperant, and unjust men, but of those who live according to true piety, and therefore

have the virtues which they have as true ones, says: "For we are saved by hope." But hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man sees, why does he hope for? But if we hope for that which we do not see, we wait for it with patience (Rom. viii. 24 and 25). As, therefore, we are saved by hope, so have we been made happy by hope: and as we do not yet hold salvation, so neither beatitude, as already present, but we wait for it in the future: and this "with patience"; because we are in evils, which we ought patiently to tolerate until we come to those goods where all things will be which we shall ineffably delight in; and there will be nothing that we ought now to tolerate. Such salvation, which will be in the future world, will itself also be the final beatitude. Which beatitude these philosophers, because they do not see it and will not believe it, try to fabricate for themselves here a most false one, by a virtue so much more mendacious as it is more proud.

CAPUT V.

Of the social life, which, though it be most to be desired, is often subverted by many offenses.

But that they will the life of the wise man to be social, we much more fully approve. For whence would that City of God, concerning which we are now handling the nineteenth book of this work, either begin by its rising, or proceed by its course, or apprehend its due ends, if the life of the saints were not social? But in the misery of this mortality, who is able to enumerate with

how many and how great evils human society abounds? who is sufficient to estimate them? Let them hear a man say in their comic poets, with the sense and consent of all men: "I have taken a wife; what misery have I seen there! Children were born; another care." (Terent. Adelph. act v. sc. 4). What likewise of those vices which the same Terence commemorates in love: "injuries, suspicions, enmities, war, then peace again" (Eunuch. act i. sc. 1): have they not everywhere filled human affairs? do they not for the most part happen even in the honest loves of friends? are not human affairs everywhere full of these, where we feel injuries, suspicions, enmities, war as certain evils; but peace as an uncertain good, because we are ignorant of the hearts of those with whom we wish to hold it; and if we could know today what they were, we would certainly be ignorant of what they would be tomorrow? Who, moreover, are wont to be more friendly among themselves, or ought to be, than those who are also contained within one house? And yet who is secure from there, when such great evils have often arisen from their hidden snares; so much more bitter as the peace was sweeter, which was thought true when it was most astutely feigned? On account of which that which Tully says touches the breasts of all so as to compel a groan: "There are no snares more hidden than those which lie concealed in the simulation of duty, or in some name of necessity. For him who is an open adversary, you may easily avoid by taking care: but this hidden, internal, and domestic evil not

only exists, but even oppresses, before you can foresee and explore it" (Cicer. in Verrem, act ii. lib. 1). On account of which also that divine voice, "And a man's enemies shall be those of his own household" (Matt. x. 36), is heard with great grief of heart: because even if anyone be so brave as to bear it with an even mind; or so vigilant as to avoid with provident counsel what a feigned friendship plots against him: yet by the evil of those perfidious men, when he experiences them to be most wicked, if he himself be good, he must necessarily be gravely tortured; whether they were always evil and feigned themselves good, or were changed into that malice from goodness. If, therefore, the house, a common refuge in these evils of the human race, is not safe, what of the city, which, by as much as it is larger, by so much is its forum fuller of lawsuits, both civil and criminal, and even if they be quiet, of not only turbulent but more often even bloody seditions and civil wars, from the events of which cities are sometimes free, but from the dangers never?

CAPUT VI.

Of the error of human judgments, when the truth is hidden.

What shall we think of those very judgments of men concerning men, which cannot be wanting to cities remaining in however great peace —of what kind are they, how miserable, how to be lamented? since those judge who cannot see the consciences of those concerning whom they judge. Whence they are often compelled to

seek the truth by the torments of innocent witnesses pertaining to another's cause. What when anyone is tortured in his own cause; and while it is sought whether he be guilty, he is tortured, and being innocent he suffers most certain punishments for an uncertain crime; not because it is discovered that he committed it, but because it is not known that he did not commit it? And by this the ignorance of the judge is for the most part the calamity of the innocent. And what is more intolerable, and more to be bewailed, and, if it were possible, to be watered with fountains of tears; since for this reason the judge tortures the accused, lest he should unknowingly kill an innocent man, it happens by the misery of ignorance that he kills both a tortured and an innocent man, whom he had tortured lest he should kill him being innocent. For if, according to their wisdom, he should choose to flee from this life rather than sustain those torments any longer, he says that he committed what he did not commit. Who being condemned and killed, the judge still does not know whether he killed a guilty or an innocent man, whom he tortured lest he should unknowingly kill him being innocent: and by this he both tortured him that he might know, and killed him while he did not know. In these darknesses of social life, will that wise judge sit, or will he not sit? He will sit plainly. For human society constrains him, and draws him to this office, which he thinks it a crime to desert. For he does not think it a crime that innocent witnesses are tortured in others' causes; that those who are accused, being

for the most part overcome by the force of pain, and having confessed false things of themselves, are even punished being innocent, when they had already been tortured being innocent; that even if they be not punished with death, they for the most part die in or from the torments themselves; that sometimes even those who accuse, perhaps desiring to profit human society lest crimes should be unpunished, and witnesses lying, and the accused himself enduring the torments immensely and not confessing, not being able to prove what they object, although they objected true things, are condemned by the judge not knowing. These so many and such great evils he does not depute to be sins: for the wise judge does not do these with a will of hurting, but by the necessity of not knowing; and yet because human society compels, also by the necessity of judging. This is therefore what we call the misery of man, even if not the malice of the wise man. Or truly by the necessity of not knowing and judging does he torture the innocent, punish the innocent, and is it too little for him that he is not a culprit, if he be not also besides happy? How much more considerately and worthily of a man does he acknowledge misery in that necessity, and hate it in himself; and, if he is piously wise, cries out to God: "Deliver me from my necessities" (Ps. xxv. 17)?

CAPUT VII.

Of the diversity of languages, by which the society of men is divided; and of the misery of wars, even those which are called just.

After the city or town follows the world, in which they place the third degree of human society, beginning from the house, and coming thence to the city, then proceeding to the world: which surely, like a mass of waters, the larger it is, the more full of dangers. In which first the diversity of languages alienates man from man. For if two meet one another, and are compelled by some necessity not to pass by but to be together, neither of whom knows the language of the other; dumb animals, even of different kinds, are more easily associated with one another than they, although both are men. For when they cannot communicate what they feel to one another, on account of the diversity of language alone, so great a similitude of nature profits nothing for associating men: so that a man is more willingly with his dog than with a strange man. But indeed, labor was given that the imperial city should impose not only its yoke, but even its language upon the conquered nations through the peace of society; through which there would not be wanting, nay, there would even abound a plenty of interpreters. This is true: but with how many and how great wars, with how great slaughter of men, with how great effusion of human blood was this prepared? Which being transacted, the misery of those same evils was nevertheless not finished. For although there have not been wanting, nor are wanting, enemies among foreign nations,

against whom wars have always been waged, and are waged: yet also the very latitude of the empire brought forth wars of a worse kind, namely, social and civil wars; by which the human race is more miserably shaken, whether when war is being waged that they may sometimes rest, or when it is feared lest they should arise again. Of which evils many and manifold slaughters, hard and dire necessities, if I should wish to speak as is worthy, although I could by no means as the matter demands; what will be the end of a prolix disputation? But the wise man, they say, will wage just wars. As if, if he remembers himself to be a man, he will not much more grieve that the necessity of just wars has arisen for him; because unless they were just, they would not be to be waged by him, and by this there would be no wars for the wise man. For the iniquity of the adverse party thrusts just wars to be waged upon the wise man: which iniquity surely is to be lamented by a man, because it is of men, even if no necessity of warring should arise from it. Whoever, therefore, considers these so great, so horrendous, so savage evils with grief, let him confess misery. But whoever either suffers them without grief of mind, or thinks on them, far more miserably for that reason does he think himself happy, because he has also lost human sense.

CAPUT VIII.

That the friendship of the good cannot be secure, while it is necessary to be in fear from the dangers which are in this life.

But if there does not happen a certain ignorance similar to madness, which nevertheless often happens in the miserable condition of this life, so that one is believed to be a friend who is an enemy, or an enemy who is a friend; what consoles us in this human society, most full of errors and miseries, but unfeigned faith and the mutual affection of true and good friends? Whom the more we have and in more places, by so much more lengthily and widely do we fear lest any evil should happen to them from the so great heaps of evils of this world. For we are not only solicitous lest they should be afflicted by hunger, by wars, by diseases, by captivities, lest in that same servitude they should suffer such things as we are not sufficient even to think: but also, where the fear is much more bitter, lest they should be changed into perfidy, malice, and wickedness. And when these things happen (so many more, surely, as they are more numerous and in more places) and are brought to our notice, by what scourges our heart is burned, who can perceive except he who feels such things? Indeed, we would rather hear that they are dead: although we cannot hear even this without grief. For since their life delighted us on account of the solaces of friendship, whence can it be that their death should bring no sadness upon us? Let him who prohibits this, prohibit, if he can, friendly colloquies, let him interdict or cut off friendly affection, let him break the bonds of all human relationships with a cruel stupor of mind; or let him judge that they are to be used in such a way that no sweetness should pervade the

soul from them. But if this can in no way be done, how also shall it be that his death is not bitter to us whose life is sweet? For hence is even mourning, a certain wound or ulcer, as it were, of a not inhuman heart, for the healing of which dutiful consolations are applied. For it is not therefore not a thing to be healed, because by as much as the mind is better, by so much is it more quickly and easily healed in it. Since, therefore, the life of mortals is afflicted now more mildly, now more harshly, even concerning the deaths of the most dear, especially those whose offices are necessary to human society; yet we would rather hear of or see those dead whom we love, than fallen either from faith or from good morals, that is, dead in the soul itself: with which immense material of evils the earth is full; on account of which it is written: "Is not the life of man upon earth a temptation?" (Job vii. 1). And on account of which the Lord Himself says: "Woe to the world because of offenses!" (Matt. xviii. 7); and again: "Because iniquity has abounded," He says, "the charity of many shall grow cold" (Id. xxiv. 12). From which it happens that we congratulate good friends who are dead, and although their death saddens us, it itself consoles us more certainly: since they have lacked the evils by which in this life even good men are either worn down or depraved, or are in danger of both.

CAPUT IX.---Of the friendship of the holy Angels, which cannot be manifest to man in this world, on account of the fallacy of demons, into

whom they fell who thought many gods were to be worshipped by them.

In the society indeed of the holy Angels, which those philosophers, who willed the gods to be our friends, constituted in the fourth place, as if coming to the universe from the world of the lands, so that they might in a certain way embrace even heaven; we by no means fear lest such friends should sadden us either by their death or by their depravity. But because they do not mingle with us with that familiarity which men do (which itself also pertains to the miseries of this life), and sometimes Satan, as we read, transfigures himself as an angel of light (2 Cor. xi. 14), to tempt those whom it is necessary to be so instructed, or just to be deceived; the great mercy of God is necessary, lest anyone, when he thinks he has good Angels as friends, should have evil demons as feigned friends, and suffer them as enemies so much more harmful as they are more astute and fallacious. And to whom is that great mercy of God necessary, but to the great human misery, which is pressed by such great ignorance that it is easily deceived by the simulation of these? And that those philosophers in the impious city, who said that the gods were their friends, fell into malignant demons, is most certain, to whom that whole city itself is subjected, about to have eternal punishment with them. For from their sacred rites, or rather sacrileges, by which they thought they were to be worshipped, and from the most unclean games, where their crimes are celebrated, by which they thought they were to

be placated—those very same ones being the authors and exactors of such and so great shames —it is sufficiently open from them who they are that are worshipped.

CAPUT X.

What fruit is prepared for the saints from the overcome temptation of this life.

But neither are the saints and the faithful worshippers of the one true and highest God secure from their fallacies and manifold temptation. For in this place of infirmity and in these evil days even this solicitude is not useless, that that security, where peace is most full and most certain, may be sought with a more fervent desire. For there will be the gifts of nature, that is, those which are given to our nature by the Creator of all natures, not only good, but even everlasting; not only in the soul, which is healed by wisdom, but even in the body, which will be renewed by the resurrection. There the virtues will be, not contending against any vices or any evils whatsoever, but having as the prize of victory eternal peace, which no adversary may disquiet. For this is the final beatitude, the very end of perfection, which has no consuming end. But here we are indeed called happy when we have peace, however little it can be had here in a good life: but this beatitude, compared to that beatitude which we call final, is found to be altogether misery. This peace, therefore, such as it can be here, when we mortal men have it in mortal things, if

we live rightly, virtue uses its goods rightly: but when we do not have it, virtue uses well even the evils which man suffers. But then it is true virtue, when it refers both all the goods which it uses well, and whatever it does in the good use of goods and evils, and itself also, to that end where there will be such and so great peace for us, than which a better and greater cannot be.

CAPUT XI.

Of the beatitude of eternal peace, in which is the end of the saints, that is, true perfection.

Wherefore we can say that the end of our goods is peace, as we said that it is eternal life: especially because it is said to that same City of God, concerning which we have this most laborious disputation, in the holy Psalm: "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Sion." "For He has strengthened the bars of thy gates; He has blessed thy children within thee, who has made thy borders peace" (Ps. cxlvii. 12-14). For when the bars of its gates shall have been strengthened, no one shall any longer enter into it, nor shall any one go out from it. And by this we ought here to understand its borders as that peace which we wish to demonstrate as final. For also the mystical name of the city itself, that is, Jerusalem, which we have also said before, is interpreted as "Vision of Peace." But because the name of peace is also frequented in these mortal things, where surely there is no eternal life; therefore we preferred to commemorate the end of this

city, where its highest good will be, as eternal life rather than peace. Concerning which end the Apostle says: "But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, you have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life" (Rom. vi. 22). But again, because eternal life can be taken even as the life of the wicked by those who have no familiarity with the holy Scriptures; either according to some philosophers also, on account of the immortality of the soul; or even according to our faith, on account of the interminable punishments of the impious, who surely cannot be tortured in eternity unless they also live in eternity: therefore the end of this city, in which it will have the highest good, is to be called either peace in eternal life, or eternal life in peace, that it may be more easily understood by all. For so great is the good of peace, that even in earthly and mortal things nothing is wont to be heard more gratefully, nothing more desirably lusted after, finally nothing better can be found. Concerning which if we should wish to speak somewhat longer, we shall not be, as I think, burdensome to the readers, both on account of the end of this city, concerning which our discourse is, and on account of that very sweetness of peace which is dear to all.

CHAPTER XII.

That even the cruelty of the warring and all the restlessness of men desire to reach the end of peace, without the appetite for which no nature exists.

1. For what anyone, who in any way beholds human affairs and our common nature, acknowledges with me is that, just as there is no one who does not wish to rejoice, so there is no one who does not wish to have peace. Inasmuch as even those who want wars want nothing else than to conquer; they desire, therefore, to reach a glorious peace by warring. For what else is victory but the subjection of those who resist? And when this has been done, there will be peace. Therefore, wars are waged with the intention of peace, even by those who study to exercise military virtue by commanding and fighting. Whence it is certain that peace is the desirable end of war. For every man seeks peace even by making war; but no one seeks war by making peace. For even those who wish the peace in which they are to be disturbed, do not hate peace, but they desire it to be changed according to their own will. Therefore, they do not wish that there be no peace, but that there be that peace which they want. Finally, even if they have separated themselves from others through sedition, unless they maintain some kind of appearance of peace with those very conspirators or confederates of theirs, they do not effect what they intend. Consequently, even robbers themselves, that they may more vehemently and safely be hostile to the peace of others, wish to have the peace of their associates. But even if there were one man so surpassing in strength and so cautious of accomplices that he committed himself to no partner, and alone lying in wait and prevailing, having oppressed and ex-

tinguished those whom he could, he should carry off booty, he certainly maintains some shadow of peace with those whom he cannot kill, and from whom he wishes to hide what he does. In his own house, moreover, with his wife and with his children, and if he has any others there, he surely studies to be at peace; for he is without doubt delighted by those obeying his nod. For if it be not done, he is indignant, he rebukes, he punishes; and he composes the peace of his house, if it be thus necessary, even by being cruel; which he feels cannot be, unless all the rest in that same domestic society be subject to a certain principle, which he himself is in his house. And therefore, if the servitude of many, or of a city or nation, were offered to him, so that they should serve him in the same manner as he wished to be served at home in his house; he would no longer hide himself as a robber in lurking-places, but would exalt himself as a conspicuous king, while the same desire and malice remained in him. Thus all desire to have peace with their own, whom they wish to live according to their own will. For they even wish to make those with whom they wage war their own, if they can, and to impose the laws of their own peace upon them when they are subjected.

2. But let us imagine someone such as poetic and fabulous narration sings of; whom perhaps, on account of his very unsociable ferocity, they preferred to call a half-man rather than a man. Although, then, the kingdom of this one was the solitude of a dire cave, and his malice so singular

that from this his name was found; for "bad" in Greek is called kakos, which was his name: no wife would bring to him or receive from him a soothing discourse, he would play with no little children, nor command them when larger, he would enjoy the colloquy of no friend, not even of Vulcan his father, than whom in this respect alone he was not a little unhappier, because he himself did not beget such a monster: he would give nothing to anyone, but from whomsoever he could he would take away whatever he wished, and when he could, and as much as he wished: nevertheless, in that very solitary cave of his, the ground of which, as it is described, always reeked with recent slaughter, he wished for nothing else than peace, in which no one should be troublesome to him, nor should the force or terror of anyone disturb his quiet. Finally, he desired to have peace with his own body: and as much as he had it, so much was it well with him. Inasmuch as he commanded his obeying members; and that he might pacify as much as possible with all haste his mortality rebelling against him from indigence, and the sedition of hunger inciting the soul to be dissociated and excluded from the body, he seized, killed, and devoured; and although immense and fierce, he nevertheless immensely and fiercely consulted for the peace of his life and safety: and by this, if he wished to have with others also that peace which he was busy to have in his cave and in himself, he would be called neither bad, nor a monster, nor a half-man. Or if the form of his body and the

vomiting of black fires deterred the society of men from him, perhaps he was fierce not from a desire for harming, but from the necessity of living. But he either was not, or, what is more to be believed, was not such as he is described by poetic vanity: for unless Cacus were excessively accused, Hercules would be little praised. Such a man, therefore, or half-man, is better believed, as I said, not to have been, like many fictions of the poets. For even the most savage beasts, from which he had a part of his ferocity (for he was also called half-beast), guard their own kind with a certain peace, by cohabiting, begetting, bringing forth, cherishing and nourishing their offspring, although most of them are unsociable and solitary: not indeed as sheep, stags, doves, starlings, bees; but as lions, foxes, eagles, owls. For what tiger does not gently murmur to her own cubs, and soothe them with pacified ferocity? What kite, however solitary he may fly about for prey, does not join in marriage, build a nest, cherish eggs, feed the young, and maintain domestic society with his mistress of the house, as it were, with as much peace as he can? How much more is man carried in a certain way by the laws of his nature to enter into society and to obtain peace with men, as much as lies in him, with all: since even the wicked make war for the peace of their own, and wish to make all their own, if they can, so that all things and all people may serve one; by what means, unless they consent to his peace either by loving or by fearing? For thus pride perversely imitates God. For it hates equality with

associates under Him: but it wishes to impose its own domination upon associates instead of Him. It hates, therefore, the just peace of God, and loves its own iniquitous peace: yet it cannot by any means not love some kind of peace. For no vice is so contrary to nature that it deletes even the extreme vestiges of nature.

3. Therefore, he who knows how to prefer right things to wrong and ordered things to perverse, sees the peace of the iniquitous in comparison to the peace of the just, and that it is not to be called peace. Moreover, that which is perverse, it is also necessary that it be pacified in some part of things, and from some part, and with some part of things, in which it is, or from which it consists; otherwise it would be nothing at all. As if anyone should hang head downwards, the site of the body and the order of the members is surely perverse; because that which nature demands to be above is below, and that which she wants to be below has been made to be above; this perversity has disturbed the peace of the flesh, and therefore it is troublesome: nevertheless the soul is at peace with its own body, and is busy for its safety, and therefore there is one who feels pain; which if, excluded by its troubles, it should depart, as long as the compages of the members remains, that which remains is not without a certain peace of parts, and therefore there is still something that hangs. And because an earthly body strives towards the earth, and resists the bond by which it is suspended, it tends towards the order of its own peace, and in a certain way demands by the

voice of its weight the place where it may rest; and now being lifeless and without any sense, it nevertheless does not recede from the natural peace of its own order, either when it holds it, or when it is carried towards it. For if medicines and a treatment be applied, which does not allow the form of the cadaver to be dissolved and glide away, still a certain peace joins parts to parts, and applies the whole mass to something earthly and convenient, and by this to a pacified place. But if no care of embalming be applied, but it be left to its natural course, it is for so long as it were in a tumult with dissident exhalations and those inconvenient to our sense: for that is what is felt in the stench, until it agrees with the elements of the world, and departs into their peace little by little and part by part. Nevertheless, in no way is anything withdrawn therefrom from the laws of that highest Creator and Orderer, by whom the peace of the universe is administered: because even if minute animals be born from the cadaver of a larger living thing, by the same law of the Creator those same little bodies serve their own little souls in the peace of safety: and even if the flesh of the dead be devoured by other animals, they find those same laws diffused through all things for the safety of every kind of mortals, pacifying congruous things with congruous, whithersoever they may be dragged, and to whatever things they may be joined, and into whatever things they may be converted and changed.

CHAPTER XIII.---Of universal peace, which among any perturbations cannot be deprived of

the law of nature, while under a just judge each one reaches by ordination that which he has merited by will.

1. The peace of the body, therefore, is the ordered temperature of the parts. The peace of the irrational soul is the ordered repose of the appetites. The peace of the rational soul is the ordered agreement of knowledge and action. The peace of the body and soul is the ordered life and health of the living thing. The peace of mortal man and God is ordered obedience in faith under the eternal law. The peace of men is ordered concord. The peace of a house is the ordered concord of commanding and obeying of those cohabiting. The peace of a city is the ordered concord of commanding and obeying of the citizens. The peace of the heavenly city is the most ordered and most concordant society of enjoying God and one another in God. The peace of all things is the tranquility of order. Order is the disposition of equal and unequal things, allotting to each its own place. Therefore the miserable, because, in as much as they are miserable, they are certainly not in peace, lack indeed the tranquility of order, where there is no perturbation: nevertheless, because they are deservedly and justly miserable, even in that very misery of theirs they cannot be outside of order; not indeed joined to the blessed, but nevertheless separated from them by the law of order. Who, when they are without perturbation, are fitted to the things in which they are by some degree of congruence: and by this there is in them some tranquility of order: there is,

therefore, some peace. But therefore they are miserable, because, although they do not grieve in some security, they are nevertheless not there where they ought to be secure and not grieve: but more miserable if they have no peace with that same law by which the natural order is administered. But when they grieve, from that part from which they grieve, a perturbation of peace has been made: but in that part there is still peace, in which neither does pain burn, nor is the compages itself dissolved. Just as, therefore, there is a certain life without pain, but pain cannot be without some life: so there is a certain peace without any war, but war cannot be without some peace; not according to that which is war, but according to that which is carried on by those or in those things which are some natures: which they would in no way be, if they did not subsist by some kind of peace.

2. Wherefore there is a nature in which there is no evil, or even in which no evil can be: but there cannot be a nature in which there is no good. Consequently, not even the nature of the devil himself, in as much as it is a nature, is an evil: but perversity makes it evil. Therefore he did not stand in the truth, but he did not escape the judgment of the truth: he did not remain in the tranquility of order, yet he did not therefore flee from the power of the Orderer. The good of God, which is in his nature, does not withdraw him from the justice of God, by which he is ordered in punishment: nor does God there pursue the good which He created, but the evil which he commit-

ted. For neither does He take away all that He gave to nature; but He takes away something, He leaves something, so that there may be one who grieves for what He takes away. And pain itself is a testimony of the good taken away and the good left. For unless good were left, he could not grieve for the good lost. For he who sins is worse if he rejoices in the loss of equity. But he who is tortured, if he acquires no good therefrom, grieves for the loss of safety. And since both equity and safety are a good, and one ought to grieve rather than rejoice at the loss of a good (unless, however, there be a compensation of a better good, but the equity of the mind is better than the health of the body), surely the unjust man more conveniently grieves in punishment than he rejoiced in the delict. Just as, therefore, joy at the deserted good in sin is a witness of a bad will; so pain for the lost good in punishment is a witness of a good nature. For he who grieves for the lost peace of his nature, grieves for it from some remains of peace, by which it happens that nature is friendly to itself. Moreover, this rightly happens in extreme punishment, that the iniquitous and impious bewail the losses of natural goods in their tortures, feeling the most just God to be the taker away of them, whom they contemned as the most benign giver. God, therefore, the most wise founder of all natures and the most just orderer, who established the mortal human race as the greatest of earthly ornaments, gave to men certain goods congruous to this life, that is, temporal peace according to the measure of mortal life in

safety itself and incolumity and the society of their kind, and whatever things are necessary for either protecting or recovering this peace, such as those things which aptly and conveniently lie adjacent to the senses, light, night, breathable airs, potable waters, and whatever is congruous for nourishing, covering, caring for and adorning the body: by that most equitable pact, that whatever mortal shall have rightly used such goods accommodated to the peace of mortals, shall receive more ample and better things, namely, the peace of immortality itself, and the glory and honor convenient to it in eternal life for the enjoyment of God and of his neighbor in God: but he who uses them perversely shall neither receive those and shall lose these.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of order and law, whether celestial or earthly, through which human society is consulted for even by dominating, to which also by consulting service is rendered.

All use of temporal things, therefore, is referred to the fruit of earthly peace in the earthly city: but in the celestial city it is referred to the fruit of eternal peace. Wherefore, if we were irrational animals, we would seek nothing besides the ordered temperature of the parts of the body and the repose of the appetites: nothing, therefore, besides the quiet of the flesh and the abundance of pleasures, so that the peace of the body might profit the peace of the soul. For if the peace of the body be lacking, the irrational peace of the

soul is also impeded; because it cannot reach the repose of the appetites. But both together profit that peace which the soul and body have between themselves, that is, of an ordered life and safety. For just as animals show that they love the peace of the body when they flee pain; and the peace of the soul when, for the sake of fulfilling the indigence of the appetites, they follow pleasure: so by fleeing death they sufficiently indicate how much they love the peace by which the soul and body are reconciled to each other. But because there is a rational soul in man, all this which he has in common with the beasts he subjects to the peace of the rational soul, so that he may contemplate something with the mind, and according to this do something, so that there may be in him an ordered agreement of knowledge and action, which we had called the peace of the rational soul. For to this end he ought to wish neither to be molested by pain, nor to be disturbed by desire, nor to be dissolved by death, that he may know something useful, and according to that knowledge compose his life and manners. But lest by the very study of knowledge he should run into the plague of some error on account of the infirmity of the human mind, he has need of divine teaching, which he may certainly obey, and of help, that he may freely obey. And since, as long as he is in this mortal body, he is on pilgrimage from the Lord; he walks by faith, not by sight: and by this he refers all peace either of the body, or of the soul, or of body and soul together, to that peace which there is to mortal man with the

immortal God; so that there may be to him an ordered obedience in faith under the eternal law. Now indeed, because the teacher God teaches two principal precepts, that is, the love of God and the love of neighbor, in which man finds three things which he may love—God, himself, and his neighbor; and he does not err in loving himself who loves God: it follows that he should also consult for his neighbor to love God, whom he is commanded to love as himself. Thus for his wife, thus for his children, thus for his domestics, thus for other men as he can; and to this end he should wish to be consulted for by his neighbor, if perchance he has need: and by this he will be at peace, as much as in him lies, with every man, by the peace of men, that is, ordered concord: of which this is the order, first that he harm no one, then that he also profit whomsoever he can. Primarily, therefore, there is in him the care of his own: for to them he has a more opportune and easier access for consulting, either by the order of nature, or of human society itself. Whence the Apostle says: "But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel" (1 Tim. v. 8). Hence, therefore, domestic peace also arises, that is, the ordered concord of commanding and obeying of those cohabiting. For those command who consult: as the husband for his wife, parents for their children, masters for their servants. But those obey for whom consultation is made: as women for their husbands, children for their parents, servants for their masters. But

in the house of the just man living from faith, and still on pilgrimage from that celestial city, even those who command serve those whom they seem to command. For they command not from a desire of dominating, but from the duty of consulting; nor from the pride of ruling, but from the mercy of providing.

CHAPTER XV.---Of natural liberty, and of servitude, the first cause of which is sin, by which a man of bad will, even if he is not the bondman of another man, is the slave of his own lust.

This the natural order prescribes; thus God founded man. For, "Let him have dominion," He says, "over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth" (Gen. i. 26). Having made him rational after His own image, He did not wish him to dominate except over irrational things: not man over man, but man over cattle. Hence the first just men were established as shepherds of cattle rather than as kings of men: so that even thus God might insinuate what the order of creatures demands, and what the merit of sinners exacts. For the condition of servitude is rightly understood to have been imposed upon the sinner. Consequently, we nowhere read of a servant in the Scriptures before the just Noah punished the sin of his son with this word (Gen. ix. 25). That name, therefore, guilt merited, not nature. Moreover, the origin of the word for servants in the Latin tongue is believed to be derived from this, that those who could by the law of war be killed, when they were preserved by the vic-

tors, became servants (servi), being called from preserving (servando); which also itself is not without the merit of sin. For even when a just war is waged, it is fought for sin and from the opposite side: and every victory, even when it happens to the wicked, humbles the conquered by divine judgment, either amending sins or punishing them. The man of God, Daniel, is a witness, when, placed in captivity, he confesses his own sins and the sins of his people to God, and testifies with pious grief that this was the cause of that captivity (Dan. ix. 5-19). The first cause of servitude, therefore, is sin; so that man should be subjected to man by the bond of condition: which does not happen except by the judgment of God, with whom there is no iniquity, and who knows how to distribute diverse punishments to the merits of delinquents. But as the celestial Lord says, "Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin" (John viii. 34): and by this many religious people serve iniquitous masters, yet not free themselves: "for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage" (2 Pet. ii. 19). And surely one is served more happily by a man than by lust; when with the most savage dominion it wastes the hearts of mortals—to omit others—the very lust of dominating. But to men in that order of peace, by which some are subjected to others, as humility profits those serving, so pride harms those dominating. But by nature, in which God first founded man, no one is the servant of man, or of sin. But also penal servitude is ordered by that law which commands the natural order

to be preserved and forbids it to be disturbed: because if it had not been done against that law, there would be nothing to be coerced by penal servitude. And therefore the Apostle also admonishes servants to be subject to their masters, and to serve them from the soul with good will (Eph. vi. 5): so that, namely, if they cannot be made free by their masters, they may themselves in a certain way make their servitude free; by serving not with guileful fear, but with faithful love, until iniquity pass away, and all principality and human power be evacuated, and God be all in all.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the equitable right of dominating.

Wherefore, even if our just fathers had servants, they so administered domestic peace that, according to these temporal goods, they distinguished the lot of sons from the condition of servants; but for the worship of God, in whom eternal goods are to be hoped for, they consulted for all the members of their house with equal love. Which the natural order so prescribes, that the name of fathers of families (patrumfamilias) arose from hence, and has been so widely published that even those dominating iniquitously rejoice to be called by this name. But those who are true fathers of a family consult for all in their family as for sons to the worship and meriting of God; desiring and wishing to come to the celestial house, where the office of commanding mortals may not be necessary, because the office of con-

sulting will not be necessary for those already happy in that immortality: until which place is reached, fathers ought more to tolerate that they dominate than servants that they serve. But if anyone in the house by inobedience is adverse to domestic peace, he is rebuked, whether by word, or by a blow, or by any other kind of punishment just and licit, as much as human society concedes, for the utility of him who is rebuked, that he may be refitted to the peace from which he had leaped apart. For just as it is not of beneficence, by helping, to effect that a good which is greater be lost; so it is not of innocence, by sparing, to allow that one should fall into a more grievous evil. It pertains, therefore, to the office of an innocent man not only to infer evil to no one, but also to restrain from sin, or to punish sin; so that either he himself who is punished may be corrected by the experiment, or others may be terrified by the example. Because, therefore, the house of a man ought to be the beginning or a particle of a city, moreover every beginning is referred to some end of its own kind, and every part to the integrity of the whole of which it is a part: it appears sufficiently to be a consequence that domestic peace be referred to civic peace, that is, that the ordered concord of commanding and obeying of those cohabiting be referred to the ordered concord of commanding and obeying of the citizens. Thus it happens that it behooves the father of a family to take precepts from the law of the city, by which he may so rule his house that it may be accommodated to the peace of the city.

CHAPTER XVII.

Whence the celestial society may have peace with the earthly city, and whence discord.

But the house of men who do not live from faith follows earthly peace from the things and commodities of this temporal life. But the house of men living from faith expects those things which are promised as eternal in the future, and uses earthly and temporal things as a pilgrim, not by which it may be captured and averted from where it tends toward God, but by which it may be sustained for more easily tolerating and minimally increasing the burdens of the corruptible body, which weighs down the soul (Wisd. ix. 15). Therefore the use of things necessary for this mortal life is common to both men and both houses; but the end of using them is each one's own, and very different. Thus also the earthly city, which does not live from faith, desires earthly peace; and in that it fixes the concord of commanding and obeying of the citizens, so that there may be to them concerning the things pertaining to mortal life a certain composition of human wills. But the celestial city, or rather that part of it which performs its pilgrimage in this mortality, and lives from faith, must also necessarily use this peace, until mortality itself, to which such peace is necessary, pass away. And by this, while it leads a captive life of its pilgrimage with the earthly city, having already received the promise of redemption and the spiritual gift as it were a pledge, it does not hesitate to obey the

laws of the earthly city, by which those things are administered which are accommodated to sustaining mortal life: so that, since mortality itself is common, concord may be preserved in the things pertaining to it between both cities. But because the earthly city has had certain of its own wise men, whom divine discipline reproves, who, either suspecting or being deceived by demons, believed that many gods were to be conciliated for human affairs, to whose diverse offices, as it were, diverse subjects pertained—to one the body, to another the soul, and in the body itself to one the head, to another the neck, and the rest individually to individuals; similarly in the soul to one genius, to another doctrine, to another anger, to another concupiscence; and in those things adjacent to life, to one cattle, to another wheat, to another wine, to another oil, to another woods, to another money, to another navigation, to another wars and victories, to another marriages, to another partus and fecundity, and to others other things; but the celestial city knew that one God alone was to be worshipped, and that to Him only service was to be rendered with that servitude which in Greek is called latreia, and is not due except to God, it should judge with faithful piety: it has happened that it could not have common laws of religion with the earthly city, and for these it was necessary to dissent from it, and to be a burden to those feeling differently, and to sustain their angers and hatreds and the impulses of persecutions, except when it should repel the minds of adversaries sometimes by the

terror of its multitude, and always by divine help. This celestial city, therefore, while it performs its pilgrimage on earth, calls forth citizens from all nations, and collects a pilgrim society in all languages; not caring whatever is diverse in manners, laws, and institutions, by which earthly peace is either acquired or held; rescinding nothing of them, nor destroying, but rather even preserving and following: which, although diverse in diverse nations, is yet intended to one and the same end of earthly peace, if it does not impede the religion by which the one supreme and true God is taught to be worshipped. Therefore the celestial city also uses earthly peace in this its pilgrimage, and concerning the things pertaining to the mortal nature of men, it protects and desires the composition of human wills as much as is conceded saving piety and religion, and refers that earthly peace to celestial peace: which truly is so peace, that it alone ought to be held and called the peace of at least the rational creature, namely, the most ordered and most concordant society of enjoying God, and one another in God; whither when one shall have come, there will not be a mortal life, but plainly and certainly a vital one; nor an animal body, which while it is corrupted, weighs down the soul, but a spiritual one without any indigence, in every part subjected to the will. This peace it has while it performs its pilgrimage in faith; and from this faith it lives justly, when it refers to the attaining of that peace whatever of good actions it performs toward God

and neighbor, since the life of the city is surely social.

CHAPTER XVIII.

How the ambiguity of the New Academy differs from the constancy of the Christian faith.

But as for that difference which Varro applied concerning the New Academics, to whom all things are uncertain, the City of God altogether detests such doubt as madness, having most certain knowledge regarding those things which it comprehends with the mind and reason, even if it be small on account of the corruptible body which weighs down the soul, since, as the Apostle says, 'We know in part' (1 Cor. 13:9); and it trusts the senses in the evidence of each thing, which the mind uses through the body: for he is more miserably deceived who thinks they are never to be believed. It also believes the Holy Scriptures, both old and new, which we call Canonical, whence that very faith is conceived, by which the just lives (Hab. 2:4); through which we walk without doubt, as long as we are on pilgrimage from the Lord (2 Cor. 5:6): while this faith remains safe and certain, we doubt without just reproach concerning certain things which we have perceived neither by sense nor by reason, nor have they become clear to us through the canonical Scripture, nor have they come to our notice through witnesses whom it is absurd not to believe.

CHAPTER XIX.

On the dress and customs of the Christian people.

It surely does not pertain to that city what dress or custom of living anyone follows, provided it is not against the divine precepts, as long as he holds to that faith by which one reaches God: hence it compels even the philosophers themselves, when they become Christians, not to change their dress or custom of life, which in no way hinders religion, but to change their false dogmas. Thus, it does not care at all about that distinction which Varro applied from the Cynics, if one does nothing disgracefully or intemperately. Of those three types of life—the leisurely, the active, and the one composed of both—although anyone can lead his life in any of them while keeping the faith and reach eternal rewards, it matters, however, what he holds by the love of truth and what he spends in the duty of charity. No one ought to be so leisurely that in that same leisure he does not think of the utility of his neighbor; nor so active that he does not seek the contemplation of God. In leisure, it is not an idle vacation that should delight, but either the investigation or the discovery of truth: so that each may profit in it, and hold what he has found, and not envy another. In action, however, honor in this life or power is not to be loved, since all things are vain under the sun: but the work itself, which is done through that same honor or power, if it is done rightly and usefully, that is, so that it may avail for that salvation of subjects

which is according to God; concerning which we have already disputed above (Chap. 6). For which reason the Apostle says, 'He who desires the office of a bishop, desires a good work' (1 Tim. 3:1). He wished to explain what the episcopate is; because it is a name of a work, not of an honor. For it is a Greek word, and the term is derived from the fact that he who is placed over others superintends those over whom he is placed, namely by carrying the care of them: for epi means 'over,' and skopos means 'intention'; therefore episkopein, if we wish, we can say in Latin is superintendere; so that he may understand that he is not a bishop who has loved to rule rather than to be of use. Therefore, no one is prohibited from the study of knowing the truth, which pertains to a laudable leisure: but a superior place, without which a people cannot be ruled, even if it be held and administered as is proper, is nevertheless indecently sought after. For this reason, the love of truth seeks a holy leisure: the necessity of charity undertakes a just business. If no one imposes this burden, one must be free for the perceiving and intuiting of truth; but if it is imposed, it must be undertaken on account of the necessity of charity: but not even then is the delight of truth to be abandoned in every way, lest that sweetness be withdrawn and this necessity overwhelm.

CHAPTER XX.

That the citizens of the saints are blessed in hope during the time of this life.

Therefore, since the highest good of the City of God is eternal and perfect peace, not one through which mortals pass by being born and dying, but in which immortals remain by suffering nothing adverse at all; who is there who would either deny that life is most blessed, or, in comparison with it, would not judge this life which is led here to be most miserable, however full it may be of the goods of mind and body and external things? However, whoever possesses this life in such a way that he refers its use to the end of that life, which he loves most ardently and hopes for most faithfully, can even now be called blessed without absurdity, rather by that hope than by this reality. But this reality without that hope is a false beatitude and a great misery: for it does not use the true goods of the mind. For it is not true wisdom which does not direct its intention toward that end where God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15:28), in certain eternity and perfect peace, even if it discerns prudently in those things which it manages bravely, restrains temperately, and distributes justly.

CHAPTER XXI.

Whether, according to the definitions of Scipio which are in Cicero's dialogue, there ever was a Roman republic.

1. Therefore, now is the place for me to explain, as briefly and clearly as I can, what I promised to demonstrate in the second book of this work (Chap. 21, n. 4), that according to the definitions which Scipio uses in Cicero's books On the

Republic, there never was a Roman republic. For he briefly defines a republic as the 'affair of the people.' If this definition is true, there never was a Roman republic: because it was never the affair of the people, which definition he wished to be that of a republic. For he defined a people as a 'multitude associated by a consensus of right and a communion of utility.' What he means by a 'consensus of right,' he explains by disputing, showing through this that a republic cannot be managed without justice: therefore, where true justice is not, there can be no right. For what is done by right is surely done justly: but what is done unjustly cannot be done by right. For the iniquitous statutes of men are not to be called or thought of as rights: since even they themselves say that right is that which flows from the fountain of justice; and that it is false, as is often said by some who do not think correctly, that 'right is that which is useful to him who is most powerful.' Wherefore, where there is not true justice, there cannot be an assembly of men associated by a consensus of right, and therefore no people, according to that definition of Scipio or Cicero: and if no people, then no 'affair of the people'; but of some kind of multitude, which is not worthy of the name of a people. And through this, if a republic is the 'affair of the people,' and it is not a people which is not associated by a consensus of right, and there is no right where there is no justice: it is concluded without doubt that where there is no justice, there is no republic. Furthermore, justice is that virtue which distributes to

each his own. What justice, then, is that of a man which takes the man himself away from the true God and subjects him to impure demons? Is this to distribute to each his own? Or is he who takes away a field from the one by whom it was bought and hands it over to one who has no right in it, unjust; and he who takes himself away from the God who dominates him, by whom he was made, and serves malignant spirits, just?

2. There is certainly a most sharp and powerful dispute in those same books On the Republic against injustice and for justice. And since, when the case was first being made for the side of injustice against justice, and it was being said that a republic cannot stand and be increased except through injustice; this was placed as if it were the strongest point: that it is unjust for men to serve dominating men; which injustice, however, if the imperial city, whose republic is great, does not follow, it cannot rule over provinces: it was answered on the part of justice, that it is therefore just because servitude is useful to such men, and it is done for their utility when it is done rightly, that is, when the license for injuries is taken away from the wicked; and the tamed will be better off, because when untamed they were worse off: and that this reasoning might be strengthened, a noble example was taken as if from nature, and it was said, 'Why then does God rule over man, the mind over the body, and reason over lust and the other vicious parts of the mind?' Clearly by this example it is sufficiently taught that servitude is useful to some; and that it is useful to all to

serve God. Moreover, the soul serving God rightly rules the body, and in the soul itself the reason, subjected to the Lord God, rightly rules over lust and other vices. Wherefore, where a man does not serve God, what is to be thought of as being in him of justice; seeing that, not serving God, the mind can in no way justly rule the body, nor human reason rule the vices? And if in such a man there is not any justice, without doubt there is none in an assembly of men which consists of such men. There is not here, therefore, that consensus of right which makes a multitude of men a people, whose affair is said to be a republic. For what shall I say of utility, by the communion of which also an assembly of men is called a people, as that definition holds? For although, if you attend diligently, there is no utility for those who live impiously; as every one lives who does not serve God, but serves demons, so much more impiously as they serve themselves more, since they are most impure spirits, and wish to be sacrificed to as if they were gods: nevertheless, what we have said concerning the consensus of right I think is sufficient, from which it may appear that by this definition there is no people, whose republic it may be called, in which there is no justice. For if they say that the Romans in their republic served not impure spirits, but good and holy gods; must those same things be repeated so many times which we have already said sufficiently, or rather more than sufficiently? For who has come to this place through the preceding books of this work, who can still doubt that the

Romans served evil and impure demons, unless he be either too stolid or most impudently contentious? But to say nothing of what kind they are whom they worshipped with sacrifices; it is written in the law of the true God: 'He who sacrifices to gods shall be rooted out, except to the Lord only' (Exod. 22:20). He who commanded this with such a great threat did not wish sacrifices to be made to either good or evil gods.

CHAPTER XXII.

Whether he be the true God whom the Christians serve, to whom alone sacrifice ought to be made.

But it can be answered: Who is this God, or whence is he proven worthy, that the Romans ought to obey him, so that they should worship no god besides him with sacrifices? It is a mark of great blindness to ask still who this God is. He is the God whose Prophets predicted those things which we see. He is the God from whom Abraham received the answer: 'In your seed shall all nations be blessed' (Gen. 22:18). Which is being fulfilled in Christ, who according to the flesh arose from that seed, as even those very ones who have remained enemies of this name know, whether they will or no. He is the God whose divine Spirit spoke through those whose predictions, completed through the Church which we see spread throughout the whole world, I have placed in the preceding books. He is the God whom Varro, the most learned of the Romans, thinks to be Jupiter, although not knowing what

he says: which, however, I thought ought to be mentioned for this reason, because a man of such great science could neither think that God to be non-existent nor vile. For he believed him to be he whom he thought to be the highest God. Finally, he is the God whom the most learned of philosophers, although a most sharp enemy of the Christians, even through the oracles of those whom he thinks to be gods, Porphyry confesses to be a great God.

CHAPTER XXIII.

What Porphyry says are the responses of the oracles of the gods concerning Christ.

1. For in the books which he calls The Philosophy from Oracles, in which he sets forth and records as if divine responses concerning matters pertaining to philosophy, to put his very words as they have been translated from the Greek tongue into Latin: 'To one asking,' he says, 'by pleasing which god he could recall his wife from Christianity, Apollo said these things in verses.' Then these are as if the words of Apollo: 'Perhaps you would more easily be able to write with letters impressed in water, or flying as a bird to blow upon light feathers through the air, than you can recall the sense of a polluted and impious wife.' Let her go as she will, persevering in vain fallacies, and singing with most fallacious lamentations a dead God, whom judges who felt rightly destroyed, whom the worst death, bound in iron, killed in the open. Then after these verses

of Apollo, which were translated into Latin without the meter standing, he subjoined and said: 'In these things indeed he manifested the tergiversation of their irremediable sentence, saying that the Jews receive God more than these.' Behold where, discoloring Christ, he preferred the Jews to the Christians, confessing that the Jews receive God. For thus he explained the verses of Apollo, where he says that Christ was killed by judges who felt rightly, as if, they judging justly, he was deservedly punished. Let him see what the mendacious seer of Apollo said of Christ, and what he believed, or perhaps he himself devised that the seer said what he did not say: how indeed he is consistent with himself, or makes the oracles themselves agree among themselves, we shall see later. Here, however, he says that the Jews, as receivers of God, judged rightly concerning Christ, in that they decided he was to be tortured with the worst death. The God of the Jews, therefore, to whom he bears witness, ought to have been heard, saying: 'He who sacrifices to gods shall be rooted out, except to the Lord only' (Exod. 22:20). But let us come to more manifest things, and let us hear how great he says the God of the Jews is. Likewise to those things which he asked of Apollo, 'what is better, word or reason, or law'; 'he answered,' he says, 'saying these things in verses.' And then he subjoins Apollo's verses, in which these also are, so that I may pluck from there as much as is sufficient: 'But into God,' he says, 'the generator, and into the king before all things, whom both heaven, and earth, and sea,

and the hidden things of the infernal regions tremble at, and the very divinities (numina) dread: whose law is the Father, whom the truly holy Hebrews honor.' By such an oracle of his god Apollo, Porphyry said that the God of the Hebrews is so great that even the divinities dread him. Since therefore this God said, 'He who sacrifices to gods shall be rooted out,' I wonder that Porphyry himself did not dread, and did not fear to be rooted out while sacrificing to gods.

2. This philosopher also says good things about Christ, as if forgetting that insult of his which we spoke of a little while ago; or as if his gods cursed Christ in their sleep, and on waking recognized him to be good, and worthily praised him. Finally, as if about to bring forth something wonderful and incredible, he says: 'It may indeed seem beyond expectation to some what we are about to say. For the gods have pronounced Christ to be most pious and made immortal, and they mention him with good proclamation: but they say the Christians are polluted and contaminated, and involved in error; and they use many such blasphemies against them.' Then he subjoins as if oracles of the gods blaspheming the Christians. And after these, he says: 'But concerning Christ, to those asking if he is God, Hecate says: Since indeed you know how the immortal soul proceeds after the body, but cut off from wisdom it always errs, that soul is of a man most excellent in piety, this they worship, alienated from the truth themselves.' Then after the words of this as if oracle, weaving in his own, he says:

'Therefore she said he was a most pious man, and that his soul, like those of other pious men, was gifted with immortality after death, and that the ignorant Christians worship this.' But to those asking, 'Why then was he condemned?' the goddess answered by the oracle: 'The body indeed was always exposed to weakening torments: but the soul of the pious sits in a celestial seat.' But that soul gave to other souls fatally, to whom the fates did not grant to obtain the gifts of the gods, nor to have the knowledge of immortal Jupiter, to be involved in error. Therefore they are hated by the gods: because to those whom it was not by fate to know God, nor to receive gifts from the gods, to these that one fatally gave to be involved in error. But he himself was pious, and departed into heaven, as the pious do. Therefore you shall not blaspheme him, but you will pity the madness of men: from which there is an easy and headlong danger in them.

3. Who is so foolish as not to understand that these oracles were either devised by a crafty man, and one most hostile to Christians, or that these responses were given by a similar counsel of impure demons; namely, so that, because they praise Christ, they may therefore be believed to truly vituperate the Christians; and thus, if they can, they may block the way of eternal salvation, in which each one becomes a Christian? For they feel that it is not contrary to their thousandfold craftiness of hurting if they are believed when praising Christ, provided they are also believed when vituperating Christians; so that they may

make him who believes both such a praiser of Christ that he does not wish to be a Christian: and thus, although praised by him, Christ may not deliver him from the dominion of these demons. Especially because they so praise Christ that whoever believes in him as such as is proclaimed by them, is not a true Christian, but a Photinian heretic, who knows Christ only as a man, not also as God: and therefore cannot be saved through him, nor avoid or loosen the snares of these mendacious demons. But we can approve neither Apollo vituperating Christ, nor Hecate praising him. For the former wishes Christ to be believed as iniquitous, whom he says was killed by judges who felt rightly; the latter, a most pious man, but only a man. One however is the intention of both the former and the latter, that they do not want men to be Christians; because unless they are Christians, they cannot be rescued from their power. But let this philosopher, or rather those who believe such as if oracles against the Christians, first make it, if they can, so that Hecate and Apollo agree among themselves concerning Christ himself, and that they both either condemn him or both praise him together. Even if they had been able to do that, we would nonetheless avoid the fallacious demons who both vituperate and praise Christ. But when their god and goddess disagree among themselves concerning Christ, the former by vituperating, the latter by praising; surely men do not believe them when blaspheming Christians, if they themselves think rightly.

Certainly Porphyry, or Hecate, while praising Christ, although saying that he himself fatally gave to the Christians to be involved in error, nevertheless opens up the causes of that same error, as he thinks. Before I set these forth from his words, I first ask: If Christ fatally gave to the Christians the involvement in error, did he give it willingly or unwillingly? If willingly, how is he just? if unwillingly, how is he blessed? But now let us hear the causes of the error itself. 'There are,' he says, 'least earthly spirits in a certain place subject to the power of evil demons. From these the sages of the Hebrews, of whom one also was this Jesus, as you heard the divine things of Apollo which were said above; from these demons, therefore, the Hebrews forbade religious men and prohibited them from attending to the worst and lesser spirits: but rather to venerate the celestial gods, and more fully to venerate God the Father. This also,' he says, 'both the gods command, and we have shown in the preceding parts how they warn to turn the mind to God, and command to worship him everywhere. But the unlearned and of an impious nature, to whom truly fate has not granted to obtain gifts from the gods, nor to have the notion of immortal Jupiter, not hearing both the gods and divine men, have indeed refused all the gods, but as for the prohibited demons, they do not hate these but revere them. But pretending to worship God, they do not perform those things alone through which God is adored. For God indeed, as being the Father of all, is in need of nothing: but

it is well for us when we adore him through justice and chastity and other virtues, making our very life a prayer to him through imitation and inquiry concerning him. For inquiry purges,' he says: 'imitation deifies the affection by working toward him.' He has indeed well proclaimed God the Father, and said by what customs he is to be worshipped. With which precepts the prophetic books of the Hebrews are full, when the life of the saints is either vituperated or praised. But in the case of the Christians he either errs so much, or calumniates so much, as the demons whom he thinks are gods wish; as if it were difficult for anyone to recall what base and disgraceful things were done in theaters and temples toward the service of the gods; and to attend to what is read, said, and heard in churches, or what is offered to the true God; and from this to understand where there is an edifice and where a ruin of morals. But who told or inspired this man with so vain and open a lie, except a diabolical spirit, that the Christians revere rather than hate the demons whose worship was prohibited by the Hebrews? But that God whom the sages of the Hebrews worshipped also forbids sacrifice to be made even to the celestial holy Angels and Virtues of God, whom we venerate and love as most blessed citizens in this our mortal pilgrimage, thundering in his law which he gave to his Hebrew people, and saying most threateningly: 'He who sacrifices to gods shall be rooted out.' And lest anyone should think that it was commanded that sacrifice should not be made only to the worst demons

and earthly spirits, whom that man calls the least or lesser; because they themselves are also called gods in the Holy Scriptures, not of the Hebrews, but of the nations; which the Seventy interpreters placed evidently in the Psalm, saying: 'Since all the gods of the nations are demons' (Psalm 95:5): lest anyone, therefore, should think that it was indeed prohibited to these demons, but permitted that sacrifice should be made to all or some of the celestial ones, he soon added: 'unless to the Lord alone,' that is, unless to the Lord only: lest perhaps in that which he says, 'unless to the Lord alone' (nisi Domino soli), anyone should believe the Lord to be the Sun (solem), to whom he thinks sacrifice is to be made: which is most easily found in the Greek Scriptures not to be understood so.

5. The God of the Hebrews, therefore, to whom even this great philosopher bears such great testimony, gave a law to his Hebrew people, written in the Hebrew language, not obscure and unknown, but already made famous among all nations, in which law it is written: 'He who sacrifices to gods shall be rooted out, except to the Lord only.' What need is there to seek many things in this law of his and in his Prophets concerning this matter? Rather, not to seek, for they are not abstruse or rare; but to collect the open and frequent things, and to place them in this my dispute: by which it appears clearer than light that the true and highest God wished sacrifice to be made to none at all except only to himself. Behold, let this one thing, spoken briefly, or rather grandly, threateningly, but truly

by that God whom their most learned men so excellently proclaim, be heard, feared, and fulfilled, lest rooting out follow the disobedient. 'He who sacrifices,' he says, 'to gods shall be rooted out, except to the Lord only': not that he is in need of anything, but because it is expedient for us that we should be his property. For hence it is sung in the sacred Letters of the Hebrews: 'I said to the Lord, You are my God, since you do not need my goods' (Psalm 15:2). But the most excellent and best sacrifice of this one is we ourselves, that is his city, the mystery of which thing we celebrate by our oblations, which are known to the faithful, as we have disputed in the preceding books (Book 10, chap. 6, and elsewhere). For that the victims, which the Jews offered in the shadow of the future, were to cease, and that the nations would offer one sacrifice from the rising of the sun even to its setting, as we already see being done, divine oracles have thundered through the Hebrew Prophets: from which we have brought forth some, as far as seemed sufficient, and have already sprinkled them into this work. Wherefore, where this justice is not, so that according to his grace the one and highest God rules over an obedient city, lest it sacrifice to anyone except only to himself; and through this in all men pertaining to the same city and obeying God, the mind also rules over the body, and reason over vices, in a lawful order and faithfully; so that just as each individual just man, so also an assembly and people of just men lives from faith, which works through love, by which man loves God as

God is to be loved, and his neighbor as himself: where therefore this justice is not, there is surely no assembly of men associated by a consensus of right and a communion of utility. If it is not so, it is certainly not a people, if this definition of a people is true. Therefore, neither is it a republic: because the affair of the people does not exist where the people itself does not exist.

CHAPTER XXIV.

By what definition the title of people and republic may rightly be claimed not only by the Romans, but also by other kingdoms.

But if a people is defined not in that way, but in another, as if it were said: "A people is an assembly of a rational multitude, associated by a harmonious communion in the things which it loves": surely, in order to see what kind of people any given one may be, those things which it loves must be examined. However, whatever it may love, if it is an assembly of a multitude —not of cattle, but of rational creatures—and is associated by a harmonious communion in the things which it loves, it is not absurdly called a people; and it is certainly so much the better as it is harmonious in better things, and so much the worse as it is harmonious in worse things. According to this definition of ours, the Roman people is a people; and its affair is without doubt a republic. But what that people loved in its earliest times, or what in the following ones, and by what morals—reaching most bloody seditions,

and from there social and civil wars—it broke and corrupted that very concord, which is in a way the health of a people, history bears witness: concerning which we have set down many things in the preceding books. Nevertheless, I would not for that reason say that either the people itself does not exist, or that its affair is not a republic, as long as there remains some assembly of a rational multitude, associated by a harmonious communion in the things which it loves. But what I have said concerning this people and this republic, let me be understood to have said and felt concerning the Athenians or any other Greeks, concerning the Egyptians, concerning that former Babylon of the Assyrians —when they held empires either small or great in their public affairs—and concerning any other of the other nations. For generally, the city of the impious, which God does not rule as it obeys him —so that it offers sacrifice to none at all except only to himself, and through this in it both the mind rules over the body, and reason over vices rightly and faithfully—lacks the truth of justice.

CHAPTER XXV.

That true virtues cannot exist there, where true religion is not.

For however much the mind may seem to rule over the body and reason over vices in a laudable way; if the mind and reason itself does not serve God, just as God himself has commanded that he be served, it in no way rules rightly over the body

and vices. For what kind of mistress of the body and of vices can a mind be, that is ignorant of the true God and not subjected to his command, but prostituted to the most corrupting and most vicious demons? Accordingly, the virtues which it seems to itself to possess, through which it rules over the body and vices to obtain or hold anything whatever, unless it refers them to God, are themselves rather vices than virtues. For although they are thought by some to be true and honest virtues when they are referred to themselves and are not sought for the sake of anything else; even then they are inflated and proud: and therefore they are to be judged not as virtues, but as vices. For just as that which makes the flesh live is not from the flesh, but above the flesh: so that which makes a man live blessedly is not from man, but above man; and not only man, but also any celestial Power and Virtue.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Concerning the peace of the people alienated from God, which the people of God uses for piety, while it is a pilgrim in this world.

Wherefore, as the soul is the life of the flesh, so God is the blessed life of man, concerning whom the sacred Letters of the Hebrews say: "Blessed is the people whose Lord is its God" (Psalm 143:15). Miserable, therefore, is the people alienated from this God. Yet it also loves a certain peace of its own, not to be disapproved of, which indeed it will not have in the end, because it does not use

it well before the end. But that it should have this in the meantime in this life is also in our interest: since as long as both cities are mixed together, we also use the peace of Babylon: from which the people of God is so liberated through faith that in the meantime it journeys as a pilgrim among it. For which reason also the Apostle admonished the Church to pray for its kings and those in high positions, adding and saying: "that we may lead a quiet and tranquil life with all piety and charity" (1 Timothy 2:2). And the prophet Jeremiah, when he foretold to the ancient people of God the coming captivity, and divinely commanded that they should go obediently into Babylonia, serving their God even with that patience, he himself also admonished that prayer should be made for it, saying: "for in its peace is your peace" (Jeremiah 29:7), namely, the temporal peace in the meantime, which is common to the good and the bad.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the peace of those serving God, the perfect tranquility of which cannot be apprehended in this temporal life.

But our own peace is both here with God through faith, and will be with him in eternity through sight. But here, whether that common peace or our own, peace is such that it is rather a solace for misery than the joy of beatitude. Our justice itself also, although it is true because of the end of the true good to which it is referred, is nevertheless so great in this life that it consists

rather in the remission of sins than in the perfection of virtues. Witness is the prayer of the whole city of God, which journeys as a pilgrim on the earth. For through all its members it cries out to God: "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors" (Matthew 6:12). Nor is this prayer effective for those whose faith without works is dead (James 2:17, 26): but for those whose faith works through love (Galatians 5:6). For because reason, although indeed subject to God, in this mortal condition and corruptible body which weighs down the soul (Wisdom 9:15), does not perfectly rule over vices, therefore such a prayer is necessary for the just. For surely, although it may rule, it by no means rules over vices without conflict. And certainly something of infirmity creeps in in this place even for one who conflicts well, or for one who dominates such enemies once conquered and subjected, whence, if not by an easy action, certainly by a slipping speech or a fleeting thought, sin is committed. And therefore as long as it rules over vices, there is not full peace: because both those things which resist are subdued by a dangerous battle; and those which have been conquered are not yet triumphed over in secure leisure, but are still pressed by a solicitous command. In these temptations, therefore, concerning all of which it is briefly said in the divine eloquence: "Is not the life of man upon earth a temptation?" (Job 7:1, sec. LXX); who would presume to live so that he does not have need to say to God: "Forgive us our debts," unless he be a man puffed up? Nor indeed great, but inflated

and swollen, whom he who bestows grace on the humble resists through justice. For which reason it is written: "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble" (James 4:6; 1 Peter 5:5). Here, therefore, justice in each one is such that God rules over the obedient man, the mind over the body, and reason over vices even when they resist, either by subduing or by resisting; and that from God himself both the grace for merits and the pardon for offenses be sought, and the giving of thanks for received goods be rendered. But in that final peace, to which this justice is to be referred and for the sake of attaining which it is to be held, since nature, healed by immortality and incorruption, will have no vices, and nothing will resist any of us either from another or from himself, there will be no need for reason to rule over vices, which will be none; but God will rule over man, and the mind over the body; and there will be so much sweetness and facility of obeying there, as there is happiness of living and reigning. And this will be eternal there in all and in each, and it will be certain that it is eternal: and therefore the peace of this beatitude, or the beatitude of this peace, will be the highest good.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

To what end the exit of the impious is to come.

But of those who do not pertain to that city of God, there will be, on the contrary, eternal misery, which is also called the second death (Revelation 2:11; 20:6; 21:8): because neither is the

soul to be said to live there, which will be alienated from the life of God; nor the body, which will be subject to eternal pains. And through this, that second death will be all the harder because it cannot be ended by death. But since just as misery is contrary to beatitude, and death to life, so war seems to be contrary to peace; it is rightly asked, just as peace in the ends of the good has been proclaimed and praised, what or what kind of war can be understood, on the contrary, in the ends of the bad. But let him who asks this attend to what is harmful and pernicious in war, and he will see that it is nothing other than the adversity and conflict of things among themselves. What war, therefore, can be thought of as more grave and more bitter than where the will is so adverse to passion, and passion to the will, that by the victory of neither of them are such enmities ended; and where the force of pain so conflicts with the very nature of the body that neither yields to the other? For here when that conflict happens, either pain conquers and death takes away sense; or nature conquers and health removes pain. But there both pain remains to afflict, and nature endures to feel: because both do not fail for the very reason that the punishment may not fail. But to these ends of the good and of the bad, the former to be sought and the latter to be avoided—since through judgment the good will pass to the former and the bad to the latter—concerning this judgment, as much as God shall grant, I will dispute in the following volume.

BOOK TWENTY. Concerning the last judgment, and concerning the testimonies of both the New and the Old Instrument by which it is announced as future.

CHAPTER I.

That although God judges at all times, nevertheless in this book his last judgment is to be properly disputed.

1. Being about to speak of the day of the last judgment of God—which he himself shall grant—and about to assert it against the impious and the unbelieving, we must first place the divine testimonies as in the foundation of a building. Those who do not wish to believe these attempt to contravene them by false and fallacious human reasonings, to the end that they may either contend that the testimony brought from the sacred Letters signifies something else, or altogether deny that it was divinely spoken. For I think there is no mortal who, when he has understood these things as they were spoken and has believed them to have been spoken by the highest and true God through holy souls, would not yield and consent to them: whether he also confesses it with his mouth, or through some vice blushes or fears to confess it; or even by a stubbornness very similar to insanity, strives to defend most contentiously that which he knows or believes to be false against that which he knows or believes to be true.

2. That which, therefore, the whole Church of the true God holds in confession and profession,

that Christ is to come from heaven to judge the living and the dead, we call the last day of divine judgment, that is, the last time. For through how many days this judgment may be extended is uncertain: but that, according to the custom of the holy Scriptures, "day" is usually put for "time," no one who has read those letters even carelessly is ignorant. But therefore when we speak of the day of the judgment of God, we add "last" or "latest"; because he also judges now, and has judged from the beginning of the human race, dismissing from paradise and separating from the tree of life the first men, the perpetrators of a great sin: indeed even when he did not spare the sinning angels (2 Peter 2:4), whose prince, himself subverted, subverted men by envying them, he judged without doubt. Nor without his deep and just judgment is the life both in this aerial heaven and on earth of both demons and men most miserable, most full of errors and hardships. But even if no one had sinned, not without a good and right judgment would he retain the whole rational creature, most perseveringly cohering to him its Lord, in eternal beatitude. He judges also, not only universally concerning the race of demons and men, that they be miserable because of the merit of the first sins; but also concerning the proper works of individuals, which they perform by the choice of the will. For even the demons pray that they may not be tortured (Matthew 8:29): nor indeed is it unjustly that they are either spared, or are tortured each for his own wickedness. And men for the most part openly, always

secretly, pay divine penalties for their deeds, whether in this life or after death: although no man acts rightly unless he be aided by divine help; no demon or man acts iniquitously unless he be permitted by the same divine and most just judgment. For as the Apostle says: "There is no iniquity with God" (Romans 9:14); and as he himself says elsewhere: "Inscrutable are the judgments of God, and unsearchable his ways" (Romans 11:33). Therefore in this book I will not dispute about those first, nor about those intermediate judgments of God, but about that very last judgment, as much as he himself shall grant, when Christ is to come from heaven to judge the living and the dead. For that day is already properly called "the day of judgment," because there will be no place there for the ignorant complaint, why that unwise man is happy, and why that just man is unhappy. For then the true and full happiness of all of none but the good, and the worthy and highest unhappiness of all of none but the bad, will appear.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the variety of human affairs, which cannot be said to lack the judgment of God, although it cannot be tracked.

But now we learn both to bear with an equal mind the evils which even the good suffer, and not to value highly the goods which even the bad obtain. And through this, even in those things in which divine justice does not appear, divine

doctrine is salutary. For we do not know by what judgment of God that good man is poor, while that bad man is rich: that this one rejoices, whom we think ought to have been tortured with sorrows for his abandoned morals; that that one is saddened, whom a laudable life persuades us ought to have rejoiced: that an innocent man goes out from judgment not only unavenged, but even condemned, either pressed by the iniquity of the judge or overwhelmed by false testimonies; on the contrary, that his wicked adversary, not only unpunished but even vindicated, should insult him: that the impious man should be in the best of health, while the pious man withers away in languor: that most healthy youths should commit robberies; and that infants, who could not hurt anyone even by a word, should be afflicted by the atrocity of diverse diseases: that one useful to human affairs should be snatched away by an immature death; and that those who seem as if they should not even have been born, should live for a very long time besides: that a man full of crimes should be elevated with honors, and that the shadows of ignobility should hide a man without complaint: and other things of this kind, which who could collect, who could enumerate? If these things had a consistency in their very absurdity, so that in this life, in which man—as the sacred Psalm speaks—is made like unto vanity, and his days pass away like a shadow (Psalm 143:4), none but the bad should obtain these transitory and earthly goods, and none but the good should suffer such evils, this could be

referred to the just or even the benign judgment of God; so that those who were not going to attain eternal goods, which make men blessed, might either be deceived by temporal ones for their malice, or be consoled by goods for the mercy of God; and those who were not going to suffer eternal torments might be afflicted by temporal ones either for their own sins of whatever kind and however small, or might be exercised by evils for the sake of fulfilling virtues. But now, when not only are the good in evil and the bad in good, which seems unjust; but also for the most part both evils happen to the bad and goods come to the good: the judgments of God become more inscrutable (Romans 11:33), and his ways unsearchable. Although, therefore, we do not know by what judgment God either does these things or permits them to be done—with whom is the highest virtue and the highest wisdom, the highest justice, no infirmity, no temerity, no iniquity—nevertheless we wholesomely learn not to value highly either the goods or the evils which we see to be common to the good and the bad; and to seek those goods which are of the good, and to flee especially those evils which are proper to the bad. But when we shall have come to that judgment of God, the time of which is already properly called the day of judgment, and sometimes the day of the Lord; not only whatever things shall then be judged, but even whatever things have been judged from the beginning, and whatever things are still to be judged until that time, will appear to be most just. Where this also

will be manifested: by how just a judgment of God it happens that now so many and almost all just judgments of God lie hidden from the senses and minds of mortals; since nevertheless in this matter it does not lie hidden from the faith of the pious that what lies hidden is just.

CHAPTER III.

What Solomon disputed in the book of Ecclesiastes concerning those things which are common to the good and the bad in this life.

Indeed Solomon, the most wise king of Israel, who reigned in Jerusalem, thus began the book which is called Ecclesiastes, and is also held by the Jews in the canon of the sacred Letters: "Vanity of vanities, said Ecclesiastes; vanity of vanities, and all is vanity." What abundance has man in all his labor, wherewith he labors under the sun?" (Ecclesiastes 1:2 and 3). And when he connected other things from this sentence, commemorating the hardships and errors of this life, and the meanwhile vanishing lapses of times, where nothing solid, nothing stable is retained; in that vanity of things under the sun, he also deplores in a way that, although there is an abundance of wisdom over foolishness, just as an abundance of light over darkness, and the eyes of the wise man are in his head, while the fool walks in darkness; nevertheless one event happens to all (Ecclesiastes 2:13, 14), namely in this life which is carried on under the sun: signifying forsooth those evils which we see to be common to the

good and the bad. He says also that, that both the good suffer evils as if they were bad, and the bad as if they were good obtain goods, speaking thus: "There is," he says, "a vanity which is done upon the earth; because there are just men, upon whom it comes as if it were the deed of the impious; and there are impious men, upon whom it comes as if it were the deed of the just." I said that this also is vanity" (Ecclesiastes 8:14). In this vanity—to the making known of which, as far as seemed sufficient, that most wise man devoted this whole book—certainly for no other reason than that we might desire that life which has no vanity under this sun, but truth under him who made this sun: in this vanity, therefore, would man, made like to the same vanity, vanish away except by the just and right judgment of God? Yet in the days of his vanity it is of the greatest importance whether he resists or obeys the truth, and whether he is void of true piety or a participant: not for the sake of either acquiring the goods of this life or avoiding the evils which pass away by vanishing; but for the sake of the future judgment, through which there will be both goods for the good and evils for the bad, which shall remain without end. Finally, this wise man thus concluded this book, so as to say: "Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is every man: because all this work God will bring into judgment concerning every despised thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil" (Ecclesiastes 12:13, 14). What could be said more briefly, more truly, more wholesomely? "Fear God," he

says, "and keep his commandments; for this is every man." For whoever he is, he is this, namely, a keeper of the commandments of God: since he who is not this is nothing. For he is not reformed to the image of truth, remaining in the likeness of vanity. Because all this work, that is, what is done by man in this life, whether good or evil, God will bring into judgment, concerning every despised thing, that is, concerning everyone even who here seems contemptible, and therefore is not even seen: since God sees him also, nor does he despise him, nor when he judges does he pass him by.

CHAPTER IV.

That for the sake of discussing the last judgment of God, he will bring forth first the testimonies of the New Testament, and then of the Old.

And so the testimonies of this last judgment of God from the holy Scriptures, which I have determined to set down, are first to be chosen from the books of the New Instrument, afterwards from the Old. For although the old are prior in time, the new are nevertheless to be placed before them in dignity; since those old things are heralds of the new. Therefore the new shall be set down first, which, that we may prove them more firmly, the old also shall be assumed. In the old are held the Law and the Prophets, in the new the Gospel and the apostolic Letters. But the Apostle says: "For through the law comes the knowledge of sin. But now without the law the justice of God has been manifested, being witnessed by the Law and the

Prophets: even the justice of God, through the faith of Jesus Christ unto all those who believe" (Romans 3:20-22). This justice of God pertains to the New Testament, and has testimony from the old books, that is, from the Law and the Prophets. Therefore the cause itself must be set down first, and afterwards the witnesses must be introduced. Showing that this order is to be preserved, Jesus Christ himself said: "A scribe instructed in the kingdom of God is like unto a man that is a householder, who brings forth out of his treasure things new and old" (Matthew 13:52). He did not say: "Old and new": which certainly he would have said, had he not preferred to preserve the order of merits rather than of times.

CHAPTER V.

By which sentences of the Lord Savior the divine judgment to come at the end of the age is declared.

1. Therefore the Savior himself, when he upbraided the cities in which he had done great virtues and they had not believed, and preferred foreigners to them, said: "But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for you." And a little after to another city: "Amen, I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee" (Matthew 11:22, 24). Here most evidently he predicts that the day of judgment is to come. And in another place: "The men of Nineveh," he says, "shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; be-

cause they did penance at the preaching of Jonah, and behold, a greater than Jonah is here. The queen of the South shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold, a greater than Solomon is here" (Id. 12:41, 42). In this place we learn two things: both that the judgment is to come, and that it is to come with the resurrection of the dead. For when he said these things concerning the Ninevites and the queen of the South, he was undoubtedly speaking of the dead, whom nevertheless he predicted would rise again in the day of judgment. Nor did he say "they shall condemn" because they themselves shall judge, but because by comparison with them these others shall be deservedly damned.

2. Again in another place, when he spoke of the current commingling of good and evil men and their subsequent separation, which certainly is to be in the day of judgment, he employed the similitude of the wheat sown and the tares sown over it, and explained it to his disciples: "He that soweth," he says, "the good seed is the Son of man: but the field is the world; and the good seed, these are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of wickedness: and the enemy that sowed them is the devil: but the harvest is the consummation of the age, and the reapers are the Angels. Even as therefore the tares are gathered and burned with fire, so shall it be in the consummation of the age. The Son of man shall send his Angels, and they shall gather out of his

kingdom all scandals, and those who do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the just shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear" (Matthew 13:37-43). Here indeed he did not name the judgment or the day of judgment, but he expressed it much more clearly by the things themselves, and predicted that it would be in the end of the age.

3. Likewise to his disciples: "Amen," he says, "I say unto you, that you who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the seat of his majesty, you also shall sit upon twelve seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Id. 19:28). Here we learn that Jesus will judge with his disciples. Whence also he said elsewhere to the Jews: "If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore they themselves shall be your judges" (Id. 12:27). Nor because he says they shall sit upon twelve seats ought we to think that twelve men alone shall judge with him. For by the number twelve a certain universal multitude of judges is signified, on account of the two parts of the number seven, by which universality is mostly signified: which two parts, that is three and four, being multiplied one by the other, make twelve. For both four times three and three times four are twelve; and if any other reason of this number twelve which avails for this purpose is found. Otherwise, since we read that the apostle Matthias was ordained in the place of Judas the traitor (Acts 1:26), the

apostle Paul, who labored more than them all (1 Cor. 15:10), would not have a place where he might sit to judge; who certainly shows that he belongs to the number of judges with the other saints, when he says: "Know you not that we shall judge angels?" (Id. 6:3). Concerning those who are to be judged, there is a similar cause in this number twelve. For not because it was said "judging the twelve tribes of Israel" shall the tribe of Levi, which is the thirteenth, not be judged by them, or shall they judge only that people and not also the other nations. But that which he says, "in the regeneration," he undoubtedly wished the resurrection of the dead to be understood by the name of regeneration. For so shall our flesh be regenerated through incorruption, even as our soul has been regenerated through faith.

4. I pass over many things which seem to be said concerning the last judgment in such a way that, when diligently considered, they are found to be ambiguous, or rather pertaining to something else; whether, namely, to that advent of the Savior by which he comes through all this time in his Church, that is, in his members, partially and gradually, since the whole is his body; or to the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem: because even when he speaks of that, he mostly speaks as if he were speaking of the end of the age and of that last and great day of judgment; so that it cannot be distinguished at all, unless all those things which are said similarly among the three evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, concerning this matter, are compared among themselves.

For some things one explains more obscurely, another more plainly; so that it may appear from what source those things are said which are mentioned as pertaining to one thing. Which I have taken care to do in a certain way in a letter which I wrote back to the man of blessed memory, Hesychius, bishop of the city of Salona, the title of which letter is, Concerning the End of the Age (Letter 199).

5. Accordingly, I will now say here what is read in the Gospel according to Matthew concerning the separation of the good and the bad through the most present and final judgment of Christ. "But when the Son of man," he says, "shall come in his majesty, and all the Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the seat of his majesty, and all nations shall be gathered before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep indeed on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say to them who shall be on his right hand: Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in; naked, and you covered me; sick, and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to me. Then shall the just answer him, saying: Lord, when did we see thee hungry, and fed thee; thirsty, and gave thee drink? And when did we see thee a stranger, and took thee in; or naked, and covered thee? Or when did we see thee sick, or in

prison, and came to thee? And the King answering shall say to them: Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me. Then shall he say," he says, "also to them who shall be on the left hand: Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels. Then in like manner he also enumerates to these that they did not do those things which he remembered the right-hand ones to have done. And likewise to those asking when they saw him established in the need of these: he answers that what was not done to his least ones, was not done to him; and concluding his speech, "And these," he says, "shall go into eternal punishment, but the just into eternal life" (Matthew 25:31-46). But John the evangelist most clearly relates that he predicted the judgment to be in the resurrection of the dead. For when he had said, "For neither does the Father judge any man, but has given all judgment to the Son, that all may honor the Son, even as they honor the Father: he who honors not the Son, honors not the Father, who sent him": he immediately added, "Amen, amen I say to you, that he who hears my word, and believes him who sent me, has eternal life; and shall not come into judgment, but has passed from death into life" (John 5:22-24). Behold, here he said that his faithful do not come into judgment. How then shall they be separated from the wicked by judgment, and stand at his right hand, except because in this place he put "judgment" for "damnation"? For into such a judgment they shall not come,

who hear his word, and believe him who sent him.

CHAPTER VI.

What Is the First Resurrection, and What the Second.

1. Then he joins and says: "Amen, amen I say to you, that the hour comes, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who shall hear shall live. For as the Father has life in himself, so has he given also to the Son to have life in himself" (John 5:25 and 26). Not yet does he speak of the second resurrection, that is, of bodies, which is to be in the end; but of the first, which is now. Indeed, that he might distinguish this, he says, "The hour comes, and now is." But this is not of bodies, but of souls. For souls also have their own death in impiety and sins: according to which death they are dead, of whom the same Lord says, "Let the dead bury their own dead" (Matthew 8:22); so that, namely, being dead in the soul, they should bury those dead in the body. For the sake of these, therefore, dead in the soul by impiety and iniquity, he says: "The hour comes, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who shall hear shall live." "They who shall hear," he said, who shall obey, who shall believe, and shall persevere even to the end. Nor did he make here any difference between the good and the bad. For it is good for all to hear his voice, and to live, by passing to the life of piety from the death of impiety. Concerning which death the apostle

Paul says: "Therefore all are dead, and one died for all, that they who live should no longer live for themselves, but for him who died for them, and rose again" (2 Corinthians 5:14, 15). All therefore are dead in sins, with absolutely no one excepted, whether in original sins, or even added by will, either by ignoring, or by knowing and not doing what is just: and for all the dead one living person died, that is, one having no sin at all: so that they who live through the remission of sins should no longer live for themselves, but for him who died for all because of our sins, and rose again for our justification; so that believing in him who justifies the impious, being justified from piety, as if vivified from death, we may be able to pertain to the first resurrection, which is now. For to this first resurrection none pertain except those who will be blessed forever: but to the second, of which he is soon to speak, he will teach that both the blessed and the miserable pertain. That one is of mercy, this of judgment. Because of which it is written in the Psalm: "Mercy and judgment I will sing to thee, O Lord" (Psalm 101:1).

2. Concerning which judgment he subsequently added, and said: "And he has given him power to do judgment, because he is the Son of man." Here he shows that he will come to judge in that flesh in which he had come to be judged. For this is why he said, "because he is the Son of man." And then subjoining the point we are discussing: "Wonder not at this," he says, "because the hour will come in which all who are in the tombs shall hear his voice; and they

who have done good things shall come forth unto the resurrection of life; but they who have done evil things, unto the resurrection of judgment" (John 5:27-29). This is that judgment which a little before, as now, he had put for damnation, saying: "He who hears my word, and believes him who sent me, has eternal life, and shall not come into judgment, but has passed from death into life" (Ibid., 24): that is, by pertaining to the first resurrection, by which one passes now from death to life, he shall not come into damnation, which he signified by the name of judgment, as also in this place, where he says: "But they who have done evil things, unto the resurrection of judgment," that is, of damnation. Therefore let him rise in the first resurrection, who does not wish to be damned in the second. For "the hour comes, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who shall hear shall live" (Ibid., 25), that is, they shall not come into damnation, which is called the second death: into which death, after the second resurrection, which is of bodies and is to be, they shall be cast headlong who do not rise in the first, which is of souls. For "the hour will come" (where he does not say, "and now is," because it will be in the end of the age, that is, in the last and greatest judgment of God), "when all who are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth" (Ibid., 28). He did not say, as in the first resurrection, "and they who shall hear shall live." For not all shall live, namely, by that life which, because it is blessed, alone is to be called life. For certainly

they could not hear without some kind of life, and come forth from the tombs with the flesh rising again. But why not all shall live, he teaches in what follows: "They who have done good things," he says, "unto the resurrection of life," these are they who shall live: "but they who have done evil things, unto the resurrection of judgment," these are they who shall not live; because they shall die by the second death. For they did evil things, because they lived badly: and they lived badly because they did not revive in the first resurrection of souls, which is now, or having revived in it, they did not remain even to the end. Therefore as there are two regenerations, of which I have already spoken above, one according to faith, which is now done through Baptism; the other according to the flesh, which will be done in its incorruption and immortality through the great and final judgment: so there are also two resurrections, one the first, which is also now, and is of souls, which does not permit one to come into the second death; the other the second, which is not now, but is to be in the end of the age, and is not of souls, but of bodies, which through the last judgment will send some into the second death, others into that life which has no death.

CHAPTER VII.

What Is Written in the Apocalypse of John Concerning the Two Resurrections and the Thousand Years, and What Is Rationally Thought Concerning Them.

1. Concerning these two resurrections the same John the evangelist has spoken in the book which is called the Apocalypse, in such a way that the first of them, not being understood by some of ours, was moreover even turned into some ridiculous fables. For John the apostle says in the mentioned book: "And I saw an angel descending from heaven, having the key of the abyss, and a chain in his hand, and he held that dragon, the ancient serpent, who is surnamed the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and sent him into the abyss; and closed it, and sealed over him, that he should no longer seduce the nations, until the thousand years are finished: after these things he must be loosed for a short time. And I saw seats, and those sitting upon them, and judgment was given. And the souls of those slain because of the testimony of Jesus, and because of the word of God, and if any have not adored the beast, nor its image, nor received the inscription on their forehead or in their hand, and they reigned with Jesus for a thousand years: the rest of them lived not, until the thousand years are finished. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he who has part in this first resurrection. In these the second death has no power; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him for a thousand years" (Apocalypse 20:1-6). Those who, because of these words of this book, suspected that the first resurrection was to be corporal, were moved especially among other things by the number of a thousand years, as if it were necessary that a kind

of sabbath-keeping for so great a time should happen among the saints, in a holy vacation, namely, after the labors of six thousand years since man was created, and by the merit of that great sin was dismissed from the happiness of paradise into the hardships of this mortality, so that since it is written, "One day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day" (2 Peter 3:8), six thousands of years being filled as if six days, there should follow as if a seventh sabbath in the last thousand years, for the celebration, namely, of this sabbath by the saints rising again. Which opinion would be in some way tolerable, if it were believed that some spiritual delights were to be present for the saints in that sabbath through the presence of the Lord. For we also once held this opinion. But since they say that those who then shall have risen again will have leisure for most immoderate carnal banquets, in which there is so much food and drink that they not only keep no modesty, but also exceed the measure of even incredulity itself: these things can in no way be believed except by carnal men. But those who are spiritual call these people believing these things Chiliasts by a Greek term; whom, expressing word for word, we can name Milliarians. But it is a long task to refute them in individual points; but rather, we ought now to show how this Scripture is to be accepted.

2. The Lord Jesus Christ himself says: "No man can enter into the house of a strong man, and rob his vessels, unless he first bind the strong man" (Mark 3:27): wishing the devil to be understood

as the strong man, because he was able to hold the human race captive; but his vessels, which he was to rob, to be his future faithful ones, whom that one possessed in various sins and impieties. That this strong man might be bound, therefore this apostle saw in the Apocalypse "an angel descending from heaven, having the key of the abyss, and a chain in his hand. And he held," he says, "the dragon, that ancient serpent, who is surnamed the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years," that is, he restrained and bridled his power from seducing and possessing those who were to be liberated. But the thousand years can be understood, as far as occurs to me, in two ways: either because in the last thousand years this thing is done, that is, in the sixth millennium of years as if on the sixth day, the latter spaces of which are now rolling on; with the sabbath to follow thereafter, which has no evening, the repose namely of the saints, which has no end: so that he called the last part of this millennium as if of a day, which remained even to the end of the age, a thousand years; by that way of speaking by which a part is signified by the whole: or certainly he put a thousand years for all the years of this age; so that by a perfect number the plenitude of time itself might be noted. For the number of a thousand yields the solid square of the number ten. For ten multiplied ten times become a hundred; which is already a square figure, but a flat one. But that it may rise into height, and become solid, again a hundred are multiplied ten times, and they are a thousand.

Furthermore, if a hundred itself is sometimes put for universality, what kind of thing is that which the Lord promised to one dismissing all his things and following him, saying: "He shall receive a hundredfold in this age" (Matthew 19:29; Mark 10:30): which the Apostle explaining in a certain way, says: "As having nothing, and possessing all things" (2 Corinthians 6:10); because also before it had already been said: "To the faithful man the whole world of riches belongs": how much more are a thousand put for universality, where there is the solidity of the denary quadrature itself? Whence also that which is read in the Psalm is no better understood: "He was mindful forever of his covenant, of the word which he commanded to a thousand generations" (Psalm 105:8), that is, to all.

3. "And he sent him," he says, "into the abyss": certainly he sent the devil into the abyss. By which name is signified the innumerable multitude of the impious, whose hearts are very deep in malignancy against the Church of God: not because the devil was not there before; but he is said to be sent thither for this reason, because being excluded from the believers, he began to possess the impious more. For he is possessed more by the devil, who is not only alienated from God, but even hates those serving God without cause. "And he closed," he says, "and sealed over him, that he should no longer seduce the nations, until the thousand years are finished." "He closed over him" was said, he interdicted him lest he be able to go out, that is, to transgress what

was forbidden. But "he sealed," which he added, seems to me to have signified that he wished it to be hidden who pertain to the side of the devil, and who do not pertain. Indeed, in this age this is altogether hidden: because it is uncertain both of him who seems to stand, whether he is to fall; and of him who seems to lie, whether he is to rise. But the devil is prohibited and restrained by the bond and enclosure of this interdict from seducing those nations which, pertaining to Christ, he was seducing before, or holding. For God chose these before the foundation of the world to rescue from the power of darkness (Ephesians 1:4), and to transfer into the kingdom of the Son of his love (Colossians 1:13), as the Apostle says. For who of the faithful is ignorant that he seduces nations even now, and draws them with him into eternal punishment, but those not predestined to eternal life? Nor let it move one, that the devil often seduces even those who, already regenerated in Christ, enter the ways of God. For "the Lord knows who are his" (2 Timothy 2:19): of these he seduces no one into eternal damnation. For so the Lord knows them, as God, from whom nothing is hidden even of future things; not as a man, who sees a man for the present (if indeed he sees him whose heart he does not see), but what kind of person he is to be thereafter, he does not even see concerning himself. For this purpose therefore was the devil bound, and enclosed in the abyss, that he should no longer seduce the nations of which the Church consists, which before he held seduced, before there was a Church. For it was

not said, that he should not seduce anyone; but, "that he should no longer seduce," he says, "the nations"; in which he undoubtedly wished the Church to be understood: "until the thousand years are finished," he says, that is, either what remains of the sixth day, which consists of a thousand years; or all the years in which thereafter this age is to be completed.

4. Nor is what he says, "that he should no longer seduce the nations, until the thousand years are finished," to be understood as if he were thereafter to seduce those nations at least of which the predestined Church consists, from seducing which he was prohibited by that bond and enclosure. But either it was said by that locution which is found sometimes in the Scriptures, such as is in the Psalm: "So our eyes are unto the Lord our God, until he have mercy on us" (Psalm 123:2); for neither when he shall have had mercy, will the eyes of his servants not be unto the Lord their God: or certainly this is the order of words: "And he closed, and sealed over him, until the thousand years are finished"; but what he interposed, "that he should no longer seduce the nations," is so situated that it is free from the connection of this order, and to be understood separately, as if it were added afterwards, so that the whole sentence would be thus: "And he closed, and sealed over him, until the thousand years are finished, that he should no longer seduce the nations"; that is, he closed for this reason, until the thousand years are finished, so that he should no longer seduce the nations.

CHAPTER VIII.

Concerning the Binding and Loosing of the Devil.

1. "After these things," he says, "he must be loosed for a short time" (Apocalypse 20:3). If this is for the devil to be bound and enclosed, that he cannot seduce the Church; will this then be his loosening, that he can? Far be it: for the Church predestined and elected before the foundation of the world, of which it was said, "The Lord knows who are his" (2 Timothy 2:19), will never be seduced by him: and yet she will be here even at that time in which the devil is to be loosed, just as from when she was instituted, she has been and will be here at all times, in her own members namely who succeed by being born to those who die. For a little after he says, that the devil being loosed will draw the seduced nations from the whole world into war against her, the number of which enemies will be as the sand of the sea. "And they went up," he says, "upon the breadth of the earth, and encompassed the camp of the saints, and the beloved city: and fire came down from heaven from God, and devoured them: and the devil who seduced them was cast into the pool of fire and sulfur, where both the beast and the false prophet are; and they shall be tormented day and night for ages of ages" (Apocalypse 20:8-10). But this already pertains to the last judgment, which I thought ought to be commemorated here for this reason, lest anyone should think that in that very small time in which the devil shall be loosed, the Church will not be on this earth, he either not

finding her here when he shall have been loosed, or consuming her when he shall have persecuted her by all means. Therefore not through all this time which this book encompasses, from the first advent of Christ namely even into the end of the age, in which his second advent will be, is the devil so bound that his binding is this itself, through this interval which he calls by the number of a thousand years, not to seduce the Church; since indeed he is not to seduce her even when loosed. For certainly if to be bound is for him not to be able to seduce, or not to be permitted; what will it be to be loosed, except to be able to seduce, or to be permitted? Which far be it from happening: but the binding of the devil is not to be permitted to exercise the whole temptation which he can either by force or by guile for seducing men, by forcing them violently into his side, or by deceiving them fraudulently. Which if it were permitted in so long a time and so great infirmity of many, he would both cast down very many such as God does not wish to suffer this, and would hinder the faithful lest they believe: which that he should not do, he was bound.

2. But then he shall be loosed, when there shall also be a short time. For in three years and six months he is read to be about to rage with all his own and his followers' strengths: and such shall they be with whom he is to wage war, that they cannot be conquered by so great an impetus and by his insidias. But if he were never loosed, his malignant power would appear less, the most faithful patience of the holy city would be less

proved; finally, it would be less clearly seen how well the Almighty has used so great an evil of his: who neither took him away altogether from the temptation of the saints, although being cast out from their inner men where God is believed in, so that they might profit by his outward opposition; and in those who are on his side, he bound him, lest by pouring out and exercising as much malice as he could, he should deter some who were to believe, and break others already believing, from the faith of piety, among the innumerable infirm from whom it was necessary for the Church to be multiplied and filled; and he will loose him in the end, so that the city of God may behold how strong an adversary it has overcome, with the immense glory of its redeemer, helper, and deliverer. In comparison indeed of those saints and faithful who are then to be, what are we? since for the sake of proving them so great an enemy will be loosed, with whom being bound we fight with so great perils. Although also in this interval of time it is not doubtful that certain soldiers of Christ have been and are so prudent and strong, that even if they lived then in this mortality when he shall be loosed, they would both most wisely beware of all his snares and impetuses, and most patiently sustain them.

3. But this binding of the devil was not only done from when the Church began to be dilated into other and other nations beyond the land of Judea; but it is even now being done, and will be done even to the end of the age, in which he is to be loosed. Because even now men are converted

from infidelity, in which he himself possessed them, to the faith, and even into that end they will undoubtedly be converted: and certainly to each one that strong man is then bound, when he is snatched from him as if his vessel: and the abyss where he was enclosed was not consumed in those when they died, who were then present when he began to be enclosed; but others succeeded them by being born, and they succeed, until this age is finished, who hate Christians, in whose blind and deep hearts he is daily enclosed as if in an abyss. But whether even in those last three years and six months, when being loosed he is to rage with all his strengths, anyone is to come to the faith who had not been in it, is no small question. For how will that stand which was said: "Who enters into the house of a strong man to rob his vessels, unless he first bind the strong man" (Matthew 12:29)? if they are robbed even from him when loosed? And through this that sentence seems to compel this, that we believe that in that time, although short, no one will come to the Christian people, but the devil will fight with those who shall already have been found Christians: of whom even if some being conquered should follow him, they do not pertain to the predestined number of the children of God. For not in vain did the same John the apostle, who also wrote this Apocalypse, say in his epistle concerning some: "They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would certainly have remained with us" (1 John 2:19). But what will become of the little ones?

For it is too incredible that no children of Christians already born and not yet baptized should be overtaken as infants at that time, none also being born in those very days; or if they shall be, that they should not be led by their parents to the laver of regeneration in any way. If this shall happen, in what way will these vessels be snatched from the devil already loosed, into whose house no one enters to rob his vessels, unless he first bind him? Rather indeed, it is to be believed that neither those who fall from the Church, nor those who come to the Church, will be lacking at that time: but certainly both the parents for baptizing their little ones, and those who then for the first time will believe, will be so strong that they may overcome that strong man even when not bound, that is, when he is lying in wait with any arts as never before, or pressing with strengths, they may both vigilantly understand and tolerantly bear; and so they may be snatched from him even when not bound. Nor will that evangelical sentence therefore be false: "Who enters into the house of a strong man to rob his vessels, unless he first bind the strong man?" For according to the truth of his sentence, this order was preserved, that first the strong man should be bound, and his vessels being snatched, the Church should be so multiplied far and wide in all nations from the firm and the infirm, that from the very most robust faith of the things divinely predicted and fulfilled, she could take away vessels even from him when loosed. For as it must be confessed, that the charity of many grows cold when iniq-

uity abounds (Matthew 24:12), and that by the unusual and greatest persecutions and fallacies of the devil already loosed, many of those who are not written in the book of life will give way: so it must be thought, that not only those good faithful whom that time will find, but also some who will still be outside, by the grace of God helping through the consideration of the Scriptures, in which both other things and the end itself have been foretold, which they now feel to be coming, will be firmer for believing what they did not believe, and stronger for overcoming the devil even when not bound. Which if it shall be so, his binding is to be said to have preceded for this reason, that the despoiling of him both bound and loosed might follow: since concerning this matter it was said: "Who shall enter into the house of a strong man to rob his vessels, unless he first bind the strong man?"

CHAPTER IX.

What the Kingdom of the Saints with Christ for a Thousand Years Is, and in What It Is Distinguished from the Eternal Kingdom.

1. Meanwhile, while the devil is bound for a thousand years, the saints reign with Christ also for those same thousand years, undoubtedly to be understood in the same way, that is, in this time already of his first advent. For except for that kingdom of which he is to say in the end, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you" (Matthew 25:34), unless in

some other way, far unequal indeed, his saints already now reigned with him, to whom he says, "Behold, I am with you even to the consummation of the age" (Id. 28:20); certainly the Church would not even now be called his kingdom, or the kingdom of heaven. For certainly in this time that scribe is instructed in the kingdom of God, who brings forth from his treasure things new and old (Matthew 13:52), of whom we have spoken above. And from the Church those reapers are to gather the tares, which he permitted to grow together with the wheat even to the harvest: which explaining he says, "The harvest is the end of the age; but the reapers are the Angels. Even as therefore the tares are gathered, and are burned with fire, so shall it be in the consummation of the age: the Son of man shall send his Angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all scandals" (Ibid., 39-41). Surely not from that kingdom where there are no scandals? From this his kingdom therefore, which is the Church here, they shall be gathered. Likewise he says, "He who shall loose one of these least commandments, and shall so teach men, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven: but he who shall do, and so teach, shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 5:19). He says both are in the kingdom of heaven, both him who does not do the commandments which he teaches—for this is to loose, not to keep, not to do—and him who does, and so teaches: but the former least, the latter great. And immediately following he adds, "For I say to you, that unless your justice shall

abound above that of the Scribes and Pharisees," that is, above the justice of those who loose what they teach. For concerning the Scribes and Pharisees he says in another place, "Since they say, and do not" (Matthew 23:3). Unless therefore your justice shall abound above them, that is, so that you do not loose, but rather do what you teach, "you shall not enter," he says, "into the kingdom of heaven" (Id. 5:20). In another way therefore the kingdom of heaven is to be understood, where both are, namely both he who looses what he teaches, and he who does; but the former least, the latter great: but in another way the kingdom of heaven is spoken of, into which none enters except he who does. And through this, where both kinds are, the Church is such as it is now: but where that kind alone shall be, the Church is such as it then shall be, when the evil one shall not be in it. Therefore the Church even now is the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdom of heaven. Therefore his saints reign with him even now, in a different way indeed from how they then shall reign: nor yet do the tares reign with him, although they grow in the Church with the wheat. For those reign with him who do what the Apostle says, "If you have risen with Christ, savor the things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God: seek the things that are above, not the things that are upon the earth" (Colossians 3:1 and 2). Concerning such ones he likewise says, that their conversation is in heaven (Philippians 3:20). Finally, they reign with him who are in his kingdom in such a way that they

themselves are also his kingdom. But how are they the kingdom of Christ, who, to be silent of other things, although they are there until all scandals are gathered in the end of the age from his kingdom, yet there they seek their own things, not the things which are of Jesus Christ (Id. 2:21)?

2. Concerning this kingdom of warfare, in which there is still conflict with the enemy, and sometimes resisting when vices resist, sometimes commanding when they yield, until one comes to that most peaceful kingdom where there will be reigning without an enemy, and concerning this first resurrection which is now, this book so speaks. For when he had said, that the devil is bound for a thousand years, and afterwards loosed for a short time; soon by recapitulating what the Church does or what is done in her in these thousand years, "And I saw," he says, "seats and those sitting upon them, and judgment was given." This is not to be thought to be said of the last judgment: but the seats of the prelates, and the prelates themselves are to be understood, through whom the Church is now governed. But the judgment given seems to be no better accepted than that which was said: "Whatsoever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven" (Matthew 18:18). Whence the Apostle: "For what is it to me," he says, "to judge concerning those who are without? do you not judge concerning those who are within" (1 Corinthians 5:12)? "And the souls," he says, "of those slain because of the

testimony of Jesus, and because of the word of God": it is sub-understood what he is about to say later, "they reigned with Jesus for a thousand years" (Apocalypse 20:4), the souls namely of the martyrs their bodies not yet being restored to them. For neither are the souls of the pious dead separated from the Church, which even now is the kingdom of Christ. Otherwise neither would there be made at the altar of God a memory of them in the communication of the body of Christ; nor would it profit anything to run to his Baptism in dangers, lest this life be finished without it; nor to reconciliation, if by chance through penance or a bad conscience anyone is separated from the same body. For why are these things done, unless because the faithful, even deceased, are his members? Although therefore not yet with their own bodies, yet already their souls reign with him, while these thousand years run their course. Whence in this same book and elsewhere it is read: "Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord, from henceforth and now the Spirit says, that they may rest from their labors; for their works follow them" (Id. 14:13). Therefore the Church reigns with Christ now first in the living and the dead. "For besides," as the Apostle says, "Christ died, that he might dominate both the living and the dead" (Romans 14:9). But for this reason he commemorated only the souls of the martyrs, because they especially reign dead, who fought for the truth even unto death. But by a part for the whole we understand also the rest

of the dead pertaining to the Church, which is the kingdom of Christ.

3. But that which follows: "And if any have not adored the beast, nor its image, nor received the inscription on their forehead, or in their hand": we ought to accept simultaneously of the living and the dead. Furthermore, what that beast may be, although it is to be more diligently inquired, yet it is not abhorrent from the right faith, that the impious city itself be understood, and the people of infidels contrary to the faithful people and the city of God. But its image seems to me to be its simulation, in those men namely, who profess as it were the faith, and live infidelly. For they feign themselves to be what they are not, and are called Christians not by a true effigy, but by a fallacious image. For to the same beast pertain not only the open enemies of the name of Christ and of his most glorious city, but also the tares, which are to be gathered at the end of the age from his kingdom, which is the Church. And who are they who do not adore the beast nor its image, except those who do what the Apostle says: "Be not yoked with infidels" (2 Corinthians 6:14)? For they do not adore, that is, they do not consent, they are not subjected: nor do they receive the inscription, the mark namely of crime, on the forehead, because of profession; in the hand, because of operation. Alien therefore from these evils, whether still living in this mortal flesh, or deceased, they reign with Christ already now, in a certain way congruent to this time, through all

this interval, which is signified by the number of a thousand years.

4. "The rest of them," he says, "did not live." For the hour is now, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who shall hear, shall live: but the rest of them shall not live (John 5:25). But that which he added, "until the thousand years should be finished," is to be understood, that they did not live at that time when they ought to have lived, namely by passing from death to life. And therefore when the day shall come, in which the resurrection of bodies also takes place, they shall proceed from the tombs not to life, but to judgment; namely to damnation, which is called the second death. For until the thousand years are finished, whosoever shall not have lived, that is, in all this time in which the first resurrection is acted out, shall not have heard the voice of the Son of God, and passed from death to life; surely in the second resurrection, which is of the flesh, he shall pass into the second death with the flesh itself. For it follows, and says, "This is the first resurrection." Blessed and holy is he who has part in this first resurrection" (Apocalypse 20:5-6), that is, is a partaker of it. But he himself is a partaker of it, who not only revives from the death which is in sins, but also shall remain in that in which he has revived. "In these," he says, "the second death has no power." It has power therefore in the rest, concerning whom he said above, "The rest of them did not live, until the thousand years should be finished": because in this whole interval of time,

which he calls a thousand years, however much each of them lived in the body, he did not revive from the death in which impiety held him, so that by thus reviving he might become a partaker of the first resurrection, and the second death might not have power over him.

CHAPTER X.

What is to be answered to those, who think that resurrection pertains to bodies alone, not also to souls.

There are some who think that resurrection cannot be said except of bodies: and therefore they contend that this first resurrection also will be in bodies. For of those, they say, whose it is to fall, of them it is to rise again: but bodies fall by dying: for even from falling (cadendo) corpses (cadavera) are named. Therefore, they say, there cannot be a resurrection of souls, but of bodies. But what do they say against the Apostle, who calls it a resurrection? For surely they had risen according to the interior, not according to the exterior man, to whom he says: "If you be risen with Christ, mind the things that are above" (Colossians 3:1). Which sense he put in other words elsewhere, saying: "That as Christ rose from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life" (Romans 6:4). From this is also that: "Arise, you who sleep, and rise from the dead, and Christ shall enlighten you" (Ephesians 5:14). But as to what they say, that they cannot rise again except those who fall; and therefore they think resurrection pertains to

bodies, not to souls, because it is for bodies to fall: why do they not hear: "Depart not from him, lest you fall" (Ecclesiasticus 2:7); and: "To his own lord he stands or falls" (Romans 14:4); and: "He who thinks himself to stand, let him take heed lest he fall" (1 Cor. 10:12)? For I think that in the soul, not in the body, this fall is to be avoided. If therefore resurrection is of those who fall, and souls also fall; surely it must be confessed that souls also rise again. But because when he had said, "In these the second death has no power," he added and said, "But they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years": this was surely not said only of bishops and presbyters, who are now properly called priests in the Church: but as we call all Christians because of the mystic chrism (mysticum chrisma), so also all are priests, because they are members of the one Priest. Of whom the apostle Peter says: "A holy people, a royal priesthood" (1 Peter 2:9). Truly, although briefly and in passing, he insinuated that Christ is God, by saying, "Priests of God and of Christ," that is, of the Father and of the Son; although because of the form of a servant, as the son of man, so also Christ was made a priest forever, according to the order of Melchizedek (Psalm 109:4). Concerning which matter we have spoken not once in this work.

CHAPTER XI.

Of Gog and Magog, whom the devil, loosed near the end of the age, will incite to persecute the Church of God.

"And when the thousand years shall be finished," he says, "Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to seduce the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, and shall draw them into war, whose number is as the sand of the sea." To this end therefore he will then seduce, that he may draw them into this war. For even before he seduced in what ways he could, through many and various evils. But "he shall go out" is said, he shall break forth from the hiding places of hatreds into open persecution. For this will be the latest persecution, with the latest judgment imminent, which the holy Church will suffer throughout the whole world, namely the universal city of Christ by the universal city of the devil, however great each shall be upon the earth. For these nations, which he calls Gog and Magog, are not to be accepted as if they were some barbarians established in some part of the earth, whether those whom some suspect to be Getae and Massagetae, because of the first letters of these names, or some other aliens, and separated from Roman law. For they are signified to be in the whole world, when it is said: "The nations which are in the four corners of the earth": and those he subjected to be Gog and Magog. The interpretation of whose names we have found to be: Gog, a roof (tectum); Magog, from a roof (de tecto): as it were a house, and he himself who proceeds from the house. They are therefore the nations in which we understood the devil to be enclosed above as if in an abyss; and he himself as it were bearing himself out and pro-

ceeding from them: so that they are the roof, he from the roof. But if we refer both to the nations, not one of these to them and the other to the devil; then they themselves are the roof, because in them the ancient enemy is now enclosed and as it were covered; and they themselves will be from the roof, when they are about to break forth from covered into open hatred. But that which he says: "And they ascended upon the breadth of the earth, and encompassed the camp of the saints and the beloved city" (Apocalypse 20:7-8): they are surely not signified to have come or to be about to come to one place, as if in some one place the camp of the saints and the beloved city were to be; since this is nothing else than the Church of Christ diffused throughout the whole world: and through this wherever she shall be then, who shall be in all nations, which is signified by the name of the breadth of the earth, there will be the camp of the saints, there will be his city beloved by God; there she will be encompassed by the immanity of that persecution by all her enemies, because they themselves also will be with her in all nations, that is, she will be straitened into the anguishes of tribulation, urged, shut in; nor will she desert her warfare, which is called by the name of a camp (castrorum).

CHAPTER XII.

Whether that which is recorded, that fire descended from heaven and consumed them, pertains to the last punishment of the impious.

But that which he says: "And fire descended from heaven and consumed them" (Apocalypse 20:9): it is not to be thought that this is that extreme punishment which will be, when it shall be said: "Depart from me, you cursed, into eternal fire" (Matthew 25:41). For then they themselves shall be cast into the fire, not fire from heaven shall come upon them. But here "fire from heaven" is well understood of the very firmness of the saints, by which they shall not yield to those raging, so as to do their will. For the firmament is heaven, by whose firmness they shall be tortured with most ardent zeal; because they will not be able to draw the saints of Christ into the parties of Antichrist. And this itself will be the fire which shall consume them, and this "from God": because by the gift of God the saints are made insuperable, whence the enemies are tortured. For as it is put in a good sense: "The zeal of thy house has consumed me" (Psalm 68:10); so on the contrary: "Zeal has occupied the unlearned people, and now fire shall consume the adversaries" (Isaiah 26:11, according to the Septuagint). And "now" surely, that is, except for the fire of that last judgment. Or if he called that plague, by which the persecutors of the Church are to be struck, Christ now coming, whom he shall find living upon the earth, when he shall kill Antichrist with the spirit of his mouth (2 Thessalonians 2:8), fire descending from heaven and consuming them, neither will this be the last punishment of the impious, but that which they are to suffer when the resurrection of bodies has taken place.

CHAPTER XIII.

Whether the time of the persecution of Antichrist is to be numbered in the thousand years.

This latest persecution, which is to be from Antichrist (as we have already said, because it is put both in this book above [Apocalypse 10 and 11], and in the prophet Daniel [Daniel 12]), will be for three years and six months. Whether this time, although small, pertains to the thousand years, in which he says both that the devil is bound and that the saints reign with Christ; or whether this small space is superadded to the same years, and is outside, is deservedly doubted. Because if we should say that this pertains to the same years, the kingdom of the saints with Christ will be found to be extended not for so long a time, but for a more prolonged one, than the devil is bound. For surely the saints will reign with their King even in that persecution especially, overcoming such great evils, when the devil will no longer be bound, so that he may be able to persecute them with all his forces. How therefore does this Scripture determine both by the same thousand years, namely the binding of the devil and the kingdom of the saints; since by an interval of three years and six months the binding of the devil ceases before the kingdom of the saints in these thousand years with Christ? But if we should say that this small space of this persecution is not to be computed in the thousand years, but rather to be added when they are fulfilled; so that it may be properly understood, that when he

had said, "The priests of God and of Christ shall reign with him a thousand years," he added, "And when the thousand years shall be finished, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison"; for in this way he signifies that both the kingdom of the saints and the bond of the devil will cease together, so that thence the time of that persecution may be believed neither to pertain to the kingdom of the saints, nor to the custody of Satan, both of which are in the thousand years, but to be superadded and computed outside: we shall be compelled to confess that the saints are not going to reign with Christ in that persecution. But who would dare to say that his members will not reign with him then, when they will cohere to him most greatly and strongly, and at which time by how much the impetus of the war will be sharper, by so much greater will be the glory of not yielding, by so much denser the crown of martyrdom? Or if because of the tribulations which they are to suffer, they are not to be said to be going to reign; it will be consequent that also in the former days in the same thousand years whosoever of the saints were being troubled, should be said not to have reigned with Christ at that very time of their tribulation: and through this also those, whose souls the author of this book writes that he saw, of those slain because of the testimony of Jesus and because of the word of God, were not reigning with Christ when they were suffering persecution; and they themselves were not the kingdom of Christ, whom Christ possessed more excellently. That is indeed most absurd and to be

averted in every way. But certainly the victorious souls of the most glorious martyrs, all pains and labors being overcome and finished, after they laid down their mortal members, have surely reigned and do reign with Christ, until the thousand years are finished, so that afterwards, their bodies also now immortal being received, they may reign. Therefore in those three years and a half, the souls of those slain for his martyrdom, both those which previously went out from their bodies, and those which are to go out in that latest persecution, shall reign with him, until the mortal age is finished, and one passes to that kingdom where death shall not be. Wherefore there will be more years of the saints reigning with Christ, than of the bond and custody of the devil: because they will reign with their king the Son of God, the devil now not being bound, even through those three years and a half. It remains therefore, that when we hear, "The priests of God and of Christ shall reign with him a thousand years, and when the thousand years shall be finished, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison"; either we understand not that the thousand years of this kingdom of the saints are finished, but of the bond and custody of the devil; so that the thousand years, that is, all their years, each part has to be finished with diverse and proper prolixities, with a more ample kingdom of the saints, a shorter bond of the devil: or certainly, because three years and six months is a very brief space, it should be believed that he did not want it to be computed, whether because the bond of Satan

seems to have less, or the kingdom of the saints to have more: as I disputed concerning the four hundred years in the sixteenth volume of this work (chapter 24); because they were something more, and yet they were called four hundred: and such things are often found in the sacred Letters, if anyone attends.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the damnation of the devil with his own, and by recapitulation of the corporeal resurrection of all the dead, and of the judgment of the ultimate retribution.

But after this commemoration of the latest persecution, he briefly embraces the whole, which in the last judgment the devil, and with its prince the enemy city, is to suffer. For he says: "And the devil who seduced them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are; and they shall be tortured day and night forever and ever" (Apocalypse 20:9 and 10). We have already said above that the beast is well understood as the impious city itself. But its false prophet is either Antichrist, or that image, that is, the figment, of which we spoke there. After these things, narrating by recapitulating the last judgment itself, which will be in the second resurrection of the dead, which is of bodies, how it was revealed to him: "And I saw," he says, "a great and white throne, and one sitting upon it, from whose face heaven and earth fled, and their place was not found" (Ibid., 11). He does not say, "I saw a great

and white throne and one sitting upon it, and from his face heaven and earth fled"; because it was not done then, that is, before it was judged concerning the living and the dead: but he said that he saw him sitting on the throne, from whose face heaven and earth fled; but afterwards. For the judgment being performed, then this heaven and this earth shall cease to be, when a new heaven and a new earth shall begin to be. For this world shall pass away by a mutation of things, not by an all-out destruction. Whence also the Apostle says: "For the figure of this world passes away, I would have you be without solicitude" (1 Corinthians 7:31 and 32). The figure therefore passes away, not the nature. When therefore John had said that he saw one sitting upon the throne, from whose face (which is to be afterwards) heaven and earth fled: "And I saw," he says, "the dead great and small; and books were opened; and another book was opened, which is of the life of each one; and the dead were judged from those scriptures of the books according to their deeds" (Apocalypse 20:12). He said that books were opened, and a book: but what kind of book he did not keep silent; "which is," he says, "of the life of each one." Therefore those books, which he put in the former place, are to be understood as the holy ones both Old and New, that in them might be shown what commands God had ordered to be done: but in that which is of the life of each one, what of these things each one had not done, or had done. Which book if it be thought carnally, who can estimate its magni-

tude, or length? or in how much time can the book be read, in which the universal lives of all are written? Or will such a number of Angels be present, as there will be of men, and each one will hear his life recited by the Angel applied to him? Therefore there will not be one book of all, but individual ones of individuals. But this Scripture wanting one to be understood, "And another," it says, "book was opened." A certain divine power is therefore to be understood, by which it shall come to pass that to each one his works, whether good or evil, shall all be recalled to memory, and seen with a marvelous celerity by the intuition of the mind; that knowledge may accuse or excuse conscience; and so simultaneously both all and individuals shall be judged. Which divine power, surely, took the name of a book. For in it is read in a certain way, whatever is recollected by its action. But that he may show, which dead are to be judged, the small and the great, he says by recapitulating as if returning to that which he had passed over, or rather deferred: "And the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and death and hell gave up the dead which they had in them" (Ibid., 13). This without doubt was done before the dead were judged: and yet that was said before. This is therefore what I said, that by recapitulating he returned to that which he had intermitted. But now he held the order, and that the order itself might be explained, he more commodiously repeated in its place also concerning the judged dead, what he had already said. For when he had said: "And the sea gave up the dead which were

in it, and death and hell gave up the dead which they had in them"; soon he added what he had put a little before: "And they were judged each one according to their deeds." For this is what he had said above: "And the dead were judged according to their deeds."

CHAPTER XV.

Who are the dead, whom the sea gave up for judgment, or whom death and hell restored.

But who are the dead, whom the sea gave up, who were in it? For neither are those who die in the sea, not in hell, or are their bodies preserved in the sea; or, what is more absurd, the sea had the good dead, and hell the bad. Who would have thought this? But surely some acceptably in this place take the sea for this world. When therefore he signified that those also whom Christ shall find established in the body here, are to be judged together with those who are to rise again, he called even those themselves dead, both the good to whom it is said: "For you are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God" (Colossians 3:3); and the bad of whom it is said: "Let the dead bury their dead" (Matthew 8:22). They can also be called dead because they bear mortal bodies: whence the Apostle says: "The body indeed is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of justice" (Romans 8:10): demonstrating both to be in a living man, and established in this body, both the dead body and the living spirit. And yet he did not say mortal body, but dead: although

he calls the same a little after even mortal bodies (Ibid. 11), as they are more customarily called. These dead therefore the sea gave up, which were in it, that is, this world gave up the men, whosoever were in it, because they had not yet died. "And death and hell," he says, "gave up the dead, which they had in them." The sea gave up, because as they were found, they were present: but death and hell restored, because they recalled to life, from which they had already gone out. Nor by chance was it perhaps not enough that he should say death, or hell; but both were said: death, because of the good, who could only suffer death, not also hell; but hell because of the bad, who also pay penalties among the infernals. For if it seems not absurdly to be believed, that the ancient saints also, who held the faith of the Christ to come, were in places indeed most remote from the torments of the impious, but among the infernals, until the blood of Christ and his descent to those places should rescue them, surely henceforth the good faithful now redeemed by that price being shed, are altogether ignorant of the infernals, until their bodies also being received, they may receive the good things which they merit. But when he had said: "And they were judged each one according to their deeds"; he briefly subjected, in what way they were judged: "And death and hell," he says, "were cast into the lake of fire": signifying by these names the devil, since he is the author of death and of infernal punishments, and the universal society of demons together. For this is what he had already

said above more evidently by preoccupying: "and the devil who seduced them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone." But what he had annexed there more obscurely, saying: "Where both the beast, and the false prophet"; here more openly: "And they who were not," he says, "found written in the book of life, were cast into the lake of fire" (Apocalypse 20:14, 15). This book does not commemorate God, lest he be deceived by oblivion: but it signifies the predestination of those, to whom eternal life shall be given. For neither does God not know them, and read in this book, that he may know: but rather his very foreknowledge concerning them, which cannot be deceived, is the book of life, in which they are written, that is, foreknown before.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the new heaven, and the new earth.

But the judgment being finished, by which he foretold that the bad are to be judged, it remains that he should speak also concerning the good. For he has already explained what was briefly said by the Lord: "These shall go into eternal punishment"; it follows, that he should explain what is also connected there: "But the just into life eternal" (Matthew 25:46). "And I saw," he says, "a new heaven, and a new earth." For the first heaven and the first earth have departed, and the sea is now no more" (Apocalypse 21:1). That will be done in that order, which he already said above by preoccupying, that he had seen one

sitting upon the throne, from whose face heaven and earth fled. For those being judged who are not written in the book of life, and being sent into eternal fire (which fire of what kind, and in what part of the world or of things it is to be, I think no man knows, unless perhaps him to whom the divine Spirit has shown), then the figure of this world will pass away by the conflagration of worldly fires, as the flood took place by the inundation of worldly waters. Therefore by that worldly conflagration, as I said, the qualities of the corruptible elements, which were congruent to our corruptible bodies, will entirely perish by burning; and the substance itself will have those qualities which may agree with immortal bodies by a marvelous mutation: so that namely the world being innovated for the better, may be aptly accommodated to men even in the flesh innovated for the better. But as to what he says: "And the sea is now no more": whether it be dried up by that greatest heat, or whether it also be turned for the better, I could not easily say. For we read that there will be a new heaven and a new earth: but concerning a new sea I do not recall that I have read anything anywhere; except what is found in this same book: "as it were a sea of glass like to crystal" (Apocalypse 4:6; 15:2). But then he was not speaking concerning this end of the age: nor does he seem to have said sea properly, but "as it were a sea." Although even now, as prophetic locution loves to mix translated with proper words, and thus in a certain way to veil what is said, he could have said concerning that

sea: "And the sea is now no more"; concerning which he had said above: "And the sea gave up the dead which were in it." For then this age will no longer be, turbulent and stormy with the life of mortals, which he figured by the name of the sea.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the glorification of the Church without end after the end.

"And the great city," he says, "new Jerusalem I saw descending from heaven from God, prepared, as a new bride adorned for her husband." And I heard a great voice from the throne saying: Behold the tabernacle of God with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them." And God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor clamor, but nor any pain, because the former things have passed away." And he who sat on the throne said: Behold, I make all things new" (Id. 21:2-5).

This city is said to descend from heaven, since the grace is celestial, by which God made it. Because of which he says to it also through Isaiah: "I am the Lord making thee" (Isaiah 45:8). And from heaven indeed it has descended from its beginning, from which through the time of this age, the grace of God coming from above through the laver of regeneration in the Holy Spirit sent from heaven, its citizens increase from time to time. But through the judgment of God, which

will be the latest through his Son Jesus Christ, so great and so new a clarity from the gift of God will appear, that no vestiges of antiquity will remain: since even the bodies will pass to incorruption and a new immortality from the old corruption and mortality. For to accept this concerning this time, in which it reigns with its King for a thousand years, seems to me of excessive impudence: when it most openly says: "God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor clamor, but nor any pain." But who is so absurd, and insane with most obstinate contention, who would dare to affirm in the miseries of this mortality, I do not say the holy people, but any one of the saints, who either leads, or is about to lead, or has led this life, having no tears and pains; when rather by how much each one is holier and more full of holy desire, by so much is his weeping in praying more abundant? Is it not the voice of a citizen of the supernal Jerusalem: "My tears have been my bread day and night" (Psalm 41:4)? and: "I will wash my bed every night, with my tears I will water my couch" (Psalm 6:7)? and: "My groaning is not hid from thee" (Psalm 37:10)? and: "My pain is renewed" (Psalm 38:3)? Or indeed are they not his sons, who groan being burdened, in which they wish not to be unclothed, but to be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life (2 Corinthians 5:4)? Are they not the ones, who having the firstfruits of the Spirit, groan within themselves, expecting the adoption, the redemption of their body (Romans

8:23)? Was not the apostle Paul himself a supernal Jerusalemite, or was he not much more this, when for his carnal brothers the Israelites there was great sadness to him, and continual pain to his heart (Romans 9:2)? But when will death not be in that city, unless when it shall be said: "Where is, O death, thy contention? where is, O death, thy sting? But the sting of death is sin" (1 Corinthians 15:55 and 56)? Which surely will not be then, when it shall be said: "Where is it?" But now not any lowest citizen of that city, but the same John himself in his Epistle cries out: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (1 John 1:8). And in this book indeed, whose name is Apocalypse, many things are said obscurely, that they may exercise the mind of the reader, and there are few things in it, from whose manifestation the rest may be tracked out with labor: especially because it so repeats the same things in many ways, that it seems to say other and other things; while it is tracked that it says these very things in other and other ways. But in these words, where he says: "God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor clamor, but nor any pain": they are said with such light concerning the future age and the immortality and eternity of the saints (for then alone, and there alone these things will not be), that we ought to seek or read no manifest things in the sacred Letters, if we think these to be obscure.

CHAPTER XVIII.

What the apostle Peter preached concerning the last judgment of God.

Now let us see what the apostle Peter also wrote concerning this judgment: "There shall come," he says, "in the last of the days, mockers with mockery, walking according to their own lusts, and saying: Where is the promise of his presence? For from the time the fathers fell asleep, all things so continue from the beginning of the creation. For this is hidden from them, being willing, that the heavens were of old, and the earth of water, and constituted through water by the word of God; through which things the world that then was, being inundated with water, perished. But the heavens and the earth which are now, are laid up by the same word, being reserved for fire unto the day of judgment and of the perdition of impious men. But let this one thing not be hidden from you, most dearly beloved, that one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord does not delay the promise, as some count slowness: but deals patiently for your sake, not willing that any should perish, but that all should return to repentance. But the day of the Lord shall come as a thief, in which the heavens shall pass away with great impetus: and the elements being on fire shall be dissolved; and the earth, and the works that are in it, shall be burnt up. Since all these things are therefore to perish, what manner of people ought you to be in holy conversations, expecting and hastening to the presence of the day of the Lord, through which the burning heavens

shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with the heat of fire? But we expect new heavens and a new earth, according to his promises, in which justice dwells" (2 Peter 3:3-13).

He said nothing here concerning the resurrection of the dead: but certainly enough concerning the perdition of this world. Where also, commemorating what was done before the flood, he seems to have admonished in a certain way, to what extent we should believe that this world is to perish at the end of this age. For even at that time he said that the world which then was had perished: and not only the orb of the earth, but also the heavens, which surely we understand to be these airy ones, whose place and space the water had then surpassed by increasing. Therefore all, or almost all this windy air (which he calls heaven, or rather heavens, but surely these lowest ones, not those supreme ones where the sun, and the moon, and the stars are established), had been turned into a humid quality; and in this way it had perished with the earth, of which earth surely the former face had been deleted by the flood. "But the heavens and the earth which are now," he says, "are laid up by the same word, being reserved for fire unto the day of judgment and of the perdition of impious men." Accordingly, those heavens and that earth, that is, that world, which was laid up out of the same water in place of that world which perished by the flood, is itself reserved for the last fire unto the day of judgment and of the perdition of impious men. For even of men, on account of a certain great

change, he does not hesitate to say that there will be a future perdition; although their nature is to remain, even if in eternal punishments. Someone might perhaps ask, if after the judgment is done this world shall burn, before the new heaven and new earth are established in its place, at that very time of its conflagration where will the saints be, since it is necessary for those having bodies to be in some corporeal place. We can answer that they will be in the superior parts, to which the flame of that fire shall not ascend, just as the wave of the flood did not. For such bodies will be in them, that they may be there, where they shall have willed to be. But nor will they fear the fire of that conflagration, having been made immortal and incorruptible: just as the corruptible and mortal bodies of the three men were able to live unharmed in the burning furnace (Daniel 3:24).

CHAPTER XIX.---What the apostle Paul wrote to the Thessalonians concerning the manifestation of Antichrist, whose time the day of the Lord will follow. 1. I see that I must pass over many evangelical and apostolic sentences concerning this divine last judgment, lest this volume be rolled out into excessive length: but by no means is the apostle Paul to be passed over, who, writing to the Thessalonians, says: "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of our gathering together unto him, that you be not easily moved in mind, nor terrified, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by epistle as if sent by us, as if the day of the Lord were at hand: let no man seduce you by any means. For unless the

apostate shall come first, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sits in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God. Do you not retain in memory, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now you know what withholds, that he may be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity already works. Only let him who now holds, hold, until he be taken out of the way: and then that wicked one shall be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his presence him, whose presence is according to the operation of Satan, in all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and in all seduction of iniquity, to those who perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And therefore God shall send them the operation of error, that they may believe a lie, and all may be judged who have not believed the truth, but have consented to iniquity" (2 Thessalonians 2:1-11).

2. No one doubts that he said these things concerning Antichrist; and that the day of judgment (for this he calls the day of the Lord) will not come, unless he comes first, whom he calls the apostate, surely from the Lord God. Which if it can be deservedly said of all the impious, how much more of him? But in what temple of God he is to sit is uncertain: whether in that ruin of the temple which was constructed by King Solomon, or indeed in the Church. For the Apostle would

not call the temple of any idol or demon the temple of God. Whence some wish Antichrist to be understood in this place not as the prince himself, but as his whole body in a certain way, that is, the multitude of men belonging to him, together with their prince himself: and they think it is more correctly said even in Latin, as it is in the Greek, not "in the temple of God", but "unto the temple of God he sits", as if he himself were the temple of God, which is the Church: just as we say, "He sits as a friend", that is, like a friend; or if anything else is usually said in that kind of locution. But as to what he says, "And now you know what withholds," that is, what is in delay, what is the cause of his procrastination, "that he may be revealed in his time, you know": since he said that they know, he did not wish to say this openly. And therefore we, who do not know what they knew, desire with labor to reach that which the Apostle felt, nor are we able: especially because those things also which he added make this sense more obscure. For what is, "For the mystery of iniquity already works. Only let him who now holds, hold, until he be taken out of the way; and then that wicked one shall be revealed"? I confess that I entirely do not know what he said. Nevertheless, the suspicions of men, which I have been able either to hear or to read, I will not keep silent.

3. Some think that this was said concerning the Roman Empire; and that for this reason the apostle Paul did not wish to write it openly, lest he should incur calumny, namely, that he

wished ill to the Roman Empire, when it was hoped to be eternal: so that in this which he said, "For the mystery of iniquity already works," he wished Nero to be understood, whose deeds already seemed like those of Antichrist. Whence some suspect that he himself will rise again, and will be the future Antichrist. Others indeed do not think he was killed, but rather withdrawn, so that he might be thought killed; and that he is hidden alive in the vigor of that very age in which he was when he was believed to be extinct, until in his own time he be revealed and restored to his kingdom. But the great presumption of those thinking these things is very wonderful to me. Nevertheless, that which the Apostle says, "Only let him who now holds, hold, until he be taken out of the way": is not absurdly believed to be said concerning the Roman Empire itself, as if it were said: "Only let him who now commands, command, until he be taken out of the way," that is, removed from the midst. "And then that wicked one shall be revealed": by whom no one doubts that Antichrist is signified. But others think that what he says, "You know what withholds"; and, "the mystery of iniquity works," is not said except concerning the evil and the feigned who are in the Church, until they arrive at such a number as may make a great people for Antichrist; and that this is the mystery of iniquity, because it seems hidden. But they think the Apostle exhorts the faithful to persevere tenaciously in the faith which they hold, saying, "Only let him who now holds, hold, until he be taken out of the way":

that is, until the mystery of iniquity, which is now hidden, goes out from the midst of the Church. For they think that what John the evangelist says in his Epistle belongs to that very mystery: "Little children, it is the last hour: and as you have heard that Antichrist is to come; now however many antichrists have become: whence we know that it is the last hour. They went out from us: but they were not of us. For if they had been of us, they would surely have remained with us" (1 John 2:18 and 19). Just as therefore before the end, in this hour which John calls the last, many heretics went out from the midst of the Church, whom he calls many antichrists: so all shall then go out from there, who shall not belong to Christ, but to that last Antichrist, and then he shall be revealed.

4. One therefore conjectures the obscure words of the Apostle in this way, and another in that way: but yet it is not doubtful that he said this, that Christ will not come to judge the living and the dead, unless his adversary Antichrist shall first have come to seduce those dead in soul; although it already belongs to the hidden judgment of God that they shall be seduced by him. For his presence will be, as it was said, "according to the operation of Satan, in all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and in all seduction of iniquity, to those who perish." For then Satan shall be loosed, and through that Antichrist he shall work in all his power, wonderfully indeed, but lyingly. It is usually doubted whether they are called signs and wonders of a lie for this reason, because he is to deceive mortal senses through

phantasms, so that he seems to do what he does not do; or because those very things, even if they shall be true wonders, will draw to a lie those who will believe that they could not have been done except by divine power, being ignorant of the power of the devil; especially when he shall have received such great power as he never had before. For when fire fell from heaven, and consumed so great a household with such great flocks of cattle of the holy Job in one impetus, and a whirlwind rushing in and casting down the house killed his sons (Job 1), they were not phantasms: which yet were the works of Satan, to whom God had given this power. For which of these reasons they are called wonders and signs of a lie, will then rather appear. But for whichever of these it was said, they will be seduced by those signs and wonders, who shall deserve to be seduced: "because they received not the love of the truth," he says, "that they might be saved." Nor did the Apostle hesitate to add and to say: "Therefore God shall send them the operation of error, that they may believe a lie." For God shall send, because God will permit the devil to do these things, by a just judgment of his own, although the other does it with a wicked and malignant counsel. "That all may be judged," he says, "who have not believed the truth, but have consented to iniquity." Accordingly, being judged they shall be seduced, and being seduced they shall be judged. But being judged they shall be seduced by those judgments of God, hiddenly just, justly hidden, by which from the beginning of the sin of the rational creature he has never

ceased to judge: but being seduced they shall be judged by the last and manifest judgment through Jesus Christ, who will judge most justly, having been most unjustly judged.

CHAPTER XX.

What the same apostle taught in the first Epistle to the same concerning the resurrection of the dead.

1. But here the Apostle was silent concerning the resurrection of the dead: but writing to the same in the first Epistle, he says: "We would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them who are asleep, that you be not sorrowful, even as others who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again: so also God will bring with him them who have slept through Jesus. For this we say to you in the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them who have slept before: for the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trumpet of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we who are alive, who remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet Christ into the air; and so shall we always be with the Lord" (1 Thessalonians 4:13-17). These apostolic words most clearly show the future resurrection of the dead, when the Lord Christ shall come, surely to judge the living and the dead.

But it is usually asked whether those whom Christ shall find living here, whose person the

Apostle was transfiguring into himself and those who then lived with him, are never to die at all; or whether at that very point of time in which they shall be caught up with those rising in the clouds to meet Christ into the air, they shall pass to immortality through death with wonderful celerity. For it must not be said that it is impossible that, while they are carried on high through the air, they should both die and live again in that space. For what he says, "And so shall we always be with the Lord": is not to be understood as if he said that we are to remain always in the air with the Lord; because neither surely will he himself remain there, since coming he is about to pass through. For he will be gone to meet him coming, not him remaining: but "so shall we be with the Lord," that is, so we shall be having everlasting bodies, wherever we shall be with him. But to this sense, by which we may think that even those whom the Lord shall find alive here, are both to suffer death and to receive immortality in that very small space, the Apostle himself seems to urge us, where he says: "In Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Corinthians 15:22): when in another place speaking of that very resurrection of bodies he says: "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die" (ibid., 36). How therefore shall those whom Christ shall find living here be made alive in him through immortality, even if they do not die; when we see it was said on account of this: "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die"? Or if we correctly do not say that anything is sown except those bodies

of men which by dying return in some way to the earth; just as that sentence divinely pronounced against the transgressor father of the human race holds itself: "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou go" (Genesis 3:19): it must be confessed that these, whom Christ when he comes shall find not yet departed from their bodies, are not held by both these words of the Apostle and those of Genesis: since being caught up on high in the clouds, they are surely not sown; because neither do they go into the earth, nor return; whether they experience no death at all, or die for a little while in the air.

3. But another thing again occurs, which the same Apostle said when he was speaking to the Corinthians concerning the resurrection of bodies: "We shall all rise"; or, as other codices have it, "We shall all sleep" (1 Corinthians 15:51). Since therefore neither can resurrection take place unless death has preceded; nor can we understand "sleeping" in that place except as death; how shall all either sleep or rise, if so many, whom Christ shall find in the body, shall neither sleep nor rise? If therefore we believe that the saints who shall be found living when Christ comes, and shall be caught up to meet him, will go out from their mortal bodies in that same rapture, and will soon return to the same as immortal, we shall suffer no straits in the words of the Apostle, whether where he says, "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die"; or where he says, "We shall all rise"; or, "We shall all sleep": because nor will they be made

alive through immortality unless they die before, however little; and through this they will not be aliens from the resurrection, which "sleeping" precedes, although very brief, yet not none. But why should it seem incredible to us that that multitude of bodies should be sown in the air in a certain way, and there immediately live again immortally and incorruptibly, when we believe what the same Apostle most openly says, that the resurrection will be in the twinkling of an eye (1 Corinthians 15:52), and that the dust of the most ancient corpses will return into members that are to live without end with such great facility and such inestimable velocity? Nor do we judge that those future saints will be immune from that sentence by which it was said to man, "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou go," if their bodies when dying do not fall back into the earth, but as they shall die in the rapture itself, so also they shall rise while they are being carried into the air. For "unto earth shalt thou go" is: you shall go into this, life having been lost, which you were before you took life: that is, you shall be this when inanimate, which you were before you were animate. For God breathed into the face of the earth the breath of life when man was made into a living soul: as if it were said: You are animate earth, which you were not; you shall be inanimate earth, as you were. Which all bodies of the dead are even before they rot: which those also will be if they shall die, wherever they may die, when they shall lack life, which they are immediately to receive back. Thus therefore they

shall go into the earth, because from living men they shall be earth: just as that goes into ash which becomes ash; that goes into old age which becomes old; that goes into a potsherd which from mud becomes a potsherd: and six hundred other things we speak thus. But how that which we now conjecture in any way according to the strength of our small reasoning is to be, will then rather be so that we may be able to know it. For we ought to believe, if we wish to be Christians, that there will be a resurrection of the dead in the flesh, when Christ is to come to judge the living and the dead. But not for that reason is our faith vain concerning this matter, if we are not able perfectly to comprehend in what manner it is to be. But now, as we promised above, we ought to show what the ancient prophetic books also foretold concerning this last judgment of God, as much as shall seem to be enough: which things, as I judge, it will not be necessary to treat and explain with so great a delay, if the reader shall have taken care to be helped by those things which we have premised.

CHAPTER XXI.

What the prophet Isaiah spoke concerning the resurrection of the dead and the retribution of judgment.

1. The prophet Isaiah says: "The dead shall rise, and they who were in the tombs shall rise: and all who are in the earth shall rejoice; for the dew which is from thee is health to them: but the land of the impious shall fall" (Isaiah 26:19, according

to LXX). All that upper part belongs to the resurrection of the blessed. But what he says, "But the land of the impious shall fall," is well understood as said: the bodies of the impious the ruin of damnation shall receive. Now furthermore, if we wish to look more diligently and distinctly at what was said concerning the resurrection of the good, that which is said, "The dead shall rise," is to be referred to the first; but to the second indeed that which follows, "and they who were in the tombs shall rise." Now if we also inquire after those saints whom the Lord shall find living here, that which he added will be congruously assigned to them: "And all who are in the earth shall rejoice; for the dew which is from thee is health to them." Health in this place we most correctly understand as immortality. For that is the fullest health, which is not refreshed by foods as by daily medicines. Likewise concerning the day of judgment, first giving hope to the good, then terrifying the evil, the same prophet speaks thus: "Thus saith the Lord: Behold I turn aside unto them like a river of peace, and like a flooding torrent the glory of the nations. Their children shall be carried upon the shoulders, and shall be comforted upon the knees. As if a mother should comfort someone, so will I comfort you; and in Jerusalem you shall be comforted: and you shall see, and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall rise up like grass. And the hand of the Lord shall be known to them that worship him: and he shall threaten the contumacious. For behold the Lord shall come like fire, and his chariot like

a tempest, to render vengeance in indignation, and devastation in a flame of fire. For in the fire of the Lord all the earth shall be judged, and all flesh in his sword: many shall be wounded by the Lord" (Isaiah 66:12-16, according to LXX). In the promise of the good, we ought certainly to understand by the river of peace that abundance of peace than which there can be none greater. With this surely we shall be watered in the end: concerning which we have spoken abundantly in the preceding book. He says that he turns this river aside unto them to whom he promises so great beatitude, that we may understand that in the region of that felicity which is in the heavens, all things are satiated by this river. But because the peace of incorruption and immortality shall flow thence even to earthly bodies, therefore he says that he turns aside this river, that from the supernal things it may in a certain way also drench the lower things, and make men equal to the Angels. Let us also understand Jerusalem, not that which serves with her children, but our free mother, according to the Apostle, eternal in the heavens (Galatians 4:26). There after the labors of mortal miseries and cares we shall be comforted, like her little ones carried on shoulders and knees. For that beatitude, unusual to us, will receive us, unformed and new, with the most soothing aids. There we shall see, and our heart shall rejoice. Nor did he express what we shall see: but what, except God? that the evangelical promise may be fulfilled in us: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matthew 5:8); and all those

things which we now do not see, but believing, according to the measure of human capacity, we think of them far less than they are and incomparably. "And you shall see," he says, "and your heart shall rejoice." Here you believe, there you shall see.

2. But since he said, "And your heart shall rejoice": lest we should think those goods of Jerusalem belong only to our spirit; "And your bones," he says, "shall rise up like grass": where he touched upon the resurrection of bodies, as if rendering what he had not said: for it will not happen when we shall have seen it; but when it shall have been done, we shall see it. For he had also spoken above concerning the new heaven and the new earth, while he said those things which are promised to the saints in the end, often and in many forms: "There shall be," he says, "a new heaven and a new earth, and they shall not be mindful of the former things, nor shall they ascend into their heart: but they shall find joy and exultation in it. Behold I will make Jerusalem an exultation, and my people a joy; and I will exult in Jerusalem, and I will rejoice in my people; and the voice of weeping shall no more be heard in it" (Isaiah 65:17-19, according to LXX): and other things, which some try to refer to those carnal thousand years. For tropical locutions are mixed with literal ones in the prophetic manner: so that a sober intention may arrive at a spiritual understanding with a certain useful and salutary labor: but carnal laziness, or the slowness of an unlearned and unexercised mind, content with

the surface of the letter, thinks nothing more inward is to be required. I should have said enough concerning these prophetic words which were written before this place. But in this place, whence we digressed to those things, when he had said, "And your bones shall rise up like grass," so that he might show that he now commemorates indeed the resurrection of the flesh, but yet of the good, he added: "And the hand of the Lord shall be known to them that worship him." What is this, except the hand of him distinguishing his worshippers from his contemners? Concerning whom weaving together the following things, "And he shall threaten," he says, "the contumacious," or, as another interpreter says, "the incredulous." Nor will he then threaten: but those things which are now said threateningly, will then be effectively fulfilled. "For behold the Lord," he says, "shall come like fire, and his chariot like a tempest, to render vengeance in indignation, and devastation in a flame of fire. For in the fire of the Lord all the earth shall be judged, and all flesh in his sword: many shall be wounded by the Lord." Whether by fire, or by tempest, or by sword, he signifies the punishment of judgment: since he says that the Lord himself is to come like fire, surely to those to whom his advent will be penal. But his chariots (for they are spoken of in the plural) we understand not inconveniently as angelic ministries. But as to what he says, that all the earth and all flesh are judged in his fire and in his sword, let us not here also understand the spiritual and the

saints, but the earthly and the carnal, of such as it is said: "Who mind earthly things" (Philippians 3:19); and: "To mind the things of the flesh is death" (Romans 8:6): and such as are called flesh entirely by the Lord, where he says: "My spirit shall not remain in these men, because they are flesh" (Genesis 6:3). But as to what is placed here, "Many shall be wounded by the Lord": by this wound shall be made the second death. Fire, and sword, and wound can indeed be taken in a good sense. For the Lord also said he wished to cast fire into the world (Luke 12:49). And divided tongues as of fire appeared to them when the Holy Spirit came (Acts 2:3). And, "I came not," says the same Lord, "to send peace upon earth, but a sword" (Matthew 10:34). And Scripture calls the word of God a two-edged sword (Hebrews 4:12); on account of the double edge of the two Testaments. And in the Canticle of Canticles, the holy Church says she is wounded with charity, as if shot by the impetus of love (Canticles 2:5, according to LXX). But here when we read or hear that the Lord is to come as an avenger, it is clear how these things are to be understood.

3. Then, having briefly commemorated those who shall be consumed through this judgment; signifying the sinners and the impious under the figure of foods forbidden in the old Law, from which they did not abstain, he recapitulates from the beginning the grace of the New Testament from the first advent of the Savior even to the last judgment, of which we now treat, leading through and finishing his discourse. For he re-

lates that the Lord says he is coming to gather all nations, and that they shall come and see his glory (Isaiah 66:17, 18). "For all," as the Apostle says, "have sinned, and do need the glory of God" (Romans 3:23). And he says that he will leave signs upon them, which surely marvelling at they may believe in him: and that he will send from them those saved into diverse nations, and into far-off islands which have not heard his name, nor seen his glory; and they shall announce his glory among the nations; and they shall bring their brethren, to whom he was speaking, that is, the brethren of the elect Israelites in faith under God the Father: and they shall bring a gift to the Lord from all nations upon beasts of burden and in vehicles (which beasts of burden and vehicles are well understood to be divine aids, through the ministries of God of every kind, whether angelic or human), into the holy city Jerusalem, which is now diffused through the lands in the holy faithful. For where they are divinely helped, there they believe; and where they believe, there they come. But the Lord compared them, as if through a similitude, to the children of Israel offering him their victims with psalms in his house; which the Church already does everywhere; and he promised that he would receive from them Priests and Levites for himself; which nonetheless we now see being done. For not from the race of flesh and blood, as it was at first according to the order of Aaron; but as was fitting in the New Testament, where according to the order of Melchisedech Christ is the High Priest (Psalm

109:4), we now see Priests and Levites being chosen according to the merit of each, which divine grace shall have conferred upon him: who are to be weighed not by this name, which the unworthy often obtain, but by that holiness which is not common to the good and the evil.

4. When he had said these things concerning that clear mercy of God, most well-known to us, which is now imparted to the Church; he also promised the ends to which, by the last judgment, the discretion of the good and the evil having been made, it shall be come, saying through the Prophet, or the Prophet himself saying concerning the Lord: "For as the new heaven and the new earth shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name stand; and there shall be month after month, and sabbath after sabbath. All flesh shall come in my sight to adore in Jerusalem, saith the Lord: and they shall go out, and shall see the limbs of the men who have prevaricated against me. Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be extinguished, and they shall be for a sight to all flesh" (Isaiah 66:22-24, according to LXX). At this point that prophet finished his book, where the age shall be finished. Some indeed have not interpreted "limbs of men," but "carcasses of men," signifying through carcasses the evident punishment of bodies: although a carcass is not usually named except as inanimate flesh; but those will be animate bodies, otherwise they could feel no torments: unless perhaps because they will be bodies of the dead, that is, of those who shall fall into

the second death, for that reason not absurdly can they be called even carcasses. Whence is also that which I have already placed above as said by the same prophet: "But the land of the impious shall fall." But who does not see that carcasses are so called from falling? But it is manifest that those interpreters placed "of men" (*virorum*) for that which is "of human beings" (*hominum*). For no one is to say that prevaricating women will not be in that supplication: but from the more excellent, especially from whom woman was made, each sex is understood. But what most pertains to the matter, since even in the good it is said, "All flesh shall come": because from every kind of men this people shall consist; for not all men will be there, since many more will be in punishments: but, as I had begun to say, since both in the good flesh, and in the evil limbs or carcasses are named; certainly after the resurrection of the flesh, the faith of which is entirely confirmed by these names of things, that judgment is declared to be future by which the good and the evil shall be separated into their own ends.

CHAPTER XXII.

What will be the going out of the saints to see the punishments of the evil.

But how shall the good go out to see the punishments of the evil? Shall they by a movement of the body leave those blessed seats, and proceed to the penal places, that they may behold the torments of the evil by their corporeal presence? Far

from it: but they shall go out through knowledge. For by this word it was signified that they who shall be tortured will be outside. On account of which the Lord also calls those places outer darkness (Matthew 25:30): to which that entrance is contrary concerning which it is said to the good servant: "Enter into the joy of thy Lord" (ibid. 21): lest the evil should be thought to enter there, that they may be known; but rather knowledge, by which the good are to know them, should go out as it were to them; because they are to know that which is outside. For they who shall be in punishments will not know what is done inside in the joy of the Lord: but they who shall be in that joy will know what is done outside in those outer darknesses. Therefore it was said, "they shall go out": because those also who shall be outside from them will surely not be hidden. For if the Prophets could know these things not yet done, through that which God was, however little it was, in the minds of those mortals; how shall the immortal saints then not know things already done, when God shall be all in all (1 Corinthians 15:28)? Therefore the seed and name of the saints shall stand in that beatitude; the seed, namely concerning which John says: "And his seed remains in him" (1 John 3:9): the name indeed, concerning which it was said through this Isaiah: "An eternal name will I give them" (Isaiah 56:5). "And there shall be to them month from month and sabbath from sabbath," as if light from light and rest from rest: both of which they themselves shall be, when from these old

and temporal shadows they shall pass into those new and sempiternal lights. But concerning the punishments of the evil, both the unquenchable fire and the most vivacious worm have been explained by some in one way and by others in another. For some have referred both to the body, others both to the soul: others fire properly to the body, the worm tropically to the soul, which seems to be more credible. But now is not the time to dispute concerning this difference. For we have undertaken to fill this volume concerning the last judgment, by which the separation of the good and the evil shall be made: but concerning the rewards and punishments themselves, it must be discoursed more diligently at another time.

CHAPTER XXIII.

What Daniel prophesied concerning the persecution of the Antichrist, and concerning the judgment of God, and the kingdom of the saints.

1. Daniel prophesies concerning this last judgment in such a way as to announce also that the Antichrist is to come first, and he leads his narration to the eternal kingdom of the saints. For when in a prophetic vision he had seen four beasts signifying four kingdoms, and the fourth itself overcome by a certain king, who is recognized as the Antichrist, and after these the eternal kingdom of the Son of Man, who is understood as Christ: "My spirit," he said, "I, Daniel, shuddered in my habit, and the visions

of my head troubled me. And I approached," he said, "one of those standing by, and I sought the truth from him concerning all these things: and he told me the truth." Then, what he heard from him, from whom he sought concerning all these things, as if he were explaining them to him, he speaks thus: "These four great beasts are four kingdoms that shall rise upon the earth, which shall be taken away, and the saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom: and they shall obtain it even for ever and ever. And I sought," he said, "diligently concerning the fourth beast, which was different from every beast, exceeding terrible: its teeth were of iron, and its claws of bronze, eating and breaking in pieces, and trampling the rest with its feet: and concerning its ten horns, which were on its head, and concerning the other which came up, and plucked up three from the former ones: that horn in which there were eyes, and a mouth speaking great things; and its look was greater than the others. I beheld, and that horn made war with the saints: and it prevailed against them, until the Ancient of Days came, and gave the kingdom to the saints of the Most High: and the time came, and the saints obtained the kingdom." These things Daniel said he had sought. Then what he heard, immediately subjoining, "And he said," he says, that is, he from whom he had sought answered and said, "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon the earth, which shall prevail over all kingdoms; and it shall devour the whole earth, and shall trample it, and shall cut it to pieces. And its ten

horns are ten kings that shall arise: and after them another shall arise, who shall surpass in evils all who were before him; and he shall humble three kings, and shall speak words against the Most High: and he shall crush the saints of the Most High. And he shall think to change times and the law: and it shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and half a time. And the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away the principality to exterminate and to destroy even until the end; and the kingdom, and the power, and the greatness of the kings who are under the whole heaven, is given to the saints of the Most High. And his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom: and all principalities shall serve him, and obey." "Hitherto," he says, "is the end of the discourse. I, Daniel, my thoughts troubled me much, and my appearance was changed upon me, and I kept the word in my heart." (Daniel 7:15-28). Certain ones have explained those four kingdoms as the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans. How appropriately they have done this, those who desire to know, let them read the book of the priest Jerome on Daniel, written with sufficient diligence and erudition. Yet concerning the most cruel kingdom of the Antichrist against the Church, though to be sustained for a short space of time, until the saints receive the everlasting kingdom by the last judgment of God, he who even dozing reads these things is not permitted to doubt. For "a time and times and half a time" is one year and two and a half, and by this three years and a half, which is also made clear

by the number of days placed later, and is sometimes declared in the Scriptures by the number of months. For "times" seem to be said indefinitely here in the Latin tongue: but they are said by the dual number, which the Latins do not have. But just as the Greeks, so the Hebrews are said to have this. Thus therefore "times" were said, as if "two times" were said. I confess indeed that I fear lest in the ten kings, whom the Antichrist seems to be about to find as ten men, we may perhaps be deceived, and thus he may come unobserved, there not being so many kings in the Roman world. For what if by that denary number the universality of kings is signified, after whom he is to come: just as by the millenary, centenary, and septenary number the universality is mostly signified, and by various other numbers, which it is not necessary to mention now?

2. In another place the same Daniel says: "And there shall be a time of tribulation, such as has not been from the time that a nation was born upon the earth even until that time. And in that time thy people shall be saved, every one who shall be found written in the book. And many of those that sleep in the mound of the earth shall rise: these unto eternal life, and those unto eternal reproach and confusion. And the intelligent shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and from the just many as stars for ever" (Daniel 12:1-3). And this place is still very similar to that evangelical sentence concerning the resurrection, at least, of the bodies of the dead. For those who were said there to be "in the monu-

ments," are here "sleeping in the mound of the earth"; or, as others have interpreted, "in the dust of the earth." And as there it was said, "they shall come forth"; so here, "they shall rise." As there, "Those who have done good, unto the resurrection of life; but those who have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment"; so also in this place, "These unto eternal life, and those unto eternal reproach and confusion" (John 5:28, 29). But let it not be thought different that whereas it was placed there, "All who are in the monuments," here the Prophet does not say "All"; but, "Many of those that sleep in the mound of the earth." For sometimes Scripture puts "many" for "all." On that account it was also said to Abraham, "I have placed thee as the father of many nations"; to whom, however, in another place it says: "In thy seed all nations shall be blessed" (Genesis 17:5; 22:18). Concerning such a resurrection it is also said a little after to this same prophet Daniel: "And thou come, and rest: for as yet there are days until the completion of the consummation; and thou shalt rest, and shalt rise in thy lot at the end of the days" (Daniel 12:43).

CHAPTER XIV.

What things may be prophesied in the Davidic Psalms concerning the end of this age and the last judgment of God.

1. Many things are said concerning the last judgment in the Psalms, but more of them in passing and briefly. Yet this which has been said most clearly there concerning the end of this age,

I shall by no means pass over in silence. "In the beginning thou, O Lord, didst found the earth, and the heavens are the works of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest: and all shall grow old like a garment, and as a covering thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same thyself, and thy years shall not fail" (Psalm 101:26-28). Why is it that Porphyry, while he praises the piety of the Hebrews, by which the great and true God, terrible even to the divinities themselves, is worshipped by them, accuses the Christians of the greatest folly for this reason, even from the oracles of his own gods, because they say that this world is to perish? Behold, in the writings of the piety of the Hebrews it is said to God, whom, as so great a philosopher confesses, even the divinities themselves dread: "The heavens are the works of thy hands, they shall perish." Shall not the world, of which the same heavens are the higher and more secure part, perish when the heavens shall perish? If this sentence is displeasing to Jove, by whose oracle, as that philosopher writes, it is blamed in the credulity of the Christians as if of a heavier authority; why does he not similarly blame as folly the wisdom of the Hebrews, in whose most pious books it is found? Furthermore, if in that wisdom which pleases Porphyry so much that he proclaims it even with the voices of his own gods, it is read that the heavens are to perish; why is that fallacy so vain as to detest this in the faith of the Christians, either among other things or above others, because in it the world

is believed to be about to perish, which surely cannot perish unless the heavens perish? And indeed in the Sacred Letters, which are properly ours, not common to the Hebrews and to us, that is, in the evangelical and apostolic books, it is read: "The figure of this world passes away" (1 Corinthians 7:31); it is read: "The world passes" (1 John 2:17); it is read: "Heaven and earth shall pass away" (Matthew 24:35). But I think that "passes away," "passes," "shall pass away," were sometimes said more mildly than "shall perish." In the Epistle of Peter the Apostle also, where the world that then was, being inundated with water, was said to have perished (2 Peter 3:6), it is clear enough both what part of the world was signified by the whole, and how far it was said to have perished, and which heavens were laid up, to be reserved for fire unto the day of judgment and perdition of impious men. And in that which he says a little after: "The day of the Lord shall come as a thief, in which the heavens shall pass away with great impetuosity, but the elements being on fire shall be dissolved, and the earth and the works that are in it shall be burned up"; and then he added: "All these things perishing, what sort of persons ought you to be" (ibid. 10, 11)? those heavens can be understood as about to perish which he said were laid up and reserved for fire; and those elements can be taken as about to burn which subsist in this lowest part of the world, stormy and turbulent, in which he said those same heavens are laid up, while those higher ones remain safe and in their integrity, in

whose firmament the stars were established. For also that which is written, that the stars are to fall from heaven (Matthew 24:29), besides that it can be understood much more probably in another way, shows rather that those heavens are to remain: if indeed the stars are to fall from there; whereas either the speech is tropical, which is more credible, or it is to happen in this lowest heaven, surely more wonderfully than it happens now. Whence also that Virgilian "Star drawing a torch ran with much light, and hid itself in the Idaean forest" (Aeneid, Book II, v. 694, 696). But this which I have mentioned from the Psalm seems to leave no heaven which it has not said is to perish. For where it is said: "The heavens are the works of thy hands, they shall perish"; as none of them is separated from the work of God, so none of them is separated from perdition. For they will not deign to defend the piety of the Hebrews, approved by the oracles of their own gods, from the speech of Peter the Apostle, whom they vehemently hated; so that at least, lest the whole world should be believed to be about to perish, the part might be taken for the whole in that which was said, "They shall perish," since only the lowest heavens are to perish; just as in that apostolic Epistle the part is taken for the whole, because the world was said to have perished by the flood, although only its lowest part with its heavens perished. But because they will not deign this, as I have said, lest they should either approve the sense of the Apostle Peter or grant as much to the last conflagration as we say

the flood was able to do—they who contend that the whole human race can perish by no waters, by no flames—it remains that they should say that their gods praised the Hebrew wisdom for this reason, because they had not read this Psalm.

2. In the forty-ninth Psalm also it is understood to be said concerning the last judgment of God: "God shall come manifestly, our God, and shall not keep silence. A fire shall burn in his sight, and round about him a mighty tempest. He shall call the heaven above, and the earth to discern his people. Gather ye together his saints to him, who set his covenant above sacrifices" (Psalm 49:3-5). This we understand concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we hope is to come from heaven to judge the living and the dead. For he shall come manifestly to judge justly between the just and the unjust, who before came hidden to be judged unjustly by the unjust. He himself, I say, "shall come manifestly, and shall not keep silence," that is, he shall appear evident in the voice of the judge, who before when he had come hidden, kept silence before the judge, when as a sheep he was led to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer was without voice, as we read prophesied of him through Isaiah (Isaiah 53:7), and see fulfilled in the Gospel (Matthew 26:63). But concerning the fire and the tempest, we have already said (chapter 21) how these were to be understood, when we were treating something such in the prophecy of Isaiah. But as to what was said, "He shall call the heaven above": since the saints and the just are rightly called heaven;

surely this is what the Apostle says: "Together with them we shall be caught up in the clouds to meet Christ into the air" (1 Thessalonians 4:16). For according to the surface of the letter, how is the heaven called above, as if it could be except above? But as to what was added, "And the earth to discern his people," if only "he shall call" is subunderstood, that is, he shall call also the earth, and "above" is not subunderstood, it seems to have this sense according to the right faith, that heaven is understood in those who are to judge with him, and earth in those who are to be judged: so that we should not understand here "He shall call the heaven above" as "He shall catch up into the air"; but, "He shall raise up into the judicial seats." It can also be understood: "He shall call the heaven above," He shall call the Angels in the supernal and lofty places, with whom he may descend to perform judgment: "He shall call also the earth," that is, men on the earth surely to be judged. But if both are to be subunderstood, when it is said, "and the earth," that is both "he shall call" and "above"; so that this may be the sense, "He shall call the heaven above, and he shall call the earth above": I think nothing better is understood than men who shall be caught up to meet Christ into the air, but heaven said on account of the souls, earth on account of the bodies. Furthermore, what is "To discern his people" but to separate the good from the evil through judgment, as sheep from goats? Then the turning of the speech was made to the Angels: "Gather ye together his just ones to him."

For surely so great a matter is to be performed through the angelic ministry. But if we ask which just ones the Angels are to gather to him: "Who set," he says, "his covenant above sacrifices." This is the whole life of the just, to set the covenant of God above sacrifices. For either works of mercy are "above sacrifices," that is, to be preferred to sacrifices, according to the sentence of God saying: "I will mercy rather than sacrifice" (Hosea 6:6): or if "above sacrifices" is understood as said in sacrifices, as that which is done in the earth is said to be done upon the earth: surely the works of mercy themselves are sacrifices by which God is pleased, as I remember having discoursed in the tenth book of this work (chapter 6, and elsewhere): in which works the just set the covenant of God, because they do these things on account of the promises which are contained in his New Testament. Whence, his just ones being gathered to him, and established at his right hand, surely in the last judgment, Christ is about to say: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the constitution of the world. For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat" (Matthew 25:34); and the rest which are brought forward there concerning the good works of the good, and concerning their everlasting rewards through the last sentence of the one judging.

CHAPTER XXV.

Concerning the prophecy of Malachi by which the last judgment of God is declared, and the cleansing of certain ones is said to be accomplished through purificatory punishments.

The prophet Malachi, or Malachi, who is also called an Angel, who is also believed by some to be Ezra the priest, whose other writings are received into the canon (for Jerome says this is the opinion of the Hebrews concerning him [Preface to Malachi]), prophesies the last judgment, saying: "Behold he comes, saith the Lord almighty: and who shall sustain the day of his coming, or who shall be able to bear to look upon him? Because he himself enters like a refiner's fire, and like the herb of the washers: and he shall sit refining and cleansing, as gold and as silver, and he shall cleanse the sons of Levi, and shall melt them as gold and silver: and they shall be offering victims to the Lord in justice. And the sacrifice of Judah and Jerusalem shall please the Lord, as in the former days, and as in the prior years. And I will approach to you in judgment, and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against those who swear falsely in my name, and who defraud the hireling of his wages, and oppress widows by power, and strike orphans, and pervert the judgment of the stranger, and who do not fear me, saith the Lord almighty. Because I am the Lord your God, and I am not changed" (Malachi 3:1-6). From these things which have been said, it seems to appear more evidently that in that judgment there will be certain purgatory punishments of certain ones. For where it is said: "Who

shall sustain the day of his coming, or who shall be able to bear to look upon him? Because he himself enters like a refiner's fire, and like the herb of the washers: and he shall sit refining and cleansing, as gold and as silver, and he shall cleanse the sons of Levi, and shall melt them as gold and silver"; what else is to be understood? Isaiah also says something such: "The Lord shall wash away the filth of the sons and daughters of Zion, and shall cleanse the blood from the midst of them by the spirit of judgment and the spirit of burning" (Isaiah 4:4). Unless perhaps they are to be said to be cleansed from filth, and to be as it were refined, when the evil are separated from them by the penal judgment, so that the segregation and damnation of those may be the purgation of these, because they are to live without the admixture of such for the rest. But when he says: "And he shall cleanse the sons of Levi, and shall melt them as gold and silver, and they shall be offering victims to the Lord in justice, and the sacrifice of Judah and Jerusalem shall please the Lord," he surely shows that those same ones who shall be cleansed will thereafter please the Lord in sacrifices of justice, and by this they themselves shall be cleansed from their injustice, in which they were displeasing to the Lord. Furthermore, they themselves will be victims in full and perfect justice, when they shall have been cleansed. For what more acceptable thing do such offer to God than themselves? But that question concerning purgatory punishments, that it may be more diligently treated, must be deferred

to another time. But the sons of Levi and of Judah and of Jerusalem, we ought to understand as the Church of God itself, gathered not only from the Hebrews, but also from other nations: and not such as it is now, where "if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (1 John 1:8): but such as it will be then, as a floor by winnowing, so cleansed by the last judgment; those also being cleansed by fire, for whom such a cleansing is necessary; so that there may be no one at all who offers sacrifice for his sins. For all who thus offer are surely in sins, for the dismissal of which they offer, that when they have offered, and it has been accepted by God, they may then be dismissed.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Concerning the sacrifices which the saints shall offer to God as being thus about to please Him, in the same way as they pleased Him in the former days and in the prior years.

1. But God willing to show that His city would not then be in that custom, said that the sons of Levi would offer victims in justice: therefore not in sin, and by this not for sin. Whence it can be understood in what he followed and added, and said: "And the sacrifice of Judah and Jerusalem shall please the Lord, as in the former days and as in the prior years," that the Jews in vain promise themselves the past times of their sacrifices according to the law of the Old Testament. For they were not then offering victims in justice, but in sins, when they were offering especially

and primarily for sins, to such an extent that the priest himself, whom we ought surely to believe was more just than the rest, according to God's command used first to offer for his own sins, then for those of the people (Leviticus 16:6; Hebrews 7:27). Wherefore it behooves us to explain how what was said, "As in the former days and as in the prior years," is to be taken. For perhaps he commemorates that time in which the first men were in paradise. For then, pure and integrity from all filth and blemish of sin, they were offering themselves as most clean victims to God. For the rest, from the time they were dismissed thence because of the transgression committed, and human nature was condemned in them, except for the one Mediator, and after the laver of regeneration for whichever infants, "No one is clean from filth," as it is written, "not even an infant, whose life is of one day upon the earth" (Job 14:4, according to LXX). But if it is answered that even they can rightly be said to offer victims in justice who offer in faith; for "the just lives by faith" (Romans 1:17); although he deceives himself if he says he has no sin (1 John 1:8); and therefore he does not say so because he lives by faith: shall anyone say that this time of faith is to be equaled to that end, when those who offer victims in justice shall be cleansed by the fire of the last judgment? And by this, since it is to be believed that after such a cleansing the just will have no sin, surely that time, as far as it pertains to not having sin, is to be compared to no time except when the first men in paradise before the

transgression lived in most innocent happiness. Correctively, therefore, it is understood that this was signified when it was said: "As in the former days and as in the prior years." For also through Isaiah, after the new heaven and new earth were promised, among the rest which he follows there concerning the beatitude of the saints through allegories and enigmas—to which care for avoiding length prohibited us from rendering a suitable exposition—he says: "According to the days of the tree of life shall be the days of my people" (Isaiah 65:22). But who has touched the sacred Letters and is ignorant where God planted the tree of life, from whose food those men being separated when their iniquity cast them out of paradise, a fiery and terrible guard was placed around the same tree?

2. But if anyone contends that those days of the tree of life, which the prophet Isaiah mentioned, are these days of the Church of Christ which are now being spent, and that Christ himself was prophetically called the tree of life, because he himself is the Wisdom of God, concerning which Solomon says: "She is a tree of life to all who embrace her" (Proverbs 3:18); and that those first men did not spend any years in paradise, whence they were so quickly ejected that they begot no son there; and that therefore that time cannot be understood in what was said, "As in the former days and as in the prior years": I pass over that question, lest I be compelled (which is prolix) to discuss all things, that the manifested truth may confirm something of these. For I see

another sense, lest we should believe that the former days and prior years of carnal sacrifices were promised to us by the Prophet as a great gift. For those victims of the old Law in whichever cattle were commanded to be offered immaculate and without any blemish at all, and they signified holy men, such as Christ alone was found, without any sin at all. Therefore because after the judgment, when those who are worthy of such a cleansing shall have been cleansed even by fire, in all the saints no sin at all shall be found, and thus they shall offer themselves in justice, that such victims shall be in every way immaculate and without any blemish, they shall surely be as in the former days and as in the prior years, when in the shadow of this future thing most clean victims were offered. For this shall be the cleanness then in the immortal flesh and mind of the saints, which was figured in the bodies of those victims.

3. Then on account of those who are worthy not of cleansing but of damnation, "And I will approach," he says, "to you in judgment, and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers and against the adulterers," and the rest, to which damnable crimes enumerated he added: "Because I am the Lord your God, and I am not changed": as if he were saying, When your fault has changed you for the worse, and my grace has changed you for the better, I am not changed. But he says he will be a witness, because in his judgment he does not need witnesses: and him a swift one, either because he is to come suddenly, and the judgment will be most swift by his very

unexpected coming, which seemed most slow; or because he will convince the consciences themselves without any prolixity of speech. "For in the thoughts," as it is written, "of the impious there shall be interrogation" (Wisdom 1:9). And the Apostle says: "Their thoughts accusing, or even excusing, in the day when God shall judge the hidden things of men, according to my Gospel through Jesus Christ" (Romans 2:15, 16). In this way also, therefore, the Lord is to be understood as a swift witness, when without delay he shall recall to memory whence he may convince and punish the conscience.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the separation of the good and the evil, by which the discretion of the last judgment is declared.

That also, which acting otherwise I placed in the eighteenth book from this prophet (chapter 35, end), pertains to the last judgment, where he says: "They shall be to me, saith the Lord almighty, in the day in which I make a purchase, and I will choose them as a man chooses his son who serves him: and you shall be converted, and you shall see what is between the just and the iniquitous, and between him that serves God and him that serves Him not. Because behold the day comes burning as a furnace, and it shall burn them, and all the aliens, and all who do iniquity, shall be stubble: and the day coming shall set them on fire, saith the Lord almighty: and there shall not be left in them root, nor branch. And

the sun of justice shall rise to you who fear my name, and health in his wings; and you shall go forth, and shall leap as calves released from bonds: and you shall trample the iniquitous, and they shall be ashes under your feet, saith the Lord almighty" (Malachi 3:17, 18; 4:1-3). This distance of rewards and punishments separating the just from the unjust, which is not discerned under this sun in the vanity of this life, when it shall be clear under that sun of justice in the manifestation of that life, then surely there will be a judgment such as never was.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Concerning the law of Moses to be understood spiritually, lest the carnal sense should run into damnable murmurs.

But what the same prophet subjoins: "Remember the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded him in Horeb to all Israel" (Malachi 4:4); he opportunely commemorates the precepts and judgments, after so great a future discrimination between the observers of the law and the contemners has been declared; at the same time also that they may learn to understand the law spiritually, and find in it Christ, through whom as judge that same discretion between the good and the evil is to be made. For not in vain the same Lord said to the Jews: "If you believed Moses, you would believe also me; for he wrote of me" (John 5:46). For by receiving the law carnally, and not knowing that its earthly promises were figures of heavenly things, they fell into

those murmurs, so that they dared to say: "Vain is he who serves God: and what more, because we have kept his commands, and because we have walked as suppliants before the face of the Lord almighty? And now we call the aliens blessed, and all who do iniquity are built up" (Malachi 3:14 and 15). By which words of theirs the prophet was in a way compelled to preannounce the last judgment, where the evil should not even falsely be blessed, but should appear most miserable most openly; and the good should labor under no temporal misery at least, but should enjoy clear and everlasting beatitude. For he had said some such words of theirs even above, saying: "Everyone who does evil is good in the sight of the Lord, and such please him" (id. 2:17). To these murmurs against God, I say, they came by receiving the law of Moses carnally. Whence also he in the seventy-second Psalm says that his feet were almost moved, and his steps poured out, surely unto a slip, because he was zealous against sinners, beholding the peace of sinners; so that among the rest he said: "How did God know, and if there is knowledge in the Most High?" he said also: "Have I in vain justified my heart, and washed my hands among the innocent?" But that he might solve this most difficult question, which arises when the good seem to be miserable and the evil happy: "This," he says, "is a labor before me, until I enter into the sanctuary of God, and understand in the last things" (Psalm 72:11, 13, 16, 17). For in the last judgment it will not be so: but in the open misery of the iniquitous, and the open

happiness of the just, another thing far different than it is now will appear.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Concerning the coming of Elijah before the judgment, by whose preaching, the secrets of the Scriptures being unlocked, the Jews shall be converted to Christ.

But when he had admonished them to remember the law of Moses: because he foresaw that for a long time yet they would not receive it spiritually, as it behooved them, he immediately subjoined: "And behold, I will send you Elijah the Tishbite, before the great and illustrious day of the Lord comes, who shall turn the heart of the father to the son, and the heart of a man to his neighbor, lest perchance coming I should smite the earth utterly" (Malachi 4:5, 6, according to LXX). It is most celebrated in the sermons and hearts of the faithful that through this Elijah, the great and wonderful prophet, the law having been explained to them, in the last time before the judgment, the Jews are to believe in the true Christ, that is, in our Christ. For he himself is not undeservedly hoped to come before the advent of the Judge and Savior: because even now he is not undeservedly believed to live. For he was snatched from human affairs in a fiery chariot, which holy Scripture most evidently testifies (4 Kings 2:11). When he comes, therefore, by explaining the law spiritually, which the Jews now savor carnally, "he shall turn the heart of the father to the son," that is, the heart of the fathers

to the sons: for the Septuagint interpreters put the singular for the plural number. And the sense is, that even the sons should so understand the law, that is the Jews, as the fathers understood it, that is the Prophets, in whom was Moses himself. For thus the heart of the fathers shall be turned to the sons, when the understanding of the fathers is brought to the understanding of the sons; "and the heart of the sons to their fathers," while in that which those felt, these also shall consent: where the Septuagint said, "and the heart of a man to his neighbor." For the fathers and sons are very near to each other. Although in the words of the Septuagint interpreters, who interpreted prophetically, another and even more choice sense can be found; that Elijah is understood to turn the heart of God the Father to the Son: not indeed by acting so that the Father should love the Son, but by teaching that the Father loves the Son; so that even the Jews, whom they previously hated, may love the same Christ who is ours. For to the Jews God now has a heart turned away from our Christ, because they think this. Therefore his heart shall then be turned to the Son for them, when they themselves with a converted heart shall have learned the love of the Father for the Son. But what follows, "and the heart of a man to his neighbor," that is, Elijah shall also turn the heart of a man to his neighbor; what is better understood than the heart of a man to the man Christ? For since he is our God in the form of God, taking the form of a servant he deigned also to be our neighbor. This, therefore, Elijah shall

do. "Lest perchance," he says, "I come, and smite the earth utterly." For those are the earth who savor earthly things; as the carnal Jews even until now: from which vice those murmurs against God came, "Because the evil please him"; and, "Vain is he who serves God" (Malachi 2:17; 3:14).

CHAPTER XXX.---That in the books of the Old Testament when God is read as about to judge, the person of Christ is not evidently shown: but from certain testimonies, where the Lord God speaks, it appears without doubt that he himself is Christ.

1. Many other are the testimonies of the divine Scriptures concerning the last judgment of God; which if I gather them all, it will be too long. Let it be enough, therefore, that we have proved this to have been preannounced in both the New and the Old sacred Writings. But that through Christ the judgment is to be in the Old, that is, that Christ the judge is to come from heaven, is not as evidently expressed as in the New: for this reason, because when there the Lord God says that he himself is to come, or the Lord God is said to be about to come, it is not consequently understood as Christ. For the Lord God is both Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit: nor yet does it behoove us to leave this unattested. Therefore, first it must be shown how Jesus Christ speaks as the Lord God in the prophetic books, and yet Jesus Christ evidently appears: so that both when he does not so appear, and yet the Lord God is said to be about to come to that last judgment, Jesus Christ can be understood. There is a place in the

prophet Isaiah which evidently shows this that I say. For God says through the prophet: "Hear me, Jacob and Israel whom I call. I am the first, and I in eternity: and my hand founded the earth, and my right hand established the heaven. I will call them, and they shall stand together, and they shall all be gathered, and they shall hear. Who has announced these things to them? Loving you, I have done your will upon Babylon, that I might take away the seed of the Chaldeans. And I have spoken, and I have called: I have led him, and I have made his way prosperous. Draw near to me, and hear these things. Not from the beginning have I spoken in secret: when they were being made, there I was. And now the Lord God has sent me, and his Spirit" (Isaiah 48:12-16). Surely it is he himself who was speaking as the Lord God: and yet Jesus Christ would not be understood, unless he had added: "And now the Lord God has sent me, and his Spirit." For he said this according to the form of a servant, using a verb of past time concerning a future thing: just as it is read in the same prophet: "As a sheep he was led to the slaughter" (id. 53:7, according to LXX). For he did not say, "He shall be led": but for that which was to be future, he put a verb of past time. And prophecy constantly speaks thus.

2. There is also another place in Zechariah which evidently shows this, that the Almighty sent the Almighty: who [sent] whom, but God the Father [sent] God the Son? For thus it is written: "These things says the Lord almighty: After the glory he has sent me upon the nations which

spoiled you; because he who has touched you, is as he who touches the pupil of his eye. Behold, I will bring my hand upon them, and they shall be spoils to those who had served them; and you shall know that the Lord almighty has sent me" (Zechariah 2:8 and 9). Behold, the Lord almighty says that he was sent by the Lord almighty. Who would dare here to understand any but Christ speaking, namely to the sheep which had perished of the house of Israel? For he says in the Gospel: "I am not sent, but to the sheep which perished of the house of Israel" (Matthew 15:24): which here he compared to the pupil of the eye of God, because of the most excellent affection of love; from which kind of sheep even the Apostles themselves were. But after the glory indeed of his resurrection, which before it happened, the evangelist says: "Jesus was not yet glorified" (John 7:39); he was also sent upon the nations in his Apostles: and thus was fulfilled what is read in the Psalm: "Thou shalt deliver me from the contradictions of the people, thou shalt constitute me at the head of the nations" (Psalm 17:44): so that those who had spoiled the Israelites, and whom the Israelites had served, when they are subjected to the nations, they should not be spoiled in turn in the same way, but they themselves should become the spoils of the Israelites. For he had promised this to the Apostles, saying: "I will make you fishers of men" (Matthew 4:19). And to one of them, "From this time now," he said, "you shall be catching men" (Luke 5:10). They should become spoils therefore, but for

good, as if vessels snatched from that strong one, but more strongly bound (Matthew 12:29).

3. Likewise, the Lord speaking through the same prophet: "And it shall be in that day," he says, "I will seek to take away all the nations which come against Jerusalem, and I will pour out upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Spirit of grace and mercy; and they shall look upon me, because they have insulted [me]; and they shall mourn over him a mourning as if over a most dear one, and they shall grieve with grief as if over an only-begotten" (Zechariah 12:9, 10). Is it not for God alone to take away all the enemy nations of the holy city Jerusalem, which "come against" it, that is, are contrary to it, or, as others have interpreted, "come upon" it, that is, that they may subject it to themselves: or to pour out upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of the same city the Spirit of grace and mercy? This indeed is of God, and is said from the person of God through the Prophet: and yet Christ shows himself as this God doing these things so great and so divine, by subjoining and saying: "And they shall look upon me, because they have insulted [me]; and they shall mourn over him a mourning as if over a most dear one" (or, "beloved"), "and they shall grieve with grief as if over an only-begotten." For the Jews shall repent in that day, even those who are to receive the Spirit of grace and mercy, that in his passion they insulted Christ, when they shall have looked upon him coming in his majesty, and shall have known him to be the one whom

previously humble in his parents they mocked: although also those parents of theirs, the authors of so great an impiety, rising again shall see him, but now to be punished, not yet to be corrected. Therefore in this place they are not to be understood where it is said: "And I will pour out upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Spirit of grace and mercy; and they shall look upon me, because they have insulted [me]": but yet those coming from their stock, who through Elijah at that time are to believe. But as we say to the Jews: "You killed Christ," although their parents did this: so also these shall grieve that they have in a way done what those did, from whose stock they descend. Although, therefore, having received the Spirit of grace and mercy, being now faithful they shall not be damned with their impious parents; they shall nevertheless grieve as if they themselves had done what was done by them. They shall not, therefore, grieve by the guilt of the crime, but by the affection of piety. Truly where the Septuagint interpreters said: "And they shall look upon me, because they have insulted [me]"; it has been interpreted thus from the Hebrew: "And they shall look upon me, whom they pierced." By which word indeed Christ more evidently appears crucified. But that insult, which the Septuagint preferred to put, was not absent from his whole passion. For both when detained, and bound, and adjudicated, and clothed in the reproach of an ignominious garment, and crowned with thorns, and struck on the head with a reed, and mockingly adored

with fixed knees, and carrying his own cross, and now hanging on the wood, they surely insulted him. Accordingly, not following one interpretation, but joining both, when we read both "they insulted," and "they pierced," we more fully recognize the truth of the Lord's passion.

4. Therefore, when in the prophetic writings God is read as being about to come to perform the last judgment, even if another distinction of him is not put; solely because of the judgment itself Christ ought to be understood: because even if the Father shall judge, he shall judge through the advent of the Son of man. For he himself through the manifestation of his presence "judges no one, but has given all judgment to the Son" (John 5:22): who shall be manifested as a man about to judge, just as he was judged as a man. For who else is he, of whom God likewise speaks through Isaiah under the name of Jacob and Israel, from whose seed he took a body? which is thus written: "Jacob my servant, I will uphold him: Israel my elect, my soul has assumed him. I have given my Spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the nations. He shall not cry, nor shall he cease, nor shall his voice be heard abroad. A bruised reed he shall not break, and smoking flax he shall not extinguish; but in truth he shall bring forth judgment. He shall shine, and shall not be broken, until he set judgment in the earth; and in his name the nations shall hope" (Isaiah 42:1-4, according to LXX). In the Hebrew "Jacob" and "Israel" are not read: but what is read there is "my servant," surely the Septuagint inter-

preters, wanting to admonish how far it should be received, because forsooth it was said because of the form of a servant, in which the Most High showed himself most humble, put the name of the man himself to signify him, from whose kind the same form of a servant was assumed. The Holy Spirit was given upon him, which also was shown in the species of a dove, the Gospel witnessing (Matthew 3:16). He brought forth judgment to the nations, because he preannounced the future, which was hidden from the nations. In mildness he did not cry, nor yet in preaching the truth did he cease. But his voice was not heard abroad, nor is it heard; since by those who are cut off from his body abroad, he is not obeyed: and his own persecutors the Jews themselves, who are compared to a bruised reed having lost integrity, and to smoking flax having lost light, he did not break, nor extinguish; because he spared them, who had not yet come to judge them, but to be judged by them. In truth surely he brought forth judgment, preannouncing to them when they were to be punished, if they should persist in their malignancy. His face shone on the mountain (Matthew 17:1, 2), his fame in the world: nor was he broken, or bruised, because neither in himself, nor in his Church, that he should cease to be, did he yield to persecutors. And therefore it has not happened, nor shall happen, what his enemies said, or say: "When shall he die and his name perish" (Psalm 40:6)? "Until he set judgment in the earth." Behold, what we were seeking hidden has been manifested. For this

is the last judgment, which he shall set in the earth, when he himself shall come from heaven. Concerning which we now see fulfilled, what is put last here: "And in his name the nations shall hope." Through this certainly which cannot be denied, let that also be believed which is impudently denied. For who would hope, what even those who do not yet want to believe in Christ, already see with us, and since they cannot deny it, gnash with their teeth, and pine away? Who, I say, would hope that the nations would hope in Christ's name, when he was being held, bound, beaten, mocked, crucified; when also the disciples themselves had lost the hope which they had already begun to have in him? What then scarcely one thief hoped on the cross, now the nations far and wide diffused hope; and lest they should die in eternity, they are signed with the very cross in which he died.

5. No one, therefore, either denies or doubts that through Jesus Christ the last judgment will be as it is preannounced in those sacred Writings, except he who does not believe in the same Writings, I know not by what incredible animosity or blindness, which have now demonstrated their truth to the world. In that judgment, therefore, or around that judgment, we have learned that these things are to come: Elijah the Tishbite, the faith of the Jews, the Antichrist to persecute, Christ to judge, the resurrection of the dead, the separation of the good and the evil, the conflagration of the world, and its renovation. All which things indeed must be believed as about to come:

but in what ways, and in what order they may come, the experience of things will then teach more than the intelligence of men is now able to follow to perfection. I think, however, that they are to come in the order in which they have been commemorated by me.

6. Two books pertaining to this work are remaining to us, that with the Lord helping we may fulfill the promises: one of which shall be concerning the punishment of the evil, the other concerning the happiness of the just: in which especially, as God shall have granted, human arguments shall be refuted, which the miserable seem to themselves wisely to gnaw against the divine predictions and promises, and they contemn the nourishments of a healthful faith as if false and laughable. But those who savor according to God, hold as the greatest argument of all things which seem incredible to men, and yet are contained in the holy Scriptures, whose truth has now been asserted in many ways, the truthful omnipotence of God, whom they hold certain could in no way have lied in them, and to be able to do what is impossible to the infidel.

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.

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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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 un-

extinguishable 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). 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; 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; 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. 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." Cer-

tainly 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. 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. 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.

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 there-

fore 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. 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 incorporal 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. 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.

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? 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.

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.

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: 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; 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.

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 reproved: 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 reproved 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. 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? 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): 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.

I have also found that some think that only those will burn in the eternity of that punish-

ment 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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 re-

maineth 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"? 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, dissensiones, 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). 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. 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. 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). 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; 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). 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. 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 Christ-

ian, 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. 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). 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.)

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.

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. 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. 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." 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.

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.

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? 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." 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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 affec-

tion, 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. 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. 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. 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. There was a certain old man, Florentius of Hippo, our fellow-townsman, 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. 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. 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 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 wonder-

ing, 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. 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). 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. 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. 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? 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. 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. 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. 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 hu-

man 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. 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."

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. 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 as-

cended 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: 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. 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 parility 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. 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. 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. 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 defor-

mity 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?

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? 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. 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), 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 admin-

isters 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 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. 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 tam-

ing irrational animals: 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. 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? 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 de-

siring 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. 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. 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.

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. '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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.